This volume is the first holistic investigation of Roman literature and literary culture under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138). With case studies from Frontinus, Juvenal, Martial, Pliny the Younger, Plutarch, Quintilian, Suetonius and Tacitus among others, the eighteen chapters offer not just innovative readings of literary (and some 'less literary') texts, but a collaborative enquiry into the networks and culture in which they are embedded. The book brings together established and novel methodologies to explore the connections, conversations and silences between these texts and their authors, both on and off the page. The scholarly dialogues that result not only shed fresh light on the dynamics of literary production and consumption in the 'High Roman Empire', but offer new provocations to students of intertextuality and interdiscursivity across classical literature. How can and should we read textual interactions in their social, literary and cultural contexts?

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**Figure**

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This volume arises out of a research project, 'Literary Interactions under Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian', directed by Alice König and based at St Andrews since 2011. We explain more about it in the Introduction; here we have the pleasant task of recording some debts of gratitude, starting with the several institutes and funding bodies which have supported the project so far: the British Academy/Leverhulme Small Research Grants Scheme, the Institute of Classical Studies, the School of Classics (University of St Andrews), Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and Exeter University; the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung, the Heinrich Schliemann-Institut für Altertumswissenschaften (University of Rostock) and the Rostocker Freunde der Altertumswissenschaften; and the Peter Paul Career Development Professorship (Boston University).

Now to people: several dozen scholars have taken part in the project so far, delivering and responding to workshop and conference papers and posting working papers online. Our warm thanks to all of these for contributing their expertise and energy, and building such rich, productive and (we trust) unfinished dialogues together. We are especially grateful to our seventeen fellow-contributors to this volume, both for their individual work and for joining enthusiastically in the spirit of communal endeavour that we hoped would mark it: our many interactions, literary and personal, have been rewarding indeed. For logistical support at the St Andrews and Rostock conferences in which this volume finds its origins, we thank Margaret Goudie, Josephine Kliebe and Anke Wegner; and we fondly recall the warm hospitality and unstinting support of Christiane Reitz. Sincere thanks too to Michael Sharp and his team at Cambridge University Press, to Ana Kotarcic for her efficient editorial work and to James Uden for suggesting the cover illustration. Finally, for
Preface

ready advice and unending patience, we thank Jason König and Michael Squire.

ARK and CLW, 31.1.17

PS John Henderson didn’t know we would dedicate this volume to him when he agreed to contribute to it. It’s a small but heartfelt token of thanks for many hours, and many years, of support as supervisor, mentor and friend.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for ancient authors and titles follow LSJ, OLD or other standard conventions; those for journals are adapted from L'Année philologique.

AE  L'Année épigraphique, Paris 1888-.
ANRW  Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin 1972-.
CIL  Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1863-.
Coll. Leg.  Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum.
MAMA  Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqna, Manchester and London 1928-.
SEG  Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum, Amsterdam and Leiden 1923-.
TAM  Tituli Asiae Minoris, Vienna and Bonn 1901-.
TLL  Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, Leipzig 1900-.
Poet and Epistolographer: Intertextuality and Self-Representation

Pictures are 'a direct shot into the brain'.¹ In discursive terms, their message is an interplay of intellect and sensory perception. Such is the case in a series of repeatedly shifting portraits of the prominent senator L. Domitius Apollinaris. Martial, a knight from the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, produced satirical snapshots of social networking with his patron Apollinaris. Pliny the Younger, a senator from northern Italy, was an 'engaged observer' of such relationships and the author of metadiscursive prose epistles to and about Apollinaris. In the interplay of intertextual discourse between these different genres, the character sketches of Apollinaris should be understood not as depictions of an empirical reality, but as self-conscious reflections of the ways in which their authors identify themselves and the world around them. In his interactions with Martial's poems and with Domitius Apollinaris as protagonist, using visions of the underworld as figures for the political atmosphere in Rome and competing to visualise the most beautiful locus amoenus,! Pliny developed subtle performative strategies and ideas to reinvent himself as litterateur and politician. This chapter, then, is about some of the ways in which literary and social (or socio-literary) interactions of this triangular relationship impact dynamically on each other, on and off the page: contrary to a common assumption—and of particular interest in times of regime change—they not only distort reality, but also create it.

The Focus of Networks: Domitius Apollinaris, Martial and Pliny the Younger

Our texts are silent on the protagonist's career,² but when studied in conjunction with new inscriptions they offer a kaleidoscope of insights into the networks of which he formed a part. A family statue gallery from the Letoon in Xanthos shows that Domitius Apollinaris had managed to upgrade his nouitas through alliance with the powerful figure Valerius Patruinus,³ subsequently being promoted to the rank of imperial legate of Lycia-Pamphylia (93–6).⁴ All that remains today of the gallery of six bronze statues is the 4.36-metre-long limestone base with its six inscriptions (Fig. 9.1).¹ Those honoured here, apart from Apollinaris, the Ενευων,
were his second wife Valeria Vet(t)illa, his father-in-law Valerius Patrui­

nus, a son from his first marriage called Domitius Seneca, the latter's wife,
Clodia Decima, and a boy called Neratius.6 Both Apollinaris and Pliny,
who was about ten years younger, were among the successful *homenes noui*
whose careers prospered under Domitian.7 Apollinaris' career began with
the quaestorship c. 77 and the praetorship c. 83. In contrast to Pliny, whose
political career reached its zenith only under Trajan, with the consuls­hip
(*suff. 100*) and the governorship of Pontus-Bithynia (c. 110-12),8 Apolli­
naris ceases to be mentioned by contemporaries as a political actor from
the point at which, aged 42, he attained a suffect consulship under Nerva
(*suff. 57*).

What links existed between these two senators? Both Pliny and Domi­
tius Apollinaris were natives of Italia Transpadana; both were patrons of
Martial. Pliny's birthplace, Comum, was 50 miles as the crow flies from
Vercellae, birthplace of Apollinaris.9 Pliny's contacts with Vercellae find no
mention in his letters. Little attention has been paid, so far, to the fact that
the people of Vercellae, early in the second century, honoured Pliny for his
munificence with an inscription (*CIL v. 5667*); he had it set up on his estate
near Comum only ½ miles south-east of where it was found.10 Pliny's flam­
ante mentioned in the inscription was probably held at Vercellae.11 It was
thus no mere coincidence that intertextual discourses in Pliny's letters
invoke Martial's poems about their mutual friend Apollinaris. As an
author himself, Pliny competed with the poet in creating portraits of
Apollinaris. Having a *patria* in common and a similar social back­ground
in this dynamic region beyond the Po - between 69 and 103 it produced
most of the consuls and men of letters12 - could lead, as in the case of
Pliny and Apollinaris, to solidarity and the forming of alliances, but also to
rivalry.

6 On the individuals represented see Syms 1991b: 589-602.
7 On Apollinaris (born c. 52 or 53) and Pliny (born c. 62) see Syms 1991b: 518, 555.
8 As legal(10 nos) prov(inciae) pronunciae PONT et BITHYNiae pr(onsul) at cons(ularis) potestatis[*] (CIL v. 5262 = ILS
2047 from Comum; cf. CIL XI, 1572 from Hispellum), see the reconstruction by Alfoldy 1999: 151-44, commended on by Gibson and Merello 2012: 370-3.
9 On Comum see Plin. *Ep.* 1.1.1 (meae deliciae) and 5.2.1 (communis patrie). On Vercellae see below.
10 At the beginning of the second century, as the *currus honorum* of *CIL v. 5667* ended with the offices
According to a hypothesis of Mommsen (*CIL v. p. 606*), the inscription was set up on Pliny's estates
near Comum. The archaeological site, Cantab, belonged to Comum in antiquity; see Andermahr 1998: 384. A dedicatory inscription of a *salularius* to Jupiter (*CIL v. 5702* for L. Vellinianus Rufus, vicor over Vindex, who owned a property adjacent to Pliny's land, was discovered not far away, in
Brianza (*Ep. 2.1.8 utrique eadem regio, municipi eximium, agris easque possidensque continebatur*).
13 Matt. 5:35-3-4: ... etudet homonum et multus nomine lectione, cui scriptura mea munere furca datu. On
circulation, 7,97:10. *Qem quae gloria! Quam frequens amor!... uni miserio, omnis tuus legere* E.g.
Plin. (*Ep.* 3.21.2, 4) paid Martial travelling expenses (*statio* in recognition of his verse. See White
14 Marts 1990b: 157, Bourdon 1993: 180-1, 192-3 and the current definitions in Sallot 2013: 4-11. See
Roller in this volume on the language of gift-exchange in Pliny.
15 In Book 4 (4.36), Book 7 (7.26, 7.86) and Book 11 (11.15) see Nauta 2004: 161. In the *gift* - still
the subject of dispute - of a wreath of roses (7.89) with a poem, or of a poem, there is a further
dedication; see below.
16 Matt. 7.26-7:8 Quanto meorum, scil. amore s deglium *flagget* [i.e. Apollinaris]: nec tipe plus amore te
possum. The metaphor of love's flame is from elegy, e.g. *Ov. Her. 16.117 fere in mullo pectoris flagret amor*.
17 Identified by Syms 1991b: 590-1 with the Ignorant of inscription IGR ii, 98 = TAM ii 569, Friedlander's (1886) dating of Dec. 88 needs revision in the light of the epigraphic evidence.
important urban post of praefectus aerarii militaris (92–4), preceding Pliny in this.\(^{18}\) While observing all due respect for the business affairs of the new prefect of the aerarium militare, Martial did not neglect to point out that the recipient, as protagonist, was himself 'a part of the poetic gift'.\(^{19}\)

In Martial's enigmatic rose poem (7.89), Apollinaris metamorphosed into a lover of erotic poetry, after his marriage in 92 to the wealthy Valeria Vettilia, daughter of Valerius Patruinus of Ticinum, under whom he had served in the army.\(^{20}\) Attribute of the love goddess and of the Muses, the rose was also the subject of poetry.\(^{21}\) With the words _i, felix rosa_, Martial despatched to his patron a garland of roses and a poem that together were to ensure Venus would continue to favour Apollinaris well into old age.\(^{22}\) This quatrains, perpetuating the memory of Apollinaris festively crowned, was in a volume of poetry widely read in Italy and Gaul.\(^{23}\) The sympotic setting recurs elsewhere: at night, the time 'when the rose rules', the Younger Pliny was likewise receptive to the light Muse.\(^{24}\) On 17 December 96 Martial welcomed Domitius Apollinaris back from Asia Minor with a witty poem in the style of Catullus as a Saturnalian gift (Iu5).\(^{25}\) Humorously inviting Lucretius' hymn to Venus as mother of the Roman people (*Aeneas genetrix*), he here has the chaste priest-king Numa Pompilius proclaim the _mensula_ to be 'father to all humans', the object being to enlighten the dignified ex-legate, in the final _pointe_, about the difference between erotic poetry and lifestyle.\(^{26}\)

Whereas 'the fractured, tightly sprung and metamorphic universe' of Martial's epigram corresponds to his 'unstable and nervous perception of the world' in his poetic reflections on the metropolis Rome, the heart and microcosm of a vast, complex empire,\(^{27}\) the Younger Pliny, by contrast, in his collection of letters, presents a harmonious picture of the different life that was to follow under Trajan's _initia felicissimi principatus_.\(^{28}\) Pliny's readers are intended to visualise the 'aesthetics of existence' as lived by the elites of Italy,\(^{29}\) with their codes of behaviour and their sophisticated literary taste, and Pliny himself as an example, representing the 'good' aristocrat under 'the best' of all emperors.\(^{30}\)

At the same time, Pliny represented the ideal discerning _lector studioius_ who helped ensure that Martial achieved fame during his short satirical poems with their punchy endings.\(^{31}\) The basic principles of poetic composition employed by Martial, variation and juxtaposition,\(^{32}\) were also his own. Conforming to an epistolographic principle of his own, the pen portraits of their mutual friend Domitius Apollinaris were arranged not chronologically, but in accordance with intended strategies of reception aesthetics (_varieta_).\(^{33}\) Apollinaris appears _once_ in each triad of the nine books of letters,\(^{34}\) and in each letter one of the three criteria crucial for a senator's social standing is placed under scrutiny: influence, effectiveness in public life, wealth. In his dual role of addressee and orator, Apollinaris provides a foil for the author's self-positioning in the form of a climax. The epistolary format enabled Pliny to present his persona as a montage of pictures selected and arranged by himself. The structure and the topic sequence are reminiscent of Martial: Pliny first shows himself in the letters (Ep. 2.9, 8.101) playing the subordinate role of a supplicant (_subsidarius_) addressing the all-powerful patron, Apollinaris; next as owner of _Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial_
a renowned villa in rivalry with Apollinaris (Ep. 5.6, AD 105); and at the
discursive climax, finally – rather than where chronology would place it,
nearending of the letters – the politicians Apollinaris and Pliny
measure up to each other in a senatorial debate that had historically taken
place in spring 97, ten years before (Ep. 9.13.13, c. 107). This is also the
high point of Pliny’s self-projection as a loyal supporter of Trajan and ideal
senator for the new regime.3

In Epistles 2.9 Domitius Apollinaris is introduced to us as an influential
patron from whom the author is soliciting a recommendation for the candi-
dature of Ercius Clerus for the military tribunate.36 In the year following
his suffect consulship (100), Pliny held no office. This enables him to adopt
an astutely self-deprecating stance for the first encounter, that of a supplicant
(ansivus et inquietus), appealing on the model of Cicero’s affective strategy
for the addressee’s emotions, and deploying the diligens, coleris, frequen-
tarisis tricolon to style Apollinaris into the charismatic political leader figure
whom all naturally follow.38 Under Trajan, with Domitius Apollinaris long
since politically sidelined, this strategy can hardly have failed to achieve its
object.

The Politician (Negotium)

Visions of the Underworld: Apollinaris vs Pliny, and the Senate of Rome

Two of Martial’s longer epigrams (10.12 and 10.30) feature portraits of Apollinaris,
the over-stressed ex-consul of the year 97, torn between otium and
negotium. Thematically they correspond to two letters of Pliny the Younger:
in thee private space as owner of a villa (Ep. 5.6, AD 105) and in the public
space as a speaker in the senate (9.13.13, c. 107). The Fasti Ostienses reveal
that Domitius Apollinaris took up office on 1 July 97 and relinquished it
on 1 September.39 Martial claims not to be weighed down by sorrow as he
bids farewell to his friend, off to seek restoration after a gruelling summer
in the capital (10.12.1-3):

Aemiliae gentes et Apollinaes Vercellae
et Phaethonet qui petis arua Padi,
ne uiuam, nisi me, Domiti, dimito libenter . . .

Domitius, now heading for the folk of the Aemilian Way and Apollo’s Vercellae and the fields of Po, Phaethon’s river, upon my oath I let you go gladly . . .

Here for the first and only time Martial uses the gentilium Domitius for Apollinaris, and here we learn that the latter was a native of Vercellae, where there was an inscription dedicated to his daughter [Domit]ia [Apolli]naris
[Phaethoncei qui petis arua Po, Phaethon’s river, upon my oath I let you
gladly . . .

33 Whitton 2012: 359.
34 Ep. 2.9.1 meo suffragio peruenit ad ius tribunatus petendi. Cf. Ep. 2.9.1 (next n.), commentary by
Trajan’s Parthian war (suff. 117, 116 praefectus urbi and cons. ord. 11).
35 Ep. 2.9.1 Atrosum me et iniquatem habet petisio Sexti Erci mei. Affigerit cura et . . . quasi pro me alio
pater; et aliquo meo pudor, mea vestimenta, mea dignitas in discernere adduceret . . . meo suffragio
peruenit ad ius tribunatus petendi, quem nisi obnixtus esse, tenero me despiciere Caeceum audire.
His models here are Cicero (Ad fam. 11.65-17) and Quintilian (Inst. 4.40); see Whitton 2013: 141–2
and in this volume, p. 57.
36 Plin. Ep. 2.9.6 ostendo modo templo te, nec deernam qui, quod tu velis, cupiant.
Sysm 1991b: 588 n. 1 and Nauta 2002: 160 accordingly date the epigrams to the second half of 97.
38 Ovid (Met. 3.337-40) styles his description of Phaethon’s fall into the Eridanus (Po) as a funerary rite,
with the river god rising his smoking face and nymphs interring his soul-dwelling body in a hilllock
and dedicating a funerary inscription to him. On the hybris, see the epigraph (w. 337-8): Hic situs
Phaethon, cumus autique parenti; quem si non sanius, magis tamen excidit avus.
39 Marc. 10.11.5-6 . . . ut meo vel uno urbano relinque colla perusta iuga. Note the stylistic device
of ambiguitas in the participle perusta.
Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial

Martial creates an anti-propempticon, hailing the departure that allowed a senator, for the space of a summer month, to see the 'upper world' once more, and parodying the happy anticipation of reunion in Rome as a return to the realm of shades, to the Orcus-dwellers in their white togas. It demonstrates Martial's acute awareness of how drastically politics had been transformed. Was he thinking of his own departure, now that his panegyrics to Domitian would have made him persona non grata with Domitian's successors? Or did he fear political purges under the new regime as previously under Augustus, when unworthy senators had been termed 'Orcus-dwellers' and expelled from the senate?57

Not until well on into Trajan's reign, in 106-8, were the last aftershocks of the denunciations of the Domitianic era and the dark side of Nerva's rule reflected in the works of Pliny. Domitius Apollinaris was present in the senate in 97 as consul designatus under Nerva58 when Pliny launched his memorable attack on Publicius Curtus: in his (lost) speech De Heliodii ulione he had demanded revenge for the murder of the younger Helvidius, in which Curtus, under Domitian, had been complicit.59 Maestias trials and factional rivalries in the senate had then brought death to no fewer than twelve men of consular rank.60 Pliny's proud self-presentation as orator addressing the senate reveals that Apollinaris had backed the 'wrong' side.61 Like Fabricius Veiento, three times consul (cos. 118), who had

57 Tu. p. 21.43-4. See Martial's anti-propempticon, hailing the departure that allowed a senator, for the space of a summer month, to see the 'upper world' once more, and parodying the happy anticipation of reunion in Rome as a return to the realm of shades, to the Orcus-dwellers in their white togas. It demonstrates Martial's acute awareness of how drastically politics had been transformed. Was he thinking of his own departure, now that his panegyrics to Domitian would have made him persona non grata with Domitian's successors? Or did he fear political purges under the new regime as previously under Augustus, when unworthy senators had been termed 'Orcus-dwellers' and expelled from the senate?57

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pallida turba, the crowd of shades flitting by dark waters.67 Apollinaris, 'tanned like an Ethiopian' when he first returns from his holiday in the sunlit 'upper world' of Vercellae, grows pale like death itself on merging again with the pallida turba, the pallid, spectral army of his urban friends in Rome.68 Like voracious Death in Tibullus' hypotext, the capital has robbed Apollinaris of his healthy tan and transformed him into one of the bloodless denizens of Hades with whom he now socialises.69 Martial's radical vision of the unhealthy pallid throng is 'a metonymy for and epigrammatic entombing' not only of the urbs,60 but in the urbs.

Metaphorical use of black-and-white contrasts, borrowed by Tibullus from the war context for application to the power struggles among the senate leadership cadres, was politically loaded.61 Visions of the underworld depicting autocratic rule generate a complex intertextual web from the Republic onward. Fearing the worst from the Caesarians, Cicero had already quoted Articus' sarcastic description of them as illam vixerunt, that realm of the dead.62 Like Martial's underworld vision, the imperial palace of Domitian in Pliny's Panegyricus is presented as a place of terror, where the emperor sought out darkness and secrecy—tenebras semper secretumque captantem; his pallor was contagious.63 Tacitus singles out as the nadir of misery under Domitian the pallor of senators (denotandis tot hominibus palloribus) compelled to look on impotently—and under the emperor's eye—as their colleagues were condemned.64 Through the twist in the plot,
been closely associated with Domitian's reign of terror. Apollinaris had defended Publicius Certus. The process of coming to terms with the past was intimately bound up with Rome's future. Pliny contrives to present the struggle between the old Domitianic order and the incoming power elite on the political stage of the senate in such a way as to show himself at the centre of the action. A friend from the ranks of the consuls took him aside and urged him to desist: Pliny had made himself 'conspicuous to future emperors'. He was also warned against Certus' powerful friend, whose name none dared speak, with armies in the east at his disposal: M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatus Maternus, Governor of Syria from 94 or 95 to 97 and hero of Domitian's Dacian wars, Cornelius Nigrinus was Trajan's rival for the imperial throne, and with the adoption of Trajan saw his political career terminated before the year was out — as, evidently, did Domitian Apollinaris.

Commitment for the orphaned family of the younger Helvidius, which had its roots in the Stoic opposition, and the explosiveness of the political situation before the election of Nerva's successor, required courage. How much courage becomes clear when Pliny stoically responded to his friend's warning during the tumultuous session of the senate which led directly to a consulship. The addressee of the letter, not coincidentally, was a highly promising young orator, the 25-year-old Ummidius Quadratus, who revered his 'descent into the underworld', but along with it — as Ilaria Marchesi has persuasively shown — the entire self-aggrandising project whose name none dared speak, with armies in the east at his disposal: M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatus Maternus, Governor of Syria from 94 or 95 to 97 and hero of Domitian's Dacian wars, Cornelius Nigrinus was Trajan's rival for the imperial throne, and with the adoption of Trajan saw his political career terminated before the year was out — as, evidently, did Domitian Apollinaris.

The process of editing his letter collection enabled Pliny to create his own account of the evolution of his persona. Reshaping the chronology of events, he retrospectively stylised his first encounter with Apollinaris and the outstanding success of his speech into a climax of the collection — and a pivotal moment in his career (Ep. 9.13.23): as a result Publicius Certus was supposed to be dismissed from office — at the aerarium Saturni — and, unlike his colleague there, Bittius Procullus, failed to become consul. In reality, Certus died from disease, and Bittius Procullus did not become consul until 99, two years later. By his smart move in attacking Publicius Certus, Pliny gained the aerarium Saturni, which led directly to a consulship. The addressee of the letter, not coincidentally, was a highly promising young orator, the 25-year-old Ummidius Quadratus, who revered his 'descent into the underworld', but along with it — as Ilaria Marchesi has persuasively shown — the entire self-aggrandising project whose name none dared speak, with armies in the east at his disposal: M. Cornelius Nigrinus Curiatus Maternus, Governor of Syria from 94 or 95 to 97 and hero of Domitian's Dacian wars, Cornelius Nigrinus was Trajan's rival for the imperial throne, and with the adoption of Trajan saw his political career terminated before the year was out — as, evidently, did Domitian Apollinaris.

Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial himself both from that past and from the mali principes of the future. The atmosphere of danger underlined Pliny's heroism in avenging Helvidius and in his fearless championing of the optimus princeps, Trajan. Whereas Apollinaris, after his 'katabasis' into the centre of power, was sucked into the paltila turba in Rome and became assimilated — the same consulship of 97 is his last documented official position — Pliny for his part survived unscathed, although the 'thunderbolts' of the year 93/4 under Domitian had fallen perilously close. He succeeded in declaring that at that point his career halted, a tendentious remark that represents Pliny's prefecture of the aerarium militare under Domitian as the 'longer route' to the top after his praetorship.
An attentive reader leafing back through the collection will be able to identify an anonymous forensic speech full of pathos with the De Heluidi utione mentioned in the second of Pliny's letters.\(^76\) Pliny had composed it after the senatorial debate in the year 98, drawing on 'Cicero's palette' and portraying himself as a 'second Cicero' in his campaign against Catiline-Certus.\(^77\) Arrianus Maturus received an advance copy and a note requesting his comments.\(^78\) A letter to Velius Cerealis likewise referred to the plea on behalf of Helvidius, without naming a book title, and used the words nosti metus to reawaken old fears.\(^79\) Pliny circulated it among friends initially, venturing only a decade later to disclose name and title of the speech and publish his plea. He revived it in Book 9 as a historical event documenting his loyalty to the persecuted family, and also, as a senator of consular rank, immortalized his self-comparison with Cicero.\(^80\) Pliny's exhortation to continue along the path to immortality that has carried few out into the light of fame (in lucem fama requested after encrypting many out of darkness (e senesbit et silentio) can be read as his postscript for his friend Tacitus on the Certus affair.\(^81\)

Martial's and Pliny's underworld scenarios thus differ structurally, even though they both play out on the political stage of the year 97. Martial, conjuring up the realm of the dead with his alternation from light to darkness, is out to create a graphic evocation of the quivering taut atmosphere of fear and uncertainty that gripped the Roman political scene before the adoption of Trajan. It is all the more fitting that he is rewriting his own epitaph in the virtual monument at the beginning of Book 10 (2.1–12), and that Rome has risen from the Styx under Trajan's new regime by reading on (72.10), as Victoria Rimell shows in her chapter in this volume on the 'art of immortality'. In Pliny's case, by contrast, the author's voluntary descent into the underworld proves to be a means of establishing his authority, that of the politician and orator who has embarked on the path leading into the light of immortality.

The Owner of the Villa (Otium)

The Semiotics of Visualisation: Apollinaris' Formianum vs Pliny's Tusci

In the world of the Roman elites, no identifying mark is more revealing than their private villas. These are interrelated, reflecting the relationships of their owners, or their alterity.\(^82\) Interminable scholarly debate over whether Pliny's metaphorically dense villa descriptions are fictive or based on real villa architecture\(^83\) has hitherto left one specific question unaddressed: why did Pliny choose to send his villa description, of the Tusci, to Domitius Apollinaris in particular, the dedicatee of Martial's epigram about Apollinaris' villa in Formiae? The answer is simple: Pliny (Ep. 5.6) has shaped his own life design and his own villa near Tifernum Tiberinum,\(^84\) which owed its superiority to dissociation, in conscious contrast to Domitius Apollinaris' lifestyle, represented in his coastal estate (Mart. 10.30). Pliny's summer residence was not by the sea but at the foot of the Apennines, six miles above Città di Castello.\(^85\) In this context there is no mention of the fact that Pliny the Younger had inherited the Tuscan estate from the Elder, and that the tenants on his land, mostly reserved for viticulture, were paying him an annual total of over 400,000 sesterces in rent.\(^86\)

Literary letter writer and poet compete here to evoke this loveliest locus amoenus, the ekphrasis in prose competing with that in verse. This ingenious exchange between Martial and Pliny, dedicatee (Apollinaris, Martial's 'empowered' reader) and audience (private friends and a larger reading public)

\(^77\) For this reason, I refer here just to Bergmann 1997: 405–20, with copious bibliography.
\(^78\) On Pliny's villa as focus for his autobiographical sketch, see Whitton 2003: 239.
should thus be seen as standing in an active relationship to one another. Pliny's villa letter of summer 195, the time of his *cun alaei Tiberis*, is our last document referring to Apollinaris as a living person. It is not only the relationship between Pliny and Apollinaris that appears in a new light as a result of these literary interactions, but also the author's persona and the design of his letter collection. Comparison focused on the process of literary transformation is instructive.

Martial's poem (10.30.1–4) begins like a hymn with an invocation of the balmy climate and charming situation of Apollinaris' villa on the shore at Formiae, a place favoured by the senator above all others for his escape from Trajan's Rome, the 'city of Mars'. Pliny’s letter (5.6.1), by contrast, leads off with Apollinaris asking about the unhealthy climate affecting Pliny’s summer residence near the border between Etruria and Umbria. The letter writer measures the mild climate of Formiae (temperatae Formiae) against the remarkable clemency (mira clementia) of the summers at Tifernum Tiberinum. Martial’s lyrical evocation of a mobile yet tranquil sea (uita...quies ponti), the gaily painted boat impelled gently forward on the breeze (ausa), as if by the stirring of a girl's purple fan, has its counterpart in Pliny’s depiction of the *forma pulcherrima* of the landscape, which resembles a vast amphitheatre. With its expanse of 'bejewelled' wild-flower meadow (prata floris et gemmissa) set between shade-giving hills and brooks tumbling down towards the Tiber, the air always refreshed by soft breezes (ausa), the scene carries clear and intended overtones of the Tempe valley, the classic *locus amoenus*, as described by the author’s uncle, Pliny the Elder. A further intertextual allusion involving the ‘Tuscan soil’, said to require ‘nine ploughings to tame’ into farmland, this too echoing the *Natural history* (Ep. 5.6.10; NH 18.181), characterises the *doctus Apollinaris* as well-read. Roy Gibson and Ruth Morello suggest that this detail also symbolises the interactions between the two Plinys, in the same way as the villa, which the Younger erected on a site belonging to the Elder, but to his own design, in which he incorporated the original buildings.

Where Martial’s villa poem seeks its effects acoustically during recitation of the choliambs by means of startling *pointes* in line-endings, Pliny creates ‘a villa to behold’. The words *magnam capias ululatum* (5.6.13) invite Apollinaris to enter, in an act of imaginative fantasy, into this classical *locus amoenus* and to allow the visually performatve flow of poetic ekphrasis to make its impact on him. Pliny does not confine himself to visualising the villa for his addressee. By an internal focalisation he constructs a picture within the picture, a bird’s-eye view, directing Apollinaris’ gaze down from the hilltop to the villa halfway down: *Necque enim terras tibi, sed formam altissimam ad extimiam pulchritudinem pictam videbis cerere* (‘You will have the impression not of gazing at the landscape, but at some painting of a scene of breathtaking beauty’, Ep. 5.6.13). In parallel with Roman painting, the focus has shifted from the gaze in the picture to the gaze observing the picture and observing the act of gazing. Apollinaris as beholder initially stands outside the picture specially created for him, before being included — as a visitor — in a sightseeing tour through the villa complexes. This rhetorical device, blurring the distinction between description and villa, between reading and seeing, merges the descriptive act and the visual act into a single perception — a *Gesamtkunstwerk* from the pen of Pliny. The *variets* of the landscape and the *dispositio* of the property coincide with the rhetorical requirements for the composition of his *Epistulæ*.89

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87 Cf. Whitton on prose–prose intertextuality and Marchen on the web of poetic interests in Pliny; see Boller on Pliny’s recitations and Rimell on the reader’s active involvement in Martial’s epigrams; all is present in this volume.


91 *ibidem* 5.6.13: *Prata floris et gemmissa trifoliis...aliquem cumae poetarum vivum nutrimentum.* Cf. Plin. NH 4.31 *infra sumum hominis attollentibus se desina laeusque literat convivium fugit, intus illius late wiridante, ac labiis Penini wirides calculo, amoenus circa ripas grammine, canorus avium concerto.* On Pliny’s appropriation of a poetic style, see Stat. Silva 5.12:2 (gemmissa-).
Martialis handles the idea of ekphrasis playfully (1-24), deploying ever new and limping punchlines to heighten the listeners’ expectation right up to the peripetia. He captures the carefree ease (oletum) of the Formianum in two paradoxical images: fish are so abundant in the inshore waters that Apollinaris can cast for them while reclining on his couch,100 and a medley of trained salt-water fish in fishponds obediently swim up at their master’s bidding and await transfer to the day’s menu.101 Familiar with this passage, Pliny refrains from quoting it in his letter. His preference is not the subjugation of nature, but a setting created by nature: not a fish-pool (piscina), but an abundance of game for the table, and a swimming-pool.102 If Formiae offers sea-angling from the couch, Pliny’s alcove is as restful as a forest, but with a roof to keep the rain off.103 To him, Martial’s lines appear better suited to his villa by Lake Como, which has similarities to the sea,104 than to the Tuscan villa.

Pliny’s elaborate villa description (4-40) ends with a reflection on literary theory in which he discusses concept and length of ekphrasis (41-4), comparing his own practice with scene descriptions by renowned epic poets.105 The well-read Apollinaris could appreciate why he invokes Homer, Virgil and Aratus as canonic models,106 contending in accordance with the principle of aperitum that ‘what is extensive is not the letter which gives the description, but the villa which is described’.107 The description of the shield in Homer (Il. 18.478-82) had stood ever since as the prototype for all subsequent ekphrasies, bringing, in Giulianno’s words, ‘nothing less than the world itself before the [observer’s] eyes’.108 Virgil’s shield description

100 Mart. 10.30.16-18 Nec sta longa quaeris in mari praeda, sed a cubili lectuloque iacatam, spectat altera linea trahit piscis.


102 Mart. 10.30.21 piscina rhomboideum pasit et lupos vernas. Cf. Plin. Ep. 5.6.7 Frequens ibi uerat uenia saeclis, 5.6.35 Si naturae laius apt tepidae uellae, in uara piscina est. On the ‘power over nature’ in Martial vs Pliny’s natural wonders, and mirabilia as a ‘barometer’ for reconstructing shifting cultural attitudes, see Ash in this volume.

103 Ep. 5.6.39 (in the cubicularium) Non secus ibi quam in nemore iaceas, imbrem tantum tamquam in nemore non sentias.

104 Ep. 9.7.4 (on his villa ‘Comedy’) Ex hac puppis piscari hamusque de cubiculo ac poena etiam de lecanu et e naturalu iacen. Reference kindly supplied by Chris Whitton (personal communication); see also Sherwin-White 1966: 489; Fabbrini 2007: 158-9.

105 Chinn 2007: 688-70. The length breaches the epistolary principle of brevitatis.

106 The expression minuatur identifies them as marvels, held in awe by observer or reader.

107 Ep. 5.6.44 non episule quaet descriptis, sed villa quaet descriptus magna est. On the principle of appropriateness (aperitum), cf. Hor. Ars 14-23 and Quint. Inst. 11.1.1 (as uiris ... maxime necessarium).

Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial

Intertextuality and ‘Immortality’: the Creation of Literary Authority

In their respective conclusiones (Mart. 10.30.25–30; Plin. Ep. 5.6.44–5), Martial’s Formianum and Pliny’s Tusci are seen to function as the social space for the creation of differing identities and for negotiating the Roman concept of otium and negotium. As a political metaphor, they are representative of the diverging aristocratic lifestyles of the author and the addressee, Pliny and Apollinaris. In Martial’s Formianum everything serves the dolce far niente; in complete contrast, the guided tour of Pliny’s villa complex draws attention to the practical benefit (usu a fronte) behind the architectural show-side (haec facies). Apollinaris’ display of ostentatious affluence contrasts with the elegant restraint shown by Pliny in the design of his villa complex, aesthetically a blend of urbanism and nature. Figures embedded in a triangular relationship such as Apollinaris and Marchesi’s ‘Regulus connection’ act as catalysts for the literary interplay that mirrors the competitive ranking games performed on the changing cultural and political stage.

Pliny constructed literary production (studiia) as a life-fulfilling activity and an intellectual world as an alternative to public life (negotium) in Rome. His central paean to inspiration-giving leisure (otium) is the conceptual link between villa and composition that prompts the writing of the letter; it contrasts sharply with Martial’s open parading of Apollinaris’ formianum as mere illusion.

Martial ultimately unMASKs his hymn to Apollinaris’ favourite villa as mere illusion; but Pliny closes his letter with a hymn to perfect otium. Apollinaris’ villa remains untenanted, and Apollinaris himself becomes the victim of his political ambitions; but Pliny, following literary tradition, creates his country estate as a poetic place, that is to say a

father,135 down over shade-giving oakwoods166 towards little harbours with foundation myths reaching back to Homer and Virgil,172 and the Lucrine Lake, celebrated like Formiae for its abundant fish and its oyster-beds.18 Pliny adopted this hilltop perspective (ex monte) for the panoramic view he shares with Apollinaris, overlooking the villa complex.19

Nevertheless, the idyllic setting of the villa at Formiae is deceptive; the splendour proves to be worthless for its owner. Martial shatters the illusion by announcing that Rome, the city of Mars, has debarred Apollinaris from enjoying its amenities:20 the rooms stand empty, and the place’s beauty (amoenitas loci) is being enjoyed by others. The poem’s ending and climax are an ironic menehtrimos on the servants: O ianitores uilicique felices! | Dominis parantur ista, serviunt uobis! | ('Lucky janitors, lucky bailiffs! These delights are acquired for their owners, but it is you they serve', 10.30.28–9).21 The beneficiaries of all this enviable luxury are not the owners but the staff. The paradox represent an inversion of the Roman social order. The real slave in this ‘upside-down world’ is Domitius Apollinaris, the senator, shackled by the affairs of the capital city (negoziosis rebus urbis haercet).22 The epigram is neither a ‘compliment’ on his political activity nor a ‘homage’ to his wealth and lifestyle.23 Combining the literary technique of the peripeteia and the choliambic metre, humour and playful misdirection, Martial transforms his lyrical praise for Apollinaris’ dream villa into a witty parody, challenging and entertaining both protagonist and audience through the unexpected anomalies of a mundus inversus.

135 Ep. 5.6.29 Haec facies, hic uis a fronte.
136 Pliny’s anxiety to avoid ostentation, as an offence against social norms and good taste, shows in his efforts to play down the luxury. See Hoovers 1999: 39–44; Lefebvre 2009: 231.
137 Compare Marchesi and Roller in this volume.
139 Pliny here follows in the literary tradition of estate descriptions; cf. the famous depiction of the Sabine estate in Hor. Epist. 1.16. On the country estate as a place of poetic writing, see Harrison 2007b: 244–7; Schmidl 1977: 97–113; cf. Bowditch 2001: 339–46 on the construction of the loca amoenas, and Bergmann 1995: 420 on the villa as ‘steepia – a “no place”’.
place where the ideal life that the author commends to the addressee and the reader becomes possible: 'Leisure (otium) there is more profound, more rich, and therefore more careful'.\(^{131}\) Pliny prefers his Tusci, 150 miles from the capital, for him the ideal retreat, allowing him what Apollinaris lacked: freedom from dress conventions and from unwelcome intrusions. This was an advantage not enjoyed at his Laurentine villa, a little south of Ostia and within a day's travel from Rome.\(^{132}\) His self-positioning is focused on a 'disciplined and managed otium' that exercises body and mind equally, qualifying Pliny as a serious writer - and making him different from Apollinaris (Ep. 5.6.45-6): 'All around is peace and tranquillity, which aids the healing powers of the countryside (salubritas regionis),' he writes; 'even the sky is clearer there, and the air more limpid. There I feel both mentally and physically at my best, for my studies exercise my mind and hunting my body.'\(^{133}\)

Pliny's servants (mei), in contrast to those of Apollinaris, share the comforts of the villa - in the style of the ideal Roman familia - with the master of the house, who had been chosen as patron of Tiferum Tiberinum while he was still little more than a boy.\(^{134}\) Instead of proclaiming the beatitude of the servants, the sole beneficiaries of Apollinaris' abandoned villa (serviantium nobis), Pliny's letter closes with a plea to the gods: 'Di modo in posternum hoc nihii gaudium, hanc gloriam loco servient ('I only pray that in the days to come the gods may preserve this joy for me, and this glory for the place'), 5.6.46.\(^{135}\) Chris Whitton\(^{136}\) has pointed out that the author is here not so much celebrating his own immediate pleasure as

\(^{131}\) Ep. 5.6.45 alius est otium et pinguis est securius; nulla necessitas togae, nemo accessor ex proximo. See Ludolph 1997: 128-9.

\(^{132}\) The Tuscan villa was situated 150 miles (240 km) north-east of Rome, the Laurentina 16.6 miles (34 km) south-west of Rome; see Champlin 2005: 125; Leffler 2009: 224; Syme 1997b: 98c.

\(^{133}\) Cf. Gibson and Morello 2012: 210: Statius's positive embracing of life into extreme old age supplies the role model. On otium litteratum as a 'social activity', see also Champlin 2001: 145-6.

\(^{134}\) It is emphasised again in the closing letters (Ep. 9.3.6 and 9.4) about the Tusci.

\(^{135}\) Plin. Ep. 5.6.46 Mei quoque muniam salubritas defunt. 44.4 Oppidum [sc. Tiferum Tiberinum]...quod me pace adhibe parum parum cooptatus. On Pliny's localities, see Champlin 2000: 122-3.


\(^{137}\) Note the parenthesis of the semantically unrelated verbs serviant (Mar. 10.30.29) and aruent (Plin. Ep. 5.6.46).

\(^{138}\) Whitton evokes the thought and language of Hor. Carm. 3.30.1 Except monumentum uere perennius.

\(^{139}\) Whitton 2013: 219 and 2013: 111 on 'architecture'; Chinn 2007 passim.

\(^{131}\) Designed as a reflection of and response to Martial's topsy-turvy world, as displayed in his poem on Apollinaris' Fornitania, and as a counter-image to its dominus, ruled by political ambitions and his slaves, Pliny finally reveals his superior identity to his correspondent, fashioning himself as the master who commands respect, because he creates and controls both his dream villa and the aesthetics of his art.

\(^{132}\) Visuality and intertexts, underworld visions and villa description work together in Pliny's letters to generate a meaningful web of imagery setting processes of reinterpretation in motion. They provide tools for ethical and political self-definition (e.g. in Pliny's praise for inspiration-giving otium), for marking himself off from his social peers (e.g. when he distances himself from the Domitian era), or for the creation of literary authority with aspirations to immortality (gloria) for himself as creator of his work. When spaces bring these images together so as to construct literary self-projections, the author is enabled to create a new reality for himself beyond the real world, as Pliny does in reinventing himself in the public arena as an orator of Ciceronian stature and a fearless defender of the Domitianic regime's victims,\(^{140}\) in the private sphere, in accordance with the ideal senatorial lifestyle, as both dominus and artifex.

\(^{138}\) Ep. 5.6.45 alibi ipso busus interrumpit in formis mille discipulas, litteras interdum, quae modo nomen dominus dicunt, modo artifex. Cf. below Ep. 7.33.2 (Tacitus as optimus artifex). On the artist's signature, see Squire 2013: 370; on the 'symbolic code', Bergmann 1995: 420. Similarly, elsewhere it stamps bear the initials CPCS, his signature (Ep. 9.3.6 and 9.4) about the Tusci.

\(^{140}\) Elsewhere, too, Pliny (Ep. 1.1.7) presented himself as a man who had let his actions speak louder than words in the resistance to Domitian (prosecution of Arulenus Rusticus): Hoc loco scripsi, quia quae ante ut in pro amor mortuos sed non auctori unam inspexi, sed auctori unam consilia cognosce. On this, see Ludolph 1997: 166. Plin. Ep. 3.11.3 Acuere hoc feci, cum sepem amicis meus aut occisi aut religatis, occiso Semetione, Rustio, Heliodoro, religatis Maurici, Gratilia, Arria, Fannia... On this, Gibson 2005: 247; Whitton 2012: 6-9, 12-13.

\(^{141}\) Mart. 1.1.3 eum sive nubem in ore Martialis: 1.1.4-5 cujus est liber studium, quas dedicis vel versibus de agro sententia. Cf. 5.13.3 et fecert legere orbe frequent. 8.613 orbe carnis ut legere nescit, 6.64.6 suas mea natura fames, libelles.

\(^{142}\) Mart. 10.1.3-7 Pigra et nec fugit fugit usque fulminis Lethes et melius tu partis superest ete. Note Rimell in this volume on survival strategies.
Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial

Men themselves, who die and are no more.'\(^{149}\) Pliny, who compares the art of the literary portrait to visual portraiture and seeks to create an undying image (\textit{immortalem . . . effigiem}) of himself and of his peers,\(^{150}\) bequeaths to posterity a virtual autobiography, artfully composed from the pictures sketched in his letters. He knows that he cannot rely on his talent to guide him along the path to immortality, but can only achieve it through hard work, diligence and reverence for posterity.\(^{149}\)

And so, in protractive vein, he urges his readers to face life's choices resolved to strive for afterlife in the collective memory of generations to come, just as he himself continues to do — in interaction with Apollinaris, while yet pursuing a different path; Seneca and Sallust are his models (Ep. 9.3.2).\(^{152}\)

\[\text{Ac mihi nisi praemium aeternitatis ante oculos. Etenim omnes homines arbitror oportere aut immortalitatem suam aut mortalitatem cogitare et illos quidem contendere, enim, hos quiescere, remitti nec breuem utram caducis laboribus fatigare . . .}\]

If the reward of immortality were not in prospect, my choice would be for a life of idle and utter leisure. Indeed, I believe that all must opt for either immortality or mortality. Those who choose the first must strive and struggle, while those who opt for the second must live peacefully in relaxation, without wearying their short-lived existence with transient toil . . .

Self-perception and the perception of others could differ sharply. Martial's portrait of Pliny and Pliny's obituary for Martial, with the authorial 'I reinventing himself and the other through their respective literary activities and in line with their self-perceptions, shed light on the discourses between the two about this literary aspiration. What greater thing can life bring than honour and fame forever?\(^{153}\) Martial had dedicated only a single poem to his patron.\(^{30}\)

In the same year, 78, to dedicate to the \textit{Aeternitas} of the goddess of the emperor and the emperors Vespasian and Titus a temple of the ruler cult in Comum that his biological father had built after the Year of Four Emperors; the Flavians were the first to honour the ruling emperor as guarantor of the cosmic permanence of the Empire.\(^{147}\) Pliny himself founded a temple for the ruler cult with a statue of Trajan in Tifernum Tiberinum, and while governor of Pontus-Bithynia strove zealously to add to the \textit{aeternitas} and \textit{gloria} of the emperor.\(^{148}\) Like Martial, he declared his literary corpus to be the sole medium that is equivalent to a monument (\textit{hoc uno monumento}) and can ensure immortality: 'All else is frail and fleeting as

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suppressed this unwelcome caricature of his alter ego. In his obituary to Martial (Ep. 3.21.5) he chose to cite only the second half of the poem (Mart. 10.20(19).12-21), which depicted him fulfilling his favourite roles: active by day as a high-flying orator at the Centumviral Court, emulating the manner of Cicero and the gravis of Cato, but by night keeping company with the Muse as consumer and producer of light neoteric verse. Thus amputated, Martial's satirical epigram became an innocuous poem of Plinian style, the witty dedication a Plinian self-portrait, the eulogy to the deceased a panegyric to the living obituarist. Could this be the reason why he expressed serious doubts about the high aspirations of Martial, relative to the genre he pursued, and about Martial's 'immortality' as a poet?

As Henderson 2000: 59-73 and 2002: 47-52 has brilliantly demonstrated with reference to 'Pliny's self-immortalisation'. See also Fitzgerald's nuanced reading in this volume, pp. 159-71.

Ep. 3.21.6 Iu num erunt aeterna, quae scripsit [sc. Martialis]? Non erunt fortasse, illa semen scriptis, quamquam essent futura. For his own portrait, Pliny (Ep. 7.33.2) would have chosen Tacitus, 'the finest artist': Nam, si esse nobis curae solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque artifici exprimatur, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui scriptor praedicatorque contingat? Cf. Pliny's favourable judgment on the aeternitas of Tacitus' writings (Ep. 6.10.4) and historias . . . immortales (Ep. 7.33.1); see Whitton 2012 passim, esp. p. 347.