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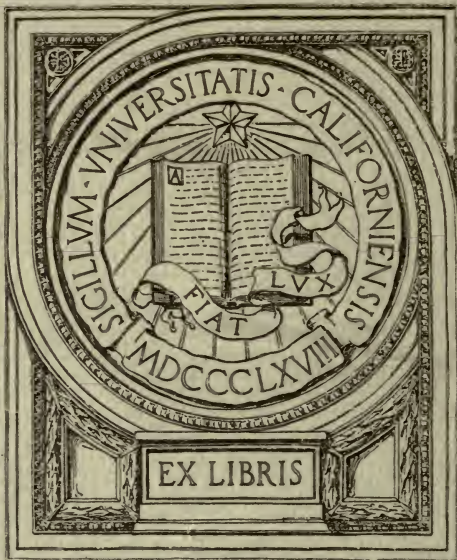


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Martial's Wit and Humor

THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF PENNSYLVANIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIRE-
MENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

VIRGINIA JUDITH CRAIG



PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

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Martial's Wit and Humor

The Latin poet, Martial, is responsible for the modern view of the epigram. He so stamped his genius upon this literary form that from his day wit has constituted its quintessence; satire and broad humor, its keenly relished flavor. It is true that he was not the pioneer in his peculiar field. Many comic epigrams are to be found in the Greek Anthology even if we eliminate the far greater number which were written after Martial's day and which owe no less to his influence, than do those of Prior or of Pope. Yet no Greek even approaches the Roman poet in the range or variety of comic epigrams. In Greece the epigram blossomed into a perfect literary *genre* centuries before its charm was in any sense due to wit or humor. It had speedily lost its objective character as an inscription and had become the expression of a reflection often indeed exquisitely subtle or delicately poetic, but not incisive or satiric. The witty type of epigram developed in a later period among the Alexandrines, was of comparatively limited range and had no power to alter the early conception. For a century after the Christian era, the Greeks regarded the epigram, apart from the questions of length and verse structure, somewhat as we view the sonnet. They would have found the statement of Jean Paul¹ that the epigram is the boundary stone between the satiric and comic most perplexing or even unintelligible. In general, their uses of literary forms have had a wonderful persistence and permanence. It is, consequently, a remarkable achievement, that a writer of another nation should have given to even the simplest kind of poetry, a new character and content.

In fact, like pure satire, the epigram as we know it, is a distinctively Roman product. Its source is that deep-grained, broad, often coarse humor which from earliest days was so strik-

¹ Vorschule der Aesthetik.

ing a trait of the gravest of nations, which displayed itself alike on the saddest and on the merriest occasions, in wedding trains and funeral processions, which refused to exempt from ridicule even the victorious general in the triumphal car, which once a year turned life topsy-turvy to show the littleness of the greatest and the greatness of the least. Its source is that same mother wit which scintillates with such brilliancy in the comedies of Plautus; which gave a singular force to the pregnant epigrammatic sayings of the most Roman of the Romans, Cato; which in later days enabled the rabble of the circus or amphitheatre to rebuke their mad emperors with most pungent gibes. How significant of racial temperament that the two literary forms which the Romans may claim as truly native, are pure satire and the satirical epigram! Of these the humor was national and original, *non Attici sed salsiores quam illi Atticorum, Romani veteres atque urbani sales.*¹

But while among the satirists the honors are divided, the epigrammatist, Martial, holds a position unchallenged by his countrymen. In his own intellectual province, he was first, we have reason to believe, with no second, except at a long interval. He himself names Catullus and Marsus as the greatest among his predecessors and models.² Yet the bitter invectives of Catullus show no wide range of wit or irony. In truth, the very source of his lyric power, a passionate, fiery intensity of temperament, would have prevented his being a great epigrammatist. As to Marsus, though we lack the means for judging positively, we may form an estimate from the fact that he is ranked below Catullus. If, moreover, he was the same Marsus who wrote the long drawn out epic,³ we can hardly conceive of his having the gift of the light touch. It is possible that the lost collection of poems bearing the title *Cicuta* received the name from their caustic character as has been inferred;⁴ it is most improbable that they showed a varied brilliancy of wit. Besides, the passages in which Martial gives these poets such high praise should

¹ Cic. ad Fam. IX, 15.

² II, 71, 3-6; V, 5, 5-6; VIII, 55, 24.

³ IV, 29, 8.

⁴ Teuffel's Geschichte der Römischen Literatur.

be compared with those in which he expresses his sincere opinion of himself. The habitual saneness and accuracy of his judgment entitle to special consideration the claims which he makes in regard to his literary rank. Recognizing the "Attic charm" as the distinction of the Greek epigram, he claims for himself precedence in Roman humor.¹ Again, he proudly declares that in his own field he is second to none.² He bases his title to fame, not on any serious poetical efforts, but on lively jests and sparkling nonsense.³ In truth, by the originality of his talent, he developed the witty epigram to its full capacity and made it, at its best, a poem so charming and piquant, that all other types have been forgotten or overshadowed. As the satires of Dryden, the MacFlecknoe and Absalom trace their lineage to Lucilius, the glittering epigrams of Matthew Prior find their literary ancestors in the poems of Martial.⁴

Although Martial's wit and humor are the real sources of his claim to a place in the universal history of literature, no specific study has as yet been made of this phase of his talent. The importance of such a study lies in the fact, that while each epigram is an isolated unity, only the variety and complexity in tones of wit in the entire collection give an adequate understanding of the genius of the epigrammatist and furnish the explanation of his influence. At the threshold of the undertaking, we encounter a difficulty which is involved in all aesthetic study. It is hard to gain the fruits of analysis without paying an all too heavy price in the loss of our first fresh appreciation. The difficulty in the present case is greatly increased by the character of the composition. The reading of many epigrams involves a continuously alternating tension and relaxation and soon exhausts the mental

¹ IV, 23, 6-8.

² IX pr., 5. Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus. Cf. VII, 99, 7.

³ I, 1, 3; VII, 8, 9; X, 9, 2-3.

⁴ One of Lessing's epigrams illustrates the modern conception of the epigram as necessarily laughable:

Ich soll ein Sinngedichte machen,
Und habe keinen Stoff zum Lachen,
Doch wahrlich Stoffs genuch zum Lachen,
Ich soll ein Sinngedichte machen.

elasticity. Martial well knew that appreciation is impossible when this point is reached, and repeatedly urged his friends to read only a few at a time.¹ He recognized what many people forget,—that the epigram has its place in literature only in so far as it is read and regarded as a poem of the occasion. His attitude would have been expressed in Holmes' words:

"I'm a florist in verse, and what would folks say
If I came to a party without my bouquet?"

This inherent limitation is similarly recognized in Lessing's distich:

"Weiss uns der Leser auch für unsre Kürze Dank?
Wohl kaum! Denn Kürze ward durch Vielheit! leider lang."

The consequent difficulty must be met by a greater effort to view each epigram with entire mental freedom and to retain the keen enjoyment even while we are analyzing and combining the many comic effects. A second great difficulty arises from the complexity of these effects. In one epigram our poet sometimes has five or six complete laughable turns or resolutions, and in one resolution almost as many different kinds of comic contrast. Our only plan can be to consider broadly the simple varieties, the combinations of many varieties in single poems, as well as the more general tones of satire pervading his entire work.

The original character of the composition explains why it was natural that the ludicrous type should ultimately predominate. Lessing shows that the epigram has never lost the features which it derived from its early use as an inscription.² A statue, pillar, or tablet awakened the curiosity of the wayfarer and the verses which he paused to read answered his mental inquiry. When the verses were used apart from the material object, a situation had to be described for the purpose of arresting attention and arousing interest. Thus, according to Lessing, an epigram consists of two indispensable elements,—a clear setting forth of circumstance or incident in such a way as to awaken expectation and a conclusion which in some unforeseen way gratifies the expectation.

¹ IV, 29; X, 1.

² Zerstreute Anmerkungen über das Epigramm und einige der vornehmsten Epigrammatisten.

Lessing has not, however, pointed out the singular relation between his definition and the essence of the ludicrous. The fact is that the ludicrous implies elements which are similar to those named above and which appear in the same order. Properly interpreted, Kant's description of the subjective process involved in the laughable is, if not definitive, at least entirely true as far as it goes: "Das Lachen ist ein Affect aus der plötzlichen Verwandlung einer Erwartung in Nichts."¹ The curious correspondence between these two definitions shows how peculiarly applicable was the comic content to the epigrammatic form. Furthermore, the primitive function of the epigram stamped it as concrete and specific. Concreteness is also a vital quality of the ludicrous. The limited space of the stone and the need of economizing labor made it necessary that the inscription should be brief. Brevity is likewise inseparable from wit. Thus we can see the inherent fitness of the epigram for the development which was given to it by Martial.

It is desirable that we precisely define the ludicrous in order to understand any particular form that it may take. The most satisfactory definition is that given by Vischer in elaborating the statement of Kant: Veranlasst ist die Erwartung durch ein sich ankündigendes im mehr oder minder pathetischen Schwunge begriffenes Erhabene; aufgelöst wird sie durch das Bagatell eines blos der niederen Erscheinungswelt angehörenden Dings, das diesem Erhabenen, vorher verborgen, nun auf einmal unter die Beine geräth und es zu Falle bringt."² This definition is in reality identical with that of Aristotle: Τὸ γελοῖόν ἐστιν ἀμάρτημά τι καὶ αἰσχος ἀνώδυνον καὶ οὐ φθαρτικόν.³ In other words, the laughable is always an unexpected contrast between perfection or completeness, previously conceived by the mind with or without the aid of external presentation, and imperfection or incompleteness of too trifling a character to cause serious emotion.

¹ We must not fail to realize, as some of Kant's critics have done, that the term "Nichts" is used with reference to the mental attitude. He says: "Man muss wohl bemerken dass sie (d.h., die Erwartung) sich nicht in das positive Gegentheil eines erwarteten Gegenstandes—denn das ist immer etwas und kann oft betrüben— sondern in nichts verwandeln müsse."

² Aesthetik.

³ Poetics.

Its scope is as broad as human life. It takes many forms. It often appears as an uninvited guest at the most dignified and stately ceremonies. It has, in fact, an especial fondness for such occasions. The littleness of men is most likely to be revealed where they desire to seem great.

The comic in Martial is of many types. The simplest sort, which finds its material in the realm of sense perception, is the main source of amusement in some very enjoyable epigrams. It is true that the purely elementary comic, apart from stage reproduction, has, in a sense, no existence in literature: given indirectly through the medium of words, it ceases to be the elementary comic. Any literary presentation bears the same relation to the ludicrous of sense perception that a painting bears to nature. The selection involved in the transference to canvas corresponds to the element of wit. Just as a painting reveals life to us, sometimes shows us "things we have passed perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see," so wit seizes on the essential contradiction of some incident that, in the real world, might not appear laughable to the observer and reflects it as upon a screen. But, though this artificial element is always present, it is often very slight. Epigram 8 in Book V shows Martial's art in gaining his effect mainly from the natural comic itself. He pictures an incident which he had doubtless witnessed in one of the theatres of Rome. Phasis, wearing splendid purple robes, occupied one of the seats reserved for the knights. He proudly leaned back, cast haughty glances at the common people behind, and congratulated his neighbors: "At last we can sit with some comfort; the mob can no longer crowd us and soil our clothing." While he was boasting in this fashion, the usher bade those proud, purple robes move elsewhere. In the conclusion, *Illas purpureas et adrogantes iussit surgere Leitus lacernas*, the word *lacernas* gives additional saliency because it is the very epitome of the man's superciliousness. But most of our amusement is caused by the clear portrayal of the incident.

The lowest forms of the elementary comic, that which is dependent on bodily deformity, often furnishes Martial with subject matter or background. He knew that there is a great deal of broad fun to be found in physical oddities. He has not de-

scribed them at length, but has used them for the most part as material for witty jest, as Rostand used the great nose of Cyrano. He had a remarkably keen eye for those deformities which appeal to people as most ridiculous. His favorite theme is baldness.¹ Great as is our appreciation of the fanciful wit in V, 49, it is the vivid suggestion of the man's appearance that to a large extent appeals to our risibility: "When I saw you sitting alone a minute ago, Labienus, I thought there were three people on the bench. The clusters of hair on your bald head were the cause of my mistake. On each side of your head are such locks as might be the pride of a young man. But there is not a hair down the long middle space. The sort of mistake which I made gave you an advantage last December, when the Emperor gave away dinners: you carried off three baskets. You are a perfect Geryon. My advice is to keep away from the porticus of Philippus; if Hercules gets a glimpse of you, you are a dead man."²

A step higher than such a simple comic picture of bodily deformity³ is caricature, a decided emphasis or exaggeration of a defect not ordinarily evident to the apprehension of the observer. The epigram on Canius Rufus⁴ is a notable instance. Remarkable skill is shown in the securing of emphasis without impairing the faithfulness of the picture: the many possible important occupations in which Rufus may be engaged are brought into contrast with the mere word, *Ridet*. The epigram is especially agreeable on account of the sympathetic tone and is in striking contrast with the similar one of Catullus, which may have suggested the idea to Martial. Such an instance of wholly friendly and good-natured caricature will never lose its appeal.

Parallel to this simplest comic of sight, the comic of sound is the source of entertainment in IV, 55. Martial rehearses the uncouth and foreign-sounding names of Spanish country towns with keen enjoyment of the droll effect. He is aware that the

¹ VI, 57; X, 83; XII, 7; XII, 89; XIV, 25.

² This line is so translated by Post.

³ Other epigrams dealing with physical peculiarities are the following: V, 43; VI, 12; XII, 23; III, 43; IV, 36; I, 19; VI, 74; VIII, 57; II, 35; III, 39; IV, 65; XII, 22; XII, 54.

⁴ III, 20. Cf. I, 69.

reader is smiling, but he has in store a climax which is a complete reversal: *Haec tam rustica malo, quam Butuntos*. The same sort of amusement is afforded by the queer sounds of this poem as by the polysyllabic rhymes of Butler's *Hudibras* or of Lowell's *Fable for Critics*. In certain poems the ludicrous sounds are the more effective, because they are introduced entirely incidentally. A Roman ear would have been peculiarly alert to the absurdity of the tmesis in *Argiletum*¹ or of the Greek change of quantity in "A*pes* "A*pes*.²

The comic of situation is found in some very good epigrams. It implies an unsuitable or unfortunate position which entails no serious consequences.³ In life, the common illustrations are a fall in a public place or a chase after a hat in a high wind. In VII, 27, Martial tells of a boar which has been presented to him by a friend. It is a magnificent specimen, but is so large in comparison with the size of his pocketbook, that he would be bankrupt if he bought the necessary spices. Thus he is forced to return it to the giver. A still more interesting illustration is found in V, 35. The richly clad Greek in the theatre was boasting of his fabulous revenues and far reaching pedigree, when suddenly a great door-key fell from the fold of his toga. The poet's one comment on the betrayal of the man's pretensions,—"*Numquam, Fabulle, nequior fuit clavis,*" is itself the reflection of the thought of the spectators and is dependent on the psychological principle that, whenever we are the sport of accident or chance, we unconsciously assign a malicious purpose to the instruments in our fall.

The field of the comic in Martial includes, indeed, almost every incongruity that can be observed in the world around us. Another simple type is the unsuitable adaptation of means to end,⁴ as in the description of the eight servants loaded down with the bulky, but worthless, gifts of the Saturnalia.⁵ A more pure-

¹ I, 117, 9; II, 17, 3.

² IX, 11, 15. Cf. I, 50; I, 100; IV, 31, 10.

³ V, 38; VI, 77; VII, 37; VIII, 75; XII, 76.

⁴ The comic of unintentional self-betrayal found in I, 85 and IX, 96 is similar.

⁵ VII, 53.

ly intellectual contradiction of the same character is that between the aim and practice of a vocation. In XII, 72 we have such a contrast given in double form:

*Fruentum, milium, tisanamque fabamque solebas
Vendere pragmaticus, nunc emis agricola.*

The farmer who buys his vegetables in the city is frequently ridiculed by Martial.¹ The law's delays,² the heavy charges of lawyers,³ and the corruption of judges⁴ are cleverly touched upon. But the favorite target is the deadly doctor.⁵ One of the simplest of the epigrams aimed at the physician, who kills his patients, is the more trenchant from its very naturalness: "I was slightly indisposed. You paid me a visit, Symmachus, and brought a hundred of your medical students with you. My pulse was felt by a hundred hands that were chill from the north wind. Then I was free from fever, Symmachus; I have fever now."⁶ Again, with great zest, Martial assures his readers that Diaulus, who has been a physician and is now an executioner, has really made no change in his occupation.⁷

At times, a comic impression is produced by pushing an absurdity to an extreme, as in the distich:⁸

*Sutor cerdo dedit tibi, culta Bononia, munus,
Fullo dedit Mutinae; nunc ubi copo dabit?*

The long rehearsals of the noises, which assail one's ears in Rome,⁹ and of the many demands on one's time,¹⁰ are also examples of the ludicrous of accumulation.¹¹

Martial is undoubtedly an adept portrayer of the ludicrous. Is he also a true humorist? Before we consider the question, we must seek to answer that other question: What is humor? "The

¹ III, 47; III, 58, 45-51; VII, 31.

² VII, 65.

³ VIII, 16. Cf. XIV, 219.

⁴ II, 13.

⁵ VI, 53; IX, 96; X, 77.

⁶ V, 9.

⁷ I, 30. Cf. I, 47; VIII, 74.

⁸ III, 59.

⁹ XII, 57.

¹⁰ X, 70.

¹¹ Cf. II, 7; IV, 46; V, 24; VII, 87; X, 56; XI, 31; XII, 94.

ludicrous" and "humor" are, indeed, so often used as synonyms in popular English, that the average person recognizes no real distinction between the two qualities in literature, and has only a vague idea that the ludicrous is a lower, humor a higher, form of the same thing. On the other hand, most of the great writers on æsthetics hold that there is an absolute distinction,—that while the ludicrous or comic portrays incompleteness, imperfection assuming itself to be complete and perfect, humor combines and contrasts the comic with the sublime. Yet, after all, is not the average person more nearly correct? Is not the difference between the ludicrous and humor one of degree rather than of kind? The admission of the writers on æsthetics that there can be nothing incomplete except with reference to a norm, an ideal, shows that the contrast in the ludicrous, though far lower, is of the same character as that involved in the greatest humor. Humor is simply the ludicrous given a wider application. It is a tone of recognition that a particular error or distortion is but a fragment of human life, of human weakness. When Rip Van Winkle reiterates his declaration, "I've swore off," and even at the same moment puts the glass to his lips, the picture is humorous because of its immense suggestiveness; it involves a feeling, in weaker or stronger degree, that the contradiction between action and words is not confined to Rip Van Winkle. This essential characteristic is suggested in the words, "perpetual comment," of Lowell's definition: "Humor in its highest level is the sense of comic contradiction which arises from the perpetual comment which the understanding makes upon the impressions received through the imagination."¹ Humor is thus primarily subjective; it is a viewpoint of the individual; it is reflected as a quality in literature and brings the reader to that same point of view. To define it more sharply is to deny it that range which properly belongs to it. It is, in truth, of manifold shading, capable of including many elements, which have belonged in various degrees of richness to men of every age. It should not be so defined as to rule out every form inferior to those finest varieties found in Shakespeare, Cervantes, Sterne, or Heine. The only sharp line between the elementary comic and humor is due to the fact that

¹ Century XXV, 124.

the limitation of the former to the realm of sense perception, excludes *per se* the universal note. On the other hand, humor can deal only with a theme which involves a feeling that the particular weakness is typical, and the only theme which answers this requirement is incongruity of character. Thus, to use Landor's words, "humor is wit appertaining to character."¹

If Martial had no other claim to the rank of humorist, he would deserve the title by virtue of his character portraits alone. The long gallery contains a most varied collection. What diverting pictures he has given us of the would-be poet,² of the persistent dinner-hunter,³ of the grandiloquent pleader.⁴ He points out a splendidly attired Roman, who is followed by handsome slaves bearing a new sedan chair, and tells us that the dandy just pawned a ring for money to buy his dinner.⁵ He calls our attention to a pompous lawyer reading legal papers with the gravity of a Cato and informs us that the learned man cannot say "How do you do?" in either Greek or Latin, without failing to pronounce the "h."⁶ He shows us a millionaire, who, after spending hours in the inspection of rich furniture, vases, statues, and gems, ends the day by purchasing two cups for a penny and carrying them home himself.⁷ The epigram cannot, of course, admit any complex development of humorous character and must present only single traits. In fact, a mere delusion may be the subject. "Oppianus became pale," says Martial, "and therefore, he immediately turned to writing poetry."⁸ But though the epigrammatist had to confine himself to a particular foible, he has succeeded in making each character intensely vivid and irresistibly amusing.⁹

¹ The use of the word "wit" is not scientific but the statement taken as a whole, is clear and correct.

² III, 44.

³ II, 14; II, 27; XII, 82.

⁴ VI, 19.

⁵ II, 57.

⁶ V, 51.

⁷ IX, 59.

⁸ VII, 4. Cf. IV, 62; VII, 13.

⁹ Cf. I, 33; I, 86; I, 89; I, 97; I, 100; II, 16; II, 40; II, 43; II, 44; II, 69; II, 74; III, 22; III, 45; III, 48; III, 50; IV, 26; IV, 37; IV, 78; IV, 79; IV, 83;

In some respects, we must feel that his humor shows deficiencies. We too often miss the rich, genial sympathy which should be a corollary from the humorous breadth of view. We may, indeed, question whether humor is necessarily kind and friendly. The definition given by Thackeray¹ that it consists of "wit and love" is possibly disproved just because it would lead to the false conclusion, that such a writer as Swift is not a humorist. However, we do undoubtedly regard sympathy as the associate of humor and we must regret that there is not more of it in Martial. He does, nevertheless, occasionally show a decided affection for the subject of his jest.² He is amused by the extreme fondness of a certain friend for his poems. "Auctus is really not my reader," he tells us, "but my book. For he knows all the epigrams by heart. If you go to see him in the afternoon when his work is over, he will repeat them to you. If you eat dinner with him, while you drink your wine, he will continue to repeat them. Though you may be tired of them, he will still repeat them. Even when you frankly tell him that you have heard enough, he will keep on repeating them."³ The friendly tone of banter ringing through these lines would probably be more frequent, if it were capable of being combined with epigrammatic staccato. But the diffused light of humor makes the flash of wit appear less brilliant.

Martial's humor suffers much more from his lack of moral standards and ideals. Jean Paul shows that the greatest humorist is the man who is at the same time idealist and realist, who makes us revere dignity and nobility even while he is entertain us with delineations of weakness and inconsistency. The charm of Goldsmith and Dickens is their power to portray limitations of character, so that we cannot restrain our laughter and at the same time to reveal such worth and goodness, that we are filled

IV, 85; V, 14; V, 17; V, 27; V, 50; V, 51; V, 54; VI, 35; VI, 63; VI, 72; VI, 78; VI, 88; VI, 94; VII, 20; VII, 39; VII, 46; VII, 51; VII, 54; VII, 78; VII, 86; VIII, 6; VIII, 7; VIII, 59; VIII, 64; VIII, 79; VIII, 81; IX, 35; IX, 46; X, 10; X, 54; X, 80; XI, 59; XII, 28; XII, 41; XII, 66; XII, 70; XII, 87; XII, 90.

¹ Charity and Humor.

² IV, 31; V, 27; X, 80.

³ VII, 51.

with admiration. A comparison of Martial with such humorists as these would, indeed, be manifestly unfair. But even though we judge him by a less exacting standard, we feel his deficiency in ideals painfully enough. He suffers sadly from a comparison with his own countryman, Horace. He seems to have had little capacity for intense admiration or deep reverence.

But if we turn to the opposite pole, no humorist has been a more thorough realist than Martial. He was rarely fortunate in the accidents of time and place. As the interest of the world then centred in Rome, local color was possible in greater degree than it has been at any other time. As life was Parisian in its publicity, incongruities lay exposed to the keen glance. The hours that were devoted to morning calls afforded the sight of spacious atria crowded with social aspirants of every class; those given to escorting influential friends and patrons to the Forum provided many opportunities to study the moving panorama of street scenes; those spent in the courts, the theatres, at the races, at the public baths, or at dinner parties gave occasion to note eccentricities of dress, manner, and character. Martial made the most advantageous use of these circumstances. His deliberate purpose was to picture the life around him.¹ His instinctive antipathy toward literary work which derived its subject matter from the remote, threadbare mythological tales² was based on the recognition that such work was unnatural.³ "If you want live epigrams," he says, "you must not use dead themes."⁴ He always writes with his eye on the object. His pictures move before us. He uses direct quotations liberally in order to gain reality. But his mastery of the specific touch seems to be most remarkable where he describes mental states. How vividly he depicts anger:

*"Ecce rubet quidam, pallet, stupet, oscitat, odit."*⁵

His humor owes an inestimable debt to this concreteness.

Of the humorous epigrams, the most enjoyable are those in

¹ VIII, 3, 20.

² V, 53.

³ X, 4; IV, 49.

⁴ XI, 42.

⁵ VI, 60, 3.

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which he ridicules his own foibles.¹ Often his shafts are of the boomerang type, meant to recoil on himself, though apparently aimed at another. How frank is the confession of envy in the epigram to Saleianus, whose rich wife had just died:

*Illa, illa dives mortua est Secundilla
Centena decies quae tibi dedit dotis?
Nollem accidisset hoc tibi, Saleiane."*²

The faults of the epigrams furnish an unfailing supply of material for jokes.³ Lupercus offers to send a slave to borrow the new book. Martial politely and facetiously replies that the distance is too great and that the book can be more conveniently obtained from the dealer at a cost of eighty cents. Then guessing the thought of Lupercus, he adds: "You think the book not worth the cost. Ah! You show your good sense, Lupercus."⁴ The speech assigned to Domitian⁵ is an exceptionally brilliant sally of the same character:

*Do tibi naumachiam, tu das epigrammata nobis:
Vis, puto, cum libro, Marce, natare tuo.*

Jean Paul has said that it is impossible for a man to jest about himself in the present tense, that the ego of the present must first become the ego of the past, in reality, a third person. But in this instance, Martial accomplished the impossible by attributing the words to another and thus has heightened the humor of the persiflage.

He delights to joke also about his own poverty.⁶ His hut, he tells us, has such chinks that even the north wind would not be willing to stay there.⁷ He makes some very clever requests for relief. In VI, 82, an athlete, recognizing the famous poet, questions him: *Cur ergo habes malas lacernas?* The good nature

¹ III, 41; IV, 15; IV, 37; IV, 61, 13-16; IV, 77; IV, 88; V, 1, 9-10; V, 33; V, 36; V, 39; VI, 5; VI, 30; VIII, 41; IX, 48; XII, 49; XII, 56; XII, 63, 8-13.

² II, 65.

³ I, 3; I, 118; II, 1; II, 6; II, 8; II, 71; III, 100; IV, 10; V, 30, 7-8; IX, 58; XI, 106; XIV, 10.

⁴ I, 117.

⁵ I, 5.

⁶ V, 62; V, 79, 5-6; VI, 59; VII, 92; VIII, 61, 9; IX, 49; XII, 92.

⁷ VIII, 14, 5-6.

of the reply, *Quia sum malus poeta*, is irresistible. But the richest humor is in the conclusion:

*Hoc ne saepius accidal poetae,
Mittas, Rufe, mihi bonas lacernas.*

Often the begging for gifts is indirect and pleases us by the ingenuity. There is a delicious apparent innocence in the remark which closes the eulogy on the new toga:

*O quantos risus pariter spectata movebit
Cum Palatina nostra lacerna togal¹*

Some of the petitions are humorous from their very audacity. An example is the following:

*Aera domi non sunt, superest hoc, Regule, solum
Ut tua vendamus munera: numquid emis?²*

In passing to the consideration of Martial's wit, we do not entirely leave the subject of his humor. For wit and humor are two intersecting circles which have a large field in common. It is but natural that wit, being a fusion of contradictory ideas, should find the great mass of its material within that immense field of contradictions, the comic. Hence, we must not in the case of a single epigram, infer that the wit and humor are necessarily in inverse ratio. They may, indeed, exist combined in the same illustration in heightened degree. Yet even where they are completely merged, not the less are they totally different and capable of being distinguished. We are happy in having a definition of wit, so true and exact that none of its many forms need elude us. In Vischer's words, "Der Witz ist eine Fertigkeit mit überraschender Schnelle mehrere Vorstellungen die nach ihrem inneren Gehalt und dem Nexus dem sie angehören einander eigentlich fremd sind zu Einer zu verbinden." Lipps has illuminated the definition: "Witzig erscheint eine Aussage wenn wir ihr eine Bedeutung mit psychologischer Notwendigkeit zuschreiben und indem wir sie ihr zuschreiben sofort auch wiederum ab-

¹ VIII, 28, 21-22. Cf. I, 44; I, 107; I, 108, 9-10; II, 85; IV, 27, 6; IV, 56, 7-8; V, 16; V, 19, 7-18; VI, 10; VII, 60, 7-8; VIII, 24, 5-6; VIII, 55; IX, 42; IX, 72; XI, 3.

² VII, 16. Cf. II, 91; III, 7, 6; IV, 76; VIII, 17; IX, 53; IX, 102; XI, 105.

sprechen."¹ Thus to state the thought in English: Wit consists in words or actions which are intentionally given such a character that the auditor perceives a certain meaning and simultaneously denies that meaning. Wit, then, always implies conscious purpose. A bull, on the other hand, is an accidental blunder in logic and accordingly fails to receive the tribute which is paid to the dexterity of wit. Thus Miss Edgeworth with evident sensitiveness felt it necessary to defend the Irish for the reproach which their bulls had brought on them.²

Word play is the simplest form of wit. It consists in so using words, that a deeper meaning lurks behind their apparently clear sense. Every variety is found in the epigrams. The type in which two different words resembling each other in formation constitute the basis, is seen in the distich:

*Litigat et podagra Diodorus, Flacce, laborat.
Sed nil patrono porrigit: haec cheragra est.*³

A play on the form of an expression, as a whole and on the component parts, points the advice to the would-be wit:

*Non cuicumque datum est habere nasum:
Ludit qui stolida procacitate,
Non est Tettius ille, sed caballus.*⁴

We have also the double meaning of the same word as in the comment on the fire that destroyed the home of the poet:

*O scelus, o magnum facinus crimenque deorum,
Non arsit pariter quod domus et dominus.*⁵

Each meaning of *arsit* has decided piquancy. The wretched poet would be better out of the world and his prosaic verses sadly need fire. The pun is not ordinarily used by Martial for its own sake but for the purpose of emphasizing the idea. There are, to be sure, two or three outrageously bad puns the very lameness of

¹ Komik und Humor.

² Essay on Irish Bulls.

³ I, 98. Cf. II, 77; IV, 53, 7-8; XI, 18, 26-27; XII, 39; XII, 58; XII, 81.

⁴ I, 41, 17-20.

⁵ XI, 93, 3-4. Cf. I, 30; I, 38, 2; I, 81; II, 20; III, 18; III, 99, 3; IV, 2, 6; IV, 34; V, 75; VI, 9; VI, 12; VI, 61, 10; VII, 46, 6; VIII, 5; VIII, 16, 5; VIII, 22; IX, 49, 8; XI, 108, 4; XII, 47, 2; XIV, 154, 2.

which is comical and can be justified only on the principle that the worst puns are the best.¹ But such instances of puns which "keep the word of promise to the ear and break it to the sense" are indeed rare. The word play usually serves to enforce the sense. How much it adds to the sharpness of the attack on the plagiarist:

*Si dici tua vis, hoc eme, ne mea sint.*²

In some of the epigrams the play on the double meaning of words runs through entire lines.³ In I, 68, we have a very humorous description of an infatuated lover, who can talk and think only of Naevia, and who actually began a letter to his father with the words: *Naevia lux, Naevia lumen, have*. Martial imagines that the lovers read his lines about them:

*Haec legit et ridet demisso Naevia voltu.
Naevia non una est: quid, vir inepte, furis?*

We have in the close a double meaning: "I may be writing of some other Naevia; why are you so angry at me?" and "There is more than one attractive girl; why are you so infatuated, you fool?" For merit of ingenuity this play is even better than the celebrated comment of Swift, when the lady's train broke the old violin: *Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae*.

Again, the play may consist in giving a new application to words that have been used by the speaker or by some one else.⁴ The peculiar adaptability of such wit to repartee and retort is readily seen from a few examples. How pungent is the distich:

*Quid mihi reddat ager quaeris, Line, Nomentanus?
Hoc mihi reddit ager: te, Line, non video.*⁵

¹ III, 67, 10; VIII, 58.

² I, 29, 4.

³ III, 16, 4 and 6; V, 38, 4; V, 53, 3-4; VIII, 25. Cf. IV, 70, 3-4; V, 84, 12; X, 17, 8; XII, 19.

⁴ I, 17; I, 20; I, 44; II, 14, 18; II, 67; III, 8; III, 13; III, 30, 5-6; III, 33, 1 and 4; IV, 10, 7-8; IV, 80, 5-6; VI, 68, 12; VI, 84; VII, 21, 4, a play on words used by Nero; VII, 92, 9; VIII, 62; VIII, 64, 18; IX, 72, 5-6; IX, 82, 1 and 6; IX, 87, 6-7; IX, 97, 12; IX, 100, 1 and 6; X, 86; XI, 14; XII, 53, 7 and 10; XII, 56, 4; XII, 89.

⁵ II, 38. Cf. Swift's epigram on the same subject:

Far from our debtors,
No Dublin letters,
Nor seen by our betters.

The closing turn in IV, 72 has a still more brilliant flash :

*Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quinte, libellos.
Non habeo sed habet bybliopola Tryphon.
'Aes dabo pro nugis et emam tua carmina sanus?
Non' inquis 'faciam tam fatue.' Nec ego.*

Indeed there are so many splendid quips that it is hard to select the best and to forbear quoting too many. To Cinna, who wishes to borrow money, the poet writes :

*Esse nihil dicis quidquid petis, improbe Cinna:
Si nil, Cinna, petis, nil tibi, Cinna, nego.¹*

Again, after a whole series of changes has been rung on the word *ago* in connection with the busy-body, Attalus, a most effective climax is reached in the request, *agas animam*.² In some instances, the quip consists in an unexpected use of a word merely suggested by the preceding thought. Thus Martial rallies the patron who is always "engaged" in the early morning: *non vis havere: vale*.³

Sometimes an expression has the appearance of innocence and only by a later touch is shown to have a second sinister meaning. In I, 95, addressed to the loudly applauding client, the words, *Non facis hoc gratis*, at first, suggests the idea, "You are paid for your applause," but the close, *accipis ut taceas*, reveals the true meaning, "You applaud in order to get a bribe to be quiet." The tart effect is due to the flat contradiction between the two meanings. The mind wavers back and forth between the first conception and the laughable resolution. In another epigram,⁴ a miserable author begs for criticism and receives liberal praise from Martial. The fool expresses his gratitude: "*Hoc sentis? . . . Faciat tibi sic bene Caesar, sic Capitolinus Juppiter.*" By his brief reply, the poet throws a searchlight on all that has gone before: *Immo tibi*. The words previously used are stripped of their complimentary disguise and stand in their true character. The same kind of wit in IX, 15, is particularly good :

¹ III, 61.

² I, 79. Cf. XII, 39.

³ IX, 6, 4. Cf. I, 54, 6-7; I, 110; III, 11, 6; III, 62, 7-8; V, 26, I and 4; V, 52, 2; V, 66; VI, 63, 7-8; VII, 98; VIII, 6, 16; XI, 12; XI, 54, 5-6.

⁴ V, 63.

*Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum
'Se fecisse' Chloe. Quid pote simplicius?¹*

Similarly the words used in the beginning of an epigram are, in certain instances, repeated at the close. Meanwhile, their real meaning has been humorously illuminated. The repetition is peculiarly effective as it flings upon the first statement the whole force of a later irony. The celebrated "Dr. Fell" epigram is of this type:

*Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare:
Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te.²*

The simplest form of wit dependent on ideas consists in utilizing comic or humorous elements in such a way that the surprise is very great. For example, the extreme unhappiness of Selius is described at length and at the close the cause is explained: *Domi cenat.*³ Wit of this character is almost identical with the comic and is entitled to the name of wit merely because of the skillful arrangement.⁴

To the wit of ideas belongs also the form of quip used in IV, 41: "When you start to read us your verses, why do you wrap about your throat the wool that is better suited to your ears?" A graceful witticism of the same character makes effective the plea for a supply of water from the Marcian aqueduct: The water which you grant, Augustus, will be to me the spring of Castalia.⁵

The witty antithesis is used in large numbers of the epigrams. It adds spice to the request that Stella, who has given titles to

¹ Cf. II, 3; II, 69, 6; III, 9; III, 15; III, 63; IV, 37, 8 and 10; IV, 69, 4; V, 45; V, 47; V, 54; V, 57; VI, 61, 1-4; VII, 81; VII, 90; VIII, 10; X, 54; XI, 107, 3-4; XII, 19.

² I, 32. Cf. II, 6, 1 and 17; II, 18, 2 and 4 and 6; II, 19; II, 43, 1 and 16; IV, 89, 1 and 9; VI, 42, 2 and 24; VII, 64, 1 and 10; VII, 92; IX, 97; X, 37, 4 and 20. The wit of VII, 39, is a more complex example combining effect of repetition with word play dependent on change of emphasis.

³ II, 11.

⁴ Cf. I, 11, 3-4; I, 24, 4; II, 79; III, 47, 15; V, 17; VI, 20, 4; VI, 94, 4; VII, 20, 22; VII, 79, 3-4; VIII, 19; VIII, 60; IX, 35, 12; IX, 98; X, 9, 4-5; X, 57; X, 60; X, 74, 12; X, 97, 4; XII, 49, 13.

⁵ IX, 18, 7-8. Cf. I, 5; I, 114, 5-6; III, 25; III, 64, 5-6; III, 100; IV, 47; VI, 35; VI, 63, 7-8; VIII, 40, 6; IX, 58, 7-8; X, 61, 5-6; XI, 37, 3; XI, 44, 4; XIV, 137; XIV, 196.

Martial, may also give him a toga: *Stella, tegis villam, non tegis agricolam.*¹ It enriches the audacious humor of the plea for the *ius trium liberorum*:

*Haec, si displicui, fuerint solacia nobis;
Haec fuerint nobis praemia, si placui.*²

It gives the sting to the retort aimed at the worthless author:

*Cur non mitto meos tibi, Pontiliane, libellos?
Ne mihi tu mittas, Pontiliane, tuos.*³

Another type of witticism, the paradox, so frequently gives the point that the word epigram has become synonymous with it. The apparent contradiction lies within the statement and serves to give emphasis to the deeper truth. All oxymora are witticisms of this type. Every word helps enforce the paradox of the distich:

*Difficilis facilis, iucundus acerbus es idem:
Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te.*⁴

A very extravagant youth, who has always received a daily allowance, by the death of his father falls heir to the entire estate. The boy, now unrestrained, will soon squander his fortune and be

¹ VII, 36, 6.

² II, 91, 7-8.

³ VII, 3. Antitheses are also found in sp. 2, 12; sp. 26, 8; sp. 31; I, 4, 8; I, 18, 5-8; I, 25, 7; I, 40, 2; I, 43, 13-14; I, 47, 2; I, 55, 13; I, 57, 2 and 4; I, 59, 4; I, 63, 2; I, 66, 14; I, 91, 2; I, 109, 22-23; II, 5, 7-8; II, 24, 7-8; II, 30, 6; II, 32, 7-8; II, 46, 10; II, 64, 10; II, 68, 8-9; II, 88; III, 37, 2; III, 66, 6; III, 94, 2; IV, 13, 9-10; IV, 20; IV, 36; IV, 49, 10; IV, 68, 2; IV, 83; V, 13, 9-10; V, 14, 11; V, 15, 6; V, 43; V, 52, 2 and 6; V, 65, 16; V, 73, 1 and 4; VI, 11, 5-10; VI, 28, 10; VI, 40; VI, 55, 5; VI, 65, 6; VI, 78, 8; VI, 80, 10; VI, 84, 2; VI, 87; VII, 23, 3-4; VII, 43; VII, 44, 3-6 and 10; VII, 45, 9-11; VII, 60, 7-8; VII, 76, 6; VII, 77, 2; VII, 85, 3-4; VII, 97, 13; VIII, 18, 9-10; VIII, 38, 7 and 15-16; VIII, 39, 5-6; VIII, 41, 3-4; VIII, 56, 3-4; VIII, 74; IX, 10; IX, 14, 3; IX, 19, 3; IX, 48, 11-12; IX, 68, 10-12; IX, 84, 10; X, 3, 11-12; X, 21, 6; X, 30, 29; X, 35, 1-4 and 11-12; X, 47, 12-13; X, 76, 8-9; X, 79; X, 82, 8; X, 89, 5-6; XI, 4, 7-8; XI, 24, 11-12; XI, 86, 6; XII, 10, 2; XII, 13, 2; XII, 14, 12; XII, 15, 8-10; XII, 25, 3-4; XII, 29, 15-16; XII, 30, imitated by Sedley: "Thou swearest thou'lt drink no more; kind Heaven send me such a cook or coachman but no friend," XII, 34, 11; XII, 37, 2; XII, 72, 6; XII, 80, 2; XII, 90, 6. Antithesis is emphasized by alliteration in III, 21, 2 and IV, 67

8.

⁴ XII, 46.

without a penny. "What your father has really done," says Martial, "is to disinherit you."¹ Some of the expressions, which Friedlaender regards as careless and incorrect, are in reality paradoxes which Martial used purposely and would no more have changed than Ovid would have surrendered his favorite three verses. An example is the line:

*Inque suo nullum limine limen erat.*²

Occasionally, the paradox depends on the omission of intermediate ideas. In I, 10, the officious devotion of Gemellus to Maronilla is pictured and the question is asked: *Quid ergo in illa petitur et placet?* The enjoyment of the answer, *Tussit*, is heightened for the reader by his momentary stupefaction. For half a second, he is puzzled by the apparent senselessness of the idea only to feel the greater pleasure in the relaxation which the comic effect brings with it. The paradox is often used to express general truths. In fact, it is on the border line between wit and wisdom. It imparts a striking impressiveness to the close of VI, 70; *non est vivere sed valere vita.*³ It gives penetrating force to a fine truth in the epigram to Postumus, who is forever talking of his immense service to Martial:

*Crede mihi, quamvis ingentia, Postume, dona-
Auctoris pereunt garrulitate sui.*⁴

It gleams with exquisite beauty in the tender words of Arria to Paetus:

*"Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet," inquit
"Sed tu quod facies, hoc mihi, Paete, dolet."*⁵

¹ III, 10.

² VII, 61, 2. A tendency to epigrammatic expression is seen in the prose of Martial, as in I, pr. 8: *inprobe facit qui in alieno libro ingeniosus est.*

³ The paradox is here combined with alliterative antithesis. Pope imitates this paradox in his epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot: "this long disease, my life."

⁴ V, 52, 7-8. Cf. Prior's epigram:

To John I owed great obligation;
But John, unhappily, thought fit
To publish it to all the nation:
Sure John and I are more than quit.

⁵ I, 13, 3-4. Any too great stoicism of the first line is saved by the tenderness of the second. Paradoxes are found also in the following passages: sp. 7, 6; sp. 9, 4; sp. 29, 12; I, pr. 21; I, 15, 12; I, 21, 8; I, 64; I, 86, 11-13; I,

The wit of euphemism, a form of understatement, is occasionally used. When Martial asks the freedman who has shortened his slave name *Cinnamus* to *Cinna*, *Non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus?* the very politeness of the question is amusing.¹ Equally good is the euphemistic request made of the rich, childless old man: *Fac illud, mentitur tua quod subinde tussis.*²

Parody and its obverse, mock heroic, are found in a few epigrams. An example which shows especial cleverness is the answer to the friend, who has suddenly recollected the dinner invitation given the night before, after the wine-glasses had been repeatedly drained:

*Non sobria verba subnotasti
Exemplo nimium periculoso:
μισῶ μνάμονα συμπόταν, Procille.*³

The famous Greek proverb ordinarily refers to the revelation of secrets that might involve peril to life; here it is applied to the recollection of a promise that could mean, at most, slight damage to the purse. Sometimes the effect of parody is dependent on the form of expression. For instance, the conditional wish had its origin in momentous crises and had acquired a form consecrated by long poetical usage. In VII, 72, Martial secures a comical effect by putting in this elevated form the utmost littleness of content, just as Charles Lamb enriches his humor by

109, 20; II, 12, 4; II, 16, 6; II, 37, 11; II, 55, 3; II, 77, 8; II, 79, 2; III, 19, 8; III, 22, 5; III, 34, 2; III, 39, 2; III, 60, 9; IV, 60, 6; V, 4, 6; V, 8, 12; V, 18, 9-10; V, 24, 15; V, 38, 6; V, 42, 8; V, 58, 7-8; V, 79, 6; VI, 11, 6; VI, 18, 3-4; VI, 41, 2; VI, 48, 2; VII, 31, 12; VII, 41, 2; VII, 47, 10; VII, 73, 6; VII, 86, 10; VIII 7, 4; VIII, 12, 2 and 4; VIII, 13; VIII, 20, 2; VIII, 59, 6; VIII, 77, 7-8; IX, 8, 4; IX, 79, 7-8; X, 13, 9-10; X, 14, 10; X, 23, 7-8; X, 44, 10; X, 62, 12; X, 69, 2; X, 74, 12; X, 83, 11; X, 94, 5; XI, 32, 8; XI, 35, 4; XI, 38; XII, 21, 10; XII, 45, 4; XII, 50, 8; XIV, 210. The paradox is somewhat less distinct in the following passages: sp. 4, 5-6; I, 8, 5-6; I, 12, 11-12; I, 48, 7-8, I, 51, 5-6; I, 60, 5-6; II, 59, 4; II, 80, 2; IV, 18, 8; IV, 32, 4; IV, 44, 8; IV, 73, 8; IV, 74, 4; IV, 75, 7-8; V, 22, 14; V, 31, 8; V, 64, 5-6; V, 71, 6; V, 81, 2; VI, 15, 4; VI, 29, 8; VII, 5, 6; VII, 11, 4; VII, 19, 6; VII, 38, 4; VIII, 68, 10; IX, 9, 4; IX, 38, 10; IX, 54, 12; IX, 77, 5-6; X, 25, 5-6; X, 31, 5-6; X, 85, 8; XI, 56, 15-16; XI, 65, 6.

¹ VI, 17, 2.

² V, 39, 5-6.

³ I, 27. Cf. X, 60; XI, 12; XIV, 124.

applying to trifles the solemn language of the old tragedies. Parody and mock heroic are really identical except that the one emphasizes the degradation of the high form, the other, the exaltation of the low object. The first epigram on the celebrated toga is a delicate bit of mock heroic.¹

In many epigrams suggestion plays a large part.² The wit of innuendo often serves to enhance the humor of roguish purpose. Martial sends a book of epigrams as a substitute for his own presence at the morning reception of his patron, and promises to come himself as often as desired at the tenth hour of the day.³ Insinuation bars the dart of criticism in the reply to Gallicus, the orator, who is always begging for the truth concerning his speeches: "The truth, Gallicus, is the one thing that you do not wish to hear."⁴ An especially adroit implication is seen in the complaint that Caecilianus persists in reading the epigrams of Marsus and Catullus for comparison with those of Martial: "I should very much prefer, Caecilianus, that you would give readings from your own poems when you give them from mine."⁵

A form of wit which Martial uses only for attack or retort, consists in falsely attributing desires, motives, or purposes with the object of disclosing a real weakness or inconsistency. The best epigram of this kind is the answer to the man who admires only old poets and accords praise only to the dead. Nothing could better reveal the diletteantism of the critic than the cutting apology:

*Ignoscas petimus, Vacerra: tanti
Non est, ut placeam tibi, perire.*⁶

¹ VIII, 28. Cf. IX, 49, 9.

² I, 14, 6; I, 78, 10; I, 91; I, 102; I, 112; I, 115, 7; II, 29, 10; II, 58; II, 65, 6; II, 74, 7; II, 81, 2; II, 88; III, 4, 8; III, 31, 6; III, 36, 9; III, 46, 12; III, 64, 5-6; IV, 23, 6-8; IV, 24, 2; IV, 26, 4; IV, 33, 4; IV, 40, 10; IV, 51, 6; IV, 77, 5; IV, 79, 2; V, 5, 7-8; V, 16, 14; V, 25, 12; V, 29, 4; V, 36, 2; VI, 8, 1-2; VI, 17, 4; VI, 75, 4; VI, 86, 5-6; VII, 59; VII, 66; VII, 89, 3; VIII, 37; VIII, 61, 9; VIII, 81, 10-11; IX, 52, 6-7; IX, 94, 8; X, 8, 2; X, 16, 2; X, 32, 5-6; X, 43, 2; X, 56, 8; X, 101; XI, 10, 2; XI, 34; XI, 67, 2; XI, 83, 2; XII, 12; XII, 69; XII, 88; XII, 92.

³ I, 108, 9-10.

⁴ VIII, 76, 8.

⁵ II, 71.

⁶ VIII, 69.

Again, with what a brilliant lightning flash does Martial illumine the characters of Picentinus and Galla:

*Funera post septem nupsit tibi Galla virorum,
Picentine: sequi vult, puto, Galla viros.*¹

A kindred form of wit is sophistical reasoning in which the fallacy is readily apparent as well as the real purpose of the writer. Martial sometimes uses it to attack another² but more frequently to excuse himself or to gain some personal end.³ We enjoy the ingenious logic in the complaint to his client: "Sextus, you promised me two thousand sesterces for pleading your case. Why have you sent only a thousand?' 'Your plea was worthless,' you reply, 'and you ruined my case.' 'You owe me that much more, Sextus, because I endured the shame of failure.'"⁴

Witty exaggeration⁵ in the epigrams is completely permeated with humor. Now and then it furnishes entertaining description as in the fanciful picture of the poet's infinitesimal estate.⁶ In power of humorous invention⁷ Martial is almost an American, delighting in the wildly impossible. What a bold conception is the advice that the overheated bath be cooled by putting in it the rhetorician Sabineius!⁸ What a delicious fiction is the tale of the

¹ IX, 78. Cf. I, 80; II, 15; V, 23, 7-8; VI, 24; VIII, 67, 10; IX, 15, 2, if *simplicius* may be interpreted "ingenuous;" X, 36, 7-8; X, 41, 4-8; XII, 66, 10; XII, 87, 5-6.

² I, 99, 17-19; II, 44, 11-12; V, 40; V, 70, 6; V, 76; VI, 6; VIII, 9; VIII, 29; VIII, 35; XII, 17; XI, 68, a good natured sally.

³ A famous and often quoted reply of Charles Lamb shows how naturally the wit of apparent logic is adapted to self defence. To the complaint of his employer that he repeatedly came late to his work, he answered: "But, sir you observe how often I leave early."

⁴ VIII, 17. Cf. II, 85, 3-4; II, 92, 4; II, 93, 3-4; III, 1, 6; IV, 76; V, 26; V, 62, 8; VIII, 23, 3-4; VIII, 71; XI, 76; XI, 79, 3-4; XII, 25, 5-6.

⁵ I, 56, 2; I, 109, 22 and 23; II, 11, 4; III, 56; V, 39, 10; V, 50, 3; VII, 9; VII, 33, 4; VIII, 7, 2; VIII, 21, 12; VIII, 33, 1-23; X, 24, 11; X, 36, 4; X, 39; X, 53, 4; XI, 79, 1; XI, 84.

⁶ XI, 18.

⁷ I, 11, 3 and 4; I, 26, 2; I, 69; II, 35; II, 78; III, 35, 2; III, 40; V, 21; V, 32; V, 38, 8 and 10; V, 76, 4; VI, 57, 4; VI, 59, 7-8; VII, 83; VIII, 14, 6; VIII, 52, 10; IX, 75, 10; IX, 95 b; X, 41, 4-8; XI, 14; XI, 84, 18; XI, 102, 7-8; XII, 25, 5-6; XIV 69.

⁸ III, 25.

hungry Spaniard, who almost reached the gates of Rome but learning of the state of sportula, turned back at the Mulvian bridge!¹ There is a striking contrast between the tone of simple ingenuousness and the real pointing of the moral.

Figurative wit has also a prominent place. Martial warns his patron, who himself cringes before a richer nobleman:

*Esse sat est servum, iam nolo vicarius esse.
Qui rex est regem, Maxime, non habeat.*²

A comparison, which amuses by its audacity, is the personification of the worn out furniture:

*Nam mea iam digitum sustulit hospitibus.*³

An even bolder figure is used in the complaint of the patron who always pretends to be ill:

*Tu languore quidem subito fictoque laboras.
Sed mea porrexit sportula, Paule, pedes.*⁴

But Martial takes most pleasure in the playful personification of his own works.⁵ His warning to the restless book that hurries to meet a critical public⁶ has rich imaginative wit as well as tender humor.

Many epigrams combine a large number of these forms. That upon the toothless *Maximina*⁷ is not surpassed in continuation of contrasts, and of comic descents. The quotation from Ovid

¹ III, 14.

² II, 18, 7-8.

³ V, 62, 4.

⁴ IX, 85, 4. Other instances of personification are I, 18, 5, 6 and 8; II, 23, 5; II, 66, 8; VI, 59, 5; VII, 17; VII, 48, 3 and 5; VIII, 14, 8; VIII, 28; X, 18, 6; X, 72; XII, 17; XII, 25, 3-6. Comparisons are expressed or implied in I, 53, 4-10; I, 72; I, 107, 7-8; II, 6, 14-16; II, 43, 5-6; III, 12, 4-5; III, 36, 10; III, 43, 2 and 4; III, 45, 1-2; IV, 56, 5-6; V, 18, 7-8; V, 74, 3-4; VI, 62, 4; VI, 63, 5-6; VI, 77, 7-8; VIII, 33, 3-22; VIII, 57, 5-6; IX, 50, 5-6; IX, 81, 3-4; IX, 88, 3-4; X, 3, 7-8; X, 9, 5; X, 45, 3-6; X, 49, 5; X, 59; X, 73, 6; X, 79, 9-10; X, 83, 7-8; X, 100, 3-6; XI, 42, 3-4; XI, 84, 3-12; XII, 36, 11-13; XII, 63, 10-13; XII, 78.

⁵ I, 52; I, 70; I, 108, 10; II, 1; II, 93, 2; III, 1, 6; III, 2; III, 5; IV, 86; IV, 89; VII, 84; VII, 97; VIII, 1; VIII, 72; X, 104; XI, 1; XII, 2.

⁶ I, 3.

⁷ II, 41.

prepares the reader for an encomium on the girl's beauty. The first reversal is in the insinuation, *non dixerat omnibus puellis*. A steeper fall follows:

*Verum ut dixerit omnibus puellis,
Non dixit tibi: tu puella non es.*

Then comes the cutting contrast between the tone of respectful admission and the gruesome idea, *Et tres sunt tibi, Maximina, dentes*; but this is not enough and the climax seems to be reached in the addition: *Sed plane piceique buxeique*. Every thing that has gone before is thrown completely in the shade by the grim advice which follows: "Dread laughter as Spanius with his sparse hair combed to hide the bald places dreads the wind, as Fabulla's powder fears the rain, Sabella's paint, the sun,—haunt tragedy and funerals." The parody on Ovid's words furnishes the finishing stroke: *Plora, si sapias, o puella, plora*.

All these different forms of wit owe much of their effectiveness to the art which Martial shows in handling his subject. With incomparable skill he heightens the reader's expectation to the utmost degree until the very instant of the reversal. Often he leads us along an opposite trend of thought and gives it some peculiar emphasis to enhance the contrast of the conclusion.¹ He wishes vengeance on the friend who gives so many dinners without inviting him. "I am thoroughly angry," he says; "even though you invite me repeatedly, send after me and beg of me to come,—what am I going to do about it? I intend—to come!"² He almost invariably reserves the final resolution until the last clause of the epigram, and often until the last word. Curiously enough, Leigh Hunt, in his essay on Wit and Humor, speaks of the epigram as differing from other forms of wit in that a reversal, a comic change, is expected. One may see that the idea is altogether erroneous by observing that the effect is almost entirely dependent upon the extent of the surprise. Martial knows how to put the reader into that frame of mind where the shock will be greatest. The wit, the resolution, he invariably makes as brief and startling as lightning flashes. He uses no

¹ I, 28; III, 27, 3-4; V, 26; VI, 75, 4; XI, 92; XII, 78.

² VI, 51. Cf. VII, 20, 22.

needless words and has even the faculty of getting along with half the necessary number by suggesting the rest. The importance of brevity is due to the fact that the combinations of wit are arbitrary, and hence, can interest only while they surprise. Many of the epigrams, to be sure, are not short according to the standard of length for such poems. Martial was often criticised¹ on this score, but his artistic instinct revolted at the restrictions which the critics sought to impose. His own truer canon he expressed in the words: *Non sunt longa quibus nihil est quod demere possis.*² The truth seems to be, that he felt without analyzing the idea, that comical, humorous, and ironical effects usually need stroke after stroke, and cannot be compressed into a distich. Perversity of character, for instance, must be shown in many situations that it may gain a cumulative effect. The comic of imitation necessitates expansion. But the flash of his wit, the point, is always instantaneous. A number of lines may be needed to give us a picture of the unknown nabob in the first of the knights' benches, the gems on his fingers flashing their light to the remotest corners of the theatre, his costly purple mantle, snowy toga, red-crested shoes, the ornamental plasters on his forehead; but three words contain the wit which tell us who he is, *Splenia tolle, leges.*³

In our effort to judge correctly the wit of the epigrams, we must take into consideration a criticism of Addison. He has objected to it on the ground that it is almost altogether "mixed wit,"⁴ which he defines as a mixture of true and false wit, dependent partly upon the resemblance of ideas and partly upon the resemblance of words. One need not read Martial very far to discover the inaccuracy of this observation. Innuendo, fallacious logic, invention, and the paradox are distinctly plays upon thought. Furthermore, word plays which serve as the fitting dress of cutting repartee or racy pleasantry can hardly be regarded as false wit. For all wit is based on relations which are more or less accidental and superficial, and should therefore be valued

¹ VI, 65.

² II, 77, 7.

³ II, 29.

⁴ Spectator, No. 62.

in accordance with the content rather than with the form. The wit of those puns which are pointless in one meaning may well be called false. But of these there are very few. In general, Martial had a strong dislike for ingenious nullities.¹

In estimating his wit, we may further inquire how it stands the test of the popular canon that the best wit is capable of translation. This canon has, indeed, been rejected by more than one critic whose judgment may well be regarded as keen and unbiased.² Yet, even if we accept it, we find that comparatively few epigrams are so dependent on a verbal accident of the Latin language as not to lend themselves to expression in another tongue. To be sure, the wit in translation is more or less disappointing. For it owes so much of its value to the artistic form, to the order and compression. It cannot be translated in a really satisfactory way for precisely the same reason that the picture of the degenerating Romans, which Horace framed in less than a dozen words,³ cannot retain in any other language its incomparable conciseness.

The crowning distinction of Martial's wit is its variety, keenness, and fineness of content. It serves a thousand different purposes; it is by turns the expression of friendly raillery,⁴ a nipping retort,⁵ a sly insinuation,⁶ a roughish hint,⁷ an ingenious excuse,⁸ a delicate compliment,⁹ or a graceful benediction.¹⁰ In wit as in poetry much depends upon the form, but far more upon the content. The failure to value this important criterion has been the source of many errors in criticism. Indeed, some German scholars have found it difficult to explain the popularity of wit among cultured people except on the ground of deficiency in

¹ II, 86, 9-10.

² Lamb—Popular Fallacy: That verbal allusions are not wit because they will not bear translation.

³ Odes III, 6, 47-49.

⁴ III, 20.

⁵ IV, 72.

⁶ VIII, 76, 8.

⁷ VIII, 28, 21-22; VII, 60, 7-8.

⁸ III, 1, 6.

⁹ VIII, 18, 9-10.

¹⁰ VII, 89, 3.

imagination! A few examples suffice to show the incorrectness of the explanation, such as the graceful close of the sepulchral epigram VI, 28, *Qui fles talia, nil fleas, viator*. Not the form of the witticism dependent on the use of *fere* to connect two widely remote ideas, but the logical content, "If your sympathies are so delicate, you deserve escape from sorrow," is the source of its fineness. The ordinary connection of concepts has been disturbed; a new unusual connection has been produced, but the kaleidoscopic shifting has brought with it a thought of exquisite harmony.

Indeed, some of the most admirable epigrams have a serious sort of wit and humor. How charming is the play of idea around the ever elusive "to-morrow" in the warning to Postumus.¹ There is a touch of very sympathetic humor where Martial kindly reveals the delusion cherished by his friend: "'To-morrow,' you will enjoy life, Postumus; you always say 'to-morrow.' Pray, when will your 'to-morrow' come? Where can we find it? Is it in hiding far away in the Orient? Ah! your 'to-morrow' has already consumed the years of Priam and of Nestor. Tell me for what price you can purchase your 'to-morrow.' Forsooth, you will enjoy life 'to-morrow.' It is too late, Postumus, to enjoy life to-day. He alone is the wise man who made the most of life yesterday." The serious humor of this poem may be matched by the serious wit which closes the poem on the death of the little girl, Erotion:

*Mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa nec illi,
Terra, gravis fueris: non fuit illa tibi.*²

The playful reason³ why the earth should rest lightly on the little form, gives a relief to the tension resulting from the deep pathos of the preceding lines and has at the same time a pathos of its own. The conclusion gives a startling emphasis to the picture of Erotion's slight childish figure and is in perfect harmony with the general tone of sadness. It is not the less truly entitled to be

¹ V, 58.

² V, 34, 9-10. Although the general expression is borrowed from Meleager (Anth. Lib. 3 cap. 1) Martial's order is much more effective. Furthermore, the striking application stamps the wit as original in the deepest sense.

³ The wit is technically that of fallacious reasoning.

called wit because there is no desire to laugh. Wit and humor are not divided by a sharp line from beauty and wisdom. Indeed, the word wit was for a long time nearly synonymous with wisdom and it can never quite lose its original connotation. Hence, English writers have repeatedly asserted that wit is never really laughable.¹ Possibly their statements may be too sweeping, but the discriminating judgment of Leigh Hunt surely hits the truth: "It does not follow that everything witty or humorous excites laughter; it may be accompanied with a sense of too many other things to do so,—with too much thought, with too great a perfection even, or with pathos and sorrow."

Irony, which is really a very distinctive kind of wit, is used by Martial for widely different purposes. It enters into the selection of proper names, and dubs the critic, who is unable to write, *Velox*.² It is of a light, playful character as Martial deplores his inability to imitate the Greeks in changing the quantity of words to suit the metre.³ It enforces an entirely dignified thought in the closing line of the epigram on Portia, *I nunc et ferrum, turba molesta, nega*.⁴ It is very frequently combined with other forms of wit.⁵ Though it cannot secure, in a short space, the deadly power of sustained earnestness, it shows, in some of the epigrams, remarkable subtlety and penetration. The friendly advice bestowed upon the plagiarist is the more nipping, on account of the admirable delicacy.⁶ The irony is often heightened by skillful proof and qualification, which give the appearance of a careful regard for truth.⁷ At times, it has many edges and cuts in more than one direction. The ironical epigram in which Martial promises to send his freedman as the escort of the great lord,⁸ discloses not only the servility of the ordinary client, but

¹ Cf. Chesterfield Letter CXXXIV.

² I, 110. Cf. II, 7; II, 35; X, 39.

³ IX, 11, 16-17. Light irony is also found in II, 6, 1 and 17; II, 43, 1 and 16; II, 71, 1 and 5; V, 21, 3-4; VI, 46, 2; VII, 92; XIV, 35.

⁴ I, 42, 6. Cf. sp. 22, 12; VII, 88, 10; X, 96, 13; XI, 33, 3.

⁵ I, 18, 5 and 7; II, 44; IV, 26, 4; IV, 66, 18; V, 37, 24; VIII, 33, 23-26; VIII, 67, 9; VIII, 69, 3; XII, 81.

⁶ I, 66. Cf. VIII, 48.

⁷ III, 46; IV, 46; I, 19, 3; V, 28, 8-9.

⁸ III, 46.

also the vulgarity of a patron who could wish to claim such service from a friend.

No more powerful irony has ever been attained in epigrammatic form than in the lines on the hag Philaenis.¹ What a width of contrast in time is expressed in the ironical lament:

*Rapta es ad infernas tam cito Ditis aquas?
Euboicae nondum numerabas longa Sibyllae
Tempora: maior erat mensibus illa tribus.*

Not keener are the parallel lines of Pope, which in Hazlitt's judgment contain the finest wit ever penned:

"Now night descending, the proud scene is o'er
But lives in Settle's numbers one day more"

The panegyric on the sorceress is fittingly closed with the ironical benediction:

*Sit tibi terra levis mollique tegaris harena
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.*

As a satirist, Martial shows notable deficiencies in comparison with Horace or Juvenal, the two, who may be said to have given a permanent meaning to the word satire. This meaning is indeed most complex, but loosely includes any form of humor which has an ethical purpose. It further implies indirect condemnation and is accordingly often confused with the invariable attendant, irony. It scourges the faults of individuals and the injustice of society. In this complex conception, the ethical purpose requires a capacity for moral judgment and criticism of which Martial was wholly destitute. Though he saw clearly the inconsistencies of the life around him, he never experienced the feeling of disinterested righteous indignation. His lack of ideals prevented his rising to those noble tones which are so familiar to us in Horace and Addison. The moral sensibility which can alone refine satire is always missing. He has not that exquisite moral perception that enabled Pope in his portrait of Atticus to paint the virtues as a foil for the faults. Nor has he the force of Juvenal and Swift. The bitter element in satire demands a certain latent power and a sustained intensity of feeling, which can come only from long brooding and reflection.

¹ IX, 29.

Rage must not expend itself in instantaneous denunciation; it must be suppressed that it may gather strength. But Martial's temperament favored immediate expression. Long reflection was not congenial to him. And the pressure of poverty,—*magister artis ingenique largitor*, made him dash off his epigrams as rapidly as he could. Hence, his satire is seldom of that type which secures its effect by saying hardly a tenth of what it feels.

The more caustic epigrams are unfortunately inspired by selfish motives. The intense vituperation of which Martial has shown himself capable¹ is too disagreeable a subject for one to care to linger over it. The only palliation can be that satirists have not generally been free from petty animosity. Horace believed in the function of satire as a personal weapon, and Pope wrote his most incisive verses to punish the unfairness of Addison. It is perhaps only natural that those epigrams which have the strongest satirical ring² but are free from the personal tone, should owe their indignation to the fact that the poet himself has been the sufferer. We are reminded of the controlled anger and ironical cynicism of Juvenal, as we read the advice to disinherit a son who writes poetry.³ The bitterness of the distich,

*Genus, Aucte, lucri divites habent iram:
Odisse quam donare vilius constat,*⁴

is also explained: Martial has been the victim.

On the whole, his satire is best where it is pointed by his wit. The distich III, 29, is an example of his most powerful manner. Marvelously condensed, it is at once bitterly satiric and brilliantly witty. The tone of serious purpose has an irony as deadly as Swift's. In the few words, *Has cum gemina compede dedicat catenas, Saturne, tibi Zoilus*, is pictured the whole ignominy of Zoilus' past, the fact that he had been not merely a slave, but a runaway slave as well. In the closing words, *anulos priores*, we have implied, suggested, more vividly than any statement could give it, the unwarrantable assumption of the parvenu to-day. The subtle effect is gained by saving until the end, the first mem-

¹ X, 5.

² II, 53; III, 4, 7-8; III, 37; V, 81; VI, 8; IX, 73; X, 76; XI, 24.

³ V, 56.

⁴ XII, 13.

ber of the comic contrast and then—suggesting it. It is doubtful if more contrast was ever compressed into two words.

Such epigrams, however, should not mislead us in regard to the relation which Martial bore to the world. It is true that he fully believed in the use of bitterness, as well as spiciness.¹ It was a sure proof that the dart had gone home, if some unnamed individual was trembling with fear or hatred.² The epigrammatist was thoroughly familiar with the Romans and well knew that insipid sweets had no relish for them.³ Yet he probably caused few people serious pain by his ridicule. For he removed the personal sting from the more cutting epigrams, by using fictitious names. He was aware that caustic ridicule is a dangerous weapon. As his wit was his only dependence, he could not afford to inflict wounds. "Tongilianus," he remarks, "possesses satirical wit; the result is, that he possesses nothing else."⁴ But apart from the consequences, Martial had no desire to cause needless pain. In his temperament, there was no deep-grained malice. He could not be called a good hater. Since he recognized himself as so very weak and human, and jested continually at his own expense, he could not possibly be harsh towards others. Thus he spared the humble and helpless, as well as the rich and powerful.⁵ He declared that his purpose was to attack the fault, to spare the individual. He could say more truthfully than Pope:

"Cursed be the verse, how well soe'er the flow,
That tends to make one worthy man my foe."

He preferred to use his wit to gratify friends, rather than to provoke enemies. He took delight in complimenting his acquaintances and thus conferring upon them a sort of immortality.⁶ The people of his day regarded him as a friendly humorist,

¹ VII, 25, 3.

² VI, 60.

³ VII, 25, 5-6.

⁴ XII, 88.

⁵ I, pr. 3; X, 33, 10. Cf. VII, 12; VII, 72; X, 3.

⁶ IV, 31; V, 15, 1-4. Many of these compliments, such as those paid to Silius Italicus, were simply polite lies. For Martial was too shrewd to believe what he said.

not as a stern castigator or misanthrope. Pliny is but giving expression to the popular estimate, when he says that Martial was as free from malice, as he was witty and spicy.¹

The explanation of his talent must be sought primarily in certain mental characteristics. Possibly the most striking of all these is his keen observation. Crookedness and inconsistencies were glaring to his view, because of his clearness of vision. His wit and humor were due, in great measure, to his unusual insight into human life and its motives, and to his power to seize the most salient illustrations. With this acute perception was combined an unusual imaginative power. It is a significant fact, that intimately as wit and humor are connected, few men of genius have been preëminent in both; that, in general, we can range in one group the wits, in another, the humorists of all time. Similarly, the wittiest people on the face of the earth have been declared by one of their own great countrymen to be absolutely destitute of humor;² while the Americans, whose humor is certainly most pervading and universal, if not of the highest quality, are not especially witty. The explanation seems to be that lucidity of penetration, the principal source of wit, and imaginative power, the source of humor, are very seldom so evenly balanced, as they were in Martial's case.

Certain qualities of temperament, as well as of mind, were contributing influences to his literary work. Chief among these was a cynical indifference, an absence of intense purpose. In this careless ease, he resembles the great humorist of his nation, Petronius. The quality in both is the more remarkable, because it is rarely found in a Roman character. The slight degree of emotion and interest which these two men attached to the ordinary view of success made it possible for them to regard life as a continuous comedy. Only those who are not acting a part in the comedy of life can be the true spectators. Had Martial energetically devoted himself to legal practice, as his

¹ Ep. 3, 21.

² Taine, in a discussion of the difference between the French and the English, in his "Histoire de la littérature anglaise." See also Baldensperger for full explanation of the uses in France of the word "humor."

friends advised,¹ he could not have written the epigrams. His sense of the ludicrous had free play, because of that temperamental laziness and love of ease,² which finally made the bondage of social duties intolerable to him and gave him a longing for the inactivity of country life. His personal humility is a kindred quality, which made possible that complete abandon needed by the man clad in motley. Holmes has well observed that the wit knows that his place is at the tail of the procession. Martial was entirely willing to take this place; to dispense with admiration and to enjoy mere popularity.³ Not that he undervalued his literary importance. With that unwavering assurance of future fame, which is so characteristic of the Romans, which found its earliest expression in the epitaph of Naeivius, its most triumphant, in the *Exegi monumentum*, he declares that his work shall live when the marbles along the great roads have crumbled to fragments.⁴ But this conviction never caused him to lose sight of the humble rank to which epigram and epigrammatist are entitled.⁵ He tells his friends, that the reading of his poems is about as agreeable and profitable a diversion, as playing games with nuts.⁶ His attitude is expressed in the words: *nos haec novimus esse nihil*.⁷ This freedom from pride often enabled him to see the ridiculous where others were blind. Yet another characteristic, which helps to explain his literary achievement, is his dread of ennui.⁸ In this respect he seems almost like a Frenchman. His own desire for amusement made him desire to give amusement to others. His ambition was to add to the pleasure of the hours spent over the wine and the dice.⁹ He claimed as his special right, the frivolous season of the Saturnalia.¹⁰ He was glad to provide entertainment even

¹ II, 30, 5; II, 90.

² VI, 43; XII, 68.

³ IX, pr. 6.

⁴ VIII, 3, 5-8. Cf. VII, 84, 7-8; X, 2.

⁵ XII, 94, 9.

⁶ V, 30, 7-8. Cf. I, 113, 3-4.

⁷ XIII, 2, 8. Gay was wont to preface his works with these words.

⁸ VII, 3.

⁹ II, 1, 9-10; IV, 14, 6-12.

¹⁰ V, 30, 5-6.

for the idle crowd that gathered in the porticoes to bet on the races.¹ He had a great horror of boring people.² His intense dislike of dullness and triteness had much to do with making him the wit that he was.

His talent was favored by external circumstances. He was fortunate in the material for his themes. Life was so inconsistent and insincere that, as Juvenal said, it was hard to keep from writing satire. The highly stratified society, with freedmen at the top, could show such extremes of obsequiousness, affectation, and snobbery, as have happily not been paralleled in any other period. Caste lines were sharply drawn; the rich enjoyed special privileges; and the unworthy could most easily leap the barriers between classes.³ The inevitable result was absurd emulation on the part of those in the lower strata and vulgar arrogance in high places. The importance of seeming to be rich caused extravagant outlay for showy luxuries. Men lived for appearances. Shams and pretensions were dominant. Even literature and art had their peculiar affectations.⁴ Religious hypocrisy, the vice which is the favorite theme of English satire, is, indeed, for the most part, conspicuous by its absence. Perhaps the explanation may be that when religion takes her departure, hypocrisy accompanies her, although superstition often remains behind. Yet two epigrams prove that even in that wicked age, cant was not entirely unknown.⁵ On the whole, Folly has seldom appeared in so many different guises. Like the court of Louis XIV, which has been called "a despotism tempered by epigrams," the age of Domitian was peculiarly adapted to furnish sport for the wearer of cap and bells. After Martial had retired to Spain, he fully recognized what a variety of themes had been at hand in the infinite complexity and the infinite contrasts of the metropolis. In an outburst of despair, he declared that the genius lay in the very subject matter itself.⁶

¹ XI, 1, 10-16.

² II, 1, 11-12; IV, 89.

³ V, 56.

⁴ V, 10; VIII, 69.

⁵ IX, 70; XII, 70.

⁶ XII, pr.

Another circumstance that greatly favored the epigrammatist, was the character of his audience. Wit must have appreciation. Its jewels have always been displayed in greatest profusion in such sympathetic circles as those that gathered at the Mermaid Tavern or at Will's Coffee House. Friendly listeners will often inspire dull people to say bright things. A goal, as well as a starting-point, is needed for the electric flash. In Rome there were countless idlers that would warmly welcome the author of a *bon mot*. Thus Martial's wit made him a social favorite and a frequent guest at the tables of the wealthy.¹ And the very applause which he there received was a spur to his talent. In fact, he doubtless improvised² many of his epigrams at the dinner table, just as the wits of the Queen Anne age wrote on their wine glasses the bright thoughts inspired by the wine and the good company. For many of the epigrams are simply crystallizations of conversational repartee. When the first book was published, it met with a very favorable reception.³ The readers found in the wit a most agreeable revenge for the thousand social annoyances of the day. They had been irritated by the arrogance of the rich freedmen, the burden of clientage, and the stinginess of patrons. Hence, they felt grateful to the man who could assail their oppressors. The variety of view points, taken in the different epigrams, made the appeal a very wide one. One man enjoyed the attack on the money lender;⁴ another, that on the borrower.⁵ Consequently, the books were so popular, that the dealers took them down from the shelves before the customers had time to state their wants.⁶ Even men of high official position would neglect the business of the hour to enjoy the latest book.⁷ The unusual responsiveness of the public⁸ was a strong incentive to the creative faculty.

¹ IX, 97, 9-10. Friedlaender shrewdly suggests that Martial is speaking of himself in VII, 76.

² Friedlaender.

³ V, 16, 3; VI, 60, 1-2.

⁴ II, 30.

⁵ IV, 15; VIII, 37.

⁶ I, 117, 13-17.

⁷ VII, 97, 5-6.

⁸ That the epigrams were favorite reading for journeys is proved by I, 2. Emerson, in traveling, was in the habit of taking along a volume of Martial.

In the language at hand, Martial was peculiarly fortunate. It is true that, when any language has been wielded in some definite way with especial success, we are disposed to infer the adaptability of the language from the accident of individual talent. But certain characteristics of Latin seem to indicate peculiar fitness for epigrammatic expression. In the first place, it is free from emotion, marked by frigidity and sententiousness, accordingly but ill adapted to the lyric. Now the epigram is the one form of poetry that involves little emotion; it is distinctively intellectual. So true is this that the German word "Sinngedicht" is derived from the idea of thought and reflection. Again, brevity and conciseness, capacity for compression, are too characteristic of Latin writers, from Cato to Tacitus, to be merely accidental; these, too, are the very essentials of the epigram. Perhaps the most marked feature of Latin is its periodic structure, due to the high degree of inflection, its power to accumulate effect or to gain effect by arrangement. The wit of epigrammatic poetry almost hangs upon arrangement; the resolution must be saved for the right moment, and at the same time, inversions must be perfectly natural. Furthermore, Latin readily lends itself to the antithetic form which wit so often assumes. Hence, the instinct which has made epigrammatists of every period turn to this language for expression, has not been without its basis in real reason.

But the language could be of service only to the man who knew how to use it. Martial's ready command of its resources contributes more to the wit and humor than the casual reader is likely to perceive. His style is as clear as a crystal. He has a great horror of obscurity. He desires that he may please the learned, but may not need their interpretation.¹ He has that same natural, conversational quality in the use of language as distinguishes the English epigrammatist, Prior. He always avoids the pitfalls of labored effort and of inflation.² He wisely prefers to be negligent in expression than to be over-precise.³

¹ X, 21.

² II, 86, 9-10; IV, 49, 7-8.

³ IX, 81, 2-3. XIV, 120, shows a preference for the colloquial form of a word to the etymological form used by half educated schoolmasters.

The easy simplicity of his style gives to his jokes the same telling effect that the apparent carelessness of the narrator gives to the humorous story.

From the time when he began to write until he left Rome, there was but little change in the quality or power of his wit and humor. The probability is that most of his epigrams were written after he reached middle age. There must be a slight exaggeration in his reference to the jokes of his boyhood.¹ Authors have not infrequently been disposed to assign their work to the period of youth in order to gain more tolerant treatment. At least, we know that Martial was about twenty-five years old when he came to Rome. He can hardly have written much before this time. City life alone can foster wit. The years immediately succeeding his arrival must have been spent in acquiring familiarity with the great city. Some social experience must have been needed before the provincial could discover where his talent lay. Besides, the taste for satire comes only with maturity. The cynical element is not congenial to the hopeful enthusiasm of youth. Hence, most of the epigrams were probably composed after Martial was forty years of age. The fertility of his genius up to the time when he returned to Spain is amazing.² Had he remained at Rome, his creative power would have shown no tendency to wane. For the darts of wit and the edge of satire are not dulled, but sharpened by advancing years.

His literary fate, however, had already been determined. Immortality is his, because he first embodied and combined in the form of the epigram many kinds of wit and humor. Judged from the poetical standpoint alone, he could claim no high rank. He was a stranger to the love, longing, and hope which makes the lyric poet. It is true that he did possess a slight portion of the idyllic spirit; a feeling for the delights of the country and a power to picture the charms of the hunt and of

¹ I, 113, 1.

² His talent seems the more remarkable when we consider that his wit was his dependence. Cf. IV, 49, 1-2, and remarks by Charles Lamb in *Newspapers Thirty-five Years Ago*, on the difficulty of furnishing a stipulated number of jokes.

the farmer's fireside.¹ Now and then he shows a certain affinity with Herrick. But his descriptions of country life are relatively few and are far inferior to similar classic, as well as modern, delineations. The deadening effect of his residence in Spain, where he was surrounded by rich rural beauty, is clear proof that his talent was not essentially idyllic. But in humor and wit, he occupies an absolutely unique place.² His humor in some instances, to be sure, is marred by change of customs and ideals. As humor makes a demand on the sympathies, it loses its effect when viewpoints change. While it is enjoyed, it pleases far more than wit. It has the further advantage, that it will not be hurt by frequent rereading, so long as the reader's likes and dislikes remain fixed. But it suffers instantly from a change in taste. It is, accordingly, only natural that Martial's humor should have lost value for the modern world. Yet, we should not forget that it widely appealed to the people of his day. It was delightfully amusing to the Romans, familiar by daily experience with the oddities upon which he turned the searchlight of his own keen observation. Moreover, it is occasionally so rich that it impresses some readers as his distinctive quality. His wit, however, is his real title to fame. It will never lose its value; for it appeals to the intellect, not to the sympathies. It is remarkable for variety, vivacity, overflowing wealth, and frequent fineness and delicacy. It is, in rare instances, so brilliant, that we feel as if Martial "had meant to fling his whole soul in the jest and live a fool the rest of his dull life." He has been more successful than Lessing or Goethe, Prior or Burns, in combining in a few short lines many tones of wit, humor, irony, and satire. In his peculiar field, the Latin epigrammatist has been imitated by many, equalled by none.

¹ I, 49.

² During the life time of Martial, his wit and humor were the chief grounds of his fame. The only epigram which he mentions because of its unusual popularity (VIII, 28, mentioned in IX, 49, 1-2) is richly humorous.

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