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## ANTULLA’S TOMB AND MARTIAL’S: POETIC CLOSURE IN BOOK 1

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*Abstract:* The final seven epigrams of Martial’s Book 1 form a subtle but important closural sequence (epigrams 1.112-1.118 inclusive). Despite their great *variatio* of topics, the seven epigrams are linked through concerns about the boundary between life and death, the integrity of a monument, and the theme of *dignus legi*, or what makes someone “worthy of being read.” Through a series of close readings, this article argues for the coherence of this sequence on formal, thematic, and verbal grounds. The sequence is centered on a pair of epigrams on the *kepo-taphion* or tomb-garden of a young girl named Antulla (1.114 and 1.116). The function of this closural sequence is both formal, to bring closure to a disparate collection of epigrams, and thematic, to reprise themes from the mock-epitaph with which Martial opens book 1 (1.1).

*Keywords:* Martial, epigram, closure, *fama*, poetry book, Antulla, tomb, epitaph, naming.

A book of epigrams, especially one with a *variatio* of subject matter as dramatic as that of Book 1 of Martial, can appear to be of arbitrary length and arrangement. The author or editor of a given epigram book uses *variatio* of tone, theme, *et cetera* to prevent boredom over the course of a collection of a hundred or more epigrams, and techniques of unification such as overarching subject matter and self-referential opening and closing sequences to give the book coherence if not architecture. The editors and authors of Hellenistic epigram collections, as observed by Kathryn Gutzwiller, use a single topic to unify a given book.<sup>1</sup> Martial, although he follows the principle of a single topic to unify his *Liber de spectaculis* and his two Saturnalian gift-tag books (Books 13 and 14), eschews a single topic in favor of extreme *variatio* in his twelve heterogeneous books, in which the reader finds *variatio* not just of tone, meter, length, and addressee, but also of subject matter. Martial uses the very *variatio* that could work against artistic unity and, instead, exploits this *variatio* to create finely crafted substructures that bring closure, and thereby formal coherence, to his Book 1.

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<sup>1</sup> K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*. Berkeley 1998, 9-11 and 227-322. I thank Elizabeth McCahill, Stephanie Nelson, and Zsuzsa Várhelyi for advice and encouragement on this project. All flaws that remain are my own.

Such a *variatio* of topic characterizes the last seven epigrams of Book 1 (viz., epigrams 1.112-1.118 inclusive): patronage, poetry, sepulchral commemoration, erotic boasting, booksellers, and readers. These epigrams form a carefully crafted symmetrical arrangement that – despite the apparent heterogeneity of theme – in fact is, itself, internally coherent both formally and thematically. I disagree, therefore, with readers such as Johannes Scherf who argue that the closural sequences of Martial’s books are “weniger kohärent” than the opening sequences; I maintain that the closural sequence of Book 1, at least, is subtle but, upon close inspection, very coherent.<sup>2</sup> All seven epigrams, despite appearances, have to do in some way with stages of life or with disproportionately hastening or postponing the boundary between life and death. In addition, these epigrams, collectively, play with the tension between a linear journey of indeterminate length and the fixed, integral monuments, and between the busy, bustling, quotidian city and the tranquil, timeless countryside. The placement of this symmetrical sequence at the very end of Book 1 thematizes the end of the book: the event of death is a figure for the end of the book, and the image of a tomb monument is a figure for the entire book.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, this seven-epigram sequence formally enacts closure through the subtle but strong symmetrical and linear structures that unify it and are coterminous with the end of the book. All of these thematic and formal characteristics, not consistent but coherent, combine to highlight the theme of *dignus legi*, the question of what makes someone – the patron, the deceased person, or the poet himself – “worthy of being read.”

The symmetry of the seven-epigram closural sequence depends upon a closely matched pair of poignant sepulchral epigrams. These two epigrams, both on the *kepotaphion* or tomb-garden of a young, unmarried woman named Antulla, form a strong “diptych” with one another,<sup>4</sup> each being three couplets in length. They frame the middle epigram of the symmetrical sequence (1.115, erotic boasting addressed to one Procillus) and draw attention to the epigrams that frame them on either side. The centrality of the two tombstone epigrams as third and fifth in the seven-epigram sequence invites us to ask what this sequence of epigrams does for us thematically and formally.

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<sup>2</sup> J. Scherf, *Untersuchungen zur Buchgestaltung Martials*. Munich and Leipzig 2001, 34.

<sup>3</sup> For a theoretically sophisticated treatment of Martial’s book as monument, see pages 119-125 in L. Roman, *The Representation of Literary Materiality in Martial’s Epigrams*. *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001) 113-145.

<sup>4</sup> O. Thévenaz, *Flebilis lapis? Gli epigrammi funerari per Erotion in Marziale. Materiali e discussioni per l’analisi dei testi classici* 48 (2002), 167-191. On the Antulla pair as *kepotaphion* and its literary context, see A. Manzo, *La fonte greca degli epigrami sepolcrali di Marziale*. In: L. Belloni – G. Milanese and A. Porro (edd.), *Studia classica Johanni Tarditi oblata*. Milan 1995, 755-768, esp. pp. 758-759.

My style of reading is influenced by William Fitzgerald's readings of Martial, which trace the influence of a given epigram on the poems with which it is juxtaposed.<sup>5</sup> I read Book 1's closural sequence figuratively as a structure that grants Book 1 integrity as a monument, in keeping with the mock-epitaph on himself with which Martial introduces Book 1 (1.1). Not only does the closing sequence bring an end formally to Book 1, but it also reprises the themes of naming, *fama*, and the life/death boundary that are central to the concerns expressed by the speaker of epigram 1.1, which I quote here (all translations are my own):

*Hic est quem legis ille, quem requiris  
toto notus in orbe Martialis  
argutis epigrammaton libellis.  
cui, lector studiose, quod dedisti  
viventi decus atque sentienti,  
rari post cineres habent poetae.*

Here he is, the one whom you read,  
the one whom you ask for, Martial,  
known throughout the entire world  
for his witty little books of epigrams.  
Dedicated reader, the recognition which you have given him  
while he is alive and able to know it  
few poets have even after the grave.

Epigram 1.1

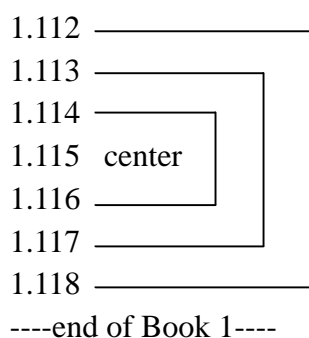
In this epigram, the programmatic opening to Book 1, Martial uses epitaphic conventions to cast the book as a monument to his own *fama* during his lifetime.<sup>6</sup> By vaunting his fame "throughout the entire world" (2), Martial takes a genre, epitaph, that is ordinarily concerned with posterity and renown throughout time and turns his use of it into a geographical conceit, thanks to the ability of his book to travel throughout the Roman empire. The themes that Martial first starts to play with in epigram 1.1 are continued, and varied, in the sequence with which Book 1 closes: where epigram 1.1 suggests the movement of the book through the world, the closing sequence suggests the movement of the reader through the book; and where epigram 1.1 plays with the idea of the author's death, the closing sequence playfully offers life and death as a figure for the experience of reading the book.

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<sup>5</sup> W. Fitzgerald, *Martial: The World of the Epigram*. Chicago 2007, 106-138.

<sup>6</sup> See M. Citroni, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton liber primus. Introduzione, testo, apparato critico e commento*. Florence 1975, 14-15.

I shall outline briefly the structure of the sequence before commenting in detail on the text of the epigrams and then sketching out some of the interpretive implications of this sequence. The sequence consists of three symmetrical, concentric pairs, which I shall describe below, emanating from a central epigram as follows:



Moving symmetrically out from the Antulla diptych (1.114 and 1.116), with its solemn, reflective tone, poignant content, and peaceful setting, the next layer, epigrams 1.113 and 1.117, or the second and sixth in the sequence, has to do with readers who express inappropriate interest in Martial's work, whether in the juvenilia that he would rather see suppressed (1.113) or in an exaggerated social connection that would result in a free copy of Martial's book (1.117). The outermost ring of the sequence, epigrams 1.112 and 1.118 or the first and seventh in the sequence, consists of two poems, each one couplet in length, that dramatize conversations and social posturing between two men, one (1.112) about the use of honorifics for a patron and the other (1.118) about the poetic taste involved in wanting more epigrams than exist in the present book.

Of these seven epigrams, two substructures stand out: the Antulla diptych (1.114 and 1.116) and the final pair on improper access to Martial's poetry (1.117 and 1.118), which is, additionally, reinforced by epigram 1.113 on Martial's juvenilia.<sup>7</sup> Given that these two substructures consist of five-sevenths of the entire sequence, the two remaining epigrams, 1.112 and 1.115, seem not to belong; 1.112, at first glance, seems to be paired with 1.118 on formal grounds only, and 1.115 is particularly jarring in tone since it places bickering about erotic rivalry between two sombre epigrams on death and grief. However, epigrams 1.112 and 1.115, seemingly incongruous, are, in fact, well integrated

<sup>7</sup> These structures have already been noted: 1.114 and 1.116 as a pair (*Citroni*, 346; *Howell*, 342), and 1.117 and 1.118 (*Citroni*, op. cit. (note 6), xxxviii; *Scherf*, op. cit. (note 2), 32; *P. Howell*, *A Commentary on Book One of the Epigrams of Martial*. London 1980).

when read in the context of the broader concerns of the sequence: the boundary between life and death, and the motif of *dignus legi*.

The sequence opens thus:

*Cum te non nossem, dominum<sup>8</sup> regemque vocabam:  
nunc bene te novi: iam mihi Priscus eris.*

When I didn't know you, I called you "lord" and "king":  
now I know you well: from now on, you'll be "Priscus"/"old fellow" to me.

Epigram 1.112

The sequence starts with a one-couplet epigram on the conventions of naming in the context of patronage. The speaker makes a play on the name of his patron (initially addressed by the honorifics *dominus* and *rex*), turning a cognomen into an impudent claim to long-standing familiarity with the higher-status addressee.

The following epigram, 1.113, addressed to a generic "reader" (*lector*, 4), takes the theme of inappropriate familiarity from epigram 1.112 and applies it to a literary, rather than social, context.

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

Whatever I played at as a youth once, and as a boy,  
and our trifles, which I myself no longer recognize,  
if you want to pass your good hours badly  
and if you bear ill-will toward your free time, reader,  
seek them from Quintus Pollius Valerianus,  
who does not allow my nuggets to perish.

Epigram 1.113

Here, Quintus Valerianus Pollius preserves and makes available the poet's juvenilia which the speaker-poet rhetorically disparages, either as a show of not wanting his mature work to be diluted by inferior poetry, or as an oblique way of drawing attention to the loyalty that his verse inspires.

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<sup>8</sup> Although I follow *Shackleton Bailey's* Teubner text when quoting Martial's Latin in general, I prefer Lindsay's punctuation for line 1.112.1 (viz., no comma after *dominum*; *W. M. Lindsay, M. V. Martialis Epigrammata*. Oxford 1902; *D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Martialis Epigrammata*. Stuttgart 1990).

The setting then shifts to a green *locus amoenus* in the following epigram, 1.114, to the first of the two epigrams on the *kepotaphion* or tomb garden of a girl named Antulla:

*Hos tibi vicinos, Faustine, Telesphorus hortos  
Faenius et breve rus udaeque prata tenet.  
condidit hic natae cineres nomenque sacravit  
quod legis Antullae, dignior ipse legi.  
ad Stygias aequum fuerat pater isset ut umbras:  
quod quia non licuit, vivat, ut ossa colat.*

Faenius Telesphorus holds these gardens next to you, Faustinus,  
and this little estate and moist meadows.  
Here he has buried the ashes of his daughter Antulla and has sanctified her name  
which you read here; he himself would more deservedly be read.  
It would have been just for the father to have gone to the Stygian shades:  
But since that was not permitted, let him live, so that he may honor her bones.  
Epigram 1.114

In this epigram, Martial draws attention to the topographical setting, the gardens next to the property of the addressee Faustinus, outside Rome (implied by “countryside”, *rus*, in line 2). The sombre tone is a contrast to the social back-and-forth of the preceding two epigrams.

The tone changes radically once again with the following epigram, 1.115, which is the center around which the rest of the symmetrical sequence pivots:

*Quaedam me cupit, – invidet, Procille! –  
loto candidior puella cycno,  
argento, nive, lilio, ligustro:  
sed quandam volo nocte nigriorem,  
formica, pice, graculo, cicada.  
iam suspendia saeva cogitabas:  
si novi bene te, Procille, vives.*

A certain girl desires me – be jealous, Procillus! –  
a girl whiter than a washed swan,  
than silver, snow, lilies, privet:  
But I want a certain girl who is darker than night,  
than an ant, pitch, grackle, cricket.  
You were just now thinking of hanging yourself:  
if I know you well, Procillus, you’ll live.  
Epigram 1.115

The speaker’s formally balanced descriptions of two women provoke in the addressee, alternately, envy as expressed through a desire to hang himself, and *Schadenfreude*, expressed through a desire to keep living.

Having passed the pivot of the symmetrical sequence, the reader now encounters the beginning of the mirror image of the first half of the sequence – here (epigram 1.116), the second of the two sepulchral epigrams on the tomb garden of Antulla, responding to epigram 1.114:

*Hoc nemus aeterno cinerum sacravit honori  
 Faenius et culti iugera pauca soli.  
 hoc tegitur cito rapta suis Antulla sepulchro,  
 hoc erit Antullae mixtus uterque parens.  
 si cupit hunc aliquis, moneo, ne speret agellum:  
 perpetuo dominis serviet iste suis.*

Faenius has consecrated this grove and these few acres  
 of tilled soil for the everlasting honor of ashes.  
 Antulla, snatched too soon from her own people, is covered by this sepulchre,  
 in this each of Antulla's parents will be mingled.  
 If someone desires this little field, I warn you, don't let him hope:  
 it will serve its masters in perpetuity.

Epigram 1.116

Like the first epigram in the Antulla pair, this commemorates Antulla, her tomb garden, and her father's grief. In addition, this epigram's speaker makes an explicit claim to protect the integrity of Antulla's tomb (5-6). Despite the change in tone from the preceding skoptic epigram, the present sepulchral epigram nevertheless continues the theme of covetousness and envy, but here it is the desire of a hypothetical third party for the "little field" (*agellum*, 5) that hosts Antulla's tomb; and the speaker's motives in drawing attention to the envy of others are noble rather than petty as in 1.115.<sup>9</sup>

Pettiness returns in the following epigram (1.117). Echoing 1.113, this epigram has to do with gaining access to Martial's poetry and with judging its worth.

*Occurris quotiens, Luperce, nobis,  
 'vis mittam puerum' subinde dicis,  
 'cui tradas epigrammaton libellum,  
 lectum quem tibi protinus remittam?'*  
*non est quod puerum, Luperce, vexes.*

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<sup>9</sup> I use the term "sepulchral epigram" in this article loosely to refer both to 1.114 (which is *about* a tomb) and 1.116 (which represents the inscription *on* the tomb); Henriksén, in his taxonomy, includes 1.114 among *sepulcralia* (specifically a *descriptio sepulcri*) and 1.116 among *epigrammata sepulcralia* proper (C. Henriksén, *Martial's Modes of Mourning. Sepulchral Epitaphs in the Epigrams*. In: R. R. Nauta – H.-J. Van Dam and J. J. L. Smolenaars (edd.), *Flavian Poetry*. Mnemosyne Supplement 270. Leiden and Boston 2006, 349-367).

*longum est, si velit ad Pirum venire,  
 et scalis habito tribus, sed altis.  
 quod quaeris proprius petas licebit.  
 Argi nempe soles subire Letum:  
 contra Caesaris est forum taberna* 10  
*scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,  
 omnis ut cito perlegas poetas.  
 illinc me pete. †nec† rogas Atrectum –  
 hoc nomen dominus gerit tabernae – :  
 de primo dabit alterove nido* 15  
*rasum pumice purpuraque cultum  
 denaris tibi quinque Martialem.  
 ‘tanti non es’ ais? sapis, Luperce.*

Every time you run into me, Lupercus,  
 you immediately say, “I want to send you a boy  
 you can give your little book of epigrams to,  
 which I’ll return as soon as I’ve read it.”  
 It’s not worth troubling your boy with, Lupercus.  
 It’s a long way, if he wants to go to Pear Street,  
 and I live up three flights of stairs, and long ones at that.  
 What you want you can find closer to home.  
 You must go by the Argiletum a lot:  
 there’s a shop opposite the Forum of Caesar  
 with signs all over its doorposts,  
 so you can read through all the poets quickly.  
 Look for me there. Ask for Atrectus<sup>10</sup> –  
 that’s the name of the guy who runs the shop –  
 and from the first or second shelf he’ll give you  
 a Martial all smoothed with pumice and  
 done up with purple for five denarii.  
 “Not a fair price,” you say? You’re a bright boy, Lupercus.  
 Epigram 1.117

The setting, in the middle of urban Rome and its crowded social negotiations,  
 contrasts sharply with the rural, natural setting of the Antulla epigrams, and the  
 language and imagery of motion through the city contrasts with the static mo-  
 nument of the Antulla epigrams.

The sequence ends with this distich (1.118) addressed to a fictional character  
 named Caedicianus:<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> I follow *Shackleton Bailey’s* conjecture of *nam* for *nec* in line 13 (op. cit. (note 8), 53 *ad* 1.117.13).

<sup>11</sup> For the purposes I take Caedicianus to be the butt of the joke in 1.118 rather than a confidante of the speaker; one may, alternatively, take Caedicianus as a confidante enjoying a joke at the expense of generic readers with tastes as described.



*Cui legisse satis non est epigrammata centum,  
nil illi satis est, Caediciane, mali.*

For one to whom a hundred epigrams are not enough,  
nothing, Caedicianus, is enough of a bad thing.

Epigram 1.118

Formally, it responds to the first epigram in the sequence (1.112), also a single couplet, and thematically it forms a close pair with the epigram immediately preceding (1.117), as both are about the value of Martial's poetry to different kinds of readers. I take Caedicianus here to be the target of the joke – the *cui* in line 1 who wants more epigrams than can fit in a book. Since this epigram coincides with the end of the book, it means that the symmetrical sequence does too, and the joke is on Caedicianus since he cannot read any more.

What unifies all of these epigrams is an interest, expressed in an astonishing variety of ways, in stages of life, proper and improper limits of life, and commemoration after death. This is obvious in the two epigrams on Antulla, the first of which expresses the sentiment that it would have been more fair (*aequum*) for Antulla's father Faenius Telesphorus to have preceded her in death (1.114.5), and the second of which expands on this *topos*, common in sepulchral inscriptions on children who die before marriage, by saying that Antulla was taken away "too soon" from her family (*cito*, 1.116.3).<sup>12</sup> Both epigrams, likewise, express a wish – one positive, one negative – that the commemoration of Antulla be preserved: in the first epigram, that Faenius himself may live so as to "honor her bones" (*ut ossa colat*, 1.114.6), and the second, that the grounds of Antulla's tomb not change ownership (*si cupit hunc aliquis, moneo, ne speret agellum*, 1.116.5).

Stages of life show up elsewhere in the sequence. Epigram 1.113, on Martial's juvenilia, is a humorous and ironic inversion of the theme in the context of literary production: Martial's youthful poetry, rather than meeting a deserved *mors immatura*, is, instead, given undeserved "life" by Valerianus, someone "who does not allow my nuggets to perish" (*per quem perire non licet meis nugis*, 1.113.6). Martial's poetic *oeuvre* is therefore described in terms of stages of his own life (*iuvenis et puer quondam*, 1.113.1). Epigram 1.117 uses language of the stages of life and death obliquely, when the character Lupercus says that he'll send a "boy" (*puerum*, 2) – referring to status, not age. Martial uses the folk etymology of his bookseller's address, Argiletum, or, when subjected to *tmesis*, "the death of Argus" (*Argi ... letum*, 9), to make a joke on the entertain-

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<sup>12</sup> The expression *cito rapta/us* occurs frequently in epitaphs to express the theme of *mors immatura* (M. Citroni [op. cit., note 6], 355). On the theme of *mors immatura*, see A. Manzo (op. cit., note 4).

ment value of the poetry one can buy there. The reading “death of Argus” suggests that Martial’s epigrams, like the stories that Mercury told Argus to put him to sleep, are boring and go on for too long.<sup>13</sup> Even epigram 1.112 participates in the language of stages of life with the cognomen of the addressee, Priscus, “original” or “ancient”, looking ahead to the cognomen of Antulla’s father, Telesphorus, “bearing the end” or “bringing completion”.<sup>14</sup>

The two poems on Antulla’s tomb garden are the literary monuments that anchor the symmetry of the seven-epigram sequence with figurative “topography” past which the reader “walks”. To appreciate the Antulla sub-sequence I take the metaphor of reader as traveler, prompted by the two instances of a monument that a reader figuratively walks by (1.114 and 1.116), and extend the metaphor imagistically to the central epigram that is bracketed by the two sepulchral epigrams. The metaphor of text as journey in Greek and Roman poetry has been well studied by Regina Höschele in a recent article for passages that explicitly invite the comparison by using imagery of traveling, paths, or topographical elements.<sup>15</sup> Knowing that ancient readers were sensitive to this sort of metaphor adds to the thematic and structural importance of the Antulla diptych and the seemingly unrelated epigram that it brackets.

The poems themselves refer to a monument that is itself set up in a private garden (*vicinos ... hortos*, 1.114.1) next to another private residence, with epigram 1.114 drawing attention to the “neighbor” (Faustinus’ property, 1) overlooking the monument in epigram 1.116. Epigram 1.114 is not, strictly speaking, an epitaph but, rather, it refers to a burial monument (*condidit ... cineres nomenque sacrauit*, 1.114.3). The sepulchral content of these two epigrams spills out beyond the particulars of the burial monument represented, and so the arrangement of these two epigrams within Book 1 offers the reader the experi-

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<sup>13</sup> I owe this point to William Fitzgerald. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.682-687 and 713-721.

<sup>14</sup> Since epigram 1.112 can be read as a skoptic epigram, it is natural to take Priscus as a fictional character (as does *M. Citroni*, op. cit. (note 6), 343 and *P. Howell*, op. cit. (note 7), 341), in which case Martial’s choice of name for his addressee is governed exclusively by artistic considerations, and the joke is that the speaker loses respect for Priscus and may lose financial patronage as he gains social familiarity with him. However, I would like to raise the possibility in passing that the Priscus in 1.112 is, in fact, a historical friend of Martial and the same Priscus addressed in 12.praef. and elsewhere (cf. 6.18, 9.77, 10.3, 12.1, 12.14, 12.92). In that case, we should read epigram 1.112 not as skoptic but as an epigram warmly celebrating the *amicitia* between Martial and Priscus that has moved from a formal patronage relationship to one based on affective ties, and Martial exploits the coincidence of Priscus’ cognomen by placing it in the context of the present sequence. The other use of the word *priscus* in Book 1 is as a common adjective in an epigram on Martial’s old friend Decianus (*quales prisca fides famaue novit anus*, 1.39.2).

<sup>15</sup> *R. Höschele*, *The Traveling Reader: Journeys through Ancient Epigram Books*. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 137 (2007) 333-369.

ence of going past several topographical elements that have to do with death.<sup>16</sup> Because they represent a monument on private property, these epigrams feel, therefore, more exclusive than the epitaphs along the public roads leading out of Rome, but by being placed among other epigrams they become available to the view of the reader “walking” through the book of epigrams.

To create a sense of place, these epitaphic epigrams use deictic markers (*hos, hoc*, highlighted by contrast with the *c-* and *qu-* sounds that open the other epigrams in the sequence) – not just as a literary device to represent the epitaph and its setting, but also as a continuation from actual stone epitaphs, which verbally draw the reader’s attention to the monument and its plot of land (cf. *culti iugera pauca soli*, 1.116.2).<sup>17</sup> Martial recreates this verdant setting with references to *hortos* (1.114.1), *rus* (1.114.2), *uda prata* (1.114.2), *nemus* (1.116.1), and *agellum* (1.116.5).<sup>18</sup> We walk past one epitaph, observe something different (sexual boasting between men), and encounter the next “tombstone.” And, after reading epigram 1.115 and its comparisons to natural life (*cicada*, 4, etc.) between the two epitaphic poems on Antulla, we may well wonder whether the grassy space between tombstones, away from the bustle of the city, might not have been used on occasion as a trysting-place. The two literary epitaphs (1.114 and 1.116) do bracket the erotic, almost lyric, opening of epigram 1.115 from the business and annoyance of urban life in epigrams 1.113 and 1.117, both of which have to do with Martial brushing off someone who is unduly interested in his verse and sending the would-be fan to find someone else from whom to get a copy.

Appropriately enough in a book obsessed with plagiarism and misuse of someone else’s poetry, the second of the two sepulchral epigrams ends with a wish, disguised as a statement, to protect the integrity of the monument and its topographical context: Antulla’s monument, and the book in which it is contained, each “will serve its master[s] in perpetuity” (*perpetuo dominis serviet*

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<sup>16</sup> A more straightforward sort of topographical mimesis found in Hellenistic epigram collections allows Martial to play as much as he does with juxtaposition and topography; Callimachus juxtaposes two straightforwardly epitaphic epigrams (on himself and his father) that should be read together (*R. Hörschle*, op. cit. [note 15] 357-358 with refs.). Martial’s innovation is not only to vary the sort of monument (neighboring property, as in 1.114, or mock epitaph completely divorced from stone, as in 1.1) but also to mingle monumental with non-monumental epigrams that confront the “wayfarer” on his page (1.115).

<sup>17</sup> The deictics, echoed by other thematic words in their respective lines: *hos ... hortos* (“these ... gardens”, 1.114.1) and *hoc nemus ... honori* (“this grove ... for [eternal] honor”, 1.116.1); the velars (*c-* and *qu-*) that open the other five epigrams: *cum* (1.112.1), *quae cumque* (1.113.1), *quaedam me cupit* (1.115.1), *occuris quotiens*, *Lupercæ* (1.117.1), *cui ... centum* (1.118.1)

<sup>18</sup> Cf. epigram 1.88, with Rimell’s excellent reading (*V. Rimell*, *Martial’s Rome: Empire and the Ideology of Epigram*. Oxford 2008, 89-93).

*iste suis*, 1.116.6).<sup>19</sup>

The natural, topographical, and sepulchral imagery that is so salient in the Antulla epigrams shows up in the resolutely urban epigram 1.117 and is echoed elsewhere throughout the rest of the sequence. The speaker gives the addressee, Lupercus, very specific topographical arguments against sending a boy to his own house and in favor of sending the slave to the bookseller Atrectus. The speaker points out that the route to the speaker's house is "long" and "up three flights of stairs, and long ones at that" (*longum est*, 6; *scalis ... tribus ... sed altis*, 7), and that Atrectus' shop itself is "closer" (*propius*, 8), by the Argiletum (9), and "opposite the forum of Caesar" (*contra Caesaris est forum taberna*, 10). The difficulty in walking faced by Lupercus' slave in 1.117 is presaged by Martial's use of a "limping" meter, choliambic, in epigram 1.113. The natural setting suggested by epigrams 1.114 and 1.116 and the natural imagery suggested by epigram 1.115 are continued in the speaker's description of his address, "Pear Street" (*ad Pirum*, 1.117.6). In addition, Atrectus' shop itself is described in terms that emphasize the movement of the book-browser through space: there are "signs all over its doorposts" (*scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis*, 11) and Lupercus is instructed to find Martial (that is, his book) "there" (*illinc*, 13). The bookshelves themselves are described in spatial terms – Atrectus will take down a copy of Martial's book "from the first or second shelf" (*de primo ... alterove nido*, 15). The word that Martial uses here for "shelf" or "cubbyhole", *nidus* or "nest", not only echoes the use of birds as comparanda for the speaker's love interests in epigram 1.115, but also suggests, by juxtaposition with the epitaphic diptych on Antulla, the dovecote-like niches of burial columbaria.<sup>20</sup>

Although the sexual content of epigram 1.115 is incongruous in its immediate context, it furnishes Martial with different subject matter – subject matter that, indeed, is characteristic of his oeuvre as a whole – with which to recombine themes and motifs from elsewhere in the seven-epigram closural sequence. But despite the sexual boasting, epigram 1.115 does not contain any primary obscenities. Its point is not sexual *lascivia* in and of itself as much as the humorous predictability of Procillus' envy. It marks the middle, formally and thematically, of the sequence. It creates a space between the two epitaphic epigrams, as discussed above, in which personal and social interact; the speaker's erotic desires are both a symptom of and trigger for competition between two

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<sup>19</sup> On various types of plagiarism in Book 1, see the cycle on the fictional plagiarist Fidentinus (1.29, 1.38, 1.52, 1.53, 1.63, 1.66, 1.72; cf. *P. Anderson*, *Martial 1.29: Appearance and Authorship*, *Rheinisches Museum* 149 (2006) 119-122.

<sup>20</sup> The birds in epigram 1.115 are the swan (*cycno*, 2) and the grackle (*graculo*, 5). On *nidus* to refer to a bookshelf, cf. 7.17.5: *hos [libellos] nido licet inseras vel imo*.

men, himself and the fictional Procillus. The name Procillus has shown up once before in Book 1, as the fictional addressee of a sympotic epigram in which he is mocked for inappropriately, and ineptly, remembering a dinner invitation that was issued over drinks and therefore not to be taken seriously (1.27); the *convivium* thus defended in epigram 1.27 can be taken as a metaphor for the bounded carnivalesque license claimed by Martial for his book of epigrams (the *lasciviam verborum veritatem* of 1. *praef.*). The natural imagery of epigram 1.115 places the epigram imagistically within the exterior, rural *locus amoenus* suggested by Antulla's garden tomb. However, the simple fact of the speaker's boasting to an addressee whose name was used earlier in a sympotic poem casts epigram 1.115 as a speech act suitable to the urban, interior occasion of a *convivium*. Epigram 1.115, although superficially jarring in its intrusion of erotic content into the otherwise decorous closing sequence of Book 1, thus ties together city and country and in the pivotal epigram of Book 1's closural sequence.

Epigram 1.115, furthermore, ties together life and death. Procillus' relationship to death and life represents petty versions of themes that recur in this sequence: the premature truncation of life and then the questionable desire to prolong it. The epigram sets up Procillus as an ironic hero in the context of this sequence for hypothetically having control over the ability to end or continue his own life, for reasons that have to do with his emotional reaction to the content of the speaker's boasting. We can take Procillus' reaction as a general figure for readers' reception of a book of poetry: Procillus chooses to stop or continue based on the feelings or opinions that the speaker's utterances produce in him, and readers can stop or continue reading based on how they feel about the epigrams that they are reading. Procillus therefore represents the reader of a book of epigrams, who can continue reading or put the book aside as suits his tastes. Such a reader is the fictional Caedicianus in the final epigram of the sequence and of the book (1.118), who, however, is foiled in his wish to keep living in the world of Book 1 or to keep walking past the epigram-monuments of Book 1 by the simple, incontrovertible truth that Book 1 ends and there are, therefore, no more epigrams. Caedicianus threatens the integrity of Book 1 not by plagiarism or adulteration but by resisting closure.

As a monument, the tomb – or book, as emblemized by the mock-epitaph 1.1 – needs to last and continue to be recognized as a monument in order to preserve someone's name and *fama* for others, that is, for posterity and, as Martial boasts in epigram 1.1, his contemporary world-wide audience. The Antulla epigrams illustrate the fundamental association of epitaphs proper with naming. In the first epigram of the pair, Faenius Telesphorus “has sanctified the name” of his daughter (*nomenque sacrauit*, 1.114.3). In the second epigram, although

the word *nomen* itself is absent, Antulla is named not once but twice (1.116.3-4). Two of the non-sepulchral epigrams make a point of naming characters, too. In 1.117 the speaker makes a point of naming his bookseller: “Ask for Atrectus – / that’s the name (*nomen*) of the guy who runs the shop” (1.117.13-14). In 1.112, the joke turns on the speaker’s move from calling the addressee by title to calling him by his personal name, Priscus, and the epigram’s interest in naming revivifies the apparent etymology of the noun thus implied. Linguistically speaking, the historical etymology of *nomen* is from a Proto-Indo-European root meaning “name” that is cognate with, for example, Greek ὄνομα.<sup>21</sup> But by juxtaposition with the verb “I know” *no-vi* (1.112.2, 1.113.2, and 1.115.7, discussed below), the explicit interest in naming invites a reader to reanalyze the implied noun *nomen* as if it were formed from the root “know” plus an instrumental suffix (*\*no-men*, \**“a means of knowing”*).<sup>22</sup>

The closing sequence of Book 1 keeps returning to the question of *whether* someone is worthy of being commemorated and named. The first of the Antulla epigrams implies – as it has to – that Antulla is worthy of having her name read, and ironically compounds the pathos of her death by saying that her father, as a member of the older generation, “would more deservedly be read” (*dignior ipse legi*, 1.114.4): that is, it should be his name on the tombstone rather than his daughter’s. The three epigrams on Martial’s own poetry also deal with the question of whether Martial himself, as represented by his book of epigrams, is *dignus legi*. The punch line of epigram 1.117 is a self-deprecatory joke by the speaker pretending to agree that the bookseller’s asking price is “Not a fair price” (literally, “You’re not worth that much,” “*Tanti non es*,” 1.117.18). In a similar vein, the following epigram, 1.118, ends with a self-deprecatory comment ostensibly at the expense of the speaker’s poetry (Martial *in propria persona*) but actually serving to make fun of the addressee’s (Caedicianus’) questionable taste. Epigram 1.113 uses language of time and leisure rather than money (*bonas ... horas*, 3; *otio*, 4) for yet another example of self-deprecatory humor at the expense not only of Martial’s own juvenilia but also of Quintus Pollius Valerianus’ literary judgment. This last epigram – the earliest in sequence of the three discussed here – introduces the theme of *dignus legi*, applied to literary worth, but hints, too, at its use as an explicitly epitaphic theme in the Antulla epigrams, by the figurative use of the verb *perire* in the last line: Pollius does not allow Martial’s poetic trifles “to perish” (1.113.6).

<sup>21</sup> A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*. Paris 2001, 443-444.

<sup>22</sup> *si bene te novi* (“if I know you well”, 1.112.2); *quas nec ipse iam novi* (“which I myself no longer recognize”, 1.113.2); *si novi bene te* (“if I know you well”, 1.115.7).

The verb *perire* here, at the end of epigram 1.113, looks ahead not only thematically to the suggestion of burial columbaria with Martial's use of the word *nidus* in 1.117 ("niche" or "nest", 15), but also verbally to the use of the *per*-prefix in another context pertaining to the act of reading. In Atrectus' bookshop, the "poets" – labels or *tituli* that mark the books available inside for purchase – are displayed on the doorposts for advertising purposes. The speaker suggests to Lupercus that he may "read all the way through" the labels thus displayed (*perlegas*, 12). In the context of the sepulchral epigrams with which epigram 1.117 is juxtaposed, the image of skimming through names displayed publicly suggests the activity of a passer-by perusing the names on tombstones lining one of the many roads leading out of Rome.

The verb *perire* is almost never found without some association with literal or figurative death; synchronically, in the Latin usage of Martial's day, the sense of the end predominates. But in the context of the end of Book 1, which suggests the path the reader takes past Antulla's tomb and up to Pear Street and along the Argiletum in Rome, Martial revivifies the etymological sense of *perire*, "to go all the way through", emphasizing the journey rather than the destination, when he mocks Caedicianus in epigram 1.118 for wanting to read his book *too* much "all the way through", overshooting the end.

Verbal cues, converging in epigram 1.115, emphasize the journey-like "going through" of the first half or "upward slope" of this sequence. Variations of the word *novi* ("I know [you]") tie together 1.112, 1.113, and 1.115. The "knowledge" thus represented consists of social intimacy and access (increasing over time in 1.112, decreasing in 1.113) or, in the case of 1.115, knowledge of character. The theme and vocabulary of *invidia*, "jealousy," is picked up in the context of vocative addresses in both 1.113 and 1.115.<sup>23</sup> Forms of *vivere*, "to live," ironically tie together 1.114 and 1.115.<sup>24</sup> All three echoed words, thematically significant, are phonetically connected with the repetition of the syllable *vi* (*novi*, *invidi*, *vivat*).

These thematically significant verbal cues, in combination with the commemorative, epitaph-like function of Book 1, moreover, explain why epigram 1.112 is, in fact, a thematically appropriate opening epigram for the seven-epigram closing sequence. Here for the sake of argument I assume that the Priscus of 1.112 is a historical *amicus* rather than just a fictional target of skoptic epigram. On the surface, epigram 1.112 is about the lower-status speaker taking liberties with his "lord and master" (*dominum regemque*, 1) by abandoning the

<sup>23</sup> "if ... you hold a grudge against your free time" (*si .../... invidetis otio tuo, lector*, 1.113.4); "be envious, Procillus" (*invidet, Procille!*, 1.115.1).

<sup>24</sup> *vivat*, "let him live" (1.114.6); *vives*, "you will live" (1.115.7).

honorific when addressing his patron. However, Martial, as poet, is able to grant Priscus – whether friend or patron – true commemoration by using his proper name, Priscus, instead of a generic honorific, and denies ephemeral *decus* in favor of a more lasting form of recognition that deems him *dignus legi* in this book of epigrams.

Similarly, epigram 1.115, at first lyrical but then a rude intrusion between the two sombre epigrams on Antulla's tomb, highlights by contrast the second Antulla epigram. Its erotic boasting provides a point of comic relief between the two sepulchral epigrams and serves as a formal pivot between the two halves of the sequence. Epigram 1.115 also serves an important thematic function. The addressee Procillus fantasizes about having control over the boundary between life and death. But the control does not truly belong to Procillus, but rather to the speaker, whose own actions provoke Procillus to want to hang himself out of envy or continue living out of *Schadenfreude*. In the context of Book 1 we may see the speaker of 1.115 as a figure for the poet, and Procillus as a figure for the reader, in that the relationship between the two of them plays out a tension between forward momentum and coming to a stop, the tension between finishing with one epigram or going on to read more.

The final seven epigrams of Book 1, therefore, form a much-needed closural sequence. On the one hand, this closural sequence, through explicit comment in the joke addressed to Caedicianus and the seemingly arbitrary arrangement and number of the epigrams, acknowledges the unboundedness of a book of epigrams. On the other hand, this seven-epigram sequence also prepares the reader for closure, and takes a set of epigrams on apparently disparate topics and arranges them thematically and formally to create an end for the book of epigrams. By bringing the book of epigrams to an end it marks the integrity of the book of epigrams – “here is the boundary,” Martial implies, despite Caedicianus' best efforts. The closural sequence marks the collection *as* a book of epigrams, rather than an arbitrary aggregation of discrete units. This closure causes the entire book of epigrams itself, because of its subtle formal integrity, to serve as a monument in its own right. Martial, like Antulla or Priscus, is *dignus legi*, worthy of being read, in a text that both monumentalizes him for posterity and places him and his reader amidst the life of city and country.