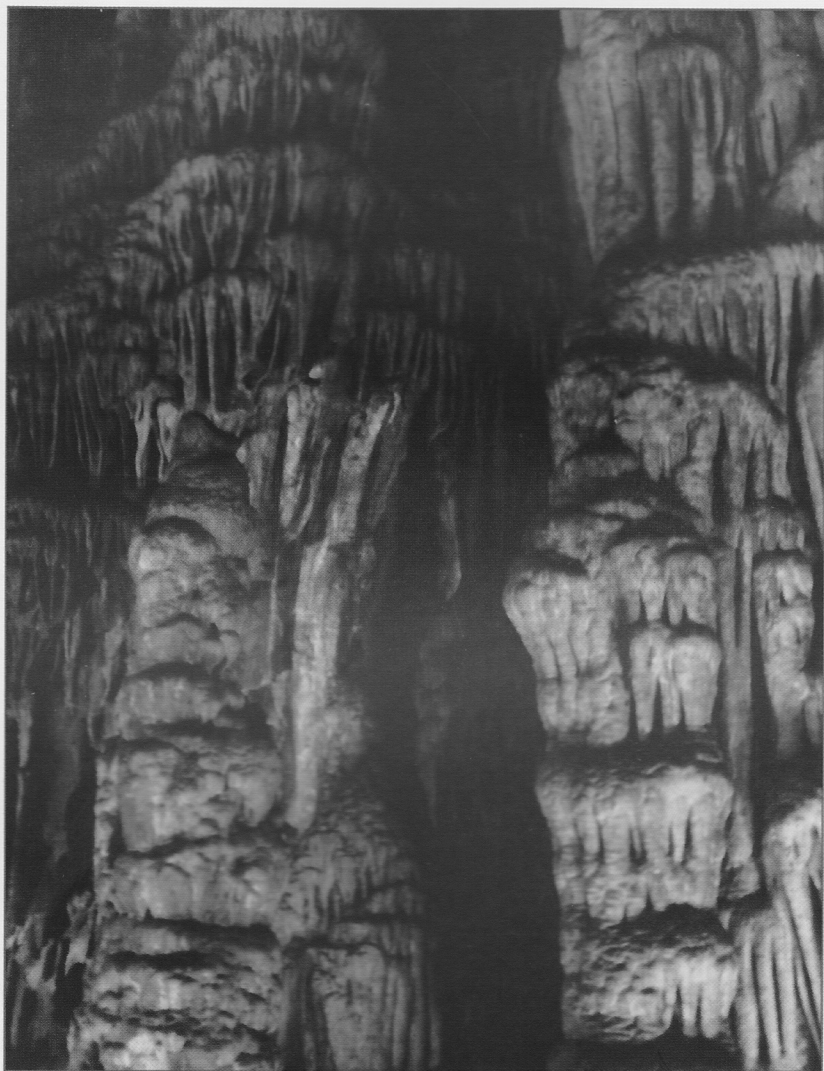


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KATHLEEN M. COLEMAN. *Martial: Liber spectaculorum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. 322, figs. 2, pls. 30, tables 5. \$110. ISBN 0-19-814481-4.

Kathleen M. Coleman's "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments" has been required reading since its appearance in 1990.<sup>1</sup> A generation of scholarship on the Roman penchant for violent entertainment is directly indebted to "Fatal Charades" and to Coleman's other writing on gladiatorial combat, naumachia, and beast hunts. Although it might seem that the book under review springs from her contribution to Grewing's 1998 collection of essays on Martial, the reverse in fact is true.<sup>2</sup> Coleman started research for a critical commentary on the *Liber spectaculorum* before her other better known research on Roman social history. In a very real sense on-going research for this book informed her earlier scholarship.

The method throughout is inductive, and so the reader used to general conclusions in the first paragraph followed by evidence should beware. That said, the introduction (i-lxxxvi) is a fascinating and valuable piece of detection, compellingly written and easy to follow. For each of the sections of the introduction, Coleman starts with scepticism and argues the evidence to support her view. On most matters touching authorship, size and scope, date, and organisation she concurs with prefatory remarks made by Lindsay in his 1903 Oxford Classical Text. Not surprisingly, the text of Martial has suffered at the hands of excerptors and copyists. There is only one manuscript (H) which contains all of the epigrams in the *Liber spectaculorum* as it currently survives, and Coleman follows its enumeration. The ordering of the poems can hardly be Martial's own, and evidence of second editions of other of Martial's books, most transparently 10 and 12, also raises the question of whether even within Martial's lifetime these poems would have had more than one ordering and whether poems would have been added, deleted, and revised in the first instance by the poet himself. Comparable to some poems of Catullus, there are serious questions about length and division of some of the poems, exacerbated by the belief<sup>3</sup> that the collection as it stands now must be very much shorter than it once had been. Coleman follows the divisions of Caratello in his text to

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<sup>1</sup> *JRS* 80 (1990) 44-73.

<sup>2</sup> 'The *Liber spectaculorum*: Perpetuating the ephemeral' in F. Grewing (ed.) *Toto notus in orbe: Perspektiven der Martial-Interpretation* (Stuttgart: 1998) 15-36.

<sup>3</sup> Lindsay (1903) first spoke for the *communis opinio* that the collection represents about half of what had been there. At 214 lines, the *Liber spectaculorum* is much shorter than the *Xenia* (274 lines) and *Apophoreta* (458 lines). Estimates on the amount of loss vary.

the *Epigrammaton liber* (1981), and cites as well his many other contributions towards recovering the original text of the poems.<sup>4</sup> Coleman does not print the *recusatio* against Domitian, poem 33 in the edition of Lindsay, assigned to Martial by the scholiast to Juvenal 4. 38,<sup>5</sup> I suspect, on the analogy of Catullan post-scripts and Martial's own anti-imperial sentiments in some poems in the second edition to Book 10.

Whether the collection had a title, and what it would have been, remains a matter of controversy, since its resolution must consider whether Martial himself collected the poems in the *Liber spectaculorum* from his other books, or composed them at one time as a unified group. The relationship between the *Liber spectaculorum* and the *Xenia* (Book 13) and *Apophoreta* (Book 14) is stressed since their coherence and early date seems natural to apply to the *Liber spectaculorum*. For these two books, composed largely of couplets, there is no doubt about their composition as collections since introductory poems make clear their intended usage. Coleman plays devil's advocate about the coherence of the 36 poems she prints: they all cannot be about the inauguration of the Flavian amphitheatre which, to confuse matters further, had inaugurations by Titus and Domitian, and possibly also by the dying Vespasian before construction was complete.<sup>6</sup> "Spectacles" is much broader than just gladiatorial *munera* and *venationes*. Although *Epigrammaton liber* is the designation traditional to all editions prior to the middle of the twentieth century, Coleman (xxv–xlv) argues for *Liber spectaculorum* on the analogy of the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta* which necessarily implies that the first work of bringing together poems on "spectacles" was done by Martial himself. To support this view, Coleman considers that the two fragmentary poems 35 and 36, each one couplet long, belong to the concluding poem of the collection. More interestingly, Coleman links *Liber spectaculorum* to the court poems of Posidippus (xxxix–xli), which papyri prove had a thematic organisation close to the lifetime of the poet himself. Coleman is willing to countenance that the organisation goes back to Posidippus himself and would

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<sup>4</sup> *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton liber* (Rome, 1981). Caratello, from 1965, has written many articles on the text of the *Liber spectaculorum*, most of which have appeared in the *Giornale italiano di filologia*.

<sup>5</sup> *Flavia gens, quantum tibi tertius abstulit heres. / paene fuit tanti, non habuisse duos*. In this Coleman follows Caratello (1981); the Teubner (1990) prints the poem as spurious.

<sup>6</sup> Evidence comes from the inscription which has triangular puncts between abbreviated words. A reading of "T" for "Titus" before CAES fills the area of a punct. Domitian is unlikely to have put in the "T" and if the inscription dates to Titus the initial would have been flanked by the observed spacing. As I have argued in *Mousetion* (2001) this would seem to indicate that the inscription goes back to Vespasian, which then raises the possibility of a 'pre-completion' inauguration.

see the influence of practices of the Ptolemaic court from at least 220 BCE on Martial since she sees similar organisation in Neronian collections. Following the logic of this section, the unstated but inevitable conclusion would seem to be that a core group of poems were written or commissioned for a specific occasion to which others on a similar theme were added or extracted from other books. This would in turn have to assume greatly different dates of composition of individual poems and collection fairly late in Martial's career, not at the beginning.

Identity of the "Caesar" obviously also goes to date (xlv–lxiv). There is a natural desire to link some or all of the poems to the 100 days of games celebrating the opening of the amphitheatre which would make the emperor Titus, but inconsistencies between Martial and the accounts of Suetonius and Dio in events related urge caution. Even the poems which mention the amphitheatre specifically can describe any show and not be restricted to the inaugural, and so Domitian becomes possible. The evidence is not conclusive: the parading of *delatores* and *venationes* are recorded as happening during the reign of Titus, but this does not rule them out as later on, as well. Epithets and general tone of adulation look to Domitian, and some of the epithets, such as *invictus*, are only associated with Domitian long after the presumed date of composition. Shows after dark are recorded for the reign of Domitian and Caledonian bears would seem topical at the time of Agricola's invasion of Scotland in CE 83–84. The rhinoceros of poems 9 and 26, however, was so much a rarity that it was on the obverse of one of Domitian's coins, and appears in the *Apophoreta*, datable to CE 84–85.

On pages lvii–lviii, Coleman reduces the three possibilities to one paragraph each: (a) material mainly from the reign of Titus to which other material was added in a second edition; (b) poems commissioned for Domitian's Dacian triumph (CE 89) but not completed due to Martial's protracted illness until CE 93 at which time the collection appeared with new material at the time of Domitian's Sarmatian campaign; (c) similarity of language with the *Apophoreta* places composition in CE 84–85 for an occasion otherwise unknown, perhaps the completion of the upper storey or *hypogeum* to the Flavian amphitheatre. (a) and (b) are not mutually exclusive, and (a) and (c) are not mutually exclusive; so in the end there are five possibilities.

Order of poems within a book and poems published separately yield significant clues for Coleman, but the evidence is from elsewhere in Martial. It is her observation that in Books 1–12 poems on a the same subject are normally separated (lix–lx); the poems to Issa, in fact, also span books and Coleman assumes that later editors would not avoid the impulse to bring together poems on a theme and so she concludes that they must

reflect Martial's own organisation. Applied to the *Liber spectaculorum* it would indicate that the collection, whatever its ultimate scope and size, was first done by Martial himself. Coleman then notes that Epigram 4.1, a *genethliacon* to the emperor, had to have appeared separately and was later included in the collection; numerous other poems in Books 1–12, such as the three to Lucan (which do appear together), also had to have had prior private circulation. The ramification for the *Liber spectaculorum* would seem to be that multiple periods of composition is likely, but problematic since tradition has assigned hostility towards Titus by Domitian, and thus presumes that Domitian would not have favoured a collection with poems laudatory to his brother, even if under the generic "Caesar." To her credit, Coleman quickly exposes the fallacy that ancient tradition was hostile to Domitian and thus any hostility by Domitian himself requires solid evidence, none of which exists.

Scholarship has always assumed an audience with an occasion, and Coleman once again plays devil's advocate (lxii) since the poems could have been written (a) for people at Rome who saw the events, or (b) for the emperor and circle, or even possibly (c) people outside of Rome so they could enjoy the spectacle vicariously. Audience impacts both date and coherence,<sup>7</sup> since if (a) one would assume composition and distribution to spectators perhaps even within the first 100 days celebrated by Titus. Private distribution to the imperial circle would seem to want at least first composition closely after the events, and (c) could be soon or possibly significantly later. Coleman seems to hedge that "Caesar" need not be understood as any particular emperor but represents the idealised euergetism of a benign ruler, inclining towards (c).

Part of the evidence for her argument is in the construction of the amphitheatre itself (lxv–lxxii), most importantly in the reconstruction of a dedicatory inscription (*CIL* vi. 40454a): IMPTCAES VESPASIANUS AUG AMPHITHEATRUM NOVUM EX MANUBIS FIERI IUSSIT. Its name acknowledges that it replaced a stone amphitheatre constructed in 29 BCE and the wooden one of Nero, both of which burned in CE 64. At first sight the "T" looks to Titus as does the reference to spoils (*manubis*); the Baths of Titus and his arch were paid for from the spoils from Jerusalem and so then it is reasonable to assume that Titus also constructed the Colosseum and perhaps the same spoils also paid the fee of a poet fresh from Iberia. Three reservations intrude: Vespasian's Forum Pacis was also paid for by the spoils, the I-longa in *manubis* looks like Claudian practice that Vespasian copied, and conclusively the T in IMPTCAES fills the hole

<sup>7</sup> Coleman makes the assumption (lxiii), perhaps unwarranted, that if Martial mined his other books for poems, books with poems on spectacles must be later than the *Liber spectaculorum*.

where other word breaks had triangular puncts. The first dedication of the Colosseum begins to look Vespasianic with the grand opening later. A reference to animal cages in *LS* 25 would seem to imply that the underground passages had been built, and that would imply a Domitianic date. The reference in *LS* 25, however, rests on an emendation and so it remains problematic which Caesar or Caesars are meant in any individual poem.

Similar problems bedevil individual species of animals (lxxii–lxxv). Although some types of fighters and species, such as rhinoceros or giraffe, are popularly associated with specific individuals or emperors, it is dangerous to make too close an association. What distinguishes Martial, however, and what in the end is more important than identification with a precise emperor, is the encomiastic and moral twist he brings to the poems, making them more about how the natural world bows willingly to the authority of the emperor. This makes sense of the antithesis of the natural and unnatural that is so prevalent in the *Liber spectaculorum* (lxxix–lxxx). Coleman is right to notice that poems on spectacles outside of the *Liber spectaculorum* do not have the *beneficia* and *clementia* of the emperor as its focus. Not stated by Coleman, it might in fact have been the basis for selection of spectacle poems already in other books to become part of a recension made by Martial himself. Coleman's final word (lxxxiv) is somewhat distressing: Martial's *Liber spectaculorum* has no literary descendants, which is extremely surprising given Roman interest in festivals and games.

First and foremost, however, *Martial: Liber spectaculorum* showcases Coleman's considerable gifts as a textual critic. It is easily the best and most comprehensive study of the epigrams since Friedländer's 1884 edition with notes, later incorporated (1886) into his two volume study of all of the poems of Martial. Each poem is printed in Latin, following the numeration of Shackleton Bailey in the Teubner (1990) and Loeb (1993). There are 265 pages on 36 epigrams. It foregrounds comparisons from Martial's contemporaries and near contemporaries, both Latin and Greek, over searching for echoes and reminiscences.

Each poem is introduced with her text and followed by a full report of variants. There is then her translation. General historical and social observations are made before line-by-line exegesis. The historical introduction is concluded with abbreviated bibliography, and each line or phrase examined is similarly ended with parallel passages, references to *TLL*, and then applicable scholarship. The sum is a work which is essential for Martial scholars and extremely valuable for historians of the age or of the institutions Martial sought to immortalise.

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DANIEL OGDEN. *In Search of the Sorcerer's Apprentice: The Traditional Tales of Lucian's Lover of Lies*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2007. Pp. ix + 310. US \$69.50. ISBN 978-1-905125-16-6.

In his latest book, Daniel Ogden turns his characteristic enthusiasm, meticulous energy, and command of the ancient sources to Lucian's *Philopseudes*. This dialogue, though well-mined by everyone from scholars of ancient magic to Goethe to Disney, has until now lacked an English-language commentary on its entirety. Ogden aims to fill this void in the present book, though not by offering a grammatical aid or a line-by-line discussion. Instead, he approaches the ten tales that compose the *Philopseudes* individually with the goal of answering two binary questions (1–2): what can we learn about Lucian's compositional strategies by considering the ten tales within the context of traditional story-types, and what can we learn about traditional story-types by considering them in the light of Lucian's ten tales? The result is an impressive collection of story-themes and devices drawn from a carefully-sorted assemblage of folk-tales, legends, and ghost stories in the Greco-Roman, Egyptian, Jewish, and hagiographic traditions—Ogden prefers the term “analogues”—often illuminated by art historical and papyrological evidence. But that is not all. Ogden is careful to point out parallels or models drawn from philosophic works or to be found within the other tales of the *Philopseudes* and Lucian's larger corpus, and argues for a persistent theme of Cynicism throughout this dialogue.

The book falls into four sections: a general introduction, a translation of the *Philopseudes*, ten chapters dealing with one tale each, and a brief conclusion. The introduction aims to position the *Philopseudes* as a whole thematically and structurally within the general context of storytelling, the genre of symposiastic dialogue (specifically Plato's *Symposium* and Plutarch's *Daimonion of Socrates*), and the themes and character-types of Lucian's larger corpus. Ogden briefly recounts influential theories formulated to date and offers his assessment of the strength of the perceived relationships between the *Philopseudes* and its literary predecessors and contemporaries. Conclusions important for the successive chapters are that Lucian's aim in the *Philopseudes* is to entertain rather than to add to