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The Literary Genres in the Flavian Age

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Alfredo Mario Morelli

Catullus 23 and Martial. An epigrammatic model and its 'refraction' throughout Martial's *libri*

This paper focuses on connections between thematic networks in the books of Martial and allusions (especially the 'continuous' ones) to a single poetic model. In recent years, much attention has been devoted to the arrangement of Martial's books, resulting from the identification of thematic and verbal connections;[1] it is in this context also that intertextuality has to be envisaged, especially when it involves the *aemulatio* of a single author, if not of a single text. By activating the reader's memory at more than one point of a *liber*, allusions to a literary model bolster the artistic self-presentation of the book.

Catullus 23 marks a special case within the complex relationship between Martial and his favourite epigrammatic *auctor*.[2] The poem is a well-appreciated one by Martial, who often alludes to it by reproducing single features or poetic *iuncturae*, if not its overall framework.[3] I believe that there is more than one reason for this predilection. Thematic aspects are crucial here, because Catullus 23 is perhaps the most important poem of the *Liber* concerning a topic on which Martial often draws: ridiculous poverty.[4] But features in style and arrangement of the poem also have their importance. Catullus 23 puts at Martial's disposal not only an extraordinary collection of resources in speech and expression, but also, on the whole, a paradigm of *epigramma longum* skillfully and thoughtfully constructed:[5]

1 After Barwick 1932 and esp. 1958, which opened the path to further investigation, see at least Merli 1993 and 1998; Scherf 1998 and 2001; Lorenz 2004; Moreno Soldevila 2004; Scherf 2008; Sapsford 2009; Morelli 2009.

2 On the relationships between Martial and Catullus, see Paukstadt 1876; as regards recent discussion, see Ferguson 1963; Offerman 1980; Newman 1990, 75–103; Sullivan 1991, 95–97; Swann 1994 and 1998; Watson 2003; Fedeli 2004; Gavi 2007, and above all Mattiacci 2007a, esp. 162–195.

3 The noteworthy *Nachleben* of Catullus' poem did not reach modern times: apart from commentaries and large-scale essays on Catullus, almost only Németh 1971 and O' Bryhim 2007 focus on Catul. 23.

4 See, on this, Watson 2004, 315 f., who remarks that – as regards Martial's background – we should consider the influence of Catul. 23 as well as that of Catul. 21 (see below), 26 (on Furius' *villula:* about this topic, see Morelli 2003) and Fur. Bib. 1 f. Mor. (= Blans.; = Courtn.).

5 I adopt the text of Thomson 1997, 114: I only have doubts at l. 21, where Thomson prints *lupillis* (conjectured by Ianus Gulielmius in *Lampas*, ed. J. Gruter, III, Frankfurt 1604, pars II, 446) in-

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Furi, cui neque servus est neque arca
nec cimex neque araneus neque ignis,
verum est et pater et noverca, quorum
dentes vel silicem comesse possunt,
est pulchre tibi cum tuo parente
et cum coniuge lignea parentis.
Nec mirum: bene nam valetis omnes,
pulchre concoquitis, nihil timetis,
non incendia, non graves ruinas,
non facta impia, non dolos veneni,
non casus alios periculorum.
Atqui corpora sicciora cornu
aut siquid magis aridum est habetis
sole et frigore et esuritione.
Quare non tibi sit bene ac beate?
A te sudor abest, abest saliva,
mucusque et mala pituita nasi.
Hanc ad munditiem adde mundiorem,
quod culus tibi purior salillo est,
nec toto decies cacas in anno;
atque id durius est faba et lupillis,
quod tu si manibus teras fricesque,
non umquam digitum inquinare possis.
Haec tu commoda tam beata, Furi,
noli spernere nec putare parvi,
et sestertia quae soles precari
centum desine, nam sat es beatus.

Furius, you who have neither a servant nor a moneybox, neither a bedbug nor a spider-web nor a fire, but have a father and step-mother, whose teeth even are able to eat hard rock: things are sweet to you, with your father, and with the tough wife of your father. Do not be amazed: for you are all well, you digest well, you fear nothing – not fires, not severe ruin, not wicked deeds, not plots of poison, nor other dangerous accidents. And you have bodies drier than horn, or whatever is drier than horn; and they are accustomed to both cold and hunger. Why then is everything not well and blessed for you? Sweat also is absent from you, and saliva, and mucus and other bad nasal emissions. To this cleanliness add more cleanliness, because you have an anus more pure than a saltcellar, nor in the entire year do you defecate ten times, and even then it is more solid than a bean or pebble – if you rubbed it with your hands, you wouldn't even be able to make your hands dirty. These advantages are so beautiful, Furius, don't spurn them or think them worthless, and stop begging the hundred thousand sesterces as you are accustomed to: for you are blessed enough.
(transl. by C. Bradley)

stead of *lapillis* (**V**), which can perhaps be defended; and also at l. 27, where *satis beatus* (**V**, defended by Fraenkel 1966) has been corrected (already by Calpurnius and by most modern editors) in *sat es beatus*.

The ring-composition is based on the repetition of the addressee's name in the vocative case (*Furi*, 1 and 24), a very common feature also in Martial's poetry. Bipartition of the central, scoptic segment (5–23, with the central 'navel' of 12–14 + 15) is also frequently found in Martial's *epigrammata longa* (see below the example of Mart. 11.56). Final *aprosdoketon* is not a necessary feature, but is nevertheless a very common one even in the 'long' poems of Martial.[6]

As concerns Catul. 23, readers may be surprised by the sudden final pun on the 'denied loan' (a very favorite theme also in Martial): in Catul. 24 Furius is the lover of Iuventius; his fellow Aurelius (see Catul. 11 and 16) is also a rival of Catullus, an *amator* of the same boy (cc. 15 and 21).[7] In the present arrangement of the *Liber Catulli*, the poem 24 immediately follows 23, and Furius is once again mocked as an indigent (the same happens to Aurelius in the poem 21, and therefore both Aurelius in 21 and Furius in 24 are depicted as unsuitable lovers for Iuventius): 24.4–6 *mallem divitias Midae dedisses | isti, cui neque servus est neque arca, | quam sic te sineres ab illo amari* ('I had rather you had given the riches of Midas to that fellow who has neither servant nor money-box, than so allow you to be courted by him'). This echoes the opening jingle of Catul. 23.

Therefore, erotic rivalry could have been also expected in Catul. 23 as the most probable starting point for a convenient final pun against Furius (something like: 'hey, Furius, you are happy and poor, over a barrel: please, leave in peace my Iuventius'), but the topic is absent. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think that such details, as that concerning the *culus … purior salillo* (18–23, esp. 19), are not completely innocent: 'impurity' of oral and anal orifices is a widespread topic in Catullus' scoptic *nugae* and epigrams against rivals (23.19 can be compared with 97.4 *verum etiam culus mundior et melior*). Therefore, there is probably an irony implied regarding the 'cleanness' of Furius' buttocks, as well as on the 'hardness' and 'dryness' of Furius' body:[8] in Catul. 16, Furius

6 See Morelli 2008a, esp. 32–38 (on the structure of Martial's *epigrammata longa*).

7 Beck 1996 assumes that there was a *libellus Iuventi*, which contained a "cycle of rivals" (viz., "of Furius and Aurelius"). About this theory, see Bellandi 2007, 72–74 (with further bibliography).

8 O' Bryhim 2007 cleverly interpreted Furius' 'lack of fluids' as related to the condition of financial distress, in short, to the absence of 'liquid' money (not so different is the interpretation already proposed by Wray 2001, 74, who also insists on the similarities between the pair formed by Catul. 23–24 and the other one dedicated to Ameana, Catul. 41 and 43). Catullus grotesquely uses ancient medical theories about hassles that the excess of body fluids can cause, leading the argument to paradox: privations Furius and family are subjected to lead to a total loss of humors, and this extreme dryness is taken as a symbol of health (see also Syndikus 2017[4] *ad loc.*). It must be said that the notion that a very 'dry' temperament is the most healthy is not the dominant one in ancient medical doctrine: fluid balance and consequent diet are more often recommended,

and Aurelius mocked Catullus' 'mild' verses (*molles ... versiculos*) and so generated the harsh reaction of the *ego*, who reverses the charge and argues that his rivals are in fact the 'soft' ones (viz., they are a *pathicus* and a *cinaedus*).[9] If we also consider Catul. 15 and 21 (Aurelius tries to seduce Iuventius and is threatened by the *ego* with *raphanidosis* and *irrumatio*), we may conclude that there is a cluster of topics (which implies erotic and literary rivalry between *Catullus* and his fellows Furius and Aurelius, poverty and lack of masculinity of both rivals) which are consistently elaborated within a small group of poems (15, 16, 21, 23, 24, perhaps 26).[10] Burlesque 'didactic' cares of the Catullan *ego* are also part and parcel of this thematic cluster: in Catul. 21.9–11 there is a comic 'concern' for Iuventius' educational corruption: *atque id si faceres satur, tacerem: / nunc ipsum id doleo, quod esurire / a temet puer et sitire discet* ('If you had your belly full I should say nothing; as it is, what annoys me is that my lad will learn from you how to be hungry and thirsty');[11] the same 'anxiety' appears in Catul. 24.4–6 and 9 f.

It is an open question whether Martial and his contemporaries could appreciate Furius' and Aurelius' poems in the same arrangement in which we read them today (or in a similar one). However, we know for sure that Martial read Catul. 23 in association with the other poems of this group:[12] this is demonstrated by Mart. 1.92:[13]

> Saepe mihi queritur non siccis Cestos ocellis,
> tangi se digito, Mamuriane, tuo.
> Non opus est digito: totum tibi Ceston habeto,

see e. g. Cels. *med.* 1.3.14. Nevertheless, a widespread prejudice against humors in excess (considered an emblem of poor control and self-care, a result of excessive intake of food and drink) is evidenced for instance by Cic. *Tusc.* 5.99 f. or by *Sen.* 34 and already by Pl. *As.* 857.

9 On Catul. 16 and, more generally, on the opposition *mollis* / *durus* in Catullus, there are recent, excellent remarks in Bellandi 2007, 51–61; see also Agnesini 2012, 191–193, Morelli 2012, 476 f., and Morelli forthcoming a.

10 In Roman culture, the *esuritio* is connected to the lack of manhood (particularly strong is the connection between hunger and *irrumatio*), but some remarks are necessary. Peek 2002 argues that in Catul. 21 Aurelius is attacked as a 'passive' homosexual, subjected to (oral) penetration: he wants to 'dominate' Iuventius (and indirectly even Catullus), but his hunger reveals that he is actually a *pathicus*, who will be conveniently penetrated by the *ego* (however, it should be noted that Peek's interpretation of *CIL* XI 6721,34 a,b,c is wrong; see App. *BC* 5.35 and Osgood 2006, 166 f. and related plate).

11 I accept Froehlich's emendation *a temet*; **V** has *me me*; Thomson 1997, 112, prints *a te mi*.

12 See already Paukstadt 1876, 14–16.

13 I adopt the text of Lindsay 1929[2]. I always take into consideration also Heraeus 1976[2] and Shackleton Bailey 1990.

si dest nil aliud, Mamuriane, tibi.
Sed si nec focus est nudi nec sponda grabati
nec curtus Chiones Antiopesve calix,
cerea si pendet lumbis et scripta lacerna
dimidiasque nates Gallica paeda tegit,
pasceris et nigrae solo nidore culinae
et bibis inmundam cum cane pronus aquam:
non culum – neque enim est culus, qui non cacat olim –
sed fodiam digito qui superest oculum:
nec me zelotypum nec dixeris esse malignum.
Denique pedica, Mamuriane, satur.

Often Cestos complains to me with overflowing eyes that he is pawed by your finger, Mamurianus. No need of a finger: take Cestos altogether to yourself if he, Mamurianus, is all that you lack. But if you possess no fire, nor frame of a bare truckle-bed, nor a broken cup like Chione's and Antiope's; if a cloak, white with age and threadbare, hangs over your loins, and a Gaulish cape covers but half your buttocks; and if you batten on the steam only of a sooty kitchen, and on all fours like a dog drink from dirty puddles, I will not prod that latter-end of yours – it isn't a latter-end, being unused – but I will gouge out your remaining eye. And don't say I am jealous or malicious. In a word, follow your bent, Mamurianus, – on a full stomach!
(transl. by Ker 1919–1920)

Verbal and thematic hints at Catul. 23 and other poems related to Furius and Aurelius have been already detected in the past.[14] Mamurianus enacts his attempt at seduction exactly as Aurelius did in Catul. 21, and he is starving like him; as it happens in Catul. 21, the ego would not blame his rival if he had made his *avances* as 'sated' (the last word of the poem, *satur*, is an obvious allusion to Catul. 21.9 *atque id is faceres satur tacerem:* see already above, Mart. 1.92.3 f. *totum tibi Ceston habeto, / si dest nil aliud, Mamuriane, tibi*). The characterization of Mamurianus' poverty (exactly in the center of the poem, ll. 5–10) recollects features of both Catul. 21 and 23. If there is emphasis on the *esuritio* suffered by the tattered lover (see especially ll. 9 f., nearly a reworking of the Catullan theme of Aurelius' hyperbolic hunger), the initial catalogue, with its insistent anaphora (*nec focus est nudi nec sponda grabati* / *nec curtus* eqs.), certainly recalls the opening sequence of Catul. 23 *neque servus est neque arca* / *nec cimex neque araneus neque ignis:* it is noteworthy that the first element of Martial's series is the last one in the Catullan chain (*nec focus ~ neque ignis*).

Hints at Catul. 23 become even clearer at Martial's l. 11: *non culum – neque enim est culus, qui non cacat olim* exaggerates the hyperbolic sentence of the model (Catul. 23.19 f. *culus tibi purior salillo est, / nec toto decies cacas in*

14 See Friedländer 1886, 220; Citroni 1975 *ad loc.*; Howell 1980 *ad loc.*

anno). Martial is treating a set of Catullan poems (those concerning Furius and Aurelius) as a coherent whole; in particular, he provides the reader with a 'reinterpretation' of the theme of Furius' poverty in Catul. 23, because it clearly interacts with the erotic motif, viz. 'the courtship of the *puer*'. In this sense, Martial exploits the contiguity among Catul. 15, 21, 23, and 24 (we do not know in which arrangement Martial read those poems, but they were definitely for him thematically and stylistically interconnected).

We should not miss another important element. As has been brilliantly noted in a recent paper,[15] the name of the main character is not elsewhere present in Martial, and this cannot be an accident: it refers to another character found in Catullus' *Liber*, Mamurra. In Mart. 1.92.11 f. the threat of sexual punishment mostly alludes to the famous ending of Catul. 15 (the threat of *raphanidosis* addressed to Aurelius). However, that model is comically transformed: Martial's *ego* does not hit (with a finger; it is a perfect retaliation, if we consider l. 2 *tangi se digito*) the *culus* of the victim, but rather the only eye he has. This detail is given almost in passing (Mamurianus is *luscus*) and it seems completely incongruous (in the long poem there are no other references to the physical features of Mamurianus). In fact, it is extremely significant: Mamurianus is graphically depicted as a great *Mentula* (the penis is often the 'one-eyed' in the poetry of Martial: think of 2.33; 3.8 and 11; 9.37.10; 12.22),[16] just like Catullus' Mamurra, who in a cluster of poems has precisely the nickname *Mentula* (see 94, 105, 114, 115: see already 29.13). Mamurra is also described as a third-rate gallant in Catul. 29.6–8, and is mocked as *cinaedus* in Catul. 57 (in this poem, the pair of pretentious *erudituli*, Caesar/Mamurra, matches the couple of *pathici* in Catul. 16, Furius/Aurelius, who also have literary ambitions). Mamurra himself, while not being poor as a church mouse, is anyway the *decoctor Formianus* in Catul. 41.4 and 43.5, and is teased for his estate, which ruins him in poems 114–115.[17] Finally, Mamurra is also threatened with *raphanidosis* (this is the most probable meaning of *ipsa*

15 Sparagna 2010; see already O' Connor 1990; Vallat 2008, 355 f. (he correctly remarks that in other poems of Martial the name *Mamurra* is clearly connected with the Catullan character, see Mart. 9.59; 10.4; Newman 1990, 95 f., and below, n. 17) and 615; see now Fusi 2013, 102. On the comical 'law of retaliation' that characterizes the poem (*digito*, ll. 2.3, and 12) see the remarks in Obermayer 1998, 87 f.

16 On the *lusci* in Martial see Watson 1982 (though she actually neglects the point we are interested in) and Sparagna 2010.

17 Vallat 2008, 329 f., argues that the indigent *Mamurra* in Mart. 9.59 imitates *in opponendo* the Catullan *Mamurra* (a very rich person), but in Catul. 41, and 114–115 (and already in Catul. 29), this character is a prodigal and bankrupt one, and this may already contain the seeds of interesting ideas for Martial's characterization of *Mamurra* and *Mamurianus:* see the excellent considerations of Watson 2006, 276 and n. 26 (on Mart. 9.59).

olera olla legit at Catul. 94.2).[18] We may conclude that Martial, by depicting Mamurianus, definitely combines a sophisticated 'horizontal' reading of Furius' and Aurelius' 'cycle' and malicious hints at the 'cycle' of Mamurra. Martial achieves an effect of hyperbole, drawing a character who is affected by the most remarkable features of Catullan seducers: poverty, *invenustas* (or only apparent *venustas*), exhibited, but also equivocal and humiliated manhood (the final 'blinding' at ll. 11 f. is a symbol not only of violation, but even of castration, because it reduces to impotence Mamurianus/*Mentula*'s eye ...).

Hyper-characterization and imitation of more than one Catullan 'cycle' are also found in Mart. 1.77:

> Pulchre valet Charinus, et tamen pallet.
> Parce bibit Charinus, et tamen pallet.
> Bene concoquit Charinus, et tamen pallet.
> Sole utitur Charinus, et tamen pallet.
> Tingit cutem Charinus, et tamen pallet.
> Cunnum Charinus lingit, et tamen pallet.
>
> Charinus has good health, and yet he is pale. Charinus drinks moderately, and yet he is pale. Charinus has good digestion, and yet he is pale. Charinus enjoys the sunshine, and yet he is pale. Charinus rouges his skin, and yet he is pale. Charinus indulges in every debauchery, and yet he is pale.

Allusions to Catul. 23 are well known and registered in current commentaries. The description of Charinus' paradoxical 'good health' (1 and 3 *pulchre valet ... bene concoquit*) clearly hints at Catul. 23.7 f. *bene nam valetis omnes / pulchre concoquitis* ('you all enjoy the best health, your digestions are excellent'); the character's name itself, Charinus, also seems allusive to relevant lexemes in Catul. 23 such as *bene, pulchre, mundus* etc.[19] However, the interpretation of Catullus' poem is once again mischievous, because repulsive sexuality and disgusting vices are involved.[20] This also causes a paradoxical reversal of the Catullan

18 See Hartz 2007, 79–82.

19 See also Vallat 2008, 557 f. (the name *Charinus* is often connected with repulsive vices, see Mart. 4.39; 6.37 and 7.34, and Friedländer 1886, 214). The adverb *pulchre* is rarely used in the poetry of Flavian age (see also below, on 11.31 and the term *venustus*), with the exception of Martial, who is certainly influenced by Catullus and neoteric poetry: see also 2.58.1; 3.95.13; 12.17.9 and Citroni 1975, 248 (*ad* 1.77.1); Williams 2004, 197 (*ad* 2.58.1). The *incipit* of 1.77 (*pulchre valet*) is perhaps influenced by Catul.57.1 *pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis* (repeated at the end, l. 10, with ring-composition).

20 Lorenz 2002, 138–140 deals with the arrangement of 1.77: the poem is set just at the end of a scoptic sequence (71–77), interrupted by 1.78 (which concerns the *exitus* of an *illustris vir*, seriously ill in his face: there is a clear contrast with 1.77). The scoptic series goes on with 1.79–81.

motif: notwithstanding his good health, Charinus is sickly pale because of his sexual practice (he is a *cunnilictor*). Together with Furius, other Catullan features and characters are recalled: the singsong structure with final scomma reproduces (and exaggerates) the framing of Catul. 78, centered on the figure of Gallus (*Gallus habet fratres … Gallus homo est bellus … Gallus homo est stultus*);[21] other thematic aspects remind us of Catul. 80 (at the end of which the 'pale' Gellius turns out to be a *fellator*) and 89 (in which Gellius' 'thinness' is the result of his nocturnal revelry with the whole family).

Through a 'horizontal' reading of more than one Catullan 'cycle', the characterization of Martial's Charinus reaches paradoxical and hyperbolic effects. He is as healthy as Furius is (he does not show, apart from his inexplicable 'whiteness', any of the typical symptoms of lover's melancholy: thinness, emaciation, sadness, and suffering), but his perversion goes even beyond that of Gellius, the Catullan champion of sexual vice. Moreover, Charinus' practices are by far more disgusting than the effeminacy of the *pathicus* Furius or even more nauseating than Gellius' *fellatio*. Martial's readers perceive this dense and articulated background, which is passed into new dynamics of rhetorical construction and thematic organization: a consistent, new paradigm of vice is proposed, based on a plurality of Catullan suggestions. It is also remarkable that, in order to describe Mamurianus and Charinus, Martial has extrapolated two distinct sets of features, which coexist in Catul. 23: extreme poverty is thematized in 1.92, paradoxical good/bad health is the topic of 1.77. This is what I call the 'diffraction' of the Catullan model: Martial alludes to Catul. 23 at two different times and in two completely different ways within his Book I. There is a consistent strategy of allusiveness and a keen sense of variation in alluding to the same model, in order to draw a variegated tableau of the human failings in the course of the book. In both cases themes taken from Catul.23 are intertwined with other Catullan motifs and serve to characterize sexual vices (a component which is absent in Catullus' poem).

Catullus 23 then remains a constant point of reference: just consider Mart. 2.51,[22] and 3.89.[23] However, it is in Book XI that the most impressive effects of 'dif-

21 See Fedeli 2004, 165. On Martial's use of repetition as a structural device, see Laurens 2012², 273–281, and Watson 2006, 273 f.

22 See Paukstadt 1876, 15; Williams 2004, 178–181, both for comparison with Catul.23 and 33 and for the 'internal' allusion to Mart. 2.44.9 *et quadrans mihi nullus est in arca* ('I don't have a farthing in the money box'). On the massive presence in Book II of epigrams that treat the same erotic and 'financial' motifs, see Lorenz 2002, 120, with bibliography.

23 See Fusi 2006, 512.

fraction' of the Catullan model are recorded. I will focus on the aspects related to the 'construction' of a coherent and well-articulated poetic discourse through verbal and thematic connections throughout the book.

First, it should be considered that the book is characterized (already in the long initial sequence of poems) by a return of Saturnalian topics. There are 'apologetic' reasons for this: Martial seems to go back to the profound and original issues of his epigrammatic art, now that the long 'courtesan' relationship with Domitian is over. Nerva is the ideal patron for an ideological change,[24] which consists in re-evaluating the 'Roman' roots of the genre. Thanks to the renewed atmosphere of the Saturnalia, the epigram goes back to Italic simplicity, wisdom, spiciness, and 'sincerity', mobilizing a set of (mainly, but not exclusively) erotic and scoptic themes belonging to the Latin tradition. Models are to be found mostly in Catullus, but also in other authors and genres, from Horace's satire to elegy.[25] I previously wrote a paper on the allusive strategies by which Martial sketches a malicious, parodic reinterpretation of Ovid's didactic elegy,[26] but references to Catullus and other Latin epigrammatists are likewise continuous. Yet nowhere else, as in this case, do intertextual strategies blend in with those related to the artistic arrangement of the book. It is in this context that allusions to Catul. 23 should be considered.

I begin with Mart. 11.32:

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

You have neither toga, nor fire, nor bug-haunted bed, nor have you a mat stitched of thirsty rushes, nor boy, nor older slave; you have no maid, nor infant, nor door-bolt, nor key, nor

24 There are obviously some ambiguities in drawing the image of the elderly emperor, who comes close to be characterized as a *rex Saturnalicius*. In the opinion of Holzberg 2002, 150, Nerva is a "Saturnalienprinz".

25 On the 'Saturnalian' characterization of Book XI, see Citroni 1989, 215 (in the context of a wider discussion on the importance of the socio-cultural model of Saturnalia in the epigrams of Martial); according to Holzberg 2002, 148–150, such a characterization has to be envisaged within the compositional strategies of Martial's fourth 'triad' (Books X–XII) as a whole. On the emperor Nerva in Book XI, in connection with Saturnalian issues, see also Lorenz 2002, 210–219; Nauta 2002, 437–440.

26 Morelli 2008b, especially 111–130; see also Hinds 2007, 118–123 and 130.

> dog, nor cup. Yet you aim, Nestor, at being called, and seeming, a poor man, and look to having a place among the people. You are a fraud, and flatter yourself with an empty honour. It is not poverty, Nestor, to have nothing at all.

There is a strong Catullan flavour in this part of the book. Mart. 11.31 is dedicated to an eccentric host who always serves to his guests just *cucurbitae*, presented in various ways, and (l. 20) *hoc lautum vocat, hoc putat venustum* ('this he calls elegant, this he thinks charming'). Critical attention has centered on the adjective *venustus*, which Martial does not use elsewhere (the adjective had a neoteric flavour, but it is difficult to imagine that it was still alive in common use at the time). It is a typical Catullan lexeme (see 3.2; 13.6, in an invitation to dinner; 22.2; 31.12; 89.2, 97.9; and 35.17, *venustē*; and 86.3, the noun *venustas*), but the whole sentence in Martial actually recalls Catullus: see 12.4 *hoc salsum esse putas?* ('do you think this funny?'; the poem is addressed to Marrucinus who steals handkerchiefs of the guests and thinks it is amusing; see also ll. 4 f.: *fugit te, inepte, | quamvis sordida res et invenusta est*, 'you are mistaken, you silly fellow; it is ever so ill-bred, and in the worst taste'); and 97.9 *hic futuit multas et se facit esse venustum*. The reference to Catullan banquets is also evident shortly thereafter, in 11.34.4 *cenabit belle, non habitabit Aper* ('Aper will dine, but not lodge nicely'), where the allusion to Catul. 13 is confirmed a little later by the almost identical opening motto of Mart. 11.52 *cenabis belle Iuli Cerealis apud me*.[27]

In Mart. 11.32 the imitation of Catul. 23 is clear from the *incipit*, which reproduces the persistent anaphora of negative particles. The catalogue continues for about half the poem; allocution addressed to the dedicatee Nestor is located just in l. 5 (according to a pattern, which is not unusual in Martial). All items in this 'list of poverty' are identical to those present in Catul. 23 or in Mart. 1.92: they are cleverly 'reused' by alternating essential *brevitas* (see the rapid allusion at l. 1 *nec toga nec focus*) and larger syntactic structures (l. 2) or accumulation (the Catullan *nec servus* expands to take up all the l. 3 *nec puer aut senior, nulla est ancilla*

27 See Merli 2008. 11.34 blends the two themes of the 'small' or 'uncomfortable estate' and the invitation to dinner. Aper (a speaking name, which combines the two themes: his estate is so wild that even a *noctua* would not dwell there) has bought his poor estate not to live there, but for dining with the *nitidus Maro* (the name *Aper* returns in more than one epigram on the theme of dinner, intended for easy pun). Scherf 2001, 49 f., cleverly analyses the sequence of poems focused on the dinner theme in Book XI: 31, 34 and 35 are against bad guests or hosts, as well as, in the second part of the liber, 65, 66 and 77 (dominated by the image of a crowded but very poor banquet). In the middle, poem 52 (on Cerealis' dinner) and 57 provide a contrasting positive paradigm.

nec infans, 'there is no boy slave or an older one or a maidservant or a baby').[28] We have to be careful in considering the existence of self-allusive devices among different books of Martial (instead of 'mechanical' reuse of *iuncturae* and themes extracted from the immense repository of the author); nevertheless, the recovery of the singsong rhythm with emphatic alliteration in l. 4 (*nec sera nec clavis nec canis atque calix*) does seem self-allusive. In the second hemistich, Martial exactly highlights both innovating items, which were already present in 1.92.6 and 10 (the *canis* and especially the *calix*; Nestor 'exceeds' even Mamurianus' model, because the latter at least had a *lacerna*, and maybe a dog). The erotic element seems to be absent: attention is focused on the description of Nestor's extreme poverty. Nestor arrogates to himself the title (the *honos*) of *pauper*, but he is actually a destitute; and there is a substantial difference between a *pauper* (who is still a member of the *populus*) and a destitute (hence the final pun). The 'Catullan' micro-context (Mart. 11.31, 11.34) already makes it easy for the *lector* to recognize the allusions to Catul. 23, but a close imitation of the same poem follows at no great distance, at the beginning of the second half of the *liber* (a little after 11.52, with which we already dealt): Mart. 11.56.

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

Because you, Stoic Chaeremon, so much praise death, do you want me to admire and look up to your mind? 'Tis a jug with a broken handle that creates this virtue of yours, and a melancholy hearth chill with no fire, and a beggar's rug, and bugs and the framework of a bare truckle-bed, and a short toga, your one covering night and day alike. Oh, what a great man you are, who can do without dregs of red vinegar and straw and black bread!

28 Kay 1985, 141–143, analyzes the rich literary background of this satire against poverty, not only in Catullus and epigrammatic poetry, but also in comedy and the genre of satire.

> Come, imagine your pillow swells with Leuconian wool, and that close-napped purple binds your couches, and a boy waits upon you who, while he mixed the Caecuban yesterday, distracted your guests with his rosy lips! Oh, how you will long to live Nestor's years thrice over, and wish to lose no moment of any day! In narrow means 'tis easy to despise life: he acts the strong man who is wretched and can endure.

Chaeremon is a wise 'cynical-stoic', a typical character in Martial's poetry who often mocks such falsely severe *contemptores vitae*. The poem is perfectly divided into two mirror-patterned halves: 1–2 + 3–8 + 9–14 + 15–16.[29] The usual 'catalogue of miseries' at ll. 3–8 reproduces many themes and *iuncturae* we have already enucleated: the *urceus* with *fracta ansa* seems to be a kind of substitute of the *curtus calyx* at 1.92 (see also 11.32); after the inevitable *ignis* at l. 4, we once again meet with the *teges* (see 11.32.2) and the omnipresent *cimex*; at l. 5 the final idiom is almost identical to the second hemistich of 1.92.5 (*et nudi sponda grabati*);[30] the *toga brevis* is also present, as in 1.92.7–8. Original features are the *faex* at l. 7 and the *panis niger*, not so attractive a meal for Chaeremon (it is noteworthy that, in the opinion of some commentators, Catul. 23.4 alludes to the *panis lapidosus*).[31]

Links between 11.32 and 11.56 are manifest to Martial's reader, and the name itself of the *miser* in 11.32 (Nestor) cannot be random. In Book XI this name is present only in 32 and 56. In 11.32 it is magnificently incongruous: it is the name of a king adopted by someone homeless.[32] In 11.56 it returns as an antonomasia of longevity (and this is the most common use of the name in Martial),[33] but the reader cannot but think of the Nestor of 11.32, given the strong link that exists between these two poems.[34] The characters of Nestor and Chaeremon are closely related. They suggest two models of 'sobriety' which are, so to speak, shown to be mocked and 'discarded', in the network of cultural, literary, and moral paradigms presented to the reader in book XI. The impression is that

29 See Lorenz 2002, 19 n. 67.

30 The term *grabatus* (a popular Graecism which occurs in poetry only in satire and epigram, see Lucil. 251 Marx; Fur. Bib. 5 Mor.= Blänsd. = Courtn.; Catul. 10.22, cf. Ernout / Meillet 1959[4], 279) appears in Martial only in 1.92.5, 11.56.5, 12.32.11 (imitations of Catul. 23) as well as in 6.39.4 and in 4.53.5 (this last poem, as 11.56, deals with the motif of the ragged 'cynical' wise).

31 See Ellis 1889[2], 60 f.

32 See Kay 1985 *ad loc.:* "The point is that the name (i. e. Nestor) evokes a king, not a beggar"; see also Marsilio 2008, 923.

33 See Vallat 2008, 281 f.

34 As concerns the name of Chaeremon, Kay 1985 *ad loc.* argues that it is connected *kat'antiphrasin* to *chairein*, but see Vallat, 2008, 120. An allusion to Chaeremon, teacher of Nero, is also problematic: see, after Friedländer 1886 II, 195, Kay 1985, 192.

the destitute, miserable Nestor and the philosopher, the *Graeculus* Chaeremon, work as a kind of counterparts of the great Roman Emperor, Nerva. The latter is praised at 11.5, at the beginning of the book:

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

As great is thy reverence for right and justice, Caesar, as was Numa's, but Numa was poor. 'Tis a hard task this, not to sacrifice manners to wealth, and, though thou hast surpassed many a Croesus, to be a Numa. Were our sires of old, mighty names, to return, were it allowed to empty the Elysian grove, to thee Camillus, liberty's unconquered champion, will pay his court, gold at thy giving will Fabricius accept, in thee as captain will Brutus be glad, to thee bloody Sulla will resign his power when he shall seek to lay it down; and thee the Great Captain, allied with Caesar, only a private citizen, will love, and Crassus will bestow on thee all his wealth. Cato, too, himself, were he called back to return from the nether shades of Dis, will be Caesar's partizan.

Nerva is endowed with the same virtues of Numa: but Numa was a *pauper*, while Nerva is so wise that he manages to have severe *mores* while enjoying the *opes* of many Croesuses (ll. 3–4). The wisdom of Nerva is the exact opposite of that of Chaeremon: it is not the ostentation of a ragged misery that pretends to despise comforts; it is rather a way to exploit wealth and power so as not to undermine virtue, sense of justice, and sobriety. There is a kind of antithesis (at a significant remove within Book XI) between the two gnomic sentences that characterize Nerva and Chaeremon: 11.5.3 f. *ardua res haec est, opibus non tradere mores* / *et, cum tot Croesos viceris, esse Numam*; 11.56.15 f. *rebus in angustis facile est contemnere vitam:* / *fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest*.[35] Nerva's virtue, unlike

35 The idiom *ardua res haec est* is nearly identical in 7.28.9 (see Kay 1985, 69). In 11.5.3 the *gravitas* is still sober: celebratory tones rise with the double antonomasia in the next verse. On the other hand, 11.56.14 *rebus in angustis* eqs. seems to propose a malicious reading of Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.21 f. *rebus angustis animosus atque* / *fortis adpare* (see also Kay 1985, 194).

that of Chaeremon, has much to do with Roman *mores*, as indicated by the long series of exempla drawn from history at ll. 5–14.[36] The model that comes out, on the other hand, has nothing to do with the miserable 'pauperism' of Nestor, who wants to be part of the Roman *populus* without having the basic requirement: *paupertas*. Numa, at least, was poor, something that Nestor cannot possibly be while arrogating to himself this right (cf. 11.32.5 f. *adfectas, Nestor, dici atque videri* / *pauper*). Affectation, a feature that connects Chaeremon and Nestor, is opposed to *simplicitas*, 'sincerity', and the *libertas* which allows the sensual joy of the Saturnalia, which Nerva represents in another 'programmatic' epigram, 11.2.5 f.: *clamant ecce mei 'Io Saturnalia' versus:* / *et licet et sub te praeside, Nerva, libet*, 'Look, my verses shout "Hurrah for the Saturnalia!" Under your rule, Nerva, it's allowed, and it's our pleasure'.[37]

11.15 is even more significant, for its references to 11.5:

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

I have writings that Cato's wife and that grim Sabine dames might read; I wish this little book to laugh from end to end, and be naughtier than all my little books. Let it be drenched in wine and not ashamed to be stained with rich Cosmian unguents; let it play with the boys, love the girls, and in no roundabout phrase speak of that wherefrom we are born, the parent of all, which hallowed Numa called by its own name. Yet remember that

36 Kay 1985, 68, correctly argues that the general tone of the poem is strongly influenced by the 'Republican' ideals and imagery that dominated in the first times of the reign of Nerva and Traianus. Further information on this topic is to be found in Leberl 2004, 351 f. On the paradox of *Cato Caesarianus*, see Rosati 2006, 51.

37 Saturnalian themes and Catullan allusions are also present in 11.6, a much discussed poem, particularly with regard to the idiom *passerem Catulli:* see, after Kay 1985, 71–76, at least Swann 1998, 55 f.; Obermayer 1998, 72 f.; Williams 2002, 166–168; Hinds 2007, 114 f. (123 about Mart. 11.2). In general, on the importance of the Catullan theme of *basia* in Martial, see also Grewing 1996, 341–354.

these verses are of the Saturnalia, Apollinaris: this little book does not express my own morals.

Numa 'the wise', the model for Nerva's *sapientia* at 11.5, used to call the *mentula* by its name. Cato's wife and Sabine ladies may not read the new *libellus* (we have to recall that Cato is another model of austere *Romanitas*, present both in 11.2.1 and in 11.5.14): other *chartae* of Martial are more suitable for them (but, regarding this feminine modesty, the same malice of another poem by Martial, 3.68, seems intended here).[38] At the end of 11.5, the *sphragis* is given by one of the many allusions (like Mart. 1.35) to Catul. 16.5 f. *nam castum esse decet pium poetam | ipsum, versiculos nihil necesse est.*[39] In short, the pattern traced by the initial epigrams of Book XI seems quite consistent in all its elements:[40] genuine sincerity is found in both Nerva and in his *alter ego* Numa; spiciness and *lusus Saturnalicius* are the most authentic legacy of the Roman world (see also 11.20, with full citation of a biting epigram of Augustus).[41] Scattered over the course of the *liber* (11.32 and 11.56), there comprise two counter-exempla of negative 'poverty', whose paradox is to be, in both cases, ridiculous and ostentatious. On the other hand (once again paradoxically), Nerva, the Saturnalia which he presides, and Martial's *libellus* itself (which goes around *pingui sordidus … Cosmiano*, 11.15.6) are honest and truthful, rich and pleasure-seeking, but not in contradiction with the eternal pattern of Roman *mores:* the compliance of Cato and Numa (11.5 and 11.15) with the *princeps* and with the frivolous opulence of the Saturnalia unmasks the mock severity of Chaeremon in 11.56. In order to conjure this complex web of intratextual references, the Catullan paradigm is constantly taken into consideration: in particular, the 'parallel' imitations of Catul. 23 in Mart. 11.32 and 11.56 help to 'build' the book, providing the reader with important landmarks for creating a path throughout the *liber*. In perfect consistency with these literary strategies, two new human *typi* are added to the 'vicious' characters depicted in Mart. 1.32 and 1.77: the destitute who boasts of being a *pauper*, and the disdainful philosopher *à la grecque*.

38 On Mart. 11.15 and the programmatic 'return of *mentula*' in Book XI, see, after Kay 1985, 98–100, at least Williams 2002, 165 f.; Hinds 2007, 123.

39 See now Morelli forthcoming a and forthcoming b.

40 In general, the initial sequence of the poems (from 11,1 to 21) and the importance of Saturnalian issues are well analyzed by Citroni 1988, 29–31; Merli 1993, 252 f. and 1998, 154; Scherf 2001, 56–58.

41 Mattiacci 2016.

The last essay of this large production of literary types, based on the imitation of the same Catullan model, is given by Mart. 12.32:[42]

O Iuliarum dedecus Kalendarum,
vidi, Vacerra, sarcinas tuas, vidi;
quas non retentas pensione pro bima
portabat uxor rufa crinibus septem
et cum sorore cana mater ingenti.
Furias putavi nocte Ditis emersas.
Has tu priores frigore et fame siccus
et non recenti pallidus magis buxo
Irus tuorum temporum sequebaris.
Migrare clivom crederes Aricinum.
Ibat tripes grabatus et bipes mensa,
et cum lucerna corneoque cratere
matella curto rupta latere meiebat;
foco virenti suberat amphorae cervix;
fuisse gerres aut inutiles maenas
odor inpudicus urcei fatebatur,
qualis marinae vix sit aura piscinae.
Nec quadra derat casei Tolosatis,
quadrima nigri nec corona pulei
calvaeque restes alioque cepisque,
nec plena turpi matris olla resina,
Summemmianae qua pilantur uxores.
Quid quaeris aedes vilicosque derides,
habitare gratis, o Vacerra, cum possis?
Haec sarcinarum pompa convenit ponti.

O you disgrace of July's Kalends, I have seen your traps, Vacerra, I have seen them, the lot that was not distrained upon for two years' rent, and which your wife carried, red-headed with her seven curls, and your white-headed mother, together with your hulking sister. Furies were they, methought, emerged from the night of Dis! These two ladies in front, you, parched with cold and hunger, and paler than faded boxwood, the Irus of your day, followed: you would have thought Aricia's hill was shifting! There went along a three-legged truckle-bed and a two-legged table, and, alongside a lantern and bowl of cornel, a cracked chamberpot was making water through its broken side; the neck of a flagon was lying under a brazier green with verdigris; that there were salted gudgeons, too, or worthless

42 On the relationship between Mart. 12.32 and Catul. 23, see now Marsilio 2008, who makes interesting remarks (see also below, n. 48 and 52), although it is probably too much to say that there is a 'rivalry' between Martial's *ego* and Vacerra exactly as it happens between Furius and Catullus in Catul. 23 (it seems unnecessary to suppose that Vacerra is attacked as lacking in literary skill or because *invenustus* in literary tastes, see Marsilio 2008, 923 and 929; in addition, in Martial's poem another key motif is totally missing, viz. the erotic rivalry between *Catullus* and Furius).

> sprats, the obscene stench of a jug confessed – such a stench as a whiff of a marine fish-pond would scarcely equal. Nor was there wanting a section of Tolosan cheese, nor a four-year-old chaplet of black pennyroyal, and ropes shorn of their garlic and onions, nor your mother's pot full of foul resin, the depilatory of dames under the walls. Why do you look for a house and scoff at rent-collectors when you can lodge for nothing, o Vacerra? This procession of your traps befits Beggars' bridge.

The theme is that of the paradoxical *pompa* of the poor. Vacerra spreads out his meager possessions, accompanied in a sad procession by the disheveled women of his family (*uxor*, *soror* and *mater*). The constant reference to Catul. 23 is revealed by several localized details (Vacerra brings his family with him, he is *frigore et fame siccus*, l. 7, as Furius is in Catul. 23.12–14;[43] he carries a poor stove for his *focus*, l. 14).[44] Compared to Catullus, Martial's poem plays in antiphrasis. Vacerra, as opposed to Furius, is pale and not in good health (there is probably also a reference to the typical color of the Gauls)[45] in Mart. 12.32.8: the *iunctura* is similar to Ov. *Met*. 4.134 f. *oraque buxo* / *pallidiora gerens* (Thisbe looks at the blood-stained soil and pales terrified before discovering the tragic destiny of her beloved Pyramus; see also *Met*. 11.417 f., about Alcyone, and then *Priap*. 32.2; see also Apul *Met*. 1.19; 9.30), but perhaps there is also the influence of some Catullan characters such as the dude from Pisaurum, in all probability a penniless starving like Furius, who courts Iuventius (Catul. 81.4 *inaurata pallidior statua*).[46] In general, it is the issue of extreme indigence, not that of the 'health paradox', that has most deeply interested Martial: after the first book, he never again sets in relation the two themes (not even 'at a distance', within the same *liber*). Martial clearly favored the thematic axis (as in Book XI) which better fits the compositional strategies of his book.[47] The poet follows suggestions, imagery, and vocabulary he has himself gradually built up and consolidated in the treatment of the topic: now this set of features is superimposed on the original Catullan

43 See already Friedländer 1886 II, 237.

44 In this regard cf. Watson 2004, 315 f. and n. 15.

45 See Watson / Watson 2003 *ad loc*., and Watson 2004, 321. The 'Gallic' characterization of Vacerra and his family is given by the *cognomen* (see Watson 2004, 320, although an Etruscan origin is also possible: Ernout / Meillet 1959[4], 710; on the name Vacerra see also Vallat 2008, 503 f.) and by some typical somatic features: the wife is *rufa* (v. 4), the sister is *ingens* (v. 5).

46 On the 'whiteness' of the lover in Catullus, cf. Morelli 2007, 539.

47 This difference seems a little neglected in Marsilio 2008, especially 929 f. In Book XI as well as in Book XII, though in different ways, Martial insists on the distinction between poverty (with dignity, freed from need) and indigence. The Catullan, mocking *makarismos* of the 'dry constitution' loses its motive, and the thinness of arid Vacerra regains its proper meaning (this is also a 'challenge' for the reader: he has to recall the Catullan background and to appreciate the different treatment of the motif in Martial).

model and seems to be almost one and the same thing with it. We meet once again with the *grabatus* (l. 11) and the *curtus* tableware (in this case, the humble *matella*, l. 13).[48] The pattern is shaped in such a way as to become a parody. Vacerra's *pompa* (l. 25) is not what the word suggests: there is nothing of Martial's sacred processions (see e. g. 8.78.2; however, the women-*Furiae* give the scene lugubrious *colores*) and the miserable parade is far from the noisy pomp of the rich landowner who goes from the city to the country (a theme which is comically dealt with by in Mart. 3.47).[49] The term *pompa* occurs inside the book only here and at 62.9, and the contrast could not be more marked. In 12.62.9 (*Ausonio similis tibi pompa macello*, 'an array like an Ausonian market') there is the opulent pomp of Priscus, a powerful Romanized patron who came back to Spain; in 12.32.25, there is the miserable 'procession' of Vacerra, probably a stranger in Rome.[50] In general, Priscus brings with him to Spain a wealth and an affluence that are worthy of Rome.

In 12.32, on the other hand, even items that can recall the topic of the simple, rural, *parva casa*, are treated with a clear intent to insult.[51] This epigram manages to display the overall tension which permeates the whole book, involving urban, rural and 'Spanish' themes. What in the country might be considered a sign of an ancient and respectable *simplicita*s, in Rome becomes a sign of humiliating lack of resources (and Vacerra is forced to brag with the *vilicus* renting townhouses, l. 23, as if he had resources enough to live in the city). Especially if one accepts the interpretation of Lindsay Watson, who argues that Vacerra is a Celtic immigrant living on the margins of Rome's urban life, there are some interesting resonances between 12.32 and the context in which it is inserted.[52] Also in Book XII the biting mockery on indigence finds its space: but the

48 The focus is on the poverty of the groceries that Vacerra brings with him (ll. 15–20: see Bowie 1988, 170 f.): Marsilio 2008, 927 is right in observing that the list of food recalls *in opponendo* many scenes of Martial's banquets, in particular those related to the theme of the poor but decent dinner, cheered by friends (see once again 11.52).

49 See Morelli 2008a, 36 f. The paradox of the situation is that it might be believed that Vacerra is migrating to Rome from the most miserable country (even from the *clivus Aricinus* of the beggars, see l. 10), while he was evicted from an urban home: it is almost an exile in Rome... On Vacerra as a hypostasis of the beggar Irus, see Vallat 2008, 202 f.

50 See Watson 2004, above, in the text.

51 See Watson / Watson 2003 *ad loc.*; Watson 2004, 317.

52 Watson 2004, 323, identifies a contrast with the previous 12.31, the famous epigram of Martial on his Spanish *buen retiro* (and certainly the condition of the *ego* in this poem, a happy Roman *Hispaniensis* in the quiet Spanish province, could not be more different from that of Vacerra, a Gallus transplanted in the *Urbs* and forced to the margins of society: on this subject, see also Marsilio 2008, 926). Anyway, more generally 12.32 fully fits into the dynamics 'Rome/rural

topic is set in a dynamic relationship with other issues and it finds a new sense throughout the *liber*. There is a redefinition of wealth and poverty, which are relative values, established in constant confrontation among different geographic and social 'spaces': center and margins, *Urbs*, *rus*, Spain. The ancient motif of rustic simplicity is recalled in the course of the book just to draw a sharp contrast between urban, uppish poverty and non-showy richness in the *rus*, and often in Spain.

We should probably better reconsider the problem of the 'authorial' arrangement of Book XII,[53] which – like its *fratres* – is built on sophisticated structural strategies. The author makes reference to motifs and vocabulary he himself has imposed in the Roman cultural space, appealing to a shared literary memory (self-allusive practices are highly probable, as he is now a consolidated *auctor*) and to the strength of an epigrammatic model, Catullus 23: Mart.12.32 is the last 'verification' of its large productivity.

world/Spain' that characterizes the entire book: after Merli 2006b, 341–344, interesting ideas in this regard are in Rimell 2008, 193–199. Just think of the contrast between the squalor of belongings and furnishings available to Vacerra and the opulent sloppiness that characterizes rural residence and the Spanish *ego* in 12.18 (see in particular l. 18).

53 I limit myself to referring to the recent *status quaestionis* in Craca 2011.

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