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MARTIAL AND THE «VITA BEATIOR»

It is a well-known fact that in the age of the Flavii, especially under Vespasian and Domitian, the opposition of the Senate was very strong and active, the ideological foundations of which, according to Wendland¹ and Rostovtzeff², were supplied by the cynical and stoical philosophers. These philosophers carried on political and social propaganda on several panels, and with their doctrines they equally influenced the social conceptions of both the educated notabilities and the destitute masses. Their doctrines, among which the contraposition of the tyrannism and the stoical kingdom occupied a central position, were spread among the educated layers through their literary works and among the people of the street through the preachings of itinerant philosophers. According to this the tyrant is a despot, while the king, as the most eminent one, is chosen by god and his power is not hereditary. This doctrine bore hard on the Flavii whose dynastic ambitions were of common knowledge. Already Vespasian had several leaders of the opposition executed and had the philosophers banished from Italy,³ but the same was done also by Domitian under whose reign the opposition became even more active.⁴

In the oeuvre of Martial, one of the best known poets of this period, we find several epigrams which can be brought into connection with the contemporary philosophical trends. These are not only therefore important for us because they throw light on education and view of life of this poet, but also because we can surmise in them the reflection of the contemporary political and social events.

Cynicism

In epigram No. 81 of the *apophoreta* the bag asks that with its future master it should not be compelled to carry mendicated lunches and to sleep with a sad dog:

*Ne mendica ferat barbati prandia nudi
dormiat et tristi cum cane, pera rogat* (XIV 81).

Generally, these lines are interpreted in two ways: the bag should not belong to a beggar, or: not to a cynic philosopher.⁵ I accept the latter interpretation as correct because Martial in another epigram of his expressively calls the cynic philosopher *canis*:

*Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados et templi limina, Cosme, novi
cum baculo peraque senem, cui cana putrisque
stat coma et in pectus sordida barba cadit. . .
esse putas Cynicum deceptus imagine ficta:
non est hic Cynicus, Cosme: quid ergo? Canis (IV 53).*

The point is in the word *canis*: Judging by the outward appearance of the old chap, one could believe that he is a Cynic that is a man, however, he is not a man but a dog. In one of the epigrams of Lucillius the point is furnished by the same idea, *viz.* the Cynic is no man but a dog:⁶

*Εἶναι μὲν κυνικόν σε, Μενέστρατε, κἀνυπόδητον
καὶ ὄργοῦν οὐδεὶς ἀντιλέγει καθόλου.
ἂν δὲ παρορπάξῃς ἄστυς καὶ κλάσματ' ἀναιδῶς,
κἀγὼ ῥάβδον ἔχω, καὶ σὲ λέγονσι κύντα.* (A. P. XI. 153.)

The cynic philosophers, wanting to stress their modesty also by their outward appearance, wore a coarse mantle quasi as a uniform and carried a stick and a bag. They had no abode of their own, therefore they crouched in streets, squares and public buildings. They did not cut their hair and did not shave their beard (Diog. Laert. VI. 13, 105). Their doctrine can be summed up in a single sentence: ἀτάρκεια τὴν ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν virtue is sufficient for happiness, *i. e.* the two coincide (VI. 11.). Therefore we can also put it as follows: τέλος εἶναι τὸ κατ' ἀρετὴν ζῆν. (VI 104).

But the epigrammatists cast up against them just that they only preach but do not live up to it. Lucillius tells us that the Cynic, who gives himself out as the guardian of virtue, was caught in such a situation about which it is unseemly even to speak;⁷ with his tongue that preaches virtue he does ugly things:

*Οὗτος ὁ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀδάμης βραχύς, οὗτος ὁ πάντη
πᾶσιν ἐπιπλήσων, οὗτος ὁ ὄργομάχος
καὶ πώγωνα τρέφων ἕλω. τί γάρ; ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν
ἀλλ' ἕλω ποιῶν ἔργα κακοστομάτων.* (A. P. XI. 155.)

In one of the epigrams of Martial practically the same thing is done by Mamurianus, who lives in such poor conditions alike the cynic philosophers (*et bibis immundam cum cane pronus aquam*) and still he molests boys (I 92). But Apicius is no better either, who does not speak evil about anybody (thus he is seemingly virtuous), and still he is said to be ill-tongued:

*De nullo quereris, nulli maledicis, Apici:
rumor ait linguae te tamen esse malae.* (III 80).

The *malae linguae* (ill-tongued) expressing the point is exactly as equivocal as the Lucillian *κακωστομάτων*: with his mouth he says, or does bad things. The fact that in the case of the above epigrams we do not have to do with simple imitations of Lucillius but with the personal criticism of Martial, can be proved also with other passages: he compares the haggard old body of Vetustilla with that of an old Cynic (III 93,13). Describing the cruel hair-cutting technique of the barber Antiochus, he remarks that the master of this kind should not cut the hair of men but the mane of horses and the beard of the Stoics and Cynics (XI 84,7).

Stoicism

His opinion about the Stoics is more complex. The fact that he mentions them twice together with the Cynics, in the same sarcastic manner (VII 64,8; XI 84,7), shows that he did not agree with their way of living and their teachings either, and lumped them with the Cynics. The Stoics set nice death above anything and regarded suicide as a very laudable act. Seneca in his moral epistles frequently stresses the following ideas: *Interest nihil, illa (mors) ad nos veniat, an ad illiam nos* (69,6); *Citius mori aut tardius ad rem non pertinet, bene mori aut male ad rem pertinet. Bene autem mori est effugere male vivendi periculum* (70,6); *Ille vir magnus est, qui mortem sibi non tantum imperavit sed invenit.* (70,25.)⁸

In XI 56 Chaeremon also praises death:

*Quod nimium mortem, Chaeremon Stoice, laudas,
vis animum mirer suspiciamque tuum?
Hanc tibi virtutem fracta facit urceus ansa,
et tristis nullo qui tepet igne focus. . .
Rebus in angustis facile est contemnere vitam:
fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest.*

Chaeremon does not praise death because of his stoic conviction but because of his misery. To be sure, if he were rich he would never want to die.

However, he rejects the idea of death of the convinced Stoics either. He praises Decianus because, although he is a Stoic, he still does not despise life. He follows the doctrines of Thræsea and Cato so that he does not run with naked breast against a drawn sword. According to Martial real heroism is to represent our principles so that in the meantime we also shall preserve our lives:

*Nolo virum facili redemit qui sanguine famam,
hunc volo, laudari qui sine morte potest.* (I 8,5-6.)

Both epigrams formulate in strikingly effective sentences the idea which is the foundation of Martial's whole oeuvre: life is more valuable than anything else. In all this the only striking circumstance is that he tells us this idea with the words of the Roman thinker who stressed the stoic concept of nice death most consistently and exemplified it also with his own life. It has been observed already by G. Friedrich that Martial's *fortiter ille facit qui miser esse potest* is a Senecan reminiscence,⁹ cp.: *Saepe impetum cepi abrumpendae vitae; patris me indulgentissimi senectus retinuit. . . Itaque imperavi mihi, ut viverem. Aliquando enim vivere fortiter facere est* (ep. 78,2). However, Seneca speaks about certain extraordinary cases, i. e. sometimes it can happen that to live is a greater thing than to die, but Martial definitely declares that it is always a greater courage to live than to die. His formulation is tricky and misleading: he tells us his own thoughts as if they were those of the great stoic master Seneca.

The fact that we do not have to do with an accidental coincidence can be concluded from those numerous parallelisms of ideas which can be observed in the statements of the satirical epigrams of Martial and the moral epistles of Seneca. Only their methods are different. Seneca expounds his moral views in a deductive manner, while Martial works with the method of induction, *viz.* he starts with individual cases and draws the general moral from them. Thus several epigrams of his appear to be the illustrations of the Senecan ideas. Below we give only a foretaste from the most important spheres of his thoughts:

a) Wealth is dishonest and dangerous, therefore it does not make us happy, cp. Sen. ep. 87,22; 85,12; 20,10; 4,4; 76,31; 95,16; 95,25. — Mart. II 68; II 26; VI 50; XI 87; IX 92; XII 13; XII 97.

b) The rich man cannot be free, cp. Sen. ep. 51,9; 104, 34. — Mart. II 32,8; II 53; IX 9.

c) Luxury is a harmful and unreasonable squandering, cp. Sen. ep. 2,6; 4,10; 5,6; 17,4; 68,10; 86,7; 100,6; 123,7. — Mart. II 90; III 15; V 13,1—2; V 20,5—10; IV 77; V 81; XI 32; XI 27. —

d) If fate makes us rich, we must share our wealth with others: Sen. ep. 6,4. — Mart. IX 22,16.

e) We must stick to the activity we have once chosen, and we must raise it to the level of perfection, cp. Sen. ep. 13,16; 22,4; 23,9—10; 36,4; 45,1; 101,4; 120,20. — Mart. II 7; II 64; IV 78; XII 94.

f) Sporting pushes intellect into the background; a thick neck does not go well with an educated man; instead of it we should rather do useful work, cp. Sen. 15,2; 57,1; 78,16; 80,2. — Mart. IV 4,10; III 82; VII 32; XIV 48;9; XIV 201.

g) The use of scents and colourful, womanish dresses is incorrect, cp. Sen. 108,16. — Mart. II 12; III 55; VI 41; VI 55;

h) We should not do harm to anybody, because this is dangerous, cp. Sen. ep. 105,4—7. — Mart. VII 12.

i) Appearances, the neglected dressing, long hair, the hypocritical talk do not make a philosopher, cp. Sen. ep. 5,2; 16,3; 20,2; 29,3; 108,38. — Mart. I 8; IV 53; IX 47.

j) We must enter into competition with the most eminent ones; it is no glory to overcome the bad ones, cp. Sen. ep. 85,5. — Mart. X 10; XII 36, etc.

Martial could forthwith agree with the above Senecan ideas, so much the more as these were not explicitly stoic doctrines but rather epicurean ones. In certain cases Seneca quotes them directly from Epicurus.¹⁰ Contemporary Epicurism became loose, partly it showed an inclination towards hedonism (this has left behind several traces in the poetry of Horace and Martial), and partly its more noble doctrines were taken over by the Stoa. But they were also widespread in popular philosophy.¹¹ However Martial took over also such Senecan formulations the intellectual contents of which he did not accept. Therefore he used them to express other ideas. The following ideas are expounded by Seneca in his epistles several times: We should not take care of the morrow, we must live today, making the most of every minute, because otherwise life flies away, without our having lived: *Fac ergo, mi Lucili, quod facere te scribis, omnes horas complectere. Sic fiet, ut minus ex crastino pendeas, si hodierno manum inieceris. Dum differtur, vita transcurrit* (I 2). — *Recognosce singulos, considera universos; nullius non vita spectat in crastinum. Quid in hoc sit mali, quaeris? Infinitum. Non enim vivunt, sed victuri sunt. Omnia differunt. Etiam si adtenderemus, tamen nos vita praecurreret: nunc vero cunctantes quasi aliena transcurrit et ultimo die finitur, omni perit.* (45,13) — *Doce non esse positum bonum vitae in spatio eius, sed in usu, posse fieri, immo saepissime fieri, ut qui diu vixit, parum vixerit* (49,10) — *Ideo propera, Lucili mi, vivere et singulos dies singulas vitas puta. Qui hoc modo se aptavit, cui vita sua cotidie fuit tota, securus est; in spem viventibus proximum quodque tempus elabitur subitque aviditas et miserimus ac miserrima omnia efficiens metus mortis.* (101,10), cp. also 12,9; 78,20; 76,5; 74,12. We find similar formulations with Martial:

*Non est, crede mihi, sapientis dicere «Vivam»:
sera nimis vita est crastina: vive hodie* (I 15,11 — 12).

*vivere quod propero pauper nec inutilis annis,
da veniam: properat vivere nemo satis* (II 90,3 — 4).

*si sapis, utaris totis, Colline, diebus
extremumque tibi semper adesse putes* (IV 54,3 — 4);

*Nunc vivit necuter sibi, bonosque
soles effugere atque abire sentit,
qui nobis pereunt et inputantur.
Quisquam vivere cum sciat, moratur?* (V 20,11 — 14);

*Cras vives? hodie iam vivere, Postume, serum est:
ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit heri* (V 58);

*at nostri bene computentur anni
et quantum tetricae tulare febres*

*aut languor gravis aut mali dolores
a vita meliorem separentur:
infantes sumus et senes videmur.* (VI 70,7–11)

*Vive velut raptō fugitivaque gaudia carpe:
perdiderit nullum vita reversa diem.* (VII 47,11–12)

*Titulle, moneo vive: semper hoc serum est:
sub paedagogo coeperis licet, serum est.* (VIII 44,1–2) cp. also V 64;
VI 27.

These are quite similar formulations, but Seneca denotes with the verb *vivere* the study of philosophy, the practice of virtue, while Martial denotes with it the enjoyment of life. Seneca discusses this question several times and he always arrives at the same conclusion, viz.: *Per se enim colligitur unum bonum esse, quod honestum, per se rursus, ad vitam beatam satis esse virtutem. Si unum bonum est, quod honestum, omnes concedunt ad beate vivendum sufficere virtutem* (85,17),¹² cp. also 71,5; 74,10; 76,18; 88,5. From these words it evidently follows that he regards the enjoyments and sensual joys as being bad: *Vitium esse voluptatem credimus* (59,1).

Epicurism

What does Martial mean by the enjoyment of life? Health is the fundamental condition of all enjoyments. Therefore he considers only the years spent in health as life: *non est vivere, sed valere vita est.* (VI 70,15). According to the Stoics, and thus also according to Seneca, health is not absolutely necessary for life, for the practice of virtue: *Corpus tuum valetudo tenet, non et animum. . . Nihil agere te credis, si temperans aeger sis? Ostendes morbum posse superari vel certe sustineri. Est, mihi crede, virtuti etiam in lectulo locus* (78,20–21). According to Martial illness goes together with pain and where pain is present, there good life is out of question. Cicero, dealing with the doctrines of Epicurus, discusses the concept of Epicurean pleasure in detail and stresses that the Epicurean *voluptas* is not the devouring of special pleasures, but painless condition: *Quodsi vita doloribus referta maxime fugienda est, summum profecto malum est vivere cum dolore; cui sententiae consentaneum est ullimum esse bonorum cum voluptate vivere* (De finibus 1,12; Us. fr. 397). Thus, since pleasant life is the principal good, we must strive to achieve this: *sed ista sequimur, ut sine cura metuque vivamus, animumque et corpus, quantum efficere possimus, molestia liberemus* (De finibus 1, 15). In my opinion the coincidence of Martial's ideal in life with the Epicurean one cannot be accidental. And if it is not accidental then we must find also other parallels between Martial's ideal in life and the Epicurean ideal in life.

Martial deals with the question of good life in numerous epigrams. Among these especially important are those three in which he speaks almost as if in confession about his desires. These are no satirical epigrams, but they are not panegyric either, they are confessions about his desires

and ideals. From the first one we come to know what the living-space his natural environment is like in which he could live happily:

*Vota tui breviter si vis cognoscere Marci
clarum militiae, Fronto, togaeque decus,
hoc petit, esse sui nec magni ruris arator,
sordidaque in parvis otia rebus amat* (I 55,1-4).

He yearns for a small rural farm, for such in which everything is grown: which perfectly satisfies the natural desires of life; which provides food, warmth, fish and game. The penultimate line stresses also specially that nothing that was brought on the table had been purchased: *et sua non emptus praeparat ova cinis* (I 55,12). With this sentence he consciously stresses that he is perfectly satisfied with what the small farm provides him.¹³

The epigram written to Quintilian gives a somewhat more detailed picture of this simple, natural life near to nature:

*me focus et nigros non indignantia fumos
tectae iuvant et fons vivus et herba rudis.
Sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima coniunx,
sit nox cum somno, sit sine lite dies* (II 90,9-10).

Tranquil life is promoted not only by the natural environment but also by the human milieu. Everybody is contented. It becomes evident from the lines that the charm of this life, its grandeur does not lie in the enjoyment of luxurious wealth, but in the absence of the disturbing and disquieting factors. The poet confesses himself an adherent of natural simplicity. His desires are delimited by nature and not by spoiled intellect (therefore the *non doctissima coniunx*). According to Epicurus the man living such a life can be regarded as really rich, cp. Usener *Fragg.* 202; 207; *Kyr. dox.* XV. The man of this character lives unperceived (hidden), cp. Usener *Frag.* 551.

The third epigram depicts this happy life in an even more detailed form. It does not only enumerate the material and personal conditions assuring calm, but it also elucidates the philosophical¹⁴ background of happy life. Since each line of it is important, I quote it in full:

*Vitam quae faciant beatiorem,
iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt:
res non parta labore sed relicta;
non ingratus ager, focus perennis;
lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta;
vires ingenuae, salubre corpus;
prudens simplicitas, pares amici;
convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;
nox non ebria sed soluta curis;*

*non tristis torus et tamen pudicus;
 somnus qui faciat breves tenebras;
 quod sis esse velis nihilque malis;
 summum nec metuas diem nec optes.* (X 47).

We find a characteristic phrase already in the third line, *viz.*: property not acquired but inherited. As a matter of fact, the acquisition of property involves many difficulties and it does not assure the tranquil condition that according to the Epicureans is the principle good. We know about several such Epicurean fragments which denounce the earning of money, cp. Sent. Vat.¹⁵ 43; a free man should not earn much money, because he can do so only by the sale of his freedom, cp. Sent. Vat. 67. The other requirements also belong to the conditions of the Epicurean *iucunde vivere*, *viz.*: the absence of litigation, the unfrequently worn toga (*toga rara*) are the eternal desire of the free man living aloof from public affairs; the *mens quieta* means that undisturbed spiritual peace which is one of the main conditions of good life, just like the healthy body (*salubre corpus*).¹⁶ The concept of *pares amici* is an important condition of quietude. In Epicurism friendship is a central concept, cp. Kyr. dox. 27, but friends must be equal, because their coexistence can be free of inconveniences only in that way. The *sine arte mensa*, the *nox non ebria sed soluta curis*, the *non tristis torus et tamen pudicus* mean that natural way of enjoying life and love, which is the source of the purest delights, since its limits are set by nature, and nature is never mistaken, cp. Kyr. dox. V, VI, XV. Each of the last two lines formulates an Epicurean idea: *quod sis esse velis nihilque malis* — *Τῆς ἀταραξείας καρπὸς μέγιστος ἐλευθερία*. (Sent. Vat. 77); *summum nec metuas diem nec optes* — *ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὔτε παραιτεῖται τὸ ζῆν οὔτε φοβεῖται τὸ μὴ ζῆν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀτῶ προσίσταται τὸ ζῆν, οὔτε δοξάζεται κατὰν εἰναι τι τὸ μὴ ζῆν*. (Ep. ad Men. 126).

The number of parallel passages can, of course, still be increased. In epigram No. 77 of book IV he writes as follows: *Numquam divitias deos rogavi/contentus modicis meoque laetus* (1–2). The contented man lives a happy life even under modest conditions, cp. ep. ad Men. 126. He praises Antony, because he lived in a way that he can always remember his past years with happiness: *Ampliat aetatis spatium sibi vir bonus: hoc est vivere bis, vita posse priore frui* (X 23,7–8); good life is double life. Cicero formulates this Epicurean idea as follows: *sed ut iis bonis erigimur quae expectamus, sic laetamur iis quae recordamur. Stulti autem malorum memoria torquentur, sapientes bona praeterita grata recordatione renovata delectant* (De finibus, 17; Us. frag. 397). To his friend Julius Martialis he writes the following lines:

*Si vitare velis acerba quaedam
 et tristis animi cavere morsus,
 nulli te facias nimis sodalem:
 gaudebis minus et minus dolebis.* (XII 34,8–11).

Immoderateness, even in friendship, always involves excitements and disturbing inconveniences. However, we must avoid what goes with pain, cp. Sent. Vat. 81.

It is interesting that in these epigrams reflecting Epicurean reminiscences the *rectum*, the *honestum* and the *virtus* do not appear anywhere. This can be explained with the fact that from the viewpoint of Epicurism virtue is indifferent: it is good if it brings delight, but it is bad if it involves suffering, cp. Usener Frag. 70; 116. He gives prominence to quite different values when he praises the Stoic Decianus:

*si quis erit recti custos, mirator honesti
et nihil arcano qui roget ore deos,
si quis erit magnae subnixus robore mentis:
dispeream si non hic Decianus erit.* (I 39,5–8).

Decianus admires *honestum*. Obviously, *honestum* for him is the *summum bonum*, just like for Seneca. He does not ask anything secretly from the gods what he could not ask in the presence of others (*nihil arcano roget ore deos*). This is also one of the criteria of honesty, and, of course, a Senecan idea, viz.: *nihil deum roges, nisi quod rogare possis palam* (ep. 10,5).

Summing up what has been said, we can state that Martial knew the main ethical doctrines of the Cynics, the Stoics and the Epicureans. About the Cynics he always writes in a pejorative manner, and he frequently does the same about the Stoics too. Epicurism is the only fashionable philosophical school which he never derides,¹⁷ on the contrary, as we have seen, the *vita beator* so much desired by him in many respects coincides with the Epicurean happiness, the *iucunde vivere*.¹⁸ When he ridicules the Cynics and the Stoics, who were the spokesmen of the senate, by this he also stresses his loyalty to the Emperor. Thus he fills the centuries old commonplaces (Cynic – dog; Cato – hypocrite¹⁹) with actual political contents.²⁰

¹ P. Wendland: Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur. Tübingen 1972. 75–91.

² M. Rostovtzeff: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich. I. Leipzig 1929. 90–111; cf. R. Syme, Tacitus. Oxford 1958, 552–561.

³ Dio Cassius 66,13 Suet. Vesp. 15.

⁴ Suet. Dom. 10. Dio Cassius 67, 12–13.

⁵ M. Valerii Martialis epigrammaton libri, with explanatory notes by L. Friedlaender. I. Leipzig 1886. 316.

⁶ Vespasian told the same thing to the Cynic philosopher Demetrius: *Demetrium Cynicum in itinere obvium sibi post damnationem ac neque assurgere neque salutare se dignantem, oblatrantem etiam nescio quid, satis habuit canem appellare* (Suet. Vesp. 14). The denomination *kynikoi* derives either from the placename Kynosarges, where the founder of the school Antisthenes taught, or from the word *κύων* – 'dog' Diog. Laert. VI 33, 60). The famous cynic philosopher Diogenes had called himself already so, obviously because of his simple way of living.

⁷ He uses the same locution in connection with hypocrites of the Cato type: *et pudet fari |Catoniana, Chreste, quod facis lingua* (IX. 27, 13–14).

⁸ The quotations have been taken from the following edition: Seneca ad Lucilium epistulae morales. With an English translation by *Richard M. Gummere*, Ph. D. I—III. London 1925. The Loeb Classical Library.

⁹ *G. Friedrich*: Zu Seneca und Martial. *Hermes* 45 (1910) 586.

¹⁰ Cp. on the question of wealth and poverty: «*Magnae divitiae sunt lege naturae composita paupertas*» (Sen. 4, 10 — Usener Fragg. 477, 200; «*Honesta res est laeta paupertas*» Senec. 2, 6 — Usener Frag. 475; «*We have to live today*»: Usener Frag. 491, etc. Cp. *E. Komornicka*: *Studium I.* 1970, 11—18.

¹¹ These ideas can also be found in the moral fables of Phaedrus, which frequently propagate the doctrines of popular philosophy, cp. the type of man who undertakes everything: II 5; *Nulli nocendumst*: I 26, 1 — Epicurus Kyr. dox. 31, 33, 35; everybody should be contented with his own: A. II 13—15; IV 18; the fate of the poor and the rich: IV 6, etc.

¹² From this formulation it becomes evident that Seneca's moral philosophy coincided with that of the Cynics. This is why Martial sometimes lumps the Stoics together with the Cynics.

¹³ The vocabulary and world of ideas of this epigram depicts moreover that idyllic and simple life which was almost a commonplace in Greek and Roman literatures, cp. Verg. *Ecl.* II, 28—30; Hor. *Epod.* II; Tib. I 1—14, etc. About this question cp. *R. Vischer*: *Das einfache Leben*. Göttingen 1965, 126—171.

¹⁴ In this epigram we have already to do not simply with the literary topos of plain life, but with the so-called philosophical simplicity, i. e. we also come to know why simple life is good, and this is the difference between idyllic and philosophical simplicity, cp. *R. Vischer*: op. cit. 170.

¹⁵ The collection known by the title *Sententiae Vaticanae* (or *Cnomologium Vaticanum*) is quoted by us on the edition of *F. A. Petrowski*: *Lucreti De rerum natura libri VI. II. Dissertationes. Commentarii Epicuri et Empedoclis fragmenta*. Moscow 1947. 612—624.

¹⁶ Cp. Juv. 10, 356: *Orandum est, ut sit mens sana in corpore sano*.

¹⁷ Juvenal is of the same opinion as Martial, cf. *G. Hight*: *The Philosophy of Juvenal*. *TAPhA* 80 (1949) 254—270; *Petronius*, too, cf. *O. Raith*, *Petronius ein Epikureer*. Nürnberg 1963. 28—33.

¹⁸ The central problem of the whole oeuvre of Martial is the strive for pleasant life. All other questions, ethical and aesthetical alike, are subordinated to this, cp. Praef. I; 35, etc. Epicurism also valued, and held good or bad, everything from the viewpoint of the fundamental principle *incomune vivere*. *I. Borzsák* shows in his study *EPhK* 70 (1947) 1—21, that the *simplicitas* concepts of Martial and Petronius coincide. In the same study he quotes the verse insertion from the Satyricon, in which Epicurus is praised by Encolpius: *Ipse pater veri doctus Epicurus in arte / iussit et hoc vitam dixit habere relos* (132,15). With the fact that we have shown that Epicurism is hidden also behind Martial's view of life, we have further increased the number of parallelisms to be observed between Martial and Petronius. Cf. *P. Innocenti*: *Per una storia dell'epicureismo*. *RSF* 27(1972) 123—147.

¹⁹ Martial's anti-Catonianism is so well-known that its discussion could safely be omitted. On the question see *I. Borzsák*: *Op. cit.* and *H. Bardon*: *Les empereurs et les lettres latines d'Auguste a Hadrien*. Paris 1968². 333—335.

²⁰ In his panegyric epigrams to Domitian he writes many times that the emperor surpasses Hercules, the hero and ideal of the Stoics, cf. V 65; IX 64; 65; lol etc. It is instructive that Lucretius says the same about Epicurus: V 22—53. *C. Bailey* observes to the locus: *For this reason Lucr. treats of him at greater length, and argues that the extinction of these physical contemporary monsters was nothing to the permanent relief which Epicurus had afforded to the mind of man by freeing it from its terrors. He therefore deserves the title of deus much more than Hercules*. *Titus Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex*. Oxford 1950². III 1325.