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MARTIAL'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN

Dissertation

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the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Out of the 1561 epigrams composed by the Roman poet Martial, there are about 310 that deal, sometimes in toto and sometimes in passing, with women. They include references to children as well as adults, slaves as well as freedwomen and free women, non-Romans as well as Romans, women of the past as well as contemporaries, fictitious women as well as real ones. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate all these data on women and thence to determine Martial's complicated reactions to them. Our findings will enable us to estimate wherein Martial reflected the Zeitgeist, or the mos maiorum or his own personal prejudices and predilections.

In order to evaluate Martial's views adequately, we need to establish first of all the traditional role of women in Roman society down to the Flavian era. Our information on the subject stems from various literary, historical, epigraphical, legal and artistic sources, all of which cannot be enumerated here, but a few comments on them would be appropriate. The epigraphical sources amount mainly to tomb inscriptions lauding the domestic virtues of certain women, whereas the artistic materials would
include wall-paintings, busts, and coins portraying heads of women of the first families of Rome. The other sources are more widespread and include mainly writers, such as Cicero, the elegiac poets especially Ovid, satirists like Juvenal, the historians Livy and Tacitus, the jurist Gaius, the Senecas and the Plinys. There are also a few Greek writers who wrote about Rome and gave some data on the status of Roman women. We think mainly of Plutarch's Roman Questions and sections of his Lives and of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' Roman Antiquities. The nature of the references to women in all these works was somewhat diverse: some dealt with the significant achievements of particular women, others reflected generally prevalent views about women, while still others, especially Livy, described the historical struggles of Roman women, aided by their sympathizers, to acquire more legal and social rights.

The need for such struggles arose because the Roman woman's sphere of activity and influence was confined largely to the domestic area and was decidedly subordinate to her husband's. It is true that some women went beyond the domestic role: for example, female members of the nobiles enjoyed certain prerogatives of birth and station which were denied their less nobly born sisters, but they were a tiny minority hardly representative of Roman womanhood. What interests us more here, though not exclusively,
is the norm, rather than the type of woman who rose above the masses either on account of her birth or her virtue or for any other reason at all. In other words, the subject of the major part of this introduction is the legal and social status of the average Roman woman.

The Romans at first adhered rather strictly to the once-common dictum, that a woman's place was in the home. Being denied all participation in public affairs, a woman could not vote or run for public office, plead in court or sit on juries. Public life was regarded as too much for what Cicero so benevolently calls her infirmitas consilii. The early and enduring image of the ideal Roman matron, as portrayed, say, by Livia Augusta, wife of the emperor Augustus, was one of a dignified housewife, mother, lover who devoted herself completely to her children and her husband. Her position was therefore one of substantial authority and influence within the household, but she remained under the absolute control of a male all her life, whether it is her paterfamilias, as it would be prior to her marriage, or later her husband or his paterfamilias if he had not been emancipated. Legally, she was therefore almost a non-person.

Of course, many women were never satisfied with that role. They worked for their emancipation, and significantly enough, the first progress was made in the marriage
institution. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

Romulus himself first laid down the law of marriage:

Actually, it is immaterial whether Romulus did lay down such a law, or whether it was attributed to him later to justify the subordinate position of the wife in the Roman family. Anyhow, that position was confirmed by any of the three forms of marriages prevalent in the early days of Rome. The first one, coemptio, involved the purchase of the bride at a nominal fee of one penny in the presence of five witnesses. The second form, usus, meant marriage by cohabitation where the husband had to wait one year before acquiring full potestas over his bride and was sometimes frustrated in this regard, because the wife would never spend one complete year with him. The third form, confarreatio, was the elaborate patrician wedding in the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, involving sacrifices, and was required of parents of candidates for the priesthods.

The important thing is that, under all these three forms, the woman was always under the control of her husband, and only after a life of unbending devotion, was
she entitled after his death to share in his estate.
But, if she faltered in her role and was convicted of alcoholism or adultery, the penalty was death. The husband however was not bound by the same rules, a fact underlined by this quotation attributed to Cato:

In adulterio uxorern tuam si deprehensisses sine iudicio impune necares: illa te, si adulterares, digito non auderet contingere; neque ius est.

Dionysius maintains further the indissoluble nature of the early Roman marriage, and adds that for 520 years no marriage was ever dissolved in Rome. He is contradicted by Plutarch, who, in his Life on Romulus, quotes some laws concerning divorce. The grounds, as interpreted by Pierre Noailles and accepted also by Claudine Hermann, were: abortion, alcoholism and adultery on the part of the wife. Divorce was no boon to the woman, because it was essentially a male prerogative. A change in all this came about in the third century B.C. with the advent of the "free marriage" concept, which made the man and the woman equal partners in a dissoluble union. It gave more leverage to the woman, should there be cause for divorce, and made provisions for recovery of all or part of her dowry, should the husband be the one at fault. Of course, there were legal complications at times, but the overall effect was to rein in the husband and give more rights to the wife.
Such relaxation of the husband's hold on the marriage contract was followed by other acts that could be construed as emancipatory to women. Such was the abrogation of the Lex Oppia in 195 B.C. This law, proposed in 215 B.C. by the tribune C. Oppius and adopted a year later, was to the effect that women should not be allowed to "possess more than half an ounce of gold or wear a parti-colored garment or ride in a carriage in the city or in a town within a mile thereof, except on the occasion of a religious festival." This law, aimed at curbing female activity and passed in the trying years immediately following the defeat of the Roman army at Cannae, seemed irrelevant after Hannibal's defeat at Zama in 202 B.C. and Rome's subsequent return to prosperity. Pressure was brought by the women to have it repealed. Livy describes it this way:

Matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec verecundia nec imperio virorum contineri limine poterant, omnes vias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant viros descendentes ad forum crantes ut florente re publica, crescente in dies privata omnium fortuna, matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi pateren-tur. Augebatur haec frequentia mulierum in dies; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque conveniebant. Iam et consules praetoresque et alios magistratus adire et rogare audebant...

This was one of the earliest occasions in Rome when large numbers of women, despite a lack of franchise, participated in full political rallies to air their grievances and affect national policy.
Livy in Book XXXIV of his History gives an exhaustive account of what happened, and records, probably in his own words, the speeches delivered on either side of the issue. These are important, because they give a conservative as well as a liberal view respectively of the second-century concept of women. The conservative standpoint is predictably supplied by Cato, who, among other things, says this: any public demonstration on the part of women is a shame to their sex, *consternatio muliebris*; restraint and moderation are venerable qualities of womanhood, traits which he did not find in the crusading suffragettes, who, he thinks, are not seeking liberty, but total license and domination over the male. He echoed the traditional idea that women should stick to the home, and keep their noses out of national policy-making decisions. Such traditional thinking was already out of date, and naturally conflicted with the more liberal view held by the tribune Lucius Valerius, who led the fight for repeal. According to him, women have much to complain about; they can hold no offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no gifts, no spoils of war; they can wear no decorations; they should not now be denied even the *feminarum insignia: munditiae et ornatus et cultus*. Men, while needing to keep their womenfolk under control, should nonetheless not enslave them; they should be their fathers and husbands and not their masters. The law for repeal passed and though the gain for women did not amount
to much, the way in which they asserted themselves to gain their rights, at least within the Roman context, was very illuminating, and portrayed them as not so politically naive as one might suspect.

In fact, such challenge to the traditional role of women may have resulted from the independence allowed women engaged in religious worship. One area in which they did achieve some kind of parity with men was indeed religion. Just as there were rituals strictly for males, so there were others strictly for females, for example, the cult of the Bona Dea. Also, in the observances that transcended the sexual barrier, both men and women participated on the same level, and one area for instance in which they shared responsibilities was in the supervision of the religious cult of the family. Women occasionally even took the lead in introducing new cults, e.g. of Isis or of Bacchus. Livy describes the latter worship in great detail, and adds that it was practised in secret, without State sanction, and, when finally discovered, was suspected of including sexual orgies. The scandal shocked Rome and led to the enactment of the Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus on Oct. 7, 186 B.C. and the suppression of the worship by either men or women and the punishment of those involved. What is revealing about the whole thing is that women showed themselves ready to operate independently without
the approval of the State. Such religious unorthodoxy could have had a lot to do with shaping their occasional political self-assertion.

The gradual sanction of more rights for Roman women is further exemplified by the way in which people were allowed to get around the Lex Voconia to benefit their daughters. This law was passed in 169 B.C., making it illegal to will more than 100,000 sesterces to a woman. It was bypassed by the simple device of naming a male trustee to the inheritance, which allowed the girl to use the money as she wished. Such wealth brought an independent status to many women. Marriage was no longer for them an enslaving experience; an intolerant husband could be divorced without jeopardizing their sense of security. The burden of making a marriage genuinely successful was thus no longer squarely on the shoulders of the wife. The marriage has now become a partnership, and the responsibilities for its success were equally shared between husband and wife.

One of the results of all this was a frequency in the rate of divorce, which was seen by some people as a sign of the moral degeneracy of the times. It should be noted however, that all that a woman could do, should her marriage fail, was divorce her husband. The law did not provide her with any further course of action against him,
like punishment for adultery, etc. So, we may say that divorce under the free marriage system, though liberating to women, was still far from equal to the latitude given a man under the same circumstances. This sort of situation prevailed until the demise of the Republic.

With the advent of the principate of Augustus, some legislative reform was introduced by a series of marriage laws: the Lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis, the Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus and the Lex Papia Poppaea. The objective of all these bills was, in view of the decline in population growth at Rome, to discourage celibacy and promote marriage and consequent expansion of the nation, with rewards of advancement to families with three or more children. They also brought some order in the whole procedure of marriage and divorce. Divorce became a matter of legal form, with the party requesting the separation having to file an application witnessed by seven adult male citizens. The wife accused of adultery was given the dubious distinction of a court hearing instead of suffering immediate death at the hands of her husband or appearing before the family tribunal. Immediate death was not completely abolished however; it could still take place, provided both guilty parties were killed by the (19) cuckolded husband.
There were two favorable aspects, at least for women, to Augustus's marriage legislation. The first and most far-reaching was the conferral of the *ius trium liberorum* on couples who had three or more children. What it granted to women in particular was full legal independence with the freedom to inherit and administer property. The extraordinary nature of this law can be better assessed if we bear in mind that another woman capable of bearing children but without the minimum three was entitled to only one-tenth of her husband's bequest. And, in fact, prior to Augustus, the woman had no right at all even "on intestate succession to her husband's property," although "he could make a legacy as long as it was not larger than the amount he (20) left to his heir". The second advantage for women was provided by the *Lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus*, which sanctioned marriage between the social classes. We are now a long way indeed from the Laws of the XII Tables, one of which strictly forbade marriage between patricians and plebeians, although here too, the senatorial class, possibly because their ladies had to be products of good education and good breeding, was excluded from this democratic law and had to marry among themselves. Before this time too, there were probably alliances across the social barrier, but they were hardly legitimate. Augustus' law
legitimized such marriages, allowing Roman citizens to marry whomever they pleased, short of prostitutes and their like.

This effectively illustrates the lack of esteem for women of such low moral repute, although there was one class that did command some respect, namely the meretrix. Far different from the castae puellae dealt with in the major portion of this introduction, meretrices were the types of women that provided the likes of Tibullus, Propertius, Catullus and Ovid with much of their poetic inspiration. The reason for this was their beauty, their sophistication, their fondness for singing, dancing and the good life in general. They were doctae in the art of appealing to men of taste and culture, but marriage to them was forbidden by Augustus' legislation.

Even the slave-girl was likely to be in better legal position than the meretrix, because, once declared free, she could marry anybody short of a member of a senator's family. Prior to that, she could live in concubinage with another slave, or with her master, and this occurred even at the court of the morality-conscious Augustus. Concubinage was indeed a widespread practice in Rome, one of the most famous cases being the Emperor Vespasian, who lived with a freedwoman throughout his reign. Of course, there
was a double standard here too: while a man could set a female slave free and subsequently marry her, the same privilege was denied a woman regarding a male slave. This does not mean that it was not done; in fact, so many did it that the Emperor Claudius had legislation passed reducing to slavery any free woman living with a slave without his master's permission. Even with it, she was regarded as a libertina.

So far we have not dealt with the girl while she is under age, or at least still under the tutelage of her father. Originally, she remained under the absolute control of the paterfamilias until her wedding, but if she were married under the free-marriage system, she could still remain under the control of the father thereafter. Generally, a girl led a very secluded life. Her education was geared towards mastering female pursuits, namely spinning, weaving, painting, music and dancing. Once a teenager, her betrothal and marriage became the primary concern of her parents. Although marriage was often a matter of family convenience, her consent was required, though not sought. The betrothal sometimes took place in childhood, thus solving the marriage issue early. The free marriage must have been quite an awakening experience for the young maiden, a transfer from a very sheltered life to one of
authority within her own household.

Her responsibilities as a homemaker, though quite varied, were geared towards the day-to-day running of the household. The materfamilias in a poor family obviously had to do the chores herself for economic reasons. By the middle of the second century B.C., however, the lady within the rich familia was more in a position of supervision rather than of active participation in the regular routine of cooking and cleaning. She had certain social obligations, and joined her husband at dinner or parties, participating in the conversation and evincing her charm and general good breeding. The homelife was certainly fulfilling to many women. Others could find additional interests in the administration of their property, sharing their husband's business load, especially in the equestrian class. The wife's merits were usually sought in the domestic area, but her interests did not have to be restricted thereby. She could go to the Circus, the theatre, the Games, or indulge in literary pursuits.

Before commenting on the morality of Roman women, let me say that much of our information on the subject comes from men like Cato and Seneca - austere, conservative authors interested in pointing out the immorality of their own times compared with the good, virtuous life of
days of yore. Stories of women poisoners, licentious priestesses, women's fascination with the coarse spectacles at the Circus and the mimes, and the intrigues of women at court during imperial times hardly project an admirable image of womanhood. I submit, however, that such stories became documented because they were more the exception than the rule. The moral life of the average woman at Rome was certainly not like a Clodia's, nor for that matter like a Lucretia's. It was somewhere in between. Besides, Roman women were for the major part of their life under the control of men. Their moral life could not in practice be other than a reflection of the male's moral life.

This then is a general view of the status of women in Rome down to imperial times. In spite of the progress they had made since the time of Romulus, they remained by and large second-class citizens. Complete equality with men remained beyond their reach.

Against this general survey, we shall see in the remaining chapters of this study what one author who does not have the moral views of a Seneca or a Cato has to say on the subject of women. Martial is significant in that he deals with a more real, more active world, from which no one is excluded.
CHAPTER II

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

I. Personal Relationships

In spite of the seemingly copious autobiographical data in his works, Martial failed to make any categoric reference to a family of his own, a fact assumed by many critics to be evidence of his life-long bachelorhood. As his 310 poems about women testify, however, he was not averse to all female companionship, and in fact maintained various levels of intimacy with several women. It can be regarded as self-evident that in general this has an effect in shaping a man's attitude towards woman and equipped Martial in particular with a better insight into women.

On the thorny problem of Martial's alleged celibacy, the evidence must be allowed to speak for itself. In several poems, Martial speaks as if he had a wife:

Ut patiar moechum rogat uxor, Galle, sed unum.
Huic ego non oculos eruo, Galle, duos?

3.92

Omnes quas habuit, Fabiane, Lycoris amicas
Extulit. Uxor i fiat amica meae.

4.24

16
Deprensum in puero tetricis me vocibus, uxor,
Corripis et culum te quoque habere referes.

Parce tuis igitur dare mascula nomina rebus
Teque puta cunnos, uxor, habere duos. 11.43.1-2 and 11-12

Uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris
11.104.1

In one poem, he speaks not only of a wife, but also of a daughter:

Hoc me frigore basiet nec uxor
Blandis filia nec rudis labellis.

At the end of Book Two of the Epigrams, he speaks of a wife as a thing of the future and almost in the same breath, after having been invested with the ius trium liberorum by the Emperor Domitian, professes a life of celibacy:

Sit mihi verna satur, sit non doctissima coniunx.

In a much later poem, he explains why he would not marry a rich wife:

Uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolim
Quaeritis? Uxori nubere nolo meae.
Inferior matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito:

and in two others, he expresses the same feeling with relation to Paula (10.8) and Sila (11.23). Again he attributes the scars on his chin to the lack of artistry on the part of the barber Antiochus rather than to the
talons of a formidable wife:

Haec quaecumque meo numeratis stigmata mento,
In vetuli pyctae qualia fronte sedent,
Non iracundis fecit gravis unguibus uxor:
Antiochi ferrum est et scelerata manus.

All these quotations do not present a clear-cut picture of his marital status; on the contrary, they leave room for doubt and speculation.

And so the only thing that can be said with some certainty, in view of the above quotations from Book 2, is that by the time it was completed and ready for publication, i.e. by 85/86 A.D., Martial was still a bachelor. The references in 3.92, 4.24 and 7.95 seem to lead to the fragile conclusion that between the years 87/88 and 92, a span covering the publication of Books 3 to 7, Martial could have been married and could have fathered a daughter. The first problem, however, is posed by Epigram 8.12 which expresses his unwillingness to marry a wealthy woman. Since this seems to indicate that the poet was free for marriage, does it mean that Martial's wife, in case he ever married, was dead or that the poet was divorced before the publication of Book 8, probably in 93? No case can be made for either alternative from the evidence available.

Further complications are produced by Epigrams
10.8, 11.23, 11.84 and 11.104. Let us examine them in some detail and see whether they shed any light. Epigram 11.84 is a savage attack on the barber Antiochus and refers, among other things, to the scars on Martial's face - the work of the barber, he specifies, and not of a wife, iracundis...gravis unguibus. The implication is either that Martial had a wife who did not cause the scars, or, as is more likely, that he was known to be single, and, in view of the non-existence of any uxor, there is no doubt that Antiochus was the guilty party. This second interpretation is more in line with the gist of the poem. Besides, his single status seems attested by Epigrams 10.8, 11.23 and 11.104. Both 10.8 and 11.23, it must be remembered, contained refusals of marriage to women whom Martial has known:

Nubere Paula cupit nobis, ego ducere Paulam
Nolo: anus est.

10.8

Nubere Sila mihi nulla non lege parata est;
Sed Silam nulla ducere lege volo.
11.23.1-2

These, if taken literally, would be adequate proof of Martial's single status by the years 96 to 98 except that Epigram 11.104 at the beginning seems to indicate that Martial was married. But even a cursory reading of
the whole poem reveals an emphasis on a hedonistic view of home life, which would be atypical of the expectations of a man aware of the realities of married life. A bachelor is more likely to lay down such a strict code: *uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris*, and would go on to take a negative view of married life and expect total compliance. The poem as a whole reads like the wishful thinking of a single man, who has never experienced the cares of family life and expects only pleasure and sexual acrobatics from his mate.

Although the evidence available from his works seems generally to point to a life of bachelorhood for Martial, the one reference to a daughter (7.95.8) remains unexplained. But if he did have a daughter, he could hardly have been so reticent about her as to dismiss her in only one verse, (admittedly a very flattering one), considering the feelings he expresses in his poetry about children in general and little girls in particular. The one poem that comes readily to mind when one thinks of his epigrams on children is 5.34 - the epitaph on the little slave-girl Erotion. It has been universally acclaimed by critics: Skuli Johnson says it "is regarded by many as Martial's masterpiece"; L. J. Lloyd agrees that it "makes a strong claim to the title of its author's masterpiece" and adds that "there can be few things in literature more touching
than this appeal of Martial”; H. J. Izaac acknowledges: "c'est là une des plus tendres et des plus délicates épigrammes de Martial".

The poem itself starts with an appeal to Martial's dead parents to welcome the little girl once she reaches the Lower World;

Parvola ne nigras horrescat Erotion umbras
Oraque Tartarei prodigiosa canis.

(vss. 3-4)

She died so young: inpletura fuit sextae modo frigora brumae (vs. 5), but even in death, Martial imagines her as full of life; not even the gloom of the Lower World could altogether dispel the frolicsome life she had been used to in the real world:

... ludat lasciva ...
Et nomen blaeso garriat ore meum

(vss. 7-8)

His tender feelings are conveyed adequately by the choice of epithets for the girl, starting with the name Erotion itself, meaning "little love", and continuing with such phrases as oscula ... deliciasque meas, as well as by the comparison he establishes between the innocence and gentleness of the girl and the horror of Death itself, between the softness of her body, even in death, and the heaviness of the earth surrounding it. And so Martial pleads: "Be
thou not heavy upon her, O Earth: she was not so to thee!" - words agonizing by their very simplicity and revealing a quietly emotional glimpse of a man "who could, on occasion, be very nearly the most brutal Roman of them all".

The second of the elegies on Erotion (5.37) continues with the exposition of her charming ways, but it is hardly on a par with the one dealt with above. 5.34 attracts by its simplicity and straightforwardness; 5.37 is a different type of poem, conceived and executed in a different manner. Most critics have found fault with it, because they have approached it with the pre-conceived notion of its being, like 5.34, an epitaph. It would have read like one, had it consisted only of the first 17 lines. But the last 7 lines provide the clue to the whole poem:

Et esse tristem me meus vetat Paetus,  
Pectusque pulsans pariter et comam vellens :  
" Deflere non te vernulae pudet mortem?  
Ego coniugem "inquit" extuli et tamen vivo,  
Notam, superbam, nobilem, locupletem."  
Quid esse nostro fortius potest Paeto?  
Ducentiens accept et tamen vivit.  

5.37.18-24

Far from being an epitaph, this poem is rather a rebuttal to Martial's friend Paetus who has questioned his grief over Erotion's death. He was irritated by Paetus and this irritation comes through not so much in the sarcasm of the
last line as in the choice of the meter - the scazon, "a meter traditionally associated with the bitter (11) vituperations of Hipponax". He makes all those extravagant comparisons in the first 17 lines, likening Erotion's voice to that of swans, her tenderness to that of a lamb, her breath to the fragrance of roses, ending it all by calling her his amores gaudiumque lususque (vs. 17) - his love, his joy, his playmate - just to give an idea of how much Erotion meant to him. In fact, Martial is implying that genuine love cannot be measured - but somehow, he had to give Paetus an idea of the extent of his affection for the dead slave-girl. I think this poem, instead of displaying any lack of sincerity on the part of Martial, as has been suspected by H.E. Butler, is an outstanding tribute to Erotion, which it did not as a matter of fact set out to be. The real objective of the poem was to rebuke Paetus, for Martial tells him: you are grieving so ostentatiously over the demise of your wife although you did not lose by her death anything you really prize; in fact, you gained something: her wealth; and yet you have the gall to tell me not to grieve over my loss; when Erotion died, I lost everything; all her wealth consisted of her personality and that is gone for good. He is sad over the loss; his grief is genuine and dignified, and consequently more sincere than the show
put on by Paetus for his late wife.

Any doubt that we may entertain about Martial's attitude towards the little slave-girl can be easily dispelled by the next Erotion poem (10.61). At least six years after her death, we can still find Martial venting his grief:

Hic festinata requiescit Erotion umbra,
Crimine quam fati sexta peremit hiems.
(vss. 1-2)

He further expresses his anxiety lest the future owner of his farm at Momentum should neglect the little girl's grave. Martial, we should bear in mind, was getting ready at that time to return to Spain and his apprehension that the rites at her grave thereafter might be neglected seems to have inspired this poem. We see that in six years his feelings had hardly changed. In fact, he ends the poem with a blessing for the future owner: sic lare perpetuo, sic turba sospite..., but adds that in the midst of all that, may a tear still be reserved for the girl, which would be summoned of course by her gravestone. Martial's strong sentiments about Erotion are expressed not only by the contents of the epigram, but also by the style, notably the i and s assonance, which reaches a climax in the last two verses, conveying a fitting tearful effect:
Sic lare perpetuo, sic turba sospite solus
Flebilis in terra sit lapis iste tua.
(vss. 5-6)

Equally affecting as the three elegies on Erotion are the other poems dealing with children. One such is 11.91 - about another young slave girl called Canace who died at the age of seven, presumably from cancer of the lip. Again Martial's sorrow is genuine and deeply felt:

Aeolidos Canace iacet hoc tumulata sepulchro,
Ultima cui parvae septima venit hiems.
Ah scelus, ah facinus!
(vss. 1-3)

It is a crime that Canace should die at such a tender age, but sadder still was the cruel manner of her death, consumed as she was by a dire cancer. Martial gives a rather detailed account of the ravages on her face, mouth and lips:

horrida vultus
Apstulit et tenero sedit in ore lues,
Ipsaque crudeles ederunt oscula morbi
Nec data sunt nigris tota labella rogis.
(vss. 5-8)

and wishes that if her premature death were fated, it should have come in a less horrible manner. The supreme compliment he pays the little girl in the last couplet: had she preserved her power of speech, even death would have been subdued by her alluring diction, vocis iter
These obituary poems seem to be an adequate confession of affection for children. Martial, however, does not leave matters here. He shows he can empathize with bereaved parents in poems like 9.74 and 76, where he records with great feeling a father's poignant anguish for the death of his son. Similarly, he can empathize with the pueris virginibusque (9.68.2) themselves. In this poem, he shares their odium for a strict schoolmaster, scelerate magister (vs. 1), and aptly echoes thoughts that must often have crossed school-children's minds from time immemorial:

Discipulos dimitte tuos. Vis, garrule, quantum
Accipis ut clames, accipere ut taceas?
(vss. 11-12)

Martial can also slip into typical parental exaggeration as he tells of the precocity of a two-year old boy, Regulus, who could appreciate already from his father's glory the acclaim to be acquired from a successful public life:

Aspicis ut parvus nec adhuc trieteride plena
Regulus auditum laudet et ipse patrem?
Maternosque sinus viso genitore reliquat
Et patrias laudes sentiat esse suas?
Iam clamor centumque viri densusque corona
Volgus et infanti Iulia tecta placent.
6.38.1-6

With all this evidence, it is difficult to imagine that Martial would not have been more expressive about his
own daughter, in case he had one. The only conclusion we can reach is that even as he was never married, so he never had a daughter either. The occasional references to a wife and the one reference to a daughter can be explained in three ways. The first explanation can be found in the prevailing contemporary custom of a writer enlarging upon subjects, not of his own choice, but submitted to him, to which Martial himself alludes on one occasion:

Vivida cum poscas epigrammata, mortua ponis
Lemmata. Qui fieri, Caeciliana, potest?
Mella iubes Hyblæa tibi vel Hymettia nasci,
Et thyma Cecropiae Corsica ponis api!

So, it is just possible that those poems making mention of a wife and daughter were among those commissioned. Secondly, the usage might have been in a potential sense; how often has one been heard to say: "I would never allow my wife and daughter to ..." Whether one has either is beside the point; expressions like these, given certain provoking situations, are part of natural human response. If we consider the realistic nature of Martial's poetry, such natural allusions to a wife and daughter are thus not starting at all. Thirdly, it is important to distinguish between the poet and his poetry. Martial himself sees no connection between his lascivious compositions and his own personal life: lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba (1.4.8).
Similar disclaimers have been uttered by Catullus (16.5-8), Ovid (Trist, 2.353-4), the younger Pliny (Ep. 4.4 and 5.3) and Apuleius (Apol. 11). A. W. Allen puts the case of the connection between the poet and his poetry very succinctly when he writes:

...classical literary doctrine did not assume any specific and normal connection between personal poetry and the actual experience of the poet. The doctrine insisted upon the independence of the poet and his right freely to choose fitting material wherever he might wish, provided only that it accorded with the kind of poetry he was writing. Doubtless there were always hunters of gossip who pretended that they could judge the deeds of a poet from his verse, but the poets themselves explicitly rejected such interpretation. When we are tempted to take the statements of a poet as indicating the facts of his life, ignoring the warnings of Catullus and those who followed him throughout the whole course of Roman literature, we have fair warning in Apuleius' judgement of his accusers: "They have read so crudely and naively that they make you hate them" (tam dure et rustice legere ut odium moverent).

In view of all this, it would be naive to attribute too literal a meaning or personal connotations to Martial's allusions to a wife and daughter.

The primary reason why Martial was never married could be that he never had a great love, in the sense that he attributes to Tibullus or Catullus:

Istanti, .......................  
...............................  
Si dare vis nostrae vires animisque Thaliae
Here, he recognizes that all those erotic poets, Propertius, Gallus, Tibullus, Catullus, and Ovid drew much of their inspiration from their loves, and at the same time he expresses his disappointment that he has not found a Cynthia or a Lesbia of his own. If he had, he probably would not have developed in the way he did; love poetry might have occupied a larger portion of his output and the realistic nature of his appraisal of women in general might have suffered.

This sense of realism is indeed present in the five poems (1.57, 3.32, 3.33, 11.100, 14.149) about the kind of girl that would appeal to him. K. F. Smith makes a few well-chosen remarks about the character of Martial that are well illustrated by these poems. First of all, he quotes Pliny's observations about our poet, his being acutus, ingeniosus, acer and his possessing candor - sincerity or frankness -, and then goes on to say that Martial had genuinely had

"the character of one who is never blind to the true proportion of things. And as a
matter of fact, a sense of proportion, a conception of the realities as applied to life, ...literature,... everything, is the leading trait of Martial's character, the universal solvent of his career and genius. All is expressed in Μηδὲν ἐγὼν —nil nimis— "avoid extremes."

It is significant that Martial looks for the same quality, the same sense of proportion in a girl-friend. In 1.57 he states that he dislikes anyone too easy or too hard to get; he approves the middle type, the one that would neither torture him nor cloy —μηδὲν ἐγὼν indeed:

Qualem, Flacce, velim quaevis nolimve puellam?
Nolo nimis facilem difficilemque nimis.
Illud quod medium est atque inter utrumque probamus:
Nec volo quod cruciat nec volo quod satiat.

The sense of balance exalted in the contents of this elegiac poem is further emphasized by its style and technique, notably in the two pentameters. Besides expressing the same thought, namely the type of girl disliked by Martial, the pentameters are metrically identical (without spondees), and are striking by the clever word order, involving a chiasmus in line 2: nimis facilem / difficilemque nimis, an anaphora in line 4: nec volo quod ... nec volo quod, and the play on volo and nolo. Another interesting feature is the position of the crucial word medium in line 3; Martial is talking about the middle
type of woman that he prefers and he places medium at exactly the middle spot in the whole poem, preceded and followed by thirteen words. Perhaps this has no significance at all and just happened to be the most appropriate spot metrically, but it must be admitted that it was a master stroke to have placed it there.

In the poem we have just dealt with, Martial has dwelt upon the character of his dream woman. Although that is probably the most important aspect, he goes into some detail as to her other features in the other four poems about her: (3.32, 3.33, 11.100, 14.149). In 3.33 he specifies the social class she should belong to:

Ingenuam malo, sed si tamen illa negetur,
Libertina mihi proxima condicio est:
Extremo est ancilla loco, sed vincet utraraque,
Si facie nobis haec erit ingenua.

He prefers in this order a *puella ingenua*, a *libertina*, and an *ancilla*, leaving open the option of choosing the latter should she be able to pass for an *ingenua*. The latter remark reflects the practice of free Roman citizens to live in concubinage with a slave-girl or even marry her once she is free. It also suggests Martial's approval of such a move. It was not in the least frowned upon by the Roman establishment and Martial's remarks are neither surprising nor revolutionary. He shows good sense though in stating that, in case he has an *ancilla*, she should
have the appearance of a liberta or ingenua, because otherwise, we presume, given the snobbery of society in general, his own status could be seriously impaired, and status was something Martial battled for throughout his life.

In the three remaining poems, Martial states the age limits and the necessary physical attributes of his ideal girl. Again, we are struck by the sense of proportion he insists upon: he wants neither a thin nor a fat amica:

Habere amicam nolo, Flacco, subtilem,

sed idem amicam nolo mille librarum.  
Carnarius sum, pinguarius non sum.  

11.100. vss. 1,5,6

He deliberately and crudely exaggerates the shortcomings of the subtilis amica, which shows how repulsive she must have been to his taste. The fat woman is rejected outright in one uncharitable verse, for, as Martial says, he is an admirer of flesh, not of fat, a cruel remark reminiscent of an earlier observation about a fat lady who was charged threefold at the baths and paid as much:

Novit loturos Dasius numerare: poposcit 
Mammosam Spatalen pro tribus: illa dedit.  
2.52

He shrinks from anything out of the ordinary, and it is no wonder that he also records his aversion to big-breasted
women: *mammosas metuo* (14.149.1). He would much rather associate himself with a young girl: *teneae me trade puellae* (14.149), although older women could also hold an attraction for him:

"An possim vetulam" quaeris, Matronia: possum
Et vetulam, sed tu mortua, non vetula es.
3.32.1-2

In these five poems about the type of woman that may appeal to him, we see that Martial does not allow himself any flight of fancy. He is very much down-to-earth and writes about her with the same critical detachment he uses for other themes. He draws a composite picture of what his girl in flesh and blood would be like. Subdued as he is by the realities of his difficult life, it is impossible for him to soar and give idealized romantic pictures. That is not his style; he keeps his sense of perspective and gives a credible image of what kind of woman he would like to call his own.

Not that Martial in his own way could not project a romantic feeling: *Galla, nega: satiatur amor nisi gaudia torment* (4.38.1). But that is a rare occurrence. The usual tone is one of matter-of-factness: he thinks more in terms of sex than of love. Among the things which make life happy, *vitam quae faciunt beatiorem* (10.47.1), he
states categorically: *non tristis torus et tamen pudicus* (10.47.10). His views on sex are very broad indeed; he declares with obvious pleasure:

At mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.  
Basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:  
...........................................Laida nocte volo.  
11.104,8-9 and 22

Una nocte quater possum: sed quattuor annis  
Si possum, peream, te, Telesilla, semel.  
11.97

Declarations like these are scattered throughout his poetry; it is not therefore a fleeting phenomenon in his works, but rather a constant reminder of Martial's fascination with that most basic form of human relationship. Like Ovid he would even go as far as to offer advice on this subject to whoever would listen:

Utere femineis conplexibus, utere, Victor,  
Ignotumque sibi mentula discat opus.  
Flammea texuntur sponsae, iam virgo paratur,  
Tondebit pueros iam nova nupta tuos.  
Pedicare semel cupidus dabit illa marito,  
Dum metuit teli vulnera prima novi:  
Saepius hoc fieri nutrix materque vetabunt  
Et dicent: "Uxor, non puer, ista tibi est."  
Heu quantos aestus, quantos patiere labores,  
Si fuerit cunnus res peregrina tibi!  
Ergo Suburanae tironem trade magistrae.  
Ilia virum faciet; non bene virgo docet.  
11.78

Here he tells the young bridegroom Victor to learn the rudiments of sex in a brothel, a rather startling piece of
advice, but totally in character for Martial. He could be very blunt in his message: nemo est, Thai, senex ad irrumandum (4.50.2), or record the nequitia of a lasciva puella (9.67), or compare the sex styles of two women Phlogis and Chione, and end it all with a prayer to the gods to fuse the two together, because the result would be sexually explosive:

Exorare, dei, si vos tam magna liceret
Et bona velletis tam pretiosa dare,
Hoc quod habet Chione corpus faceretis haberet
Ut Phlogis, et Chione quod Phlogis ulcus habet.
11.60.9-12

From all this we can only conclude that sex was the basis of his relationship with the girls he knew closely, some of whom he mentioned without any proper names (7.14, 8.51, 11.39), while others were alluded to under the names Galla, Phyllis, Polla and Gellia, to each of whom he makes a plea for personal contact. It is uncertain whether these were real people, or figments of the imagination, though I am inclined to believe that the people themselves were real, but with the names changed to protect them, which is in line with the avowed intention of Martial as expressed in the prose preface to Book I:

Spero me secutum in libellis meis tale temperamentum ut de illis queri non possit quisquis de se bene senserit, cum salva infimarum quoque personarum reverentia
The main difficulty, however, is that Martial may be talking about several different acquaintances under the same name. For instance, Galla is referred to in sixteen different epigrams: in ten of which (2.34, 4.58, 7.18, 7.58, 9.4, 9.37, 9.78, 10.75, 10.95, 11.19) she is being castigated, sometimes in an obscene manner, whereas in five of them (2.25, 3.51, 3.54, 3.90, 5.84) she is looked upon as a girl worth knowing. The same is true of the three other girls mentioned. In the case of Phyllis, Martial once refers to her as *formosa Phyllis* (12.65), but two other poems about her (10.81, 11.29) are completely obscene, and in the final one (11.50), she is being urged not to deny her charms to the poet. As for Polla, there are five references (3.42, 10.40, 10.69, 10.91, 11.89) of which only one (11.89) is positive in some respect and complimentary to the girl. The last girl, Gellia, is referred to in 5.29 as *lux mea*, "my love", but every other mention of her (1.33, 3.55, 4.20, 5.17, 6.90, 8.81), though not quite obscene, is hardly glorifying.

What can be made out of all this is that either several people are covered by the same name, or that Martial's feelings towards each girl varied according to the way
she responded to his advances. Their identities are, however, for our purpose, not as important as the way in which their relationship with Martial might have influenced his knowledge of and attitude towards women.

II General Observations

Martial's interest in women is exhibited quite early in his poetic career in the distichs on female attire and make-up contained in the *Apophoreta*. There are allusions to hairpins (14.24), to wigs for women (14.26), to the use of dentifrice, especially by young maids (14.56), and to the choice perfumes of Cosmus intended for young wives (14.59). Martial shows familiarity with intimate female clothing like a brassiere *pellis* (14.66), made of the hide of a bull, and recalls in 14.134 the ancient custom of having girls wear the *fascia* to restrain the development of the bust and give it more firmness and support. If the brassiere was mentioned, the girdle need not be omitted, and Martial writes a distich on that too (14.151). All these poems are very prosaic and insignificant, in keeping with the whole tone of the *Apophoreta*. It is supposed that this book contained Martial's early writing, when he, the compatriot of the doomed Seneca and member of the Pisonian entourage, was still smarting under the
effects of the era that ensued after the crushing of the Pisonian conspiracy, which required him to write about non-controversial subjects. Female attire would constitute very safe topics for poetical exercises and would be very appropriate as _accomphoreta_.

While Martial in Book 14 was mainly engaged in the two-fold task of earning a living by exchanging the distichs for gifts from likely patrons, and plying his vocation as a man of letters, his choice of subjects as noted above reveals a passing interest in female physical appearance, that is emphasized elsewhere in his works. Perhaps the greatest tribute he pays to woman's physical beauty is in the following epigram:

> Qui Corcyraei vidit pomaria regis,  
> Rus, Entelle, tuae præferet ille domus.  
> Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos  
> Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat,  
> Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma  
> Et tegitur felix nec tamen uva latet:  
> Femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus,  
> Calculus in nitida sic numeratur aqua.  

8.68.1-8

The blooming of the vineyard in the greenhouse on Entellus's estate is compared to the shining of a woman's body through silk, and to the pebble shining through crystal-clear water. The latter picture is one of the most beautiful that one can think of, and the fact that Martial
speaks of it in the same breath as a woman's figure shows the high regard he must have had, like any normal man, for an exquisite female form. He displays similar appreciation when he talks about the rounded fullness of a virgin's breast (8.64.10-11). Martial had an eye for young girls, but he realizes the ravage that time can effect on women:

Femina praeferri potuit tibi nulla, Lycori:
Præferri Glyceræ femina nulla potest.
Haec erit hoc quod tu: tu non potes esse quod haec est.
Tempora quid faciunt! Hanc volo, te volui.

6.40

Lycoris was once an enviably attractive girl, but time has taken its toll and she has now been superseded by Glycer in Martial's affections. There is a touch of sadness in this epigram, but Martial is describing a reality that women have to face. Unfortunately, many do not and endeavor, like old Fabulla (8.33), or old Aegle (1.72), or old Lycoris (1.72) to restore their beauty by artificial means, chiefly pancakes of make-up, which the poet ridicules:

Crassior in facie vetulae stat creta Fabullae.
8.33.17

Sic dentata sibi videtur Aegle
Emptis ossibus Indicoque cornu;
Sic quae nigrior est cadente moro,
Cerussata sibi placet Lycoris.
1.72.3-6

Wigs, false teeth and general make-up, when exaggerated, far from improving the looks, seem to Martial to have an
opposite effect, for, as he says, any dog can smell sweet
by coating itself with perfume:

Quod quacumque venis Cosmum migrare putamus
Et fluere excusso cinnama fusa vitro,
Nolo pereginis placeas tibi, Gellia, nugis.
Scis, puta, posse meum sic bene olere canem.

3.55

In fact, the toothless crones attempting to rejuvenate their looks are one of the two classes of women that Martial attacks for their looks. The other class is predictably girls that are outright ugly. Nowhere is the attack on the first group as fierce as in 3.93, where Martial takes Vetustilla to task, ridiculing her for her age, her appearance, her figure, her complexion, her physique, her poor vision, her bodily hygiene, and finally, her hankering after a husband in spite of her old age and decrepit body. She is, he insists, a fitting bride for Orcus, Lord of the Lower World, meaning of course that she deserves to be dead, being already a living corpse anyway. Martial's assault, framed in the abusive scazon, starts off with a series of similes and metaphors building an unbelievably hideous picture of Vetustilla with her

.. tres capilli quattuorque ...dentes,
Pectus cicadae, crus colorque formicae;
Rugosiorem ..... stola frontem
Et araneorum cassibus pares mammas

3.93.2-5
Comparisons of her poor attributes with animals abound; mention is made of a grasshopper, an ant, a crocodile, a gnat, an owl and a skinny duck, spiders, frogs and she-goats. The poet looks at her like a camera, starting from the head and making his way down, leaving no part unexamined and unmentioned and thinking only in terms of animal imagery. The effect of all these gross comparisons is overwhelming. Each picture outdoes the other and the overall image comes out as that of a hag beyond compare. As if this were not bad enough, Martial maliciously records her presumption in looking for a husband:

Audes ducentas nupturire post mortes  
Virumque demens cineribus tuis quaeris  
Prurire.........................  
Quis coniugem te, quis vocabit uxorem,  
Philomelus aviam quam vocaverat nuper?

3.93.18-22

But actually there is only one thing fitting for the antique animal-woman: a tomb. It is all an impressively gross and cruel delineation, which serves to explain Martial's disapproval, not so much of old hags, but of old hags wanting to adopt a youthful life-style. It is, according to our poet, completely ludicrous and incompatible with the state of their tired, old bodies.

Equally unfortunate as the above group is the girl that is unattractive. Such a one is dealt with in 2.41.
The tone here is more one of sadness and pity rather than anger as in the Vetustilla poem. Maximina, a girl with only tres dentes, all black: plane piceique buxeique (vs. 7), is urged not to display her teeth by grinning, but rather to adopt an expression

\[
\ldots \ldots \ldots \ldots \quad \text{magis severos}
\quad \text{Quam coniunx Priami nurusque maior.}
\]

2.41.13-14

What she ought to do is summarized in these words:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Te maestae decet adsidere matri} \\
\text{Lugentive virum piuneve fratrem,} \\
\text{Et tantum tragicis vacare Musis.} \\
\text{At tu iudicium secuta nostrum} \\
\text{Plora, si sapis, o puella, plora.}
\end{align*}
\]

Ibid. vss. 19-23

In other words, she deserves to associate with people in mourning and bemoan her ugliness as they do their dead. Although it ends on a sorrowful note, this poem is as unkind as 3.93. However, Maximina does not arouse the poet's anger in the way that a type like Vetustilla does, because she does not presume to have beauty as Vetustilla presumes to be still deserving of a husband. When we compare Martial's words in these two poems, it can be said that while he is displeased by lack of physical beauty, he is provoked more by people who fail to realize their shortcomings. There is no hint that Maximina has realized hers, but it is clear that Vetustilla has not, hence Martial's
vitriolic attack on her. That against Maximina is not so bad, although it is hard to choose between Martial's anger and pity. It would be a painful experience to be the butt of either.

Martial's fascination with physical beauty is matched only by his appreciation of character in an individual. For example, beautiful Fabulla is young and rich as well, but she cannot resist the temptation of overpraising herself; and so Martial concludes:

Sed cum te nimium, Fabulla, laudas,
Nec dives neque bella nec puella es.
(1.64)

Similarly, in another poem, in an echo of Catullus' style, he rues the beauty of a girl whose character unfortunately does not match her loveliness:

Formosissima quae fuere vel sunt,
Sed vilessima quae fuere vel sunt,
O quam te fieri, Catulla, vellem
Formosam minus aut magis pudicam.
8.54(53)

Therefore, what Martial seems to be saying is that physical attractiveness is worthless, unless coupled with a sense of decency in the individual.

Moreover, the poet, always keeping in mind a sense of proportion, rejects all kinds of exaggeration: he is
for moderation, even in such a trite thing as the application of cosmetics. In 3.43 he says plainly that a small blemish is better left alone, free from any plaster; let it simply show, because the flaw which is hidden is sometimes thought greater than it actually is. A good illustration of this notion occurs in 6.93 about Thais, who unfortunately exudes a rank odor which she tries to overcome by excessive perfume. The result is negative:

Cum bene se tutam per fraudes mille putavit
Omnia cum fecit, Thaida Thais olet.

6.93.11-12

(30)

This question of bodily odor is referred to in another epigram (4.4) on the girl Bassa, where Martial's disgust is expressed again in a series of animal images as in the Vetustilla (3.93) and Thais (6.93) poems. Comparisons are made with fish, goats, wolves and vipers.

Although Martial is displeased by unattractive women, he has in his own way a good word for any such who shows good taste or sound judgment. In 3.39 for instance, he sarcastically compliments one-eyed Lycoris over her choice of a young lover by the comment: quam bene lusca videt!

Tables are turned in 3.8, where Quintus who loves one-eyed Thais is reproached:

"Thaida Quintus amat," "Quam Thaida?" "Thaida luscam."
Unum oculum Thais non habet, ille duos.
If this is the same foul Thais of 6.93, we can understand Martial's wry comment. However, there are limits to what artificial beautifying can accomplish. In 12.23 Martial tells one-eyed Laelia that false teeth and false wigs can be purchased, but she cannot do anything about her missing eye. Laelia is honest though; she is not ashamed of her shortcomings, but some women are very self-conscious about them. And Martial in 6.12 shows an understanding of the female psyche by revealing without any wry comment Fabulla's typically female insistence that her false hair is indeed her own:

Iurat capillos esse, quos emit, suos
Fabulla: numquid ergo, Paule, peierat?

These attacks on women give a forewarning of what Martial would probably say on the subject of equality for women. He frankly is opposed to it:

Inferior matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito:
Non aliter fiunt femina virque pares.

But he was nevertheless very fond of women and wished for one that would be worthy of all kinds of gifts from him:

At mea me libram foliati poscat amica
Aut virides gemmas sardonychasve pares,
Nec nisi prima velit de Tusco Serica vico
Aut centum aureolos sic velut aera roget,
Nunc tu velle putas haec me donare puellae?
Nolo, sed his ut sit digna puella volo.
It is unfortunate that he did not find one that would measure up to his ideals. Perhaps, it is for that reason that he turned a sometimes cold and critical eye on the female sex, but from a satirist, we can expect nothing too rosy. He showed tremendous insight into the female psyche because he understood that good looks were important to women, but for him, something else was even more important: a sound mind. If Vetustilla or Thais were equipped with such, they would not be making fools of themselves, and thus expose themselves to the ridicule of one and all.
CHAPTER III

LOVE AND MARRIAGE AND ATTENDANT PROBLEMS

I. Introduction

We have shown in the last chapter that while Martial did not maintain a permanent relationship with one particular woman, the poems suggest that he did know several intimately, and his association with them gave him an acute insight into the female sex. He set up several criteria for a wife of his own, and of course never came across any that could satisfy his requirements - hence apparently, his settling for a life of bachelorhood. Such a choice, however, did not provoke in him any silence on the question of love and marriage and their attendant woes and blessings. Characteristically, he dwelt more on the woes, but, as we shall see, he did not complain as grievously or as viciously as Juvenal later did in his virulent tirade against women in his sixth satire.

However individual Martial's approach to the two themes of love and marriage may be, he is only one of a long line of Roman writers who chose to enlarge upon these two fundamental forms of human relationship.
Plautus and Terence, in view of the tenor of their works, gave a light treatment of love and marriage, but a more serious view was taken by Lucretius, who condemned both as a threat to the Epicurean way of life. A different but equally serious approach was developed by the poetae novi of Alexandrian School, led by Catullus; this was based on a free-love relationship, thus creating an artistic challenge to the basic institution of marriage and claiming for love an independent value as sincere and as important as marriage itself. This fresh view continued to prevail in the works of the elegiac poets Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, who adopted a view of life that placed a lofty value on love, and, with the exception of Tibullus, indulged also in an exposition of the purely sexual or carnal side of love - which will be still more explicit in Martial.

II. Love

In Martial, the term "love" must clearly be understood to apply more to "affaires de sexe" than to "affaires de coeur". He is certainly very reticent on the latter subject, chiefly because the "émotion sentimentale" characteristic of this type of poetry was alien to him. It does appear briefly in a gentle and innocent manner in his
epitaphs on children like Eration and Canace, but elsewhere his attitude is unmistakably tongue-in-cheek. An outstanding example of this is Ep. 1.68:

Quidquid agit Rufus, nihil est nisi Naevia Rufo. 
Si gaudet, si flet, si tacet, hanc loquitur. 
Cenat, propinat, poscit, negat, inuit: una est Naevia; si non sit Naevia, mutus erit. 
Scriberet hesterna patri cum luce salutem 
"Naevia lux" inquit "Naevia lumen, have." 
Haec legit et ridet demisso Naevia volu. 
Naevia non una est: quid, vir inepte, furis?

In this poem, Martial ridicules the simple Rufus who breathes and lives for Naevia, and makes her the pivot of his life, going so far as to preface epistolary greetings to his own father with a salute to her. All this attention merely causes her to laugh - wherefore Martial admonishes Rufus in his own deadly and final way: Naevia is not unique; so, quid, vir inepte, furis?

This poem is reminiscent in a superficial way of the elegiac treatment of love - superficial because Martial employs conventional erotic terminology, but for a different end: to make Rufus look like a fool. His reference to Naevia in terms of light - lux and lumen - recalls the identical term used by Catullus for Lesbia - mea lux, (6) in his complex elegy to Allius (68.132 and 160).

Although temperamentally Martial and the elegiac po-
ets are poles apart, his debt to them is not limited only
to occasional reproduction of their erotic vocabulary.
Their influence can be better evaluated if one bears in
mind that Martial mentions them all by name: Catullus
(7) twenty-two times, Propertius twice, Tibullus four times
(8) and Ovid eight times, seven by name and once as the
(9) Paelignian bard. But the influence transcends mere allu-
sions and includes the use of motifs which are an inte-
gral part of Roman love poetry, but which Martial under-
standably adapted for satiric purposes.

Without question, the most conspicuous of these mo-
tifs is the pet theme. Widely known are Catullus' two
poems about Lesbia's sparrow: Passer, deliciae meae
(10) puellae and Lugete, O Veneres Cupidinesque. Both poems
serve to illustrate his affection for Lesbia: in the
first one, he wants her to play with him as she does with
her sparrow and thus while away his heavy cares; in the
second, the bird is dead, and Catullus offers his sympathy.
Martial, however, picks up the theme of this second poem
in Ep. 7.14:

Accidit infandum nostrae scelus, Aule, puellae;
Amisit lusus deliciasque suas:
Non quales teneri ploravit amica Catulli
Lesbia, nequitilis passeris orba sui,
Vel Stellae cantata meo quam flevit Ianthis,
Cuius in Elysio nigra columba volat:
Lux mea non capitur nugis neque moribus istis
Nec dominae pectus talia damna movent:
Bis denos puerum numerantem perdidit annos,
Mentula cui nondum sesquipedalis erat.

There are both direct and indirect reminders of Catullan influence in this poem. The choice of the words nostrae, puellae, lusus, delicias in the first two lines tosses us back to the early poet, but, lest we miss the point, he is mentioned by name in the next verse. But what has Martial's girl-friend lost? Not a passer, but a puer - a boy of twenty superbly endowed for a girl's sport. The twist in the last two lines is totally unexpected, but typically Martial's. This is indeed a good example of how Martial can use a legitimate elegiac theme, and turn it around to suit his own sarcastic end. The risqué conclusion is also indicative of Martial's propensity to introduce sexual allusions in his poetry. The transition from erotic material to the purely sexual is very abrupt; the emotional impact, if any, is quickly lost as the reader comes to the surprise ending.

Another elegiac theme used extensively by Martial is that of the kiss - basium - appearing in thirty-eight epigrams, and more or less as the main motif in sixteen of them. They all amount to an anatomy of kissing; the various subjects covered fragrant kisses (3.65,11.8), caress-
ing kisses (11.104), lingering kisses (12.65), soft kisses (11.104), repeated kisses (12.93), silent kisses (12.55), wet kisses (11.26), closely-pressed kisses (6.34), motherly kisses (11.23), forced kisses (4.22, 5.46), reluctant or stolen kisses (4.22, 5.46, 6.66, 12.55), refusals to kiss (1.94, 2.10, 2.21, 2.33, 10.22), sneaky kisses (12.93), smelly kisses (2.12, 12.59, 13.18), wanton kisses (11.23), suppliant kisses (10.72), winter or cold kisses (7.95), kisses from boys (3.65, 5.46, 6.34, 8.44, 8.46, 9.43, 10.42, 11.8, 11.26), from men (2.10, 2.12, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23), from sodomites (6.50, 11.95), from eunuchs (8.44), impure kisses (6.50, 11.95, 11.61), sale of kisses (12.55), quantity of kisses (6.34, 11.6, 12.26, 12.59), and the exaggerated frequency of kissing in Rome (11.98).

The grounds covered by Martial in this area extend beyond what we find in the elegiac poets. Catullus, besides three general references (8.17, 16.12, 68.127), has only four poems on the subject: two dedicated to Lesbia (5 and 7) and two to Juventius (48 and 99). What he emphasizes is the wealth of happiness and tortured bliss that can result therefrom. The revolting side of kissing which plays such a great part in Martial's osculatory poetry is totally absent. However onesided Catullus'
delineation is, he had a marked influence on the later poet. Ep. 6.34, for instance, is directly reminiscent of Catullus' fifth and seventh poems:

Basia da nobis, Diadumene, pressa. "Quot" inquis?
Oceani fluctus me numerare iubes
Et meris Aegaei sparsas per litora conchas
Et quae Cecropio monte vagantur apes,
Quaeque sonant pleno vocesque manusque theatro,
Cum populus subiti Caesaris ora videt.
Nolo quot arguto dedit exorata Catullo
Lesbia: pauca cupit qui numerare potest.

Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes
Tuae, Lesbia, sint satis superque.
Quam magnus numerus Libyssae harenae
Lasericiferis iacet Cyrenis,
Oraclum Iovis inter aestuosi
Et Batti veteris sacrum sepulcrum;
Aut quam sidera multa, cum tacet nox,
Furtivos homínem vident amores;
Tam te basia multa basiare
Vesano satis et super Catullo est,
Quae nec pernumerare curiosi
Possint nec mala fascinare linguæ.

Cat. 7

The analogies are obvious: both poets appeal for kisses from their beloved, Lesbia and Diadumenus, and use a series of images, the sands of the desert and the stars in the sky in the case of Catullus, and the waves of the ocean, bees and the shouts and hand-claps in the theater in the case of Martial, to convey an idea of the limitless number of kisses needed to satisfy their ardor. The last two lines of Martial's poem seem to refer to the fifth poem,
where kisses are piled on kisses, till the count is confused. In fact, in this poem, as in several others (11.6 and 12.59), Martial is anxious to announce to the world his debt to Catullus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Da nunc basia, sed Catulliana:} \\
\text{Quae si tot fuerint quot ille dixit,} \\
\text{Donabo tibi Passerem Catulli.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

11.6.14-16

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Tantum dat tibi Roma basiorum} \\
\text{Post annos modo quindecim reverso} \\
\text{Quantum Lesbia non dedit Catullo.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

12.59.1-3

As these selections suggest, the similarities are indeed not only thematic, but also sometimes verbal. For instance, the phrase \textit{da...basia} which occurs in 11.6 above consciously echoes Catullus 5.7: \textit{Da mi basia mille, deinde centum.}

And J. Ferguson reminds us that "it was Catullus who introduced into Latin verse the conversational word \textit{basiare}, and \textit{basiatio} is indeed not used again before \textit{Martial}.''

The other elegiac poets, Tibullus, Propertius and Ovid, who, like Catullus, dwelt on the sunny side of kissing, exerted a similar, though not as easily traceable, influence on Martial. H. Bardon in an article entitled "Satiriques et Elégiaques" gives a list of their allusions to kissing and adds the following on the difference.
between them and Martial:

Cette volonté avouée soit de continuer soit de transformer Catulle prouve que Martial, dans ses nombreuses épigrammes consacrées aux baisers, a voulu parodier les élégiaques, suivant l'exemple de Catulle lui-même, qui, tel Horace, unit les deux tendances, opposées et complémentaires. Tibulle, Properce, Ovide disent la douceur de ces embrassements, en exaltent, ou en implorent, l'ardeur insatisfaite. Martial, lui, bafoue les amants, donneurs de baisers aux lèvres malpropres: celles-ci, chez les élégiaques fraîches et parfumées, ne connaissent guère, chez le satirique, que les plus sales des turpitudes. Au baiser pris de force Ovide avait consacré des vers gracieux, où il exposait une casuistique de la tendre violence; enchérissant encore sur Catulle, qui avait reproché à Juventius d'avoir, par sa mauvaise humeur, transformé en élébore l'ambroisie d'un baiser dérobé, Martial, brutalement, déclare qu'il n'apprécie les embrassements de Diadumenus que pris de force: basia luctantia; pour jouir de cette colère, qu'il préfère, en Diadumenus, à la beauté, il fouette, souvent, l'objet de sa passion ....

So, what Martial brings to the poetry of osculation is a totally new approach that does not overlook any angle, pleasant or unpleasant. The elegiac poets viewed the action from the lovers' point of view, so that they could hardly be expected to deal with any repulsive aspect of it. Martial, however, not only shares that view, but he remains aware of the human and physical implications as well. He can appreciate the sweetness of a fragrant kiss between lovers (11.8), but Rome has become a kissing town (11.98), and, inevitably, the habit has given rise to some grotesque scenes, which Martial conveys in equally
Here he starts off, characteristically, in Catullan fashion, relating the kissing welcome given to his friend on his return to Rome after an absence of fifteen years, and then abruptly comes a list of all the foul-mouthed characters that joined in the act and made him regret his return. The juxtaposition of Catullus' Lesbia, beautiful though perfidious, and the rugged pilosus colonus or the textor or the fellator shows in extreme fashion Martial's ability to shock his readers into recognizing an intolerable situation.

In fact, there are few poems in Martial (11.6, 11.8, 11.26) where basium comes out as an expression of joy. The erotic basis is superseded generally by a feeling of revulsion at the number of odd and foul characters that indulged in a habit that calls for some decorum and is reserved mostly for the young and beautiful. The elegiac
poets wrote about kissing when talking of the latter, whereas Martial was mostly thinking of the former. In other words, he is not interested in kissing only as an expression of an affectionate emotion; he goes beyond the physical act to the human being indulging in it, and if the character leaves much to be desired either morally or otherwise, he becomes the butt of a blistering, though in Martial's view well-deserved, attack. Therefore, when we talk about Martial's poetry of osculation, we mean not so much erotic poetry as social satire, of course treated on a novel basis. We can say that Martial took the raw material from the elegiac poets, but what he fashioned out of it was definitely and unmistakably his own, his unique creation.

There are several other motifs connected with love poetry that Martial might have inherited from the elegiac poets. One of these is the refusal of the beloved to grant her lover's demands and the impact this has on him, amounting generally to imprecations and accusations of all kinds against her. Martial, however, diverges from this routine interpretation: not only does he grant the same privilege of denial to men also, on the ground that quisquis nil negat...fellat (12.79), but he also goes to the real root for the imprecations, as in the following
epigram:

Facere in Lyciscam, Paule, me iubes versus,
Quibus illa lectis rubeat et sit irata.
O Paule, malus es: irrumare vis solus.

4.17

The jealous Paulus bids Martial write hostile verses against Lycisca, but the pointed last verse scolds him by hinting that his anger would be mitigated if his sexual desires were fulfilled. Martial thus sees the problem purely in sexual terms, and exposes the real secret desires of Paulus which inspired his anger.

To go back to the question of denial, there are thirteen poems more or less connected with this theme; seven of these (1.106, 2.25, 3.54, 4.38, 4.81, 11.50, 11.104) contain a refusal by the woman, four (10.75, 11.19, 11.23, 12.79) by the man, while the remaining two (4.12, 4.71) have the opposite theme of affirmative replies by the woman. With two exceptions (11.19 and 23), all these poems are, as H. Bardon remarks, verbally reminiscent of a verse of Propertius: aut si es dura nega, sin es non dura, venito (2.22.43). The verb negare is used extensively by Martial in this connection, occurring at least once in eleven of these poems, the exceptions being 11.19 and 23, where other verbs of negation are found: nolim (11.19.1) and nulla...lege volo (11.23.2). It also occurs twice in
4.81 and five times in 4.71, which we now quote:

Quaero diu totam, Safroni Rufe, per urbem,
Si qua puella neget: nulla puella negat.
Tamquam fas non sit, tamquam sit turpe negare,
Tamquam non liceat: nulla puella negat.
Casta igitur nulla est? Sunt castae mille. Quid ergo
Casta facit? Non dat, non tamen illa negat.

The theme of refusal reaches a height in this poem:

Le thème prend de l'ampleur: l'épigramme 4.71
s'agence en une large modulation sur le refus;
elle est soulignée par la présence, à la fin
de chaque pentamètre, de la forme negat, et par les
espèces de rimes que constituent les homophonies,
v.2, neget...negat, v.4, liceat...negat, v.6,
dat...negat.(19)

This poem can be construed two ways: as Friedländer remarks, it can be an expression of the looseness of morals in Rome at that time, since no woman says no, but I also read in it an implication by Martial that girls are really very accessible - a sarcastic comment on the elegiac poets' frequent complaint of inaccessibility to their beloved, a problem that beset Martial himself in his relationship with Galla (2.25, 2.54, 4.38), but not for long, for in 10.75 it is his turn to refuse:

Milia viginti quondam me Galla poposcit
Et, fateor, magno non erat illa nimis.
Annum abit: "Bis quinque dabis sestertia," dixit.
Poscere plus visa est quam prius illa mihi.
Iam duo poscenti post sextum milia mensem
Mille debam nummos. Noluit accipere.
Transierant binae forsan trinaeve Kalendae, 
Aureolos ul tro quattuor ipsa petit. 
Non dedimus. Centum iussit me mittere nummos; 
Sed visa est nobis haec quoque summa gravis. 
Sportula nos iunxit quadrantibus arida centum; 
Hanc voluit: puero diximus esse datam. 
Inferius num: uid potuit descendere? Fecit. 
Dat gratis, ul tro dat mihi Galla: nego.

The gradual devaluation of Galla from a price that Martial cannot pay (3.54) to offering herself gratis (10.75), which Martial declines, giving a rather obscene reason (11.19) -(another instance of his sexual explicitness!)- indicates either a spirit of vengeance on his part, an elegiac trait, or, more likely, a lack of sensitivity for women on whom time has taken its toll. This is particularly noticeable in 11.23 where Sila is reviled and abused in a manner that rivals the Vetustilla poem (3.93):

Nubere Sila mihi nulla non lege parata est; 
Sed Silam nulla ducere lege volo. 
Cum tamen instaret, "deciens mihi dotis in auro 
Sponsa dabis" dixi; "quid minus esse potest? 
Nec futuam quamvis prima te nocte maritus, 
Communis tecum nec mihi lectus erit; 
Complectarque meam, nec tu prohibebis, amicam, 
Ancillam mittes et mihi iussa tuam. 
Te spectante dabit nobis lasciva minister. 
Basia, sive meus sive erit ille tuus. 
Ad cenam venies, sed sic divisa recumbes 
Ut non tangantur pallia nostra tuis. 
Oscula rara dabis nobis et non dabis ul tro, 
Nec quasi nupta dabis sed quasi mater anus, 
Si potes ista pati, si nil per ferre recusas, 
Invenies qui te ducere, Sila, velit."

Her offer of marriage is spurned, and she herself is told
the degradation she should endure, in case she wants to find a man willing to marry her: no marital relations even on the wedding night, a bed separate from her husband who would be free to sleep with his mistress or even her maid, being a spectator at his love dalliance, and giving him kisses like a mother's rather than a bride's; in short, she should be ready to accept his every whim without any guarantee or even a show of concern on his part.

Martial is indeed very hard on Sila. He is not softened by the fact that marriage to her might mean a million sesterces in dowry. Whereas such an offer may weigh heavily in a marriage deal, in a love relationship gifts will generally work the same charms. Ovid recommends to the lover to send gifts not only to his beloved, but also to her maid to win her favor:

Sed tamen et servo (levis est inpensa) roganti
Porrigi Fortunae munera parva die:
Porrigi et ancillae, qua poenas luce pependit
Lusa maritali Gallica veste manus.
Fac phebem, mihi crede, tuam; sit semper in illa
Ianitor et thalami qui iacet ante fores.
Nec dominam iubeo pretioso munere done:
Parva, sed e parvis callidus apta dato.

Martial deals with that particular aspect of the love relationship in six epigrams, all written late in his ca-
reer: 10.29, 11.27, 11.29, 11.49(50), 12.65 and 79. But just as earlier he granted the privilege of denying one's love to both men and women, he now extends the gift-giving to both sexes. Five of these epigrams deal with the gift-bestowal by the male: 10.29, 11.27 and 50, 12.65 and 79. They reveal that Martial stands by Ovid's advice of granting only munera parva, for he says plainly again and again:

At mea me libram foliati poscat amica
   Aut virides gemmas sardonychasve pares,
   Nec nisi prima velit de Tusco Serica vico
   Aut centum aureolos sic velut aera roget
   Nunc tu velle putas haec me donare puellae?
   Nolo sed his ut sit digna puella volo.

11.27.9-14

Sit pudor et tandem veri respectus et aequi.

11.49.11

However, he takes to task those that insist on too many gifts. He tells Atticilla for instance:

Donavi tibi multa quae rogasti:  
Donavi tibi plura quam rogasti:  
Non cessas tamen usque me rogare.
Quisquis nil negat, Atticilla, fellat.

12.79

Nevertheless, he seemingly has no qualms in stipulating expensive items for himself, which he would prefer to Phyllis' ineffectual form of love-making:

Languida cum vetula tractare virilia dextra  
Coepisti, iugulor pollice, Phylli, tuo:
Nam cum me murem, cum me tua lumina dicis,
Horis me refici vix puto posse decem.
Blanditias nescis: "dabo" dic "tibi milia centum
Et dabo Setini iugera culta soli;
Accipe vina, domum, pueros, chrysendeta, mensas."
Nil opus est digitis: sic mihi, Phylli, frica.

If the use of presents does not work, the lover has
to sustain an intolerable separation from his beloved.
Tibullus seeks solace from it in wine:

Adde merum vinoque novos compescce dolores,
Occupet ut fessi lumina victa sopor:
Neu quisquam multo percussum tempora Baccho
Excitet, infelix dum requiescit amor.

Drinking brings sleep that dulls the brain and provides
needed rest from one's love-cares. Propertius and Ovid on
the other hand, although they concur with Tibullus that
cares are drowned by much drinking, also insist that
some wine makes men apt for passion:

Talis visa mihi mollem spirare quietem
Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus,
Ebria cum multo traherem vestigia Baccho,

Hanc ego, nondum etiam sensus deperditus omnes,
Molliter impresso conor adire toro;
Et quamvis duplici correptum ardore iuberent
Hac Amor hac Liber, durus uterque deus,
Subiecto leviter positam temptarre lacerto
Osculaque admota sumere avara manu,
Non tamen ausus eram dominae turbare quietem,
Expertae metuens iurgia saevitiae;
Sed sic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis.

Prop.1.3.7-19
Vina parant animum Veneri, nisi plurima sumas,
Et stupeant multo corda sepulta meo.
Ovid, *Remedia Amoris*, 805-806

Martial agrees about the effect of wine on the cares of love:

Si Telethusa venit promissaque gaudia portat,
Servabor dominae, Rufe, triente tuo;
Si dubia est, septunce trahar; si fallit amantem,
Ut iugulem curas, nomen utrumque bibam.
8.50(51).23-26

but prefers to make love on a wine-free stomach, so to speak. This impression is derived from a consideration of 1.106 and 8.50(51). In the latter poem, Martial contends that if Telethusa fulfils her promise and grants him his wishes, he would limit himself to a triens; otherwise, he would drown himself in wine. His plight is reminiscent of Rufus’ own in 1.106; the latter insists on sobriety for his planned night of joy with his beloved Maevia (1.68), but when she fails him, he decides to throttle his *durum ...dolorem in crebros...trientes* (1.106.8-9).

In Roman love poetry, the theme of the separation of the lovers is sometimes concretely expressed by the imagery of a closed door. This first occurs in Terence at the beginning of the *Eunuchus*, and appears also in Horace (*Sat. 2.3.259 ff.*), Tibullus (1.2.5-14, 1.5.67-68, 2.6.11-12), Propertius (1.16, 1.18.24, 2.23.12) and Ovid (*Ars*
Martial, however, brings to the tradition his own special satiric touch. For instance, he alludes to the tribulations of one such lover, the wealthy Cotta, in 10.14(13):

Cum cathedralicios portet tibi raeda ministros
   Et Libys in longo pulvere sudet eques,
Strataque non unas cingant triclinia Baias
   Et Thetis unguento palleat uncta tuo,
Candida Setini rumpant crystalla trientes.
Dormiat in pluma nec meliore Venus:
   Ad nocturna iaces fastosae limina mœchae
Et madet heu! lacrimis ianua surda tuis,
Urere nec miserum cessant suspiria pectus.
Vis dicam male sit cur tibi, Cotta? Bene est.

The poem follows the usual pattern of registering the cruelty of the mistress and the tears of her lover at the door of her apartment. But in the last verse, Martial strikes; Cotta is merely inventing his miseries; he has immense material wealth and has every reason to be happy. The implication is that his amorous pains are ridiculous. Against this theme of the closed door, Martial sets the idea of the door left open and easily concludes that ianua nec iuvenem semper aperta tenet (4.29.6). He extends it to include a censure of Lesbia who makes love with her door wide open:

Incustoditis et apertis, Lesbia, semper
Liminibus peccas nec tua furta tegis,
Et plus spectator quam te delectat adulter
Nec sunt grata tibi gaudia si qua latent.

1.34.1-4
Learn modesty, Martial cautions, and that means no exaggeration of any kind, be it in the actual carnal act of love (1.34), or in the poetic expression of it.\[10.14 (13)\].

To anticipate any criticism, let me hasten to add that Martial's charge can be levelled at Martial himself. His poetry often acquires a grotesque and obscene level unmatched anywhere, that has led to his being identified as a pornographer. This criticism will be answered in Chapter 5, but for the moment let me say that this quality often results from the "transformation satirique" undergone by the love-motifs in his poetry. He follows the technique used by the elegiac poets to elevate the women they portray for incisive attacks on his own female characters, who, he feels, are deserving of them. But like Horace in the savage Epodes 8 and 12, he makes subtle changes: emphasis on the body with all its warts and deformities, almost complete disregard for the spirit of love, and replacing feeling with judgment. He thus puts traditional poetic themes to a new usage; he does not write love poetry as such; but he can transform it into satire by a mere twist of language, an obscene word here and there, or the introduction of the unexpected, especially at the very end of a poem, where the sarcasm, the grotesqueness
or the obscenity it generates is most potent.

The most original thing, however, that he brings to the poetry of love is a rational approach. Some will contend that love and rationality do not mix, but Martial does not agree. He himself is not a novice at this game; he understands that part of the pleasure of love is torture: *satiatur amor nisi gaudia torquent* (4.38.2); he knows the role of a billet-doux (14.8 and 9); he can present the case of Faustus (11.64) who tries hard but without success to get female companionship, or that of Sextus (2.87) who does not try hard, but meets with great success, despite his ugly countenance. He is aware of the sexual frustrations that may develop, e.g., the dilemma of the girl Aegle (11.81) who shares a bed with a eunuch on one side and an old man on the other. He is equally conscious of the dangers involved, e.g. Aeschylus (9.4) has to pay Galla to silence her about their relationship, or of the sexual idiosyncrasies of some, like the Roman girl Caelia (7.30) who sleeps with everybody but Romans. All this goes to show that love itself is sometimes an irrational commodity. Perhaps that is why it should be treated more carefully than the elegiac poets have done. They have made it the prime subject of their poetry, "their sole object in life" as a matter of fact.
Martial begs to differ; these poets are deluding themselves, he feels, and, using their method, but with suitable changes, he sets about to prove it. He attacks by imitation the conventions of love poetry: its language and its themes are reproduced but to different effects, namely to show how revolting or unrealistic or merely ridiculous they are at times. He shows the foolish things that people can do under the delusion of love, e.g. signing away their property (4.28). Sex, he recognizes, is a physical necessity; he treats it as such even in its lurid details, but to make it the focus of life is out of all proportion with the importance it deserves.

III. Marriage and its problems

Marriage was one of the most valued social institutions in ancient Rome. Its concept as a patriotic duty was driven home, especially during the days of the city's expansion, when its potential for creating new citizens, and consequently more soldiers, was never lost on Roman legislators. It was undertaken chiefly for the procreation of children, to insure the continuity of the familia and of the gens, which was invaluable in terms of the growth and security of the civitas.

We have seen in Chapter One how the marriage institu-
tion was established and how it remained male-dominated, despite the revision of its concept in the third century B.C., despite the acquisition of more rights by women and the marriage laws enacted by Augustus. However forward-looking these were (they genuinely improved the lot of the woman in marriage), and whatever effect they might have had on the general population in Rome, their impact on contemporary artists, especially that select group belonging to the circle of Maecenas, was minimal. The two leading lights therein, Vergil and Horace, remained confirmed bachelors; Propertius, another member of that illustrious group, celebrates in an elegy (2.7) the repeal of a law that might have insisted on marriage and offers no concrete proof of his having ever gotten married. His fellow-elegist Tibullus also provides no clue as to his status in that respect and is generally assumed to have remained a bachelor. The major exception to what seems to be an artistic tradition of bachelorhood is Ovid, who was married three times and whose view of that institution can best be described as ambiguous. From an unfavourable early view:

Lite fugent nuptaeque viros nuptasque mariti,
Inque vicem credant res sibi semper agi;
Hoc decet uxores; dos est uxoria lites.

_Ars Amatoria_, 2.153-155
he graduated to a more favorable stand in his later works:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\ldots \ldots \ldots \text{Iuvat o meminisse beati} \\
&\text{Temporis, Aeacida, quo primos rite per annos} \\
&\text{Coniuge eram felix, felix erat illa marito.} \\
&\text{Mutua cura duos et amor socialis habebat,} \\
&\text{Nec Io vis illa meo thalamos praeferret amori,} \\
&\text{Nec me quae caperet, non si Venus ipsa veniret,} \\
&\text{Ulla erat; aequales urebant pectora flammea.} \\
&\text{Met. 7.797-803}
\end{align*}
\]

a view regarded by a majority of scholars as insincere and inspired by a desire to get back into the good graces of Augustus.

That the institution of marriage under the early empire was declining is plain from the works and lifestyle of these elegiac poets. Their concern with it, which was an immediate byproduct of their main theme of love, was also part of a wider controversy among philosophers and rhetoricians over the pros and cons of marriage:

...Philosophers...treated it as a moral problem: 'is marriage good or bad?' and 'how can marriage be made to work successfully?'
Sometimes also they argued about a special case: 'should the philosopher marry or not?'
On the whole, the Stoics recommended marriage, as a duty to the state and mankind; the Epicureans viewed it with distrust; and the Cynics opposed it....
Rhetoricians also used to debate the pros and cons of marriage, and prided themselves on finding trenchant objections to it and then overthrowing them.
Seneca wrote a work entitled *De Matrimonio*, since lost, based partly on the τερί γάμου of Theophrastus, which gave an unfavorable view of women in general and of marriage in particular. Widespread misogynistic beliefs in the greed, viciousness and immorality of women, for which the rhetoricians were partly responsible, strengthened the case against marriage. All this, together with his own observations, provided fertile satirical material for Martial, who, despite the revitalization of the Augustan marital laws under Domitian, abided by the apparent tradition of bachelorhood suggested above and routinely paraded the horrors of married life in an overwhelming majority of his approximately eighty-three epigrams dealing with this subject.

The basis for Martial’s stand against marriage lies in his conviction of a widespread absence of fides in the marital relationship. Even the elegiac poets, in their free-love context of course, insisted on this. Martial’s reverence for chastity knows no bounds; as he acknowledges in one of his epigrams (3.26), all the wealth in the world is not enough to make up for it:

```
Praedia solus habes et solus, Candide, nummos,
Aurea solus habes, murrina solus habes,
Massica solus habes et Opimi Caecuba solus,
Et cor solus habes, solus et ingenium.
Omnia solus habes - hoc me puta velle negare!
Uxorem sed habes, Candide, cum populo.
```
He grants that Candidus is endowed with all the property and talent that one can be entitled to, but yet he has a faithless wife. Chastity is an attribute so rich in itself that no land, no money, no gold, no wine, no ingenium, in fact nothing can surpass it. Coming from a man who is constantly complaining about poverty and insisting on some greater material benefit from his patrons, this is an extraordinary statement. Martial's appreciation of material comforts pales before his respect for that one supreme characteristic in a woman that remains for him the chief ingredient for the success of a marriage.

Too often, though, fidelity is non-existent, with dire consequences for the people involved. In poem after poem, Martial refers to the infidelity of the married woman. Among the women thus attacked for their license are Galla (10.95) who had a baby fathered by neither her husband nor her lover, Gellia (6.90) who was uxor duorum and yet had a paramour, Gallus' wife (2.56) who was simply very generous with her favors, Caelia (6.67), Pannychus' wife, who associated with eunuchs because she enjoyed sexual union without the natural consequences of a baby, Labulla (4.9) who leaves her husband for Clytus whom she showers with gifts and love.

The woman, however, does not always bear the complete
responsibility for her profligate behaviour. The husband is often equally to blame, for his tolerance of his wife's dissoluteness or his failure to perceive it at all. The first idea is expressed in two epigrams:

Uxor, Charideme, tuam scis ipse sinisque
A medico futui: vis sine febre mori.

6.31

Iam certe Stupido non dices, Paula, marito,
Ad moechnum quotiens longius ire voles,
"Caesar in Albanum iussit me mane venire,
Caesar Circeios.
Iam stropha talis abit.
Penelopae licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva:
Sed prohibit scabies ingeniumque vetus.
Infelix, quid ages? Aegram simulabis amicam?
Haerebit dominae vir comes ipse suae,
Ibit et ad fratrem tecum matremque patremque.
Quas igitur fraudes ingeniosa pares?
Diceret hystericalam se forsitan altera moecha
In Sinuessano velle sedere lacu.
Quanto tu melius, quotiens placet ire fututum,
Quae verum mavis dicere, Paula, viro!

11.7

Ep. 6.31 is a down-to-earth distich where Charidemus is cautioned by Martial that his winking at his wife's adultery with his doctor may eventually cost him his life (a subtle reference to poisoning, a subject to be treated fully in Chapter 5) and thus have worse consequences than he might have anticipated. In 11.7, Paula's husband also does not discipline her, although she confesses her misdemeanor to him. In passing, Martial makes references to the type of excuses (visits to the emperor or the baths) wives generally give to their mates to leave the
house and meet with their lovers. But Paula has no need for such flimsy pretexts; she prefers to tell the truth to her stupid...marito (vs.1) and his passiveness makes him as guilty as his wife. The implication of these two poems seems to be that the husband should have a restraining influence on his wife in case she steps out of bounds; if he does not, he shares in her guilt and would probably pay for it, as Charidemus is likely to, with his own life.

The second idea, namely the husband's lack of perception of his wife's love affairs is also expressed in two epigrams: 5.61 and 12.93. Ep. 5.61 is one of the most powerful poems of Martial:

Crispulus iste quis est, uxori semper adhaeret
Qui, Mariane, tuae? Crispulus iste quis est?
Nescio quid dominae teneram qui garrit in aurem
Et sellam cubito dexteriore premit?
Per cuius digitos currit levis anulus omnis,
Crura gerit nullo qui violata pilo?
Nil mihi respondes? "Uxor is res agit" inquis
"iste meae." Sane certus et asper homo est,
Procuratorem volu qui praeferat ipso:
Acrior hoc Chius non erit Aufidius.
O quam dignus eras alapis, Mariane, Latini:
Te successorum credo ego Panniculo.
Res uxoris agit? Res ullas crispulus iste?
Res non uxoris, res agit iste tuas.

Like Paula's husband above, Marianus is a simple man who does not realize what the real functions of his wife's confidant are, although his dandy appearance should have given him away. Martial's contempt is obvious. In fact,
there is a current of sarcasm running through the whole poem, from the very delicate first word *crispulus*, through the five sardonic questions about the identity of the foppish attendant, through the naive reply of Marianus: "he does my wife's jobs", and Martial's apt rejoinder that he is, like the notorious Aufidius, a *certus et asper homo*. The voltage increases gradually into the climactic two concluding lines, packed with two short, almost repetitive questions and the equally brusque answers following immediately afterwards, all of which are introduced by the same ostensibly vague, but increasingly meaningful monosyllable *res*. It is a very emotional poem; we can feel the anger welling up in Martial, only to reach an effective release in the second half of the last verse: *res agit iste tuas*. The second poem dealing with this subject (12.93) is on a different plane altogether. It is almost prosaic in tone and does not reach the emotional peak of 5.61:

```latex
Qua moechum ratione basiaret
Coram coniuge repperit Labulla.
Parvum basiat usque morionem;
Hunc multis rapit osculis madentem
Moechus protinus et suis repletum
Ridenti dominae statim remittit.
Quanto morio maior est maritus!

12.93
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Labulla is depicted as a scheming, wily woman who used her *parvum morionem* as a means of access to her lover in the
very presence of her husband. He of course does not detect that he is being cuckolded: *quanto morio maior est!*

This type of subtle communication between lovers is not original with Martial. While this poem may be based on his personal observations, there are precedents for such an approach in Catullus and Ovid. Catullus' poem (83) deals with this topic in reverse, because therein he interprets Lesbia's curses as some kind of communication between them. Ovid's poem along this line (*Amores* 1.4) is much more detailed and recalls, among other things, the silent sign language by which the two lovers can reach for each other in the presence of the husband. Ovid concentrates on the feelings and sufferings of the lover; it is more a poem on the agony of love and offers, unlike Martial's, no comment on this type of liaison. Martial is plainly not a romantic. He sees such an affair as an unhealthy relationship and delivers a scathing attack on everybody responsible for it, and castigates especially the husband's blindness to the realities around him.

What all these poems denouncing illicit love amount to is an implicit attack on adultery. Martial, however, is too pointed a satirist to leave things half-said. In sixteen poems he launches an explicit attack on adultery, with the woman participant generally bearing the brunt
of the criticism: she is dismissed as famosa (2.39 and 2.47.1) and is regarded as an unlikely candidate for marriage with Martial, unless she is, like Telesina (2.49) kindly to boys, i.e. willing to overlook the homosexual interests of her husband - which no woman worthy of the name would do. As for what the lover deserves, Martial leaves no doubt as to what he would do to him (3.96), in case the poet should catch him embracing his girl-friend. In two other poems (2.83 and 3.85), he ridicules husbands who mutilated lovers of their wives without actually castrating them. At the same time though, Martial, the realist that he was, took pains to praise Domitian's law that halted castration (6.2 and 9.6). I am inclined to believe that this resulted more from his sycophantic habit of emperor-worship than deep conviction that the law was a just one. It is noticeable that both poems are placed in the opening pages of their respective books, and are addressed to the emperor, extolling his merits as a moral leader and the moral purity of contemporary times when no eunuch, no adulterer exists and even brothels are blessed with the pudor (9.6.9) of the marriage-bed. This is clearly an exaggeration and written to please the ears of the emperor and stir some chance for imperial patronage.

The law against castration was part of the legisla-
tion governing adultery, the **Lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis**, with which Martial was very familiar, as can be surmised from his frequent allusions (5.75, 6.7, 6.22, 6.45). We have pointed out in Chapter One that the **Lex Julia** was part of the Augustan marriage legislation, passed in 18 B.C., making adultery a public crime and establishing a permanent court "to hear cases against married women and, whether they were married or not, their paramours." Martial understands the noble purpose of the legislation:

**Iulia lex populis ex quo, Faustine, renata est**

**Atque intrare domos iussa Pudicitia est**

6.7.1-2

but still deplores the abuses that cause the multi-marriages of a Telesilla (6.7) - a form of adultery by law, says the poet -, the alliance made by a Laelia (5.75), symbolic, according to Friedländer, of "fictitious marriages... entered upon by poor men for a fee... so as to allow the women to evade the laws against celibacy and enjoy absolute freedom.", or a Proculina (6.22) or a Laetoria (6.45) - the latter a vile adulteress who will turn into a turpior uxor. Any legislation that aimed at establishing chastity but at the same time made room for such unholy alliances was somewhat contradictory. Martial saw the contradiction and hinted at it, taking care not
to overdo it by praising also the man responsible for its re-enactment, namely Domitian.

It is plain that Martial attacked the female more than the male partner in any adulterous relationship. The reason for that must reside in the nature of the concept of *adulterium* in ancient Rome. J.P.V.D. Balsdon puts it this way:

> Adultery (adulterium) was ... restricted to a liaison of a man with a married woman; and if the offender was married, he had nothing to fear from his wife for, however extensive her knowledge of his misbehaviour, the law did not allow her to initiate a prosecution.

Martial's poetry on adultery reflects this notion. Although he was not totally satisfied with the guarantees of the *Lex Julia* and deplored the types of relationship that occurred under its sanction, he was not discerning or progressive enough to detect the major loophole in it, namely its lack of a proviso making husbands equally accountable with their wives in the event of any adulterous connection. In fact, "it was not until Constantine that the law was altered and adultery was made actionable in the case of a husband as in the case of a wife."

Martial was thus no proponent or defender of women's rights. In fact, he was strongly pro-male. He jealously
kept watch to see that men's rights were not undermined or infringed. This idea is apparent in three poems (1.73, 2.54, 10.69), where one member of the married couple sets a watch over the sexual activities of the other. The watch is ordinarily set by the husband, but Martial confesses in 1.73 that this was useless because it offers no guarantee of chastity on the part of the woman; in fact, it produces very opposite results. In the remaining two poems, Martial turns the tables and has the watch set by the wife. He is enormously outraged by such a sequence of events, amounting in his opinion to a challenge of the husband's rights. Instead of attacking the faithless husband, Martial turns his wrath on the women, Linus' wife in the first case, whom he describes as *nil nasutius hac maligniusque* (2.54.5), and Polla in the second whom he reproaches for having turned her husband into a wife: *hoc est uxorem ducere, Polla, virum* (10.69.2). This statement is reminiscent of an earlier poem (8.12) where Martial expresses his unwillingness to marry a rich woman, an idea equally intolerable to Juvenal (6.460), the reason being that such an alliance would turn him into the wife - the subordinate partner in the union. Martial believed in the superiority of the male and could not accept the idea of a rich, independent wife who could lord it over home and husband. Friedländer adds that "to both Greeks and Romans
the slipper symbolized the rule of the woman." On the Roman woman, Martial could not have agreed more.

Besides adultery, marriage was a prey to other vices, inspired by greed, venality and a craving for instant wealth. Certain marriages were entered upon because of their promises of pecuniary gain and were dissolved arbitrarily and frivolously when that end was no longer served. Martial mentions one Proculeia (10.41) who divorced her husband at the beginning of his praetorship, presumably to avoid sustaining the expenses accruing from that office. He rightly concludes: discidium non est hoc, Proculeia: lucrum est (8.41.8). Indeed such marriages have degenerated to the status of a business deal and some people were ready to use any means to get the most profitable bargain. They went about it in different ways: by repeated marriages, by legacy-hunting and marrying or simply sleeping with wealthy old crones and rich widows. The whole scheme reeked with the smell of death, chiefly by poison, one partner getting rid of the other to succeed to his or her estates and thus accumulate vast wealth. It was anathema to Martial and he spared no effort in attacking all those that participated in it: both men and women.

Indeed, this is one of the few areas where Martial denounces the male sex with equal, if not greater vigor,
than the female, something which is very evident in the seven poems devoted to the subject of multi-marriage: 4.69, 6.7, 7.58, 8.43, 9.15, 9.78, 10.43. What Martial thinks of it all is well summarized in Ep. 6.7:

Quae nubit totiens, non nubit: adulterā lege est.
Offendor moecha simpliciore minus.

It is a form of adultery, all the more objectionable since it is sanctioned by the law. In this poem, Martial mentions the case of one Telesilla who gets married ten times in the course of a month - an exaggeration no doubt, but certainly expressive of the abuses of such a practice. Martial is not the only writer to complain about it. Seneca, in the De Beneficiis (3.16.2), "speaks of certain illustrious high-born ladies who count their years not by the number of consuls, but rather by the number of their husbands:

........................ inlustres quaedam ac nobiles
feminae non consulum numero, sed maritorum (42)
annis suos computant ........................."

Juvenal too, in the superbly misogynistic Sixth Satire, mentions a lady who had eight husbands in five years:

Sic crescit numerus, sic fiunt octo mariti,
Quinque per autumnos, titulo res digna sepulcri.
229-230

The hint of foul play and death is also conveyed in these
poems: Papylus (4.69.3) - factus caelebs quater and Phileros (10.43.1) whose septima iam...tibi conditur uxor in agro are both suspected of having had something to do with their wives' deaths; Galla and Picentinus, each experienced as a bride and as a groom respectively, are getting married, which prompts Martial to wonder aloud about Galla's poor prospects for a promising future:

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

9.78

In 8.43, Martial recommends that Fabius and Chrestilla, who are poisoners in the same league as Galla and Picentinus, get married because they deserve each other and the mutual death that will inevitably follow:


8.43

Martial is equally forthright in 9.15:

Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum "Se fecisse" Chloe. Quid pote simplicius?

Chloe's unfortunate choice of an epitaph for her seven husbands smacks of the truth and Martial cannot help wondering at this unintended confession, se fecisse being also a judicial formula for declaration of
guilt. Only in 7.58 does Martial admit to another motivation than wealth on the part of the frequent bride. But it was not a noble one either: she was stirred only by the sexual potency in her husbands and once they could not satisfy, she was ready for a change:

Iam sex aut septem nupsisti, Galla, cinaedis,
Dum coma te nimium pexaque barba iuvat.
Deinde experta latus madidoque simillima loro
Inquina nec lassa stare coacta manu
Deseris inbelles thalamos mollemque maritum,
Rursus et in'similes decidis usque toros.
Quaere aliquem Curios semper Fabiosque loquentem.
Hirsutum et dura rusticitate trucem:
Invenies: sed habet tristis quoque turba cinaedos:
Difficile est vero nubere, Galla, viro.

The impression that Martial gives is unmistakable: multi-marriage was a foul business, based on purely selfish grounds and its adherents would stop at nothing in order to achieve their ends.

Not with as final a modus operandi as this, but equally revolting to Martial were those predatory captatores who sought to ingratiate themselves with rich old women in the hope of receiving legacies. Captatio was a recognized industry in Rome; and as E. Thomas says in his Roman Life under the Caesars:

...every "house without children", and every house where the children were all girls, was simply besieged by fortune-hunters. Catullus (68.123) describes how a flock of these vultures who had already begun to hover greedily round the hoary head of a wealthy old man, were...
put to flight by the birth of a grandson......

By the middle of the first century the art of fortune-hunting had been reduced to a system with recognized rules. . . . .
The great secret lay in refusing to allow oneself to be disheartened by a temporary reverse. . . . The main thing was to know how to set about conciliating the old man or old woman whose fortune it was wished to secure, and to find out what foibles and weaknesses of theirs were likely to give one an opening......It mattered not how shameless or repugnant they might be, you must...turn them to your own advantage.

Thomas adds that this subject turned out to be a favorite theme, as would be obvious, for satirists, among others, and illustrates it with references to Horace (Satires 2.5), Juvenal (1.37-43) etc. Unfortunately, he makes no mention of Martial - a strange oversight in view of the many epigrams Martial devotes to this subject and his familiarity with the art of the legacy-hunter:

Ars est óaptandi quod nolis velle videri;
Ne facias optat quod rogat ut facias.
11.55.3-4

We shall consider here only those poems where women are the objects of the siege. Martial divides the besiegers into two categories: (a) those that seek wedlock to get a firm hold on the legacies, (b) those that prefer to court several old women or widows simultaneously with the expectation of being mentioned in their wills. As examples of the first category, there are two epigrams: 1.10 and 9.80. The latter is a rather straightforward
The diligence and earnestness that the legacy-hunters bring to their vocation are well illustrated here: the placing of petit in the emphatic opening position is indicative of the primary objective of Gemellus and others of his kind, and the despair frequently besetting them is brought out in the brilliantly orchestrated second verse, made up of a series of four verbs joined together by the same conjunction et, offering no pause and indicating the persistence of their efforts, each word adding to the momentum, climaxing in the gift-giving that is the ultimate resort of the captatores. The rhythm of the poem
picks up thereafter with the quick question: adeone pulchra est? Is she so pretty? and Martial follows it with the emphatically crushing reply: Immo foedius nil est. Edwin Post comments thus on the choice of nil: "More emphatic than nemo. Had Martial said nemo, he would be comparing (contrasting) Maronilla only with all other women; by writing nil he contrasts her with all other things in the world." The rest is sheer bathos: quid ergo in illa petitur et placet? Tussit, but not without significance. In fact, the point of the epigram is in the very last word; the cough is indeed a sign of Maronilla's sickness, and wedlock with a dying, but rich woman, however ugly, is the best investment for a legacy-hunter. A similar theme occurs in 2.26:

Quod querulum spirat, quod acerbum Naevia tussit,
Inque tuos mittit sputa subinde sinus,
Iam te rem factam, Bithynice, credis habere?
Erras: blanditur Naevia, non moritur.

Naevia wheezes, coughs and spits on Bithynicus, but she is not about to die: she is merely teasing him. Women like her are aware of their attraction for these young gigolos and exercise on them the kind of power (imperia viduarum - 1.49.34) that Martial finds a relief to be away from. They can also maintain a kind of tacit power as illustrated in 2.32.5-6:
Martial's patron Ponticus refuses to intercede with Laronia on behalf of his client because she is a rich, childless, old widow whom he does not want to offend, for obvious reasons.

As examples of the second category of captatores mentioned in the previous paragraph, there are three epigrams: 4.5, 9.100, 11.87. The first two contain one allusion each to calls upon widows, one of a sexual nature - algentes arrigere ad vetulas (4.5.6), which Martial thinks uncharacteristic of a *vir bonus...linguaque et pectore verus* (4.5.1) - an oblique, disapproving comment on such activities of the legacy-hunters. The allusion in 9.100 is tame, just a reference to Martial's patron, Bassus, who also operated as a legacy-hunter, thereby indicating that it was not the exclusive occupation of the poor. But poverty was generally a major factor; for instance, it was enough reason to turn the homosexual Charidemus into a heterosexual pursuer of old crones:

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Dives eras quondam: sed tunc pedico fuisti
Et tibi nulla diu femina nota fuit.
Nunc sectaris anus. O quantum cogit egestas!
Illa fututorem te, Charideme, facit.
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11.87
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In all these poems, it is noticeable that Martial
attacks not only the gigolos but also the women who are the objects of their pursuits. He concentrates especially on the physical unattractiveness and old age and occasionally the poor health of these ladies, leaving no doubt that their sole assets are their money and property. As for the men, he feels no sympathy for them whatsoever. In his view, they deserve absolutely nothing (6.63 and 11.55). Such a disparaging evaluation of their activities is shared by many Roman writers from Horace (Sat. 2.5) to Juvenal (1.37-43). Seneca too is critical of them (Ad Marciam 19.2 (47) and De Beneficiis 6.20.3) Even the younger Pliny records the fascinating story of one legacy-hunter in one of his epistles (Ep. 2.20).

Martial's stand on marriage thus far (which is by no means his last word on it) and on the many problems it entails invites comparison with the attitude of a fellow-satirist - Juvenal. The latter wrote a whole diatribe against marriage (Sat. 6), starting with the observation that chastity died with the passing of the Golden Age, and asserted that there were presently few girls worth sharing one's life with: raucae adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignae (6.50). The gist of the poem is that "it is madness to marry", a thesis established in four sections, summarized by G. Highet in the following pithy
In the first, Juvenal says that wives cheat their husbands; in the second, that they tyrannize their husbands; in the third, that they despise and ignore their husbands; and in the fourth, that they torment and kill their husbands.

The picture is clearly one-sided:

The various types of female degradation are revealed to our gaze with merciless and often revolting portrayal. The unchastity of women is the main theme, but ranked with the adulteress and the wanton are the murderess of husband or of child, the torturer of the slave, the client of the fortune-teller or the astrologer, and even the more harmless female athlete and blue-stocking. (50)

Juvenal sees no redeeming feature in the married woman and piles the shortcomings of the worst of her sex one on top of another, creating a completely distorted image of her contributions to the marital union. The title of the poem might just as well be "la magnifique brutalité des types féminins", rather than "advice to those about to get married".

Martial however did not make the same mistake in his poetry on marriage. Like Juvenal, he was aware of the numerous shortcomings of married women and the immorality pervading much of Roman conjugal life. We have already recorded how he reacted to these. He acknowledged the
stress of a long marriage, when the aged wife could no longer excite her husband (14.147), and he knew of the deleterious effect of slavery on the institution of marriage (6.39, 12.58 and 96), (more of this in Chapter Five). If he had stopped with such descriptions, his evaluation would have been as deficient and incomplete as Juvenal’s, but fortunately, he saw the other side of the coin as well.

In the first place, whereas Juvenal responded to Postumus’ announcement of his wedding plans with advice to the contrary, Martial recognized that a wedding could be a joyous occasion. Two wedding songs are found in his works: 4.13 and 6.21. The first one celebrates the marriage of Claudia Peregrina to his friend Aulus Pudens:

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit Peregrina Pudenti:
Macte esto taedis, o Hymenaee, tuis.
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis;
Nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi,
Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.
Candida perpetuo reside, Concordia, lecto,
Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo:
Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito
Tum quoque, cum fuerit, non videatur anus.

The bride and groom constitute a perfect couple, according to Martial, and he wishes them love, happiness and a long life. The happy tone throughout the poem conveys an optimistic appraisal of the future of this union. The second poem, which celebrates the wedding of the poet Stella to
Ianthis, is rather playful in tone:

Perpetuam Stellae dum iungit Ianthida vati
Laeta Venus, dixit "Plus dare non potui."
Haec coram domina; sed nequius illud in aure:
"Tu ne quid pecces, exitiose, vide.
Saepe ego lascivum Martem furibunda cecidi,
Legitimos esset cum vagus ante toros.
Sed postquam meus est, nulla me paelice laesit:
Tam frugi Iuno vellet habere virum."
Dixit et arcano percussit pectora loro.
Plaga iuvat: sed tu iam, dea, caede duos.

The marriage is said to be blessed by Venus, who puts in a naughty word in the ear of the groom and bids him be faithful in his vows. With similar joy, Martial talks about the reluctant embrace of a newly-wed couple (4.22), about the long happy years of wedded life (10.38, 10.71), and about a wedding anniversary (7.74). The characters in both poems significantly are all modest and chaste, in great contrast to the majority of women depicted hitherto in this chapter.

With such poems included in his works, it is impossible to conclude that Martial takes a consistent stand against marriage. He is rather against immorality within the marriage context, he is against repeated marriage, and against adultery especially as committed by married women. He is against all the things that couples do to ruin their marriages. But if the husband and wife are a good match for one another, if they are a perfect com-
plement like Claudia and Pudens above, love and happiness may indeed be the result. In the next chapter, we shall see this thesis under operation. Still, we have to stress that the bulk of Martial's marriage poetry is on the negative side. The fault though lies not in the institution of marriage, but in the character and behavior of the people who are joined in matrimony.
CHAPTER XV

THE GOOD WOMEN

Kune servare modum nostri novere libelli,
Parcere personis, dicere de vitis.
10.33.9-10

So says Martial about the purpose of his epigrams, and, consequently, about the women he attacks in so many of them. They are not actual people, he would have us believe, but characters created by him to be representative of vices rampant among the female sex. But there is one class of women that sometimes do not fall under this pattern, about whom he speaks in superlative terms and about whose existence there is not much doubt. For good, respectable women, the veil of anonymity was not always necessary, for they impressed him by their virtus, by their dedication to their husband and family - in short, by living up to and sometimes beyond his expectations of their role as matronae Romanae.

One such we have already met in the preceding chapter: Claudia Peregrina whose marriage to Aulus Pudens, a friend of Martial, is celebrated in 4.13. E.H. Pierce makes certain remarks about Martial's attitude towards this married couple that are applicable to the poems.
dealing with his reputable female acquaintances:

One may observe: that they (i.e. the couple) are of pure beauty, without the least trace of the sarcastic sting so characteristic of Martial; that Pudens was apparently on the footing of an intimate friend of the poet (meo Pudenti); that both Pudens and Claudia are described as most lovely characters, mutually congenial; and that the poet predicts that their affection for each other will last even into old age.

Martial's optimistic appraisal of Claudia's marriage to Pudens is borne out in a later poem:

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!
Quale decus formae! Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Attidies esse suam.
Di bene quod sancto peperit fecunda marito,
Quod sperat generos quodque puella nurus.
Sic placeat superis ut coniuge gaudeat uno
Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

11.53

Although none of the major editors of Martial, from L. Friedländer, the dean of them all, to W. Heraeus, W. M. Lindsay and H. J. Izaac of the Teubner, Oxford and Budé editions respectively, draws attention to this fact, I am inclined to believe with W. C. A. Ker (3) and J. P. V. D. (4) Balsdon that the Claudia Rufina here and Claudia Peregrina of 4.13 are one and the same person. Neither scholar gives any reasons for this interpretation (Balsdon seems to be relying on Ker), but the internal evidence is overwhelming: both are of foreign birth, both
have the same nomen and both are spoken of in glowing terms, uncharacteristic of Martial's xenophobic thinking (see 10.68). Xenophobia is here set aside, since both women are decidedly Romanized, and, more important, are accepted as Romans by Martial: Claudia Peregrina is said to be the equal of her husband, a Roman: tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo (4.13.8), and Rufina's Roman traits are dealt with at length in lines two to four above. There is no conflict or contradiction whatsoever between the delineations of the two women or of their husbands; on the contrary, everything in the later poem seems to complement what has been said earlier. Martial's wish in 4.13 that their marriage be successful is answered in 11.53, in that she is blessed with three children (vs. 8) - which in fact "constituted the Augustan norm of a successful family". Still further similarities appear in the format of the two poems, where the first half of each consists of images suggestive of beauty and congeniality:

Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,
Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis;
Nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi,
Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.
4.13.3-6

Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis Edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!
Quale decus formae!
11.53.1-3
and the second half of prayers to the gods - Concordia and Venus in 4.13 and the *di superi* in general in 11.53 - to shower their blessings on the couple and their family, with the hope that their affection will be long-lasting. The only discrepancy between the two Claudias lies in the different *cognomen*; and if either were suggestive of a Roman birth, it would be conclusive evidence of different identities. But since it is not, the parallels in foreign origin, character and compatibility with their husband as well as in the themes and construction of the two poems are too strong to warrant any other conclusion but that of a common identity.

Another good woman also mentioned in the preceding chapter is Violentilia, the wife of Martial's friend, the poet Stella who became consul in 101 A.D. Martial calls her Ianthus in five epigrams (6.21, 7.14, 7.15, 7.50, 12.3) and does not elaborate except to say that her marriage to Stella was blessed by Venus, who hints at their worthiness with the remark: *plus dare non potui* (6.21.2); that her husband, probably inspired by Catullus, composed a poem on the death of her pet black dove (7.14.5-6); and that he called a spring on their estate by her name (7.15, 7.50, 12.3). There is no elucidation on her merits as a wife and mother; we can speculate on these from what
Martial refrains from saying rather than from what he actually says. He is always too apt to register his feelings against unworthy married couples, and the fact that he does not do so here signifies that Stella and Ianthis were meant for each other. There is another literary source, which, however different, confirms Martial's high opinion of this couple: Statius celebrates their wedding in a long epithalamium of 277 verses, which Miss Donnis Martin summarizes in this fashion:

A large part of the poem is devoted to a mythological episode which describes how Venus and one of the Cupids brought about the marriage. Into this are woven elaborate praises of the bride and groom, constantly reinforced by mythological parallel: "the affection of the groom surpasses that of either Hippomenes or Leander" (vss. 85-90); "the bride is so beautiful that for her Apollo would have left Daphne unpursued, Bacchus would have deserted Ariadne, and Jupiter, except for Juno's jealousy, would have descended to her in a shower of gold" (vss. 130-136). The poem closes with a description of the wedding festivities, which all of Rome celebrated, and with the usual exhortation to the bridal couple for the success of the union.

Specifically, on Statius' presentation of Violentilla, whom he calls Asteris, Mrs. Virginia Chaney finds that "this woman stands for the nuptial attributes admired by solid Roman citizens." Of course the approach of the two poets is different, but the message of each is loud and clear: the marriage of Stella and Violentilla was made in heaven, and its future is therefore secure.
Apart from Claudia and Ianthis, there are ten other women whom Martial mentions by name and praises individually on the strength of their character and achievements that have brought honor to their sex: Arria (1.13), Porcia (1.42), Nigrina (4.75 and 9.30), Lucan's widow Polla (7.21, 7.23, 10.64), Theophila (7.69), Aratulla (8.32), Caesonia (9.39), the authoress Sulpicia (10.35 and 10.38), the Spanish lady Marcella (12.21 and 31) and Sempronia (12.52). I will deal with all of them systematically and then endeavor to establish the different ingredients of their personality that appeal to Martial.

We saw earlier the assets that a particular woman should have to be physically attractive to Martial; now we will see what qualities women in general should have to earn his poetic esteem.

The first of the women mentioned above, the elder Arria, impressed several writers besides Martial. Her complete story is told by Cassius Dio (60.16.5 f.) as well as by the younger Pliny in an epistle to his friend Maecilius or Metilius Nepos (3.16). The episode that is relevant to our purpose is the following one: Arria was the wife of Caecina Paetus, who espoused the cause of Camillus Scribonianus against the emperor Claudius and took part in a military rebellion in Illyria in A.D. 42.
It failed miserably, with the death of Scribonianus at the hands of one of his own soldiers; and Paetus himself was arrested, brought to Rome for trial, convicted and ordered to kill himself. His wife, unwilling to survive him, took his dagger when he hesitated at the final moment, plunged it into her own breast, and then handed it back to him with the words, "Paete, non dolet!" It is to this famous incident, which cast her for posterity as the symbol of the faithful wife that Martial refers in his epigram about her:

Casta suo gladium cum traderet Arria Paeto,
Quem de visceribus strinxerat ipsa suis,
"Si qua fides, vulnus quod feci non dolet," inquit,
"Sed tu quod facies, hoc mihi, Paete, dolet."

Her devotion to her husband is made explicit by her confession that the spiritual torment she would undergo when he stabs himself would be greater than the physical pain caused by her self-inflicted wounds. This explanation is supported by Post's interpretation of dolet in line 3 in terms of physical pain and in line 4 in terms of pain of soul. Anyhow, Arria emerges from the whole experience as a symbol of the Stoic martyr that would be exceptional in any era.

Arria's stoic acceptance of death has a precedent in the case of Porcia, daughter of famed Cato Uticensis.
and second wife of Julius Caesar's assassin, Marcus Brutus. She too, rather than survive her husband's suicide following the defeat of the republican forces by Antony and Octavian at Philippi in 42 B.C. is said to have died from swallowing live coals. Her friends, suspicious of her suicidal intentions, kept watch over her and denied her any ferrum, as Martial remarks in the last line of his epigram on her:

Coniugis audisset fatum cum Porcia Bruti
Et subtracta sibi quaereret arma dolor,
"Nondum scitis" ait "mortem non posse negari?
Credideram fatis hoc docuisse patrem."
Dixit et ardentis avido bibit ore favillas.
I nunc et ferrum, turba molesta, nega.

Porcia proves to be a worthy daughter and stern follower of her father Cato, who himself committed suicide at Utica after the battle of Thapsus in 46 B.C., rather than survive Julius Caesar's triumph. The peerless demeanor of the famous Stoic is renewed in his daughter in her vow of death (vs. 3), carried out despite the precautions of her friends, who, says Martial, have not yet learnt the lesson of her sire.

Friedländer speculates that both of the poems just discussed may have been inspired by some works of art depicting the suicides of Arria and Porcia. An easier explanation would be that, given the popular nature of
Martial's poetry, it would be natural for him to tackle subjects that, although belonging to the past, lived on in popular memory. Indeed, the way in which Martial talks about the two ladies suggests that his readers are very familiar with their stories. No word is wasted on the sequence of events leading to the suicides; Martial merely mentions the circumstances of the deaths, registering the precise feelings of the two women and allowing their acts and the motives behind them to speak for themselves. The poems are clearly meant to be a tribute to the virtue of Arria and Porcia, whose life-style and even more, whose death-style was so different from that of the majority of the women encountered in his poetry.

From the Stoic extremism of Arria and Porcia, we turn to the two women who impressed Martial by their character as well as by their literary pursuits. The first one, Theophila, bride of Martial's countryman, the poet Canius Rufus of Cadiz (1.61.9), is celebrated in an epigram probably inspired by her portrait:

Haec est illa tibi promissa Theophila, Cani, Cuius Cecropia pectora dote madent. Hanc sibi iure petat magni senis Atticus hortus, Nec minus esse suam Stoica turba velit. Vivet opus quodcumque per has emiseris aures; Tam non femineum nec populare sapit. Non tua Pantaenis nimium se praeferat illi, Quamvis Pierio sit bene nota choro. Carmina fingentem Sappho laudabat amatrix: Castior haec et non doctior illa fuit.

7.69
Martial is truly overcome by her versatile genius, for he praises her on so many different levels: for her knowledge of Attic lore, for her adherence to facets of both the Stoic and Epicurean way of life, for her superior sense of values, for her chastity and, above all, for her literary talents, which put her on a par with Sappho.

The comparison with the Lesbian poetess - the supreme accolade for an authoress in antiquity - appears again in the first of the two poems (10.35 and 38) dealing with the second woman of this group - the poetess Sulpicia. Her identity, though Martial clearly defines her as the wife of Calenus, has caused some confusion among critics, because there are, if one were to take all diverse interpretations into consideration, three identifiable authoresses called Sulpicia. The first was a gifted writer of the Augustan Age, presumptive authoress of six moving elegies, found in the Corpus Tibullianum. The second was the wife of Calenus, contemporary of Martial, composer of amatory poems addressed to her husband, according to Sidonius Apollinaris (Carm. 9.261-2). The third was a late poetess who composed a satirical dialogue of seventy hexameters on Domitian's expulsion of the philosophers from Rome.
Whatever was her identity, Martial was impressed by the life and works of the wife of Calenus. In one poem (10.38), he enlarges upon her fifteen rapturous years of marriage, dwelling lovingly and tastefully on the amorous games witnessed by their nuptial bed:

O molles tibi quindecim, Calene,
Quos cum Sulpicia tua iugales
Indulsit deus et peregit annos!
O nox omnis et hora, quae notata est
Caris litoris Indici lapillis!
O quae proelia, quas utrimque pugnas
Felix lectulus et lucerna vidit
Nimbis ebria Nicerotianis!
Vixisti tribus, O Calene, lustris:
Aetas haec tibi tota computatur
Et solos numeras dies mariti.
Ex illis tibi si diu rogatam
Lucem redderet Atropos vel unam,
Malles quam Pyliam quater senectam.

Martial here abandons his usual method of concentrating on sexual details in poems with themes of that potential, for a romantic delineation of the couple's beautiful relationship. I think the poem is cast in the vein of the poetry of Sulpicia herself, especially in view of what Martial says are her characteristic themes:

Omnes Sulpiciam legant puellae
Uni quae cupiunt viro placere;
Omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti
Uni qui cupiunt placere nuptae.
Non haec Colchidos adserit furorem,
Diri prandia nec refert Thyestae;
Scyllam, Byblida nec fuisse credit:
Sed castos docet et probos amores,
Lusus, delicias facetiasque.

His evaluation of her betrays great admiration; she is
chaste without being a prude, roguish without being a
rascal; she is honored as an author, a teacher, but above
all, as a woman and a wife:

Cuius carmina qui bene aestimarit.
Nullam dixerit esse nequiorem,
Nullam dixerit esse sanctiorem.
Tales Egeriae locos fuisset
Udo crediderim Numae sub antro.
Hac condiscipula vel hac magistra
Esses doctior et pudica, Sappho:
Sed tecum pariter simulque visam
Durus Sulpiciam Phaon amaret.
Frustra: namque ea nec Tonantis uxor
Nec Bacchi nec Apollinis puella
Erepto sibi viveret Caleno.

The last three lines of 10.38 confirm unqualified devo-
tion to her husband, which is reciprocated in kind by
him: given a choice, Martial reckons, he would have one
day of his married life restored rather than a life as
long as Nestor's.

Another woman that can be identified with literature
is Polla Argentaria, widow of the poet Lucan and some-
time patron of Martial. He has three epigrams in Book
Seven in commemoration of Lucan's birthday, two (7.21
and 23) addressed to Polla, and closing with a tribute
to her fidelity to his memory:

Quid tanta pro luce precer? Tu, Polla, maritum
Saepe colas et se sentiat ille coli.
7.23.3-4

Martial's high opinion of Polla is reiterated in a later poem when he calls her regina...Polla (10.64.1), and begs her to read his little volumes and not frown at his iocos. Statius too has a poem (Silv. 2.7) on Lucan, which contains a eulogy of Polla's fidelity and echoes Martial's sentiments about her.

Side by side with these famous people were other women who were simply noble and pure. Such were Nigrina (4.75 and 9.30), Aratulla (8:32), Caesonia (9.39) and Sempronia (12.52).

Nigrina is an example of the perfectly happy wife, blessed with a good husband, blessed with wealth which (21) she tenderly shares with him (no shades of a crispulus (22) here!), and rivalling the legendary Evadne and Alcestis in conjugal devotion or even surpassing them because no death was required to put it to the test:

O felix animo, felix, Nigrina, marito
Atque inter Latias gloria prima nurus:
Te patrios miscere iuvat cum coniuge census,
Gaudentem socio participique viro.
Arsaret Euhadne flammis iniecta mariti,
Nec minor Alcestin fama sub astra ferat:
Tu melius: certo meruisti pignore vitae
But death does come and the test takes place: she loses her husband Antistius Rusticus in Cappadocia - O tristi crimine terra nocens! (9.30.2) and carries back his bones in her arms, complaining only that the way has been too short and envying the tomb that was receiving his ashes:

Rettulit ossa sinu cari Nigrina mariti
Et questa est longas non satis esse vias;
Cumque daret sanctam tumulis, quibus invidet, urnam,
Visa sibi est rapto bis viduata viro.

9.30.3-6

Aratulla (8.32) too is depicted in a sad frame of mind, but for different reasons. Hers is the plea of a devoted sister for the recall of her brother from exile in Sardinia. Martial draws a touching cameo portrait of her sitting quietly alone when

Aera per tacitum delapsa sedentis in ipsos
Fluxit Aratullae blanda columba sinus.
Luserat hoc casus, nisi inobservata maneret
Permissaque sibi nollet abire fuga.
Si meliora piae fas est sperare sorori
Et dominum mundi flectere vota valent,
Haec a Sardois tibi forsitan exulis oris,
Fratre reversuro, nuntia venit avis.

8.32

The choice of words in the first two lines - aera per tacitum delapsa, blanda columba - suggests the free and easy movement of the dove, Venus' own bird, which comes
down to rest on Aratulla's breast - two symbols of
gentleness, uniting in a delicate, charming tableau.
(23)
Post further elaborates:

The Roman, by nature superstitious, was prone
to see something supernatural or prognostic in
anything unusual, especially in connection with
the flight of birds. Martial would have Aratulla
see in the circumstances described in this epigram
an omen of her brother's return from exile in
Sardinia, and in the same words veils a delicate
petition to the emperor to recall him.

Stylistically, however, this poem is one of the most
lyrical in Martial: "perfect in form, full of music, del-
icate in expression," as Mrs Chaney so neatly puts it.

The two remaining women in this group, Caesonia
(9.39) and Sempronia (12.52) were married to men named
Rufus. More precise identification of the husbands is
difficult, although it can be said for certain that nei-
ther of them is the poet Canius Rufus, Martial's friend
from Cadiz, whose wife was named Theophila (7.69). There
are four other identifiable Rufuses mentioned by Martial:
Camonius Rufus (6.85, 9.74 and 76), Instantius Rufus
(7.68, 8.51.21, 8.73, 12.95, 12.98.5), Julius Rufus
(10.99) and Safronius Rufus (4.71.1 and 11.103). But none
of these can be associated with Caesonia or Sempronia,
without raising some doubt. Camonius might seem to be
a likely candidate as Sempronia's husband, because in
both 6.85 and 12.52 the death of a Rufus is referred to in regretful terms, but this slender thread of evidence is inconclusive. The two women themselves are highly regarded by Martial. Caesonia is sancta, thanks to her mother: plus debet matri nulla puella suae. Sempronia on the other hand had a husband so devoted that ipse tui flagrat amore cinis, and she herself is destined after death to go to the abodes of the pious souls whither she will carry her fame and her love for her husband:

Accipient olim cum te loca laeta piorum,
Non erit in Stygia notior umbra domo:
Non aliena videt sed amat Proserpina raptas:
Iste tibi dominam conciliabit amor.

Of all the good women presented by Martial, none other bears the special status of the Spanish lady Marcella (12.21 and 31). The exact nature of his relationship with her is wrapped in mystery and has taxed the imagination of many critics, some of whom have even speculated that (25) she was his wife. A native of Bilbilis, Martial's own home-town, she befriended him after his return there from Rome in 98 B.C., after some thirty-four years in the capital city, where he had met with constant disappointments in his quest for imperial patronage. He found in her a patroness and a friend who provided him with an estate:
Martial's happiness over finally getting rewards commensurate with his deserts comes through in the last four lines, but his thankfulness to the lady is better expressed elsewhere:

Municipem rigidi quis te, Marcella, Salonis
Et genitam nostris quis putet esse locis?
Tam rarum, tam dulce sapis. Palatia dicent,
Audierint si te vel semel, esse suam;
Nulla nec in media certabit nata Subura
Nec Capitolini collis alumna tibi;
Nec cito ridebit peregrini gloria partus
Romanam deceat quam magis esse nurum,
Tu desiderium dominae mihi mitius urbis
Esse iubes: Romam tu mihi sola facis.

The words speak for themselves: Marcella was a queen in every sense of the word. The compliments are not overloaded, as they are for example in the epigrams praising Domitian, so that they sound very sincere and meaningful. As in the case of Claudia Peregrina or Rufina earlier (4.13 and 11.53), Martial pays Marcella the supreme compliment of comparing her to a Roman matrona. But in
fact she was worth even more than that. Rolfe Humphries
sees in her a combination of "Roman sensibility" and "the
open-hearted generosity of a provincial" — in other
words, she was a fusion of the best both worlds had to
offer.

As for the contention that she was Martial’s wife,
the whole flimsy evidence rests on one word — dominae
(27) (28) (12.31.7). Brandt and Van Stockum, nineteenth-century
commentators on Martial, maintained that domina was of­
ten used by a husband in addressing his wife. And indeed
it was. Their speculation about the marriage would have
considerable merit, if domina, like uxor for instance,
was used exclusively for wife, if not in the whole of
Latin literature, at least in Martial. But in Martial’s
epigrams it has a variety of meanings: mistress, bride,
girl-friend, etc. Post also adds that

Domina was indeed used by the husband in
addressing his wife, but it was also used
by clients of their patronesses. Cf. domi­
nus = patronus...All Martial’s expressions
concerning Marcella can easily be explained
as the utterances of beneficiary concerning
benefactor.

The tone of respect pervading the two poems on Marcella
would reinforce this idea. The case against her putative
status as wife is also strengthened by Martial’s observa-
tion in 8.12 that he would never marry a rich woman,
which Marcella was. Of course, given the improvement in his circumstances after his return to Spain, he might also have shifted his stand on this issue, but there is nothing in his works to indicate such a change. The weight of the evidence is therefore against the theory that Marcella was his wife — which is in line with the view of major commentators from Friedländer on.

While each of the women discussed in this chapter had unique merits, there are certain features of character and personality surfacing in several of them, which Martial would value in all women and which would constitute for him apposite ingredients for a good and moral life. In that age of easy divorces and re-marriages and multi-marriages, women with one husband (univirae) were highly respected. Friedländer lists many inscriptions from CIL (33) that illustrate such an attitude. Balsdon too refers to Seneca's lost De Matrimonio which gave a list of such univirae and an account of their reaction to suggestions of a second marriage after their husbands' deaths. The case of Marcia, the younger daughter of Cato, will illustrate the point:

Marcia, Catonis filia minor, quum quaereretur ab ea, cur post amissum maritum denuo non nuberet, respondit non se invenire virum, qui se magis vellet quam sua. Quo dicto ostendit divitias magis in uxoris eligi solere quam pudicitiam
et multos non oculis sed digitis uxores ducere: optima sane res, quam avaritia conciliat. Eadem quum lugeret virum et matronae ab ea quaererent, quum diem haberet luctus ultimum, ait: 'quem et vitae'. Arbitror, quae ita virum quaerebat absentem, de secundo matrimonio non cogitabat.
(Seneca, De Matrimonio)

Martial shares this high regard for univirae; there is no indication that the good wives dealt with above (Claudia, Ianthis, Arria, Theophila, Sulpicia, Polla, Nigrina, Caesonia and Sempronia) were anything else. For them, unlike most of the women dealt with in the preceding chapter, marriage was a happy experience. The mutual bond that existed between them and their husbands was unique in its permanence; it defied death and lasted beyond it. Part of the credit for this must go to the husbands, but the greater part belonged to the women. How were they successful when so many Roman marriages failed? These women were endowed with virtus and lived accordingly. Virtus for them was not only a matter of pudicitia, but also of amor, constantia and fides. Polla is celebrated for her fidelity to her late husband's memory; Sempronia will be rewarded with a choice abode in the Lower World in recognition of her love for Rufus; Porcia is moved to suicide through an unswerving commitment to a Stoic way of life and through devotion to Brutus. Many of them seem to live in the shadow of their husbands, but that is the Roman way and Martial's ideal. But if
they are people of distinction in their own right and not solely by virtue of their role as good wives, like Marcella, Theophila and Sulpicia, they are recognized as such. The marriage of Theophila to Rufus is mentioned and is immediately forgotten in favor of her artistic merits, which culminate in the delineation of her as a purified Sappho. Marcella, on the other hand, despite the feeble attempt in the nineteenth century at marry­ing her to Martial, is recognized more for her gifts of a farm to him and her own merits as a Spanish incarnation of the Roman matrona.

All these women deserved Martial’s approbation for the type of life they led, but he was human enough to realize that a thin line divided the virtuous woman from a life of vice. For example, a visit to the sinful city of Baiae brought about for chaste Laevina a complete moral breakdown and a degenerate life thereafter:

Casta nec antiquis cedens Laevina Sabinis
Et quamvis tetrico tristior ipsa viro
Dum modo Lucrino, modo se permittit Averno,
Et dum Baianis saepe foveitur aquis,
Incident in flammas: iuvenemque secuta relictus
Coniuge Penelope venit, abit Helene.
1.62

And Laevina was by no means a unique case. Another woman, Laelia, despite patrician birth and conservative Etruscan
parentage, chose to intersperse her conversation with Greek phrases of erotic endearment, to the horror of Martial, who finally tells her:

Lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis,  
Sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro.  
Scire cupis quo casta modo matrona loquaris?  
Nam quid, cum crisas, blandior esse potes?  
Tu licet ediscas totam referasque Corinthon  
Non tamen omnino, Laelia, Lais eris.  

10.68.7-12

By these two examples, Martial shows that he was aware that the temptation to vice was always great. Surely there were many women in Rome devoted to a good life, (35) as Pliny's letters testify, but Martial chose to deal with only a dozen that were familiar to him. This is a small number, since he refers to about 135 women in his works. But we must bear in mind also that it is in the essence of satire not to catalogue the good, but to attack the bad, as Juvenal proves over and over again.
Although Martial, by dealing with the likes of Arria and Porcia, acknowledges that there are women in Rome who lead a moral and fruitful life, he at the same time, by referring to so many that fall short of these standards, testifies to an alarming breakdown of values among many members of the female sex. Clearly, a majority of the women appearing in his works belongs to the latter category, but this should not, for two reasons, be interpreted necessarily as a reflection of the actual trend in Rome. First of all, Martial, as a satirist, is constrained by artistic necessity to concentrate more on the shortcomings and misdeeds of certain types of women rather than on the life-style of their more reputable sisters. Secondly, misogyny in varying degrees has long been upheld by male writers, dating back to Hesiod in the eighth century B.C., and Martial was very much part of that tradition. The influence of that misogynistic literature, coupled with his own observations of feminine shortcomings among Roman women, led Martial to the compo-
sition of many epigrams, where undesirable female types, dramatized by being endowed with proper names, are taken to task, often in very crude terms, for their physique, their sexual appetites and desires, their values and general behavior. Martial's catalogue of bad women includes prostitutes, poisoners, alcoholics, slaves and devotees of perverted sex. Incidentally, similar sorry types like the oft-married woman, the adulteress and the wealthy old crones dealt with previously will not be further discussed in this chapter except in scattered references.

Prostitutes are the subject of eleven epigrams: 1.34, 3.82, 6.7, 6.66, 7.10, 9.4, 9.32, 11.61, 11.78, 12.32, 12.55. In Martial's descending hierarchy of offensive women, they rate above the much-married ones:

Quae nubit totiens, non nubit: adultera lege est. Offendor moecha simpliciore minus. 6.7.5-6

The reason for this rating is Martial's zealous pre-occupation with honesty and sincerity in people. The ladies of the night, however immoral their line of work, freely admit their sinfulness with an open honesty, uncharacteristic of those who frequently marry and remarry according to the law, but whose ulterior motives are obviously and
singularly dishonorable. In fact, Martial finds that there are other activities more revolting than prostitution. In 1.34, he rebukes Lesbia for making love with doors wide open and concludes that even prostitutes provide a certain degree of privacy:

At meretrix abigit testem veloque seraque
Raraque Summoeni fornice rima patet.

1.34.5-6

Similarly, in 3.82, he maintains that dinner among those infamous women is more decent than at Zoilus' table:

Conviva quisquis Zoili potest esse,
Summccenianas cenet inter uxores
Curtaque Ledae sobrius bibat testa:
Hoc est levius puriusque contendoe.

vss. 1-4

These poems should not be construed as a condonation of prostitution; rather, by unfavorably comparing Lesbia's and Zoilus' habits with those of prostitutes, Martial is only registering greater dismay and disappointment with the two obnoxious persons. We have here in fact an inverse condemnation of whoring, for Martial seems to be saying that Lesbia and Zoilus had descended very low to outdo prostitutes; the latter should normally be the dregs of society, but, as it turns out, are getting severe competition for the dubious honor from various quarters.
Martial, on account of the summary nature of the epigram, cannot give in any one poem long or precise details about the life of the prostitute. Archaeology, particularly the remains at Pompeii, would provide more clues in that respect. What Martial does give is an occasional glimpse of her ability to rouse passion:

Edere lascivos ad Baetica crusmata gestus
Et Gaditanis ludere docta modis,
Tendere quae tremulum Pelian Hecubaque maritum
Posset ad Hectoreos sollicitata rogos,
Urit et excruciat dominum Telethusa priorem:
Vendidit ancillam, nunc redimit dominam.

6.71

He can equally refer to her legendary sexual skill:

Ergo Suburanae tironem trade magistrae.
Illa virum faciet; non bene virgo docet.
11.78,11-12

There are also references to her fees, ranging from the denarius (9.32) commanded by what Plautus calls the diobolares (Poen.58) or servilicolos sordidas (ibid.,53) who operate more among slaves, to the gold pieces required by Galla (9.4). One poem contains a tableau of Leda plying her trade (11.61). We find her closing her brothel at the approach of a dirty but special client, to whom she ministers; Martial describes their mutual embraces and concludes with a bold allusion to the indecens morbus that the client contracted. Despite this
danger, the brothel was generally the place where much of Roman youth received its sex education. We find even Cicero referring to this circumstance in his defence of Caelius in 56 B.C. Martial himself recommends in 11.78 that the prospective bridegroom be sent to a brothel to master his marriage duties from the women there. To guide him, so to speak, the poet tells where to find the houses of prostitution: the Summoenia (1.34, 3.82, 11.61, 12.32) and the Subura (6.66, 11.61, 11.78). The closest he comes to describing a brothel itself is in 1.34, where a harlot is seen creating an intimate surrounding, curtained and bolted against the world. There is also an epigram that tells of one method whereby brothel-keepers obtained their girls from the auction block:

Famae non nimium bonae puellam,
Quales in media sedent Subura,
Vendebat modo praecox Gellianus.
Parvo cum pretio diu liceret,
Dum puram cupid adprobare cunctis,
Adtraxit prope se manu negantem
Et bis terque quaterque basiavit.
Quid profecerit osculo requiris?
Sescentos modo qui dabat negavit.

6.66

The age-old apprehension about a harlot's lack of cleanliness is well brought out here; but the point of the epigram is made against the auctioneer and implies that he is himself unclean, because the unexpected result of his kissing the girl to prove that she was clean was a
withdrawal of the only bid.

What Martial seems to be saying in all these poems is that, however shabby these harlots were, they were not any worse than some other segments of society. Almost invariably, anybody he puts in their company suffers by comparison: so with Zoilus, the wealthy but insolent glutton (3.82), Lesbia of open-door notoriety (1.34), the auctioneer (6.66), Leda's client (11.61), and the often-married Telesilla (6.7). Harlots got good marks above all for their lack of hypocrisy. But Martial showed distaste for the expensive and sophisticated meretrix, of whom he says disparagingly:

Poscentem nummos et grandia verba sonantem
Possideat crassae mentula Burdigalae.
9.32.5-6

This attitude may perhaps be explained thus: first, Martial certainly could not afford a meretrix who was classy and expensive, and, secondly, he could never find one suited to his taste. Besides, in the same ninth book, Martial declares that often the victims of a relationship with an expensive mistress are the clients and friends of her lover; pauper amicitiae cum sis, Lupe, non es amicae (9.2.1), and later he asserts that he himself has been thus victimized:
Sextilianus is now sending the presents he used to give Martial to his own mistress, and the poet can feel the pinch. Martial probably saw an irksome parallel between himself and the common prostitute, a social outcast, just as he was an outcast from the imperial society in which he wanted to move.

Martial's compassion for the prostitute is paralleled in his attitude towards the slave-girl. In fact, many prostitutes were originally slaves who were purchased by brothel-keepers. For example, the puella on the auction block in 6.66 was a slave. The female-slave was generally at the mercy of her owner; she had to submit to his sexual assaults, as the slaves of Quirinalis do in 1.84 to provide him with the sons he has been yearning for:

Uxorem habendam non putat Quirinalis,
Cum velit habere filios, et invenit
Quo possit istud more: futuit ancillas
Domumque et agros implet equitibus vernis.
Pater familiae verus est Quirinalis.

The choice of the pseudo-patriotic name Quirinalis, with its symbolic association with Quirinus, suggests that he
is representative of the average Roman, and therefore his attitude towards his slaves would be more or less standard. Some sarcasm can be detected in the last verse, but whether aimed at an individual or at a general Roman practice one cannot say.

The institution of slavery involved at least two bad consequences for free women. The first was to crystallize among them a habit of cruelty towards their handmaids that provoked the wrath not only of Martial, but of Juvenal and Ovid and Seneca as well. According to both Juvenal and Martial, even the most trivial oversight on the part of the maid brought swift and cruel retaliation from her mistress. Juvenal refers to a capricious mistress who has her slaves flogged until the floggers drop from sheer exhaustion, when she harshly orders them out. Elsewhere, apparently imitating an epigram of Martial, he describes a poor slave-girl called Psegeas, who on account of a high curl in her mistress' hair-do is flogged and has her clothes ripped off her shoulders and breasts. Martial's account of such an episode is in 2.66:

Unus de toto peccaverat orbe comarum
Anulus, incerta non bene fixus acu.
Hoc facinus Lalage speculo, quo viderat, ulta est,
Et cecidit saevis icta Plecusa comis.
Desine iam, Lalage, tristes ornare capillos,
What the poem demonstrates regarding the welfare of the slave-girl within the familia is that, however precarious it may already be, it can always be worsened by the whims of any fastidious mistress.

The second of the two consequences mentioned above (8) is the "track of immorality" that slavery left on Roman conjugal life. Despite the many gains made over the years by the Roman woman within the marriage structure, the man's dominant position and propensity for infidelity were never radically altered. Slavery catered to that laxity and to consequent sexual indulgence between owners and slave-women, and, less frequently, between free women and slaves. Martial refers to a couple, where both members enjoyed such sexual freedom:

Ancillariolum tua te vocat uxor, et ipsa Lecticariola est: estis, Alauda, pares.

As far as the male is concerned, Martial is willing to countenance his affairs with slaves. The epigram quoted above (1.84) already suggests this, but Martial goes even further in 12.96, where he mildly rebukes a woman who is in his opinion unreasonably upset over her husband's
passing fancy for his maid-servants; his fidelity has never been in doubt, so that she need not feel threatened.

But when it comes to union between a free woman and a slave or even a freedman, Martial reflects the Roman prejudice against it. In 2.34, he indicts Galla for using her dowry to free Phileros and then turning him into her favorite, the whole transaction being at the expense of her three sons who perished of hunger. Martial concludes the poem, understandably, with the observation that Galla is viler than the notorious poisoner Pontia. In another poem, 6.39, he mentions one Harulla, whose seven children betrayed their mother's adultery with as many slaves — an odd group consisting of a curly-haired Moor, a snub-nosed athlete, a blear-eyed baker, a sodomite, a crétin, a black-haired musician and a red-haired bailiff. This may seem an exaggeration, but scandals between slaves and free men and women were no doubt rife in Rome and the epigrams are directed by Martial at those guilty of such scandalous conduct.

Two other notorious female types that earned Martial's ire were the poisoner and the alcoholic. One name that figures prominently as a poisoner in both Juvenal and Martial is Pontia. According to the Scholiast on Juvenal,
she was the daughter of Publius Petronius and was convicted of poisoning her two sons. Martial's parallel between her and Galla in 2.34 (see above) is thus very appropriate. Poisoning was thought to be widespread in ancient Rome, the reason being, says Post, that "it was not possible to prove scientifically that poison had been administered". In the annals of Rome there are many prominent cases of probable poisoning, but Martial limits himself to the less dramatic, but no less hideous, domestic cases, usually featuring married couples. The presence of a lover may occasion such a sure way of doing away with the husband: in 6.31, Martial hints that Charidemus may be poisoned by the doctor who is having an affair with his wife. Poison was also commonly resorted to by the multi-marriage enthusiast of either sex to eliminate an appropriately wealthy partner, as Martial intimates in many epigrams: 4.69, 8.43, 9.15, 9.78, 10.43. Martial's opinion of the poisoner, male or female, is well summarized by the following epigram;

Effert uxores Fabius, Chrestilla maritos,
Funereamque toris quassat uterque facem,
Victores committite, Venus: quos iste manebit
Exitus una duos ut Libitina ferat.

8.43

Let Fabius marry Chrestilla, so that both notorious poisoners can simultaneously rid the world of each other.
On the subject of drinking by women, Pliny the Elder has this to say:


Juvenal also is predictably hostile towards the female alcoholic: since drinking leads to the corruption of morals, how can virtue be expected from a woman who is not even sober? The drunken woman has nothing but contempt for the altar of Chastity and is ready to desecrate the goddess. Martial too is disgusted at the sight of a drunken woman and expresses his feelings in three epigrams. The first one notes Acerra's habit of drinking till daylight:

Hesterno fetere mero qui credit Acerram,
Fallitur: in lucem semper Acerra bibit.
1.28

The word *fetere* aptly conveys Acerra's condition as well as Martial's disgust, but the poem does not have the impact of 1.87:
Ne gravis hesterno fragres, Fescennia, vino, 
Pastillos Cosmi luxuriosa voras. 
Ista linunt dentes iantacula, sed nihil opstant, 
Extremo ructus cum reedit a barathro. 
Quid quod olet gravius mixtum diapasmate virus 
Atque duplex animee longius exit odor? 
Notas ergo nimis fraudes depreansaque furta 
Iam tollas et sis ebria simpliciter.

Fescennia swallows lozenges to combat the reeking smell from her mouth, with no success at all. Especially good is the fourth verse, where the r assonance aptly suggests the feeling of eructation. The effort to conceal the bad breath after a long drinking-bout is alluded to again in a third poem about a drunken woman, in this case Myrtale (5.4) who uses laurel-leaves for such a purpose, but with bad side effects on her veins. Anyway, hard drinking by women was taboo in Rome, and Martial's reaction to it is as strong as one would expect.

Martial wrote just as strongly against the female athlete (7.67). The portrait he gives of her is of an ugly, lecherous Lesbian, who exercises with dumb-bells, covers herself with the special powder used by wrestlers, and overindulges in food and drink, with the resultant problems of vomiting. Juvenal copies this particular passage for his description of the athletic woman.

We now turn our attention to what is probably the most troublesome issue in Martial: sex. His explicit
descriptions of all types of sexual activity, from ordinary intercourse to the foulest aberration, have shocked readers since his own time and have led to charges of pornography. He often seems horrified by the acts he describes, but, faithful to his art, he does not tone down the language, nor does he make the images any less graphic. He is plainly fascinated by the subject. As for his own preferences, to the extent that they are revealed in his poetic personae, he was by his own confession bisexual, since he liked both boys and women. But we will omit anything about male homosexuality, as irrelevant to the topic of this dissertation.

Despite his own homosexual tendencies, Martial condemns lesbianism, which he calls a facinus (1.90.6). Both lesbians mentioned in his poetry, Bassa (1.90) and Philaenis (7.67 and 70) are given the coarsest and most debasing delineations possible. Their sexual techniques are described in all their gross details, and Martial seems genuinely amazed by their acts. Martial equally condemns cunnilingus and fellatio, though in 9.67, he confesses that he himself is not immune to the pleasures of the latter and once requested the services of a mistress for that purpose. He expresses himself as equally disgusted by incestuous relationships: Ammianus and
his mother (2.4) have a very close relationship, calling each other brother and sister, and Martial speculates on the possibly unsavory significance of this appellation. The other two incestuous alliances are between Gallus and his step-mother (4,16) and between Fabullus and his sister (12.20). Except in the second case, Martial adopts the technique of innuendo to suggest the unnatural relationship, thus for once letting taste get the better of frankness. Of all sexual aberrations, it is strange that Martial does not mention bestiality; his friend Juvenal, who is the more easily outraged by all this sex perversion, does so in his description of the frenzied women who, during the rites of Bona Dea, went out to mate with a donkey (Sat. 6.334). As for the ordinary sexual act, futuere, Martial speaks of it with obvious pleasure:

Saepe ego Chrestinem futui. Det quam bene quaeris? Supra quod fieri nil, Mariane, potest. 2.31

Nobody is ever too old to indulge in it:

Quid me, Thai, senem subinde dicis? Nemo est, Thai, senex ad irrumandum. 4.50

In another poem (9.67), Martial refers to a night of joy with a wanton girl and recalls without shame or self-consciousness the ecstasy they shared together. Obviously,
he sees nothing wrong in mentioning all the details of his or others' amorous life, and in stating where to draw the line in such encounters. There are certain sexual acts that he could not condone, but he came right out and described them in all their lurid details. Obviously talking about them was not as bad as participating in them.

Realism in this touchy area has led to charges of pornography against Martial. There can be no denial that much of his sex poetry may be considered obscene. He does seem to take special pleasure in giving crude descriptions of the most intimate part of the sexual act. In other words, he leaves nothing unsaid. However, Martial's poetry is about day-to-day living in Rome; wandering over the city, he has been made cognizant of the fact that there is a lot of perversity taking place and he wants to bring it to the consciousness of his readers. Neglecting any aspect of it would be counter to his policy of satirical frankness. Since he professes to attack vice (10.33), he has to expose it in whatever form it exists and in as dramatic a way as possible. The epigram, by its brief and explosive nature, provides room for that drama and Martial takes full advantage of it. He expresses shock at the widespread sexual perversity he saw prevailing in Rome and was able to communicate the same shock to his readers with strong language and lively images. Unfortunately, many people
were more taken aback by his obscene language than by the fact that obscene actions were becoming commonplace. Martial no doubt knew that he would be offending tender sensibilities, but he chose to take that risk in the hope that the city which provided him with so much of his inspiration would be moved to cleanse itself, and thus the long-term benefit of his exposition would be worthwhile.

The line of attack employed by Martial against sexual misfits and other female miscreants is largely in physical terms. He exposes their physical handicaps: Lycoris (3.39), Philaenis (2.33, 4.65, 12.22), Thais (3.8, 3.39) are all one-eyed, an outstanding piece of characterization because it remains a constant physical reminder of their myopic, superficial view of themselves and of the world around them. Martial also credits them with a rank smell. Two of the three poems using this theme, namely 4.4 and 6.93, must be classics in the nauseating poetry of stench. The first one deals with Bassa and Martial compares her odor with the most putrid ones that can be imagined, only to conclude that they are all bested by hers:

Quod siccae redolet palus lacunae,
Crudarum nebulae quod Albularum,
Piscinae vetus aura quod marinae,
Quod pressa piger hircus in capella,
Lassi vardaicus quod evocati,
Quod bis murice vellus inquinatum,
Quod ieiunia sabbatariarum,
Maestorum quod anhelitus reorum,
Quod spurcae moriens lucerna Ledae,
Quod ceromata faece de Sabina,
Quod volpis fuga, viperae cubile,
Mallem quam quod oles olere, Bassa.  

4.4

The poet builds up the tempo especially with that dramatic replication of *quod* in every verse, and only in the very last line, in fact at the very last word is there any indication that he is talking about Bassa. The name is in the most emphatic position within the whole poem, and there is an air of finality about the last line, with the rhythm slowed down considerably by the a's, i's and o's and dragging to a lingering and pitiful conclusion in *oles olere, Bassa*. The second poem (6.93) deals with Thais, whose smell is again compared with that of animals, such as a goat and a dog; but do what she will, with all the cosmetics in the world, Thais still cannot overcome her odor. As Martial cruelly ends the epigram:

*Cum bene se tutam per fraudes mille putavit,
Omnia cum fecit, Thaida Thais olet.  

11-12

Sometimes, Martial would expose the general physical unattractive of low women: Aelia (1.19) had only four teeth which were shot out in two fits of coughing, Maximina (2.41) is so ugly that she is told she should
spend all her time moaning and crying over it, Vetustilla (3.93) is almost an animal-woman, Fabulla (8.79) is said to prefer as companions aut vetulas / aut...vetulis foediores so that she will be prettier by comparison. Again Martial would concentrate on one particular feature, e.g. the bald head of Ligeia (12.7), the face of Manneia (1.83) which is likened to merdas, the false teeth of Laecania (5.43). Martial seems to be drawing a parallel between the character of these women of low repute and their physical appearance. Either way, they leave much to be desired.

In conclusion, one word of caution is necessary: since Martial professes to be castigating types, the proper names he used are of small value. Every time a Philaenis is mentioned, we should not automatically assume that the same woman is meant; nor should we care. But it is noteworthy that certain names became completely identified with women of low repute: Philaenis, mentioned nine times, and Thais, mentioned seven times, consistently portray bad women.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapters I have assembled and considered Martial's information and opinions on the subject of women. It is fair to say that he covers a very wide selection and deals with many sorts of women, differing in age, social status, moral fibre, physical appearance and sexual preferences. Included in his works are poems on little girls, young brides, older women, noble women, wealthy women, widows, divorcees, oft-married women, devoted wives, shapely women, unattractive women, prostitutes, artistic women, adulteresses, lesbians, slaves, vile women, gossipy women, religious women, women wrestlers, women gladiators, dancing girls - and these are only samples from a very long list. Some get merely a casual mention, like the Jewish women fasting on the Sabbath (4.4); others have whole series of epigrams devoted to them. Martial's evaluation goes full circle. No class of women is too high or too low to escape his observation. He deals with about 135 women in all, some clearly defined, others type-cast into certain roles;
but altogether, he almost exhausts the different types that must have existed in the homes and streets of Rome.

All of this proves a deep interest in women, as does the fact that Martial covers many subjects of particular interest to them: cosmetics, make-up, and feminine outerwear and underwear. To him, these were mere trivia, but by dealing with them so often, he showed he was aware of their value to the female ego. Despite all this display of interest in women, it is not clear whether Martial felt he understood them. He certainly expressed his feelings about every kind of woman. To the degree that some literalness can be ascribed to what he writes as a poet, and bearing in mind at the same time the warnings of Martial and other poets about the naiveté of those perceiving literal autobiographical facts in poetical statements, we learn what kind appealed to his personal taste, what kind did not. We are given a description of what he wanted in a wife, both physically (neither too fat nor too slim) and intellectually (non doctissima coniunx), and since he could never find one to suit, he seems not to have married. But he came to know many women, had affairs with some, and expressed respect for or criticism of others. Personal acquaintance enabled him to become familiar with many feminine foibles, which he exploited
in his poetry, ridiculing the infatuation with beauty which led old crones to hide their wrinkles behind layers of make-up, to hide their age, or to deny that they were wearing wigs or false teeth. His descriptions of them were sometimes very colorful and obscene, but as he confesses in his preface to Book 1, lascivam verborum veritatem, id est epigrammaton linguam. And he adds that he would apologize if he were starting a trend, but sic scribit Catullus, sic Marsus, sic Pedo, sic Gaetulicus...

(1. praef.)

In fact, such sensationalism and exaggeration go further back than these writers and were common in literature about women. As we have shown in Chapter 5, it was found in Greek literature in Hesiod, Semonides of Amorgos and the dramatists, and in Roman literature in satirists like Lucilius, and in other writers too. Livy, for instance, describes in Book XXXIV Cato's outrage at female demands for more rights, calling the politically active women violent and uncontrolled animals with no regard for law or convention, and demanding that they should be kept in check. Ovid wrote the Ars Amatoria on the didactics of seduction and warned the chaste away from his works (A.A. 1.31-32). In fact, several of the themes and techniques of love poetry presented in Martial were inherited from the Augustan poet. Seneca calls woman
an imprudens animal et, nisi scientia accessit ac multa eruditio, ferum, cupiditatium incontinens (De Const. Sap. 14.1) and attacks her further in his lost De Matrimonio, although he himself seems to have had a successful conjugal relationship with his wife.

Although his contemporary Statius remained relatively immune to it, such a literary tradition could not but have affected Martial. Statius does deal with themes like bliss in marriage (Silv. 1.2) and loyalty of women towards their late husbands (Silv. 2.7), and refers to women combatants in the arena and to buxom Lydian damsels at the theatre (Silv. 1.6). But his type of poetry does not lend itself to the caustic comments or the various kinds of women that Martial can introduce in his. As a satirist, Martial has to concentrate on negative aspects of life, but still, in his poetry about women, he endeavors to maintain a certain balance which can be better ascertained when one compares him to Juvenal. The latter, often using thematic and verbal borrowings from Martial, assails the married woman with unbridled invectives in his Satire 6, but Martial makes it quite clear in the preface to Book I that he means to respect all persons, even the lowest in status and character:
Artistically, in his views on women, Martial stands somewhere between Juvenal and Pliny the younger. The latter’s female characters are diametrically opposed to Juvenal’s parade of vicious and criminal women. All the women in Pliny’s letters are devoted and faithful and have the qualities that Juvenal found non-existent in his. Juvenal’s married woman was intolerable, whereas Pliny has this to say about his wife Calpurnia: *summum est acumen, summa frugalitas, amat me, quod castitatis indicium est* (Ep. 4.19). This delineation is close to Martial’s, about Nigrina (4.75 and 9.30) for example, but Martial strikes a sense of balance that is uncharacteristic of both Juvenal and Pliny.

To be more precise, Martial’s portrayal of women seems more akin to that of Tacitus than to that of any other author of the Silver Age. It has been said of both writers that they despised women, but in both cases the charge is not true. Of Tacitus’ attitude to women, Syme says:

Some argue that Tacitus despised women. The documents fall a long way short of proof...
The daughters and wives of the nobiles asserted a proper claim to the prerogatives of birth and station, and indeed, aristocratic descent on the female side enjoyed recognition and validity. Women emulated men in arrogance and licence...

Pride and insolence had its good side, in women as in men. Sharing the ambition of the husband... the wife shared the hazards also, going with him into exile or constant in the face of death. Such women did not fail to be commemorated in senatorial history for their 'fides' and their 'constantia'...

...If his portrayal of angry and domineering women is lively enough to excite a suspicion, on the other side will be set the compassion and the pathos that go out to Octavia and to Pompeia Paullina.

Boissier too points out that if Tacitus is capable of saying of the wife of a freedman who encouraged her husband to betray his master, that *uxoris quoque consilium assumpserat, muliebre ac deterius*, he can also at quieter moments say: *nisi quod in bona uxor* e*ndo maior laus* (2) *quanto in mala plus culpae est*. It should be understood that only Martial's overall attitude is reflected in Tacitus. The latter is concerned more with politically-oriented ladies, who do not appear in Martial, for the obvious reason that he, despite all his attempts, never was able to enter the high political circles. As for the sexual intrigues of women, Tacitus does not deal with them except in crimes arising out of sexual jealousy which have political consequences. The arts of the two writers are completely different, but both of them tend to show appreciation or compassion for women that deserve it.
The final obvious question that should be considered is: Does Martial degrade the female sex? As far as his intentions are concerned, he makes it quite clear in the preface of Book I that he will attempt to follow the via media, or to use his own words, tale temperamentum, which would not violate the respect due to one and all. But does he follow a median course in his delineation of women? At first, the answer may appear to be no, for he has a preponderance of poems on vile women. But this choice is dictated by artistic considerations and perhaps by the iambic nature of much of epigram. Also, his attacks are not motivated first and foremost by prejudice; he attacks and degrades those who by their actions have already degraded themselves, and the same attitude characterizes his feelings towards men. Martial relates only what he notices as he walks around the city. He deplores the perversities prevalent among women, as he does those among men, though with less vigor. He is essentially a reporter, certainly no pioneer, like C. Musonius Rufus, a Stoic philosopher of Nero's time who was the nearest approach to a champion of women's right I can discover in ancient Rome. Musonius advocated the equality of the sexes, arguing that the same training and education would be suitable for both men and women. He applied a principle of rigid continence to both sexes, with the
belief that virtue was equally within the reach of either. He also believed in marriage as the happiest condition of life. His views, however, were at once too radical and too sexually restrictive, at least for men, to make an impact on the times. Despite much action to the contrary, Catonian attitudes and conventions were those that still prevailed, and indeed Martial's views are more akin to those of Cato than to those of Musonius—a strange phenomenon, considering that Martial disapproved of Cato's rigid morality. He believes, like Cato, in male dominance, although he is not guilty of the evangelistic sentiments of the old ascetic who campaigned actively against women's rights. He also agrees however, but only up to a certain point, with some of Musonius' ideas, namely that virtue is within the reach of a good woman like Porcia or Arria, and that marriage may be a happy state for some.

Martial's general attitude reflects however the common-prejudices: against the free woman who lives with a slave or freedman, against the adulteress, against such female freaks as girl athletes, against those guilty of sexual perversions. But he displays a remarkable sense of compassion for those that are commonly looked down upon: slaves, especially young ones, and prostitutes.
He gives credit to women who lead a virtuous life and are a credit to themselves, and to their husbands and families. He applauds certain women who have certain merits, and these do not have to be domestic merits. If women fulfil his concept of what a woman should be like, he is apt to praise them. But if they do not, he attacks them not only because they fail as women, but even more because they fail as human beings. So, to the question whether Martial is prejudiced against women, the answer would be a qualified no. He allows himself to share the common prejudices of his age, but, beyond that, he makes no special effort to level attacks at women unless they themselves justify it by odd, immoral, and erratic behavior.
Notes to Chapter I

1. Some of the information in this paragraph was obtained from Balsdon, *Roman Women*, 13-18.


10. Under the early marriage systems, the woman was transferred from the authority or hand (manus) of her father to that of her husband and her alliance was said to be cum or in manu. All the dowry that she brought along with her became the property of her husband. By the free marriage concept, however, she had the choice of remaining in the hand of her father or of a guardian appointed by him, if he were dead, and undergoing a sine manu marriage contract whereby she retained control over her dowry. This provided her with a sense of security should her marriage fail and made her less prone to be victimized by her husband. See Fowler, 139 and Balsdon, 45 and 283.


12. *Livy* 34.1.3.


16. Rites in her honor were held twice a year, in May and December, in the house of a magistrate in the presence of women only. It was these rites that the notorious Clodius, the enemy of Cicero, is said to have violated when he attended them disguised as a female. See Balsdon 243-245.

20. Balsdon 222.
22. Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners, 1.228-267; helpful also for the following paragraphs.
23. Donaldson 85.
24. For Martial's view on Cato, see l. praef. fin., 10.19.21, 11.2.1, 11.15.1, 11.39.15.

Notes to Chapter II

1. On the chronology of Martial's publication of his fourteen books of epigrams, see Friedländer's edition, Einl. 50-67. See also his Roman Life and Manners 4.298.
2. Ibid.
3. On the question of Martial's bachelorhood, see Duff, Roman Satire 142 and Butler, Post Augustan Poetry 257. As for the possibility of his marriage to the Spanish lady Marcella, see Chapter IV.
4. There may be a second reference to a filia in 10.65.11 if the reading of the β family of MSS is accepted. It
runs as follows: nobis filia fortius loquetur and is accepted by Friedländer, Lindsay (OCT) and Hieraen (Teubner). Friedländer construes the meaning of the verse thus: "my daughter (should I have one) will speak to me ..." The future loquetur allows for this interpretation and thus removes the likelihood of Martial's having a daughter at that time. But many editors including Friedländer are uneasy with that reading and several emendations have been suggested. Schneiderin reads fistula for filia, Munro's conjecture is nobis nil Laco fortius loquetur (cf. Horace, Erode 6.5 quales aut molossus aut iulvus Laco...), Haupt suggests ilia fortius loquentur; and Gilbert reads ilia fortius loquentur. Friedländer himself believes Gilbert's suggestion to be most plausible and recommends it, although his text keeps the MS reading. The gist of the passage indeed speaks in favor of Gilbert's emendation: it maintains both the direct comparison between Charmenion and Martial which occurs throughout the poem and the constant use of the present tense in the relevant verses. Anyway, either the MS or the emended reading eliminates the existence of a daughter. See Friedländer's edition 2.145-146, note on 65.11.


8. See Post, Selected Epigrams of Martial 137. He notes that, according to Brandt, Martial wrote this epigram for pay. In that case Fronto and Flaccilla, who have always been assumed to be Martial's parents, would be the parents of the person for whom Martial wrote the epigram. It is an interesting view that is almost universally rejected.

9. Sit tibi terra levis was a common formula which became fashionable in Roman epitaphs, as can be discerned from the numerous examples quoted from the CE and the CIL by Lattimore in his study, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. It is a theme that the Romans probably inherited from the Greeks. The earliest expression of it is in Euripides' Alcestis (463-464), but there are numerous other examples in the seventh book of the Palatine Anthology. While the theme remained uniform, its expression in Greek tended to vary, whereas in
Roman inscriptions, it appeared almost constantly in the half-pentameter form *sit tibi terra levis* or s.t.t.l. in prose inscriptions. In Roman literature however, the Greek example of avoiding the stereotyped expression was followed. According to Lattimore, the standard formula is used only by Martial and there too only once, in 9.29.11. Elsewhere (6.52, 6.69, 11.14) even Martial varies the expression, in the manner of the Greek epigrammatists of the Anthology. For more on the subject, see Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs, Illinois Studies in Language and Literature* 28 (1942) 65-74.

One more thing worthy of note is that of the four poems of Martial containing this traditional theme of begging the earth be light and gentle on a corpse, three had to do with children. Ep. 5.34 has already been dealt with. The two others, 6.52 and 6.68, mourn the young slave-barber Pantagathus and the boy Eutychus, both of whom Martial felt were prematurely snatched by death. He compliments Pantagathus on his craftsmanship as a barber, an uncharacteristic remark, because Martial elsewhere satirizes barbers (7.83 and 11.84) - an illustration no doubt of his innate affection for children.

10. Lloyd 41.


13. Erotation probably died at the latest in 89 - the year of the publication of Book 5, where she is first mentioned. The Book 10 we have was published in an enlarged edition in mid-98 A.D., but its first edition was in December 95. Should Ep. 10.61 have been part of that first edition, it would mean that it was written about six years after Erotation's death; otherwise, the figure might be closer to nine. See Friedländer, *op. cit.*

14. See also 1.114, 1.116, 6.28, 6.29, 7.96.

15. This idea of premature death being a scelus is pervasive in Martial. See 6.62.3, 6.68.1, 7.96.4.
Lattimore (op. cit.) says "that the circumstance of untimely death was the chief ground for lamentation" (178) and adds: "I have found nothing in Latin inscriptions to show that immature death was regarded in any other light than as a misfortune consisting in the destruction of hope, the loss of pleasure and the sense of loneliness, or at the worst, as unfair treatment at the hands of malicious or impulsive gods."(187). So, Martial is echoing in these poems above a popular sentiment, which is given dramatic expression by Vergil in Book 6 of the Aeneid:

Continuo audita voces, vagitus et ingens
Infantumque animae flentes in limine primo
Quos dulcis vitae exsortes et ab ubere raptos
Abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo.
(vss. 426-429)

For further details, see Lattimore, op. cit.,177-191.


18. Gaius 1.19; Schulz, Principles of Roman Law, 137-141; Leonard, "Concubinatus" RE 4.835-838; Balsdon 231.

19. Fat women are dealt with in two more epigrams (11.21 and 11.99), where Martial expresses similar distaste for their size.

20. See Eps. 2.31, 6.23, 11.29, 11.43, 14.203.

21. Amores 1.8 and Ars Amatoria.

22. Fujii 36.

23. 2.25, 2.34, 3.51, 3.54, 3.90, 4.38, 4.58, 5.84, 7.18, 7.58, 9.4, 9.37, 9.78, 10.75, 10.95, 11.19.

24. Martial consistently pokes fun at these subjects, as is evident from other epigrams (5.4, 5.43, 6.13). Similar jesting at woman's fashion occurs in the Palatine Anthology, notably in the epigrams of Lukilios. See Anth. Pal. 11.68 and 310 and Duff, op. cit.
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142-143. Juvenal, however, is adamantly against the use of cosmetics by women (6.461-474), while Ovid, the expert on the subject, tells girls of the value of beauty in his *Ars Amatoria* (3.103-106). See also Balsdon 261-262.

25. Other epigrams dealing with old women are 3.32, 3.76, 4.20, 7.75, 8.79, 9.29, 10.39, 10.67, 10.90, 11.29. Such denunciation of old women unwilling to age gracefully is not unique to Martial. Horace, in three odes (1.25, 3.15, 4.13) and two epodes (6 and 12) vilifies them in similar fashion, invoking the coarsest animal imagery to portray their desires, which have unfortunately not faded with their charms. The Palatine Anthology also contains a series of poems (11.66-74) on the subject, so grotesque that, says one critic, "ils sont sortis des bornes du gout". These latter epigrammatists belonged to the late republican and early imperial epochs, so that together with Horace and Martial, they represented a literary trend that was inclined to exaggeration and sensationalism in this area. See Fujii 33 and Villeneuve's Budé edition of Horace, *Odes and Epodes* 1.125 and 214.

26. See also Ep. 12.22.

27. While this epigram contains an acknowledged and open reference to Ovid in line two, the actual quotation from the elegiac poet cannot be found in his extant works. Friedländer points out, though, that Martial may be thinking of parts of the *Ars Amatoria* (3.281 ff: and 513). See Friedländer's ed. of *Martial* 1.258.

28. According to Friedländer, the stylistic similarity of this poem with Catullus has influenced the choice of the name Catulla. That sounds plausible. See Friedländer, *op. cit.* 2.30.

29. This may appear contradictory, since Martial himself uses exaggeration; but he uses it only as a satiric weapon against those who diverge from the accepted norm in their behavior.

30. This question of bodily odor also disturbed Catullus (69.5-10,71), Horace (Epode 12.4-6, Epistle 1.5.29) and of course Ovid who warned both the lover (A.A. 1.519-520) and the beloved (A.A. 3.193-194, 3.277-278) against it. See Bardon, "Satiriques et Bélogiaques," *Latomus* 5 (1946) 218-219.

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Notes to Chapter III

2. See Lucretius, De Rerum Natura 4.1050-1279.
8. 8.73, 14.189.
9. 4.6, 8.70, 8.73, 14.193.
10. 1.61, 3.38, 5.10, 8.73, 12.44, 13.96, 14.192.
11. 2.41.
12. There are four more references to the passer theme in 1.73, 4.14.13, 11.6.16, 14.27, but they are all so casual that we can pass over them.
13. 1.3, 1.76, 1.94, 1.109, 2.10, 2.12, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.33, 3.65, 4.22, 5.46, 6.34, 6.50, 6.66, 7.95, 8.44, 8.46, 9.93, 10.22, 10.42, 10.72, 11.6, 11.8, 11.22, 11.23, 11.26, 11.61, 11.95, 11.98, 11.104, 12.26, 12.55, 12.59, 12.65, 12.93, 13.18.
14. 2.10, 2.12, 2.21, 2.22, 2.23, 2.33, 3.65, 6.34, 7.95, 10.22, 11.95, 11.98, 12.55, 12.59, 12.93, 13.18.
18. Ibid.
20. Bardon 221. See also Copley, *Exclusus Amator*, 140.
22. Bardon 221.
23. See the opening of Terence's *Eunuchus* where Parmeno contends that a rational approach can bring success to a strained love affair.
24. Lilja 54.
26. Lilja 238-239.
29. Lilja 224.
31. Although Seneca's *De Matrimonio* is lost, excerpts from it were preserved by Jerome in his *Adversus Io vivianum*, and are reproduced in a supplement of Haase's Teubner edition of Seneca. Seneca has nothing good to say about women or the marriage institution. Like Juvenal, who is indebted to him anyway for much of his material in his sixth satire Seneca assails woman for the qualities displayed by the worst of her kind: pettiness, jealousy, readiness to quarrel with or poison her mate. He considers marriage incompatible with philosophical studies, in reverse of the Stoic doctrine which he supported and which backed marriage. He can find no justification for marriage and even dismisses the procreation idea - a very Roman view - as sheer madness. Such ideas were spread to the rhetorical schools especially, where the censure of contemporary morality was a favorite topic. In view of this exposition of Seneca against marriage, it is strange to note that his own marriage to Paulina was quite a success for he explains in Ep. 105 that he should apologize for caring for his health more than a philosopher should, but then the happiness of his wife depends on it. He then adds, "Her life is wrap-
ped up in mine, for its sake I must take care of mine. What can be more delightful than to be dear to one's wife, that for her sake one becomes dearer to himself." See Haase, *Senecae Opera*, Supplement, 26-32; Highet, op. cit. 264-265; De Labriolë, *Les Satires de Juvenal*, 193-196; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, 307-308; Bök, "Aristoteles Theophrastus Seneca de matrimonio" LS 19 (1899) 1-70.

32. Lilja 172-181
33. 2.39, 2.47, 2.49, 2.60, 2.83, 3.85, 3.96, 5.75, 6.2, 6.7, 6.22, 6.39, 6.45, 9.2, 9.6, 10.52.
34. This epigram reminds one of the Sila (11.23) and Vetustilla (3.93) poems, where the reviling of the woman is carried out at length, not in such summary terms as here. However, in the Sila poem, Martial tells her that if he marries her, she will even furnish him with her maid, if so ordered. One may be tempted to regard this as a tolerant view of adultery, but we should bear in mind that Sila is a special case. Martial thinks that nothing is too low for her to tolerate. Therefore, in view of the tone of this poem, I am reluctant to accept it as registering Martial's standard view of adultery, especially since Sila is anything but the average woman.

35. The first two lines in Ep. 6.2 seem to illustrate Martial's belief that adultery was indeed a widespread practice in Rome.
37. Friedländer 238
38. Balsdon 77.
41. Friedländer 238.
42. Colton, *Juvenal and Martial*, 129
44. Thomas, Roman Life under the Caesars, 177-181.
46. Post 11.
47. Thomas 178
49. Hightet 101
50. Butler 294.
51. De Labriolle 203.
52. The significance of these names is discussed in Chapter Four, note 1.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. It is difficult not to notice the symbolic significance of the cognomina Peregrina and Pudens, the first suggestive of a foreign background and the second poetically stressing the goodness of the bearer of that name. And indeed the whole poem bears this out about both Claudia and Aulus. While Martial does not follow a regular practice of coining names indicative of the qualities of his characters, there are times when he adopts such a practice. One conspicuous instance, besides Ep. 4.13, is 2.66, which deals with the violent reaction of a certain Lalage towards her slave Plecusa who had allowed her mistress' curl to go astray. Plecusa is derived from the Greek πλέκειν meaning "she who plaits" and Lalage from λαλάγειν meaning "to prattle". Horace too uses the name Lalage (Odes 1.22), but for a charming girl, who is extremely different from the cruel mistress depicted by Martial. Does this mean that one should not put too much stress on the symbolism about names? Anyway, there are other
names in Martial that are meaningful: \textit{Hacer} (8.5) - a generous but impoverished knight, Mr. Neagre himself, \textit{Erotion} (5.34, 5.37 and 10.61) meaning one to be loved and \textit{Vetustilla} (3.93) - an old witch. By the same token, there are names chosen for other reasons, mainly metrical convenience, e.g. \textit{Gellia} (5.17) - dactylic word \textit{par excellence}. See note 7 below and Fujii 34.


5. \textit{Ibid}.

6. What both 4.13 and 11.53 stress is that both C. Peregrina and C. Rufina are of foreign backgrounds, in the first case, by virtue of her cognomen and in the latter case, by the statements in the first two lines to the effect that, although descended from caeruleis...Britannis, she possesses the feelings of the Latin race.


10. See Chapter 2.32-33.


12. Friedländer, \textit{Roman Life and Manners}, 1.263. See also Sherwin-White 248.


14. Plutárch, \textit{Brutus} 13; Val. Max. 4.6.5; Miltner, "Porcia", No. 28, \textit{RE} 40.216-218; Donaldson 133-134; Balsdon 50-51; Post 24.


17. Friedländer, loc. cit.


21. As we have seen in Chapter One, one of the features of the new marriage laws under Augustus was to give women control over their dowry and inheritance. In 5.61 Martial pictures a Roman matron attended by her steward and flirting with him in front of her husband. She can behave in such an independent manner not only through the tolerance of her husband, but also because she has financial security and control of her property as well as dowry, part of which she can recover in the case of separation. In this connection Friedländer says:

"The legalization of women's proprietorship in their dower was their final emancipation. In the so-called free marriage, usual under the Empire, the husband received only the dowry, and that not absolutely: all the rest of the wife's property she had control of, the husband not having even a usufruct."

Roman Life and Manners 1.236

Nigrina's joy in sharing her property with her husband indicates tremendous faith, love and devotion.

22. See Ep. 5.61 and Chapter 3.74-75.

23. Post 196.


25. See p. 111.

27. Brandt, De Martialis poetae vita et scriptis ad annorum computationem dispositis, 35.

28. Van Stockum, De Martialis vita ac scriptis commentatio, 39.

29. See Eps. 5.61.3, 6.21.3, 6.71.6, 7.14.8, 7.50.1, 7.64.2, 8.51.24, 9.2.5, 9.65.11, 10.29.2, 11.7.8, 11.73.6, 12.93.6.

30. Post 301, note 7.

31. The marriage theory was a nineteenth century one and could have been nurtured by the editorial habit then of preceding each epigram by a lemma or title. That of 12.31 was De hortis Marcellae uxoris, thereby giving and perpetuating the idea of Martial's marriage to Marcella. These titles were accepted as genuine, but as the editors to the Panckoucke edition of Martial note in their preface:

Or, il est reconnu que tous les titres des épigrammes de Martial, excepté celles des livres 13 et 14, sont de quelque ancien copiste, et non de lui. (1.v)

See also Bohn, Epigrams of Martial, ix.

32. Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners, 1.265 and 4.425.

33. Balsdon 208.

34. Haase, Senecae Opera, Supplementum, 30-31.

35. See Epistles 4.19, 6.4, 6.7, 7.5, 8.11.

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Notes to Chapter V

1. Duff, Roman Satire, 151.

2. It is not surprising that Martial sometimes shares
the attitude of misogyny to which Greek and Roman writers had for a long time given expression in fairly strong terms. Here are some representative hostile texts in Greek Literature: Hesiod, Erga (42-101) and Theogony (530-616); Semonides of Amorgos, Iambos on Women; Aeschylus, Choephoroi (583), Agamemnon (469 ff.); Euripides, Medea (407 ff.), Hippolytus (480, 627 ff.); Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae and Ecclesiazusae. In Roman Literature, texts of a similar nature are found in Lucilius, fragments 678-686; Seneca, De Constantia Sapientis (14.1); Juvenal, Satire 6 and the discussions of the philosophers and rhetoricians over the validity of marriage. See also Hightet, 92-93 and 264-265; De Labriolle, 191 note.


5. Westermann, The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity, 118. See also Balsdon 226.

6. Juvenal, Sat. 6, 477-496; Ovid, A.A. 3.239-242; Seneca, Ep. 47, De Ira, 3.32 and 3.337, De Const. Sap. 4, De Clem. 1.18; De Ben. 3.22.3.

7. On the choice of the names Plecusa and Lalage in this poem, see Chap. IV, note 1.

8. Friedländer, Roman Life and Manners, 1.243.

9. Westermann 118.


11. Sat. 6.638-642.

12. Eps. 2.34, 4.43, 6.75.

13. Wessner, Scholia in Juvenalem Vetustiora, 117. See also Duff, Juvenal, 266.

14. Post 123.


16. See also Ep. 12.91.

17. For details, see Chap. 3.73.
18. See also Balsdon 213.


20. For Seneca's description of women who overindulge in food and drink, see Ep. 95.21 ff.

21. Juvenal, Sat. 6.421-433. For comparison between the two passages, see Colton, Martial and Juvenal, 138-140.

22. See Eps. 10.42, 11.6, 11.8.

23. Eps. 3.80, 3.84, 3.88, 3.96, 4.43, 6.26, 11.25, 11.47, 11.61, 11.85, 12.59, 12.85.

24. Eps. 2.50, 2.73, 3.87, 4.84, 6.69, 9.4, 9.40, 11.40.

25. See also Eps. 1.34, 1.73, 1.84, 1.94, 1.106, 2.47, 2.60, 3.79, 3.96, 6.31, 6.33, 6.67, 7.18, 9.4, 9.80, 10.81, 10.102, 11.45, 11.62.


28. Eps. 3.8, 3.11, 4.12, 4.84, 5.43, 6.93, 11.101.

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Notes to Chapter VI

1. Syme, Tacitus, 2.534, 535, 541, 542. See also Tacitus, Germania, 19.

2. Boissier, Tacitus and other Roman Studies, 21.

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