

Images of Domitius Apollinaris in Pliny and Martial:  
Intertextual Discourses as Aspects of Self-Definition and Differentiation  
Sigrid Mratschek

### I. Poet and epistolographer: intertextuality and self-representation (Abstract)

Pictures are ‘a direct shot into the brain’.<sup>1</sup> In discursive terms, their message is an interplay of intellect and sensory perception. Such is the case in a series of repeatedly shifting portraits of the prominent senator L. Domitius Apollinaris. Martial, a knight from the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, produced satirical snapshots of social networking with his patron Apollinaris. Pliny the Younger, a senator from northern Italy, was an ‘engaged observer’ of such relationships and the author of metadiscursive prose epistles *to* and *about* Apollinaris. In the interplay of intertextual discourse between these different genres, the character sketches of Apollinaris should be understood not as depictions of an empirical reality, but as reflections of the ways in which their authors identify themselves and the world around them. In his interactions with Martial’s poems and with Domitius Apollinaris as protagonist, using visions of the underworld as figures for the political atmosphere in Rome and competing to visualise the most beautiful *locus amoenus*, Pliny developed subtle performative strategies and ideas that allowed him to reinvent himself as *littérateur* and politician.

### II. The focus of networks: Domitius Apollinaris, Martial and Pliny the Younger

#### 1. Career and family

L. Domitius Apollinaris, governor of Lycia-Pamphylia (93-96)

A. Balland, *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII 103-117 = AE 1981, 826:

6 statue bases honour Apollinaris and his family:

The governor (□□□□□), Valeria Vet(t)illa, his wife, Domitius Seneca, his son, Clodia Decmina, wife to Domitius Seneca, P. Valerius Patruinus, Apollinaris father-in-law, Neratiolus.

#### 2. Home

[Domit]ia [Apolli]naris f. [Fa]dilla, his daughter (Pais 899 = Rhoda, *Iscrizioni* 20).

AS: Vercellae, G. Alföldy, *Gallia Cisalpina* 328, no. 6.

#### 3. Honorary inscription

dedicated from the *Vercellenses* to C. Plinius Caecilius Secundus (CIL V 5667).

AS: Fegii, *pagus* Cantù, Ager Mediolanensis.

---

<sup>1</sup> Apophthegm of the Saarbrücken behaviourist and marketing guru Werner Kroeber-Riel, cited after the review of R. Gries: „Stefan Aust/Stefan Kiefer (ed.), Die Kunst des SPIEGEL, Kempen 2004“, in *Humanities, Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte* 2006, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-Berlin.de/rezensionen/2006-1-2003>.

### III. The politician (*negotium*)

#### Visions of the underworld: Apollinaris vs. Pliny and the senate of Rome

4. Apollinaris the ex-consul (*suff.* 97) going back for refreshment to his home town

Mart. 10.12.1-3: *Aemiliae gentes et Apollineas Vercellas  
et Phaethontei qui petis arva Padi,  
ne vivam, nisi te, Domiti, dimitto libenter ...*

5. Apollinaris ,katabasis' from the upper world (Vercellae) into the underworld (Rome)

Mart. 10.12.9-12: *Et venies albis non cognoscendus amicis  
livebitque tuis **pallida turba** genis.  
Sed via quem dederit **rapiet** cito Roma **colorem**  
Niliaco redeas tu licet ore niger.*

Tib. 1.10.37-38: *Illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo  
errat ad obscuros **pallida turba** lacus.*

cf. Tib. 1.3.65 : *rapax mors*

6. The sight of many calamities: the pallor of the accused

Tac. Agr. 45.2: *Praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, ...  
cum **denotandis** tot hominum **palloribus** sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo  
se contra pudorem muniebat.*

7. The Certus affair: Pliny's descent into the kingdom of Death

I. Marchesi, *The Art of Pliny's Letters* 37 on the Sibyl's warning:

Plin. ep. 9.13.12 = Verg. Aen. 6.105: *Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante  
peregi.*

Plin. ep. 9.13.13: *dicit Domitius Apollinaris, consul designatus.*

8. Rewriting Roman history

Plin. ep. 9.13.22-23: *Obtinui tamen, quod intenderam. Nam collega Certi consula-  
tum, successorem Certus accepit ...*

9. Pliny, a ,new Cicero': the lost speech *De ultione Helvidi*

Plin. ep. 1.2.4: *Non tamen omnino Marci nostri □□□□□□□ fugimus ...*

Cic. Att. 1.14.3: *Total hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus ... soleo  
pingere, de flamma, de ferro (nisti illas □□□□□□□) ...*

#### IV. The owner of the villa (*otium*)

##### The semiotics of visualising: Apollinaris' Formianum vs. Pliny's Tusci

###### 10. Introduction: climate and site

Mart. 10.30.1-4: *O temperatae dulce Formiae litus,  
vos ... Apollinaris omnibus locis praefert.*

Plin. ep. 5.6.1-3 (to Apollinaris): (1) ... *quod, cum audisses me aestate Tuscos meos  
petiturum, ne facerem, suasisti, dum putas insalubres.* (3) *accipe temperiem caeli,  
regionis situm, villae amoenitatem.*

###### 11. Pliny's Tusci, a classical *locus amoenus*: nature and art

a. Plin. ep. 5.6.7-15: (7) *Regionis pulcherrima forma. Imaginare amphitheatrum  
aliquid inmensum ... Lata et diffusa planities montibus cingitur, montes sum-  
ma sui parte procera nemora et antiqua habent.* (11) *prata florida et gemmea  
trifolium ... cuncta enim perennibus rivis nutriuntur.*

Plin. NH 4.31 (Tempe valley): ... *ultra visum hominis attollentibus se dextra lae-  
vaque leniter convexis iugis, intus silva late viridante, hac labitur Penius viridis  
calculo, amoenus circa ripas gramine, canorum avium concentu.*

b. Plin. ep. 5.6.10 = Plin. NH 18.181: *tantis glaebis tenacissimum solum ...  
adsurgit, ut nono demum sulco perdometur.*

R.K. Gibson, R. Morello, *Reading the Letters of Pliny the Younger* 224 f.

c. Plin. ep. 5.6.13: *Neque enim terras tibi, sed formam aliquam ad eximiam  
pulchritudinem pictam videberis cernere.*

###### 12. Apollinaris Formianum: luxury and victory over the forces of nature

Mart. 10.30.16-17: *Nec seta longo quaerit in mari praedam,  
sed a cubili lectuloque iactatam  
spectatus alte lineam trahit piscis.*

Mart. 10.30.21-24: *Piscina rhombum pascit et lupos vernas,  
natat ad magistrum delicata murena,  
nomenclator mugilem citat notum  
et adesse iussi prodeunt senes nulli.*

###### 13. Pliny's reflection on ecphrasis

Plin. ep. 5.6.43 (models): Hom. Il. 18.478-482 (shield of Achilles); Verg. Aen. 8.626-731 (shield of Aeneas); Arat, Phaenomena (starry sky)

Plin. ep. 5.6.44: *non epistula, quae describit, sed villa, quae describitur, magna  
est.*

14. Catalogue of villas of Apollinaris (10) and Pliny (3):

Mart. 10.30.1-20: *O temperatae dulce Formiae litus,  
vos ...  
Apollinaris omnibus locis praefert.  
Non ille sanctae dulce Tibur uxoris,  
nec Tusculanos Algidosve secessus,  
Praeneste nec sic Antiumque miratur;  
desiderantur, nec Marica nec Liris,  
nec in Lucrina lota Salmacis vena.*

Plin. ep. 5.6.45: *Habes causas cur ego Tuscos meos Tusculanis (in Tuscano:  
reading of Mommsen) Tiburtinis Praenestinisque proponam.*

15. Conclusion: Discourse on *otium* and *negotium*

Mart. 10.30.25-27 (Apollinaris): *Frui sed istis quando, Roma, permittis?  
Quot Formianos inputat dies annus  
negotiosis rebus urbis haerenti?*

Plin. ep. 5.6.45: *altius ibi otium ... Ibi animo, ibi corpore maxime valeo. Nam  
studiis animum, venatu corpus exerceo.*

## V. Intertextuality and immortality (*gloria*): The creation of literary authority

16. Final exclamation: makarismos of the servants and invocation to the gods

Mart. 10.30.28-29: *O ianitores vilicique felices!  
Dominis parantur ista, serviant vobis.*

Plin. ep. 5.6.46: *Di modo in posterum hoc mihi gaudium, hanc gloriam loco  
servent!*

### Bibliographical references

- Alföldy, G. (1999), *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina: Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen* (Stuttgart).
- Balland, A. (1981), *Fouilles de Xanthos Tome VII: Inscriptions d'Époque imperiale du Létô-on* (Paris).
- Bergmann, B. (1995), Visualizing Pliny's villas, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 8: 406-420.
- Birley, A.R. (2000), *Onomasticon to the Younger Pliny: Letters and Panegyric* (Munich and Leipzig).
- Champlin, E. (2001), Pliny's other country, in: M. Peachin (ed.), *Aspects of Friendship in the Graeco-Roman World*, JRA Suppl. 42 (Porthmouth, Rhode Island) 121-128.
- Chinn, C.M. (2007), Before your very eyes: Pliny *Epistulae* 5.6 and the ancient theory of ekphrasis, *Classical Philology* 102: 265-280.
- Elsner, J. (2007), *Roman Eyes. Visuality and subjectivity in art and text* (Princeton).
- Fitzgerald, W. (2007), *Martial: The World of Epigram* (Chicago).
- Gibson, R.K. (2003), Pliny and the art of (in)offensive self-praise. In: Gibson, R.K. and Morello, R. (eds), *Re-Imaging Pliny the Younger*, *Arethusa* 36.2, 235-254.
- Gibson, R.K. and Morello, R. (2012), *Reading the Letters of Pliny the Younger: An Introduction* (Cambridge).
- Henderson, J. (2002), *Pliny's Statue: The Letters, Self-Portraiture and Classical Art* (Exeter).
- Henderson, J. (2004), *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell* (Cambridge).
- Hoffer, S.E. (1999), *The Anxieties of Pliny the Younger* (Atlanta).
- Lefèvre, E. (2009), *Vom Römertum zum Ästhetizismus: Studien zu den Briefen des jüngeren Plinius*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 269 (Berlin and New York).
- Ludolph, M. (1997), *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung. Untersuchungen zu den „Paradebriefen“ Plinius des Jüngeren* (Tübingen).
- Marchesi, I. (2008), *The Art of Pliny's Letters. A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence* (Cambridge).
- Mratschek, S. (2003), Plinius und die Wiedergeburt der Literatur in der Transpadana. In: L. Castagna and E. Lefèvre (eds), *Plinius der Jüngere und seine Zeit*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 187 (Munich and Leizig) 219-241.
- Nauta, R.R. (2002), *Poetry for Patrons. Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian*, Mnemosyne Supplement 6 (Leiden and Boston).
- Rimell, V. (2009), *Martial's Rome: Empire and the Ideology of Epigram* (Cambridge).

- Seelentag, G. (2004), *Taten und Tugenden Trajans. Herrschaftsdarstellung im Prinzipat*, Hermes-Einzelschrifte 91 (Stuttgart).
- Sherwin-White, A.N. (1966), *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary* (Oxford).
- Squire, M. (2013), Ars in their ,I's: authority and authorship in Graeco-Roman visual culture. In: A. Marmodoro and J. Hill, *The Author's Voice in Classical and Late Antiquity* (Oxford) 357-414.
- Sullivan, J.P. (1991), *Martial: the unexpected classic* (Cambridge).
- Syme, R. (1991), Domitius Apollinaris. In: R. Syme, ed. A.R. Birley, *Roman Papers VII* (Oxford) 588-602.
- Whitton, C. (2013), *Pliny the Younger: Epistles Book II* (Cambridge).