# Martial's and Juvenal's attitudes toward women 

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MARTIAL'S AND JUVENAL'S ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RICHMOND
IN CANDIDACY
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS IN ANCIENT LANGUAGES

## APPROVAL SHEET



## PREFACE

The thesis offers a comparison between the views of Martial and Juvenal toward women based on selected Epigrams of the former and Satire VI of the latter. Such a comparison allows the reader to place in perspective the attitudes of both authors in regard to the fairer sex and reveals at least a portion of the psychological inclination of both writers. The classification of the selected Epigrams and the selected lines of Satire VI into categories of vice is arbitrary and personal. Subjective interpretation of vocabulary and content has dictated the limits and direction of the classification. References to scholarship regarding the rhetorical, literary, and philosophic influences on Martial and Juvenal can be found in footnote6 following the chapter concerning promiscuity. The texts from which all the quotations are taken are the following: Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epigrammata, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903); Martial, Epigrams, Vols. I and II, transl. by Walter C. A. Ker (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1925); D. Iuni Iuvenalis

Saturae, ed. by W. V. Clausen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959); Juvenal, Satires, transl. by G. G. Ramsay (New York: G. P. Putman's Sons, 1929). Because of a lack of research facilities,
the readings from primary sources were attempted without the benefit of extensive scholarly opinion.

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## INTRODUCTION

If Martial and Juvenal do indeed have similar backgrounds and are viewing the foibles and mores of relatively the same types and levels of Roman society, then a comparison of their observations in respect to one aspect of that society will have critical validity and offer the opportunity for a limited psychological study of the authors themselves.

The facts concerning the lives of both authors, as far as they are known, are generally agreed upon. Marcus Valerius Martialis (c. A.D. 40-104) was a native of Bilbilis in Spain, who came to Rome c. 64 A.D. Although poor at first, he later acquired a farm at Nomentum and a small house in Rome. He wrote poetry for his living, depending on the favor of rich patrons and the sale of his books. Although granted the honorary ranks of tribunus and eques and the ius trium liberorum, he took no part in public affairs. His most important work, the first twelve books of the Epigrams, began to appear in 86; and eleven were completed by 98, at which time he returned to the more serene life of Bilbilis. His death in 104 was mentioned in a letter of the Younger Pliny. $l_{\text {Less }}$ is known of the life of Decimus Junius Juvenalis, born c. A.D. 60-70 perhaps in Aquinum. The various lives of Juvenal are of late date and are contradictory. They agree on a period of banishment occurring
during the reign of Domitian. The majority of biographical information is deduced from internal evidence, which points to Juvenal's literary activity spanning the period A.D. 98128. He appears to have been poor at one time but later acquired a farm at Tibur. ${ }^{2}$

From these bare biographical facts, the following similarities may be seen. First, each seems to have been a bachelor; although Martial refers to a "wife," for example in IV 24, the lines are purely imaginary and provide no likelihood that Martial ever had a wife. Duff says ${ }^{3}$ that Martial was merely speaking caustically for those who did have wives. Secondly, both men lived at relatively the same period of time. Thirdly, there exists a similarity in the professional viewpoint of both men as writers. Although officially Juvenal has been classified as a satirist and Martial as an epigrammatist, epigram can very obviously be used for satiric purposes; and, as Duff notes, 4 in the hands of such a skilled writer and observer as Martial, epigram can reflect so much of contemporary life that it constitutes a kindred form of satire. The epigrammatic examples occurring intthe category of promiscuity alone bear witness to this contention. Fourthly, evidence points to the two men being acquainted and, perhaps, even being friends. Martial mentions Juvenal in three poems. VII 24 professes friendship for Juvenal; VII 91 deals with nuts which Martial sent to Juvenal apparently as a gift during Saturnalia; and XII 18 is an epigrammatic letter from Martial in Bilbilis to Juvenal in Rome. Highet ${ }^{5}$ interprets the three poems as indicators of a
strange and complex relationship between the two men--a relationship which was not wholly pleasant. Highet sees each poem containing a dirty joke and the last, although appearing light and pleasant, as actually a cruel, unsympathetic jab at Juvenal, who is still sweating out hectic city life. Mendell ${ }^{6}$ disagrees, seeing XII 18 as a simple contrast of life in Bilbilis with that in Rome, written sincerely, if at times nostalgically, by Martial to his friend Juvenal.

Since the personal and professional backgrounds of both men correspond in a number of ways, a rare opportunity exists for comparison of ideas and of psychological approach to one aspect of the society in which they lived.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Pliny, the Younger III 21.
2. J. Wight Duff, A Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), pp, 498 ff.; pp. 599 ff.
3. J. Wight Duff, Roman Satire: Its Outlook on Social Life (Berkeley: University of California Press 1936), p. 142.
4. Duff, Roman Satire, p. 126.
5. Gilbert Highet, Juvenal the Satirist (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 17-19.
6. C. W. Mendell, Latin Poetry: The Age of Rhetoric and Satire (New York: Archon Books, 1967), p. 180.

## I. PROMISCUITY

Of the vices mentioned by both writers, the most numerous examples by far occur in the category of promiscuity. The basic difference in treatment lies in the fact that Juvenal rails more at the promiscuous activities of married women than does Martial. Although Martial lambasts both married and single women for promiscuity, the general tone of his poems on the subject is more frivolous and not quite as strident. Juvenal appears to view the illicit conduct of married women as a genuine threat to the strength of the Roman moral fiber.

In his more comprehensive view of feminine promiscuity, Martial deals with both the professional who plays for pay and the amateur who plays for fun. Specifically, in the latter case, he reserves special attention for those women who have married to circumvent the Julian laws of Augustus, which had been revitalized by Domitian; he also examines the aging, lecherous witches of wealth who have the money to buy their satisfaction. The most numerous examples, however, simply concern wayward wives who distinguish themselves by either their zestful eagerness or their spectacular capacity for illicit affairs. Finally, in the general area of promiscuity Martial deals with a number of subjects which are pornography for the
sake of pornography -- the ancient world's dirty jokes, a few of which will be mentioned and summarized but which have no true bearing on Martial's feeling towards women, falling in the category of the average male's repertoire of off-color stories.

In the category of enthusiastically unfaithful wives, Martial suggest in Book III 68 the married woman's fondness for reading erotic texts when he addresses the Roman matrona and invites her to continue reading his book of poems, which will become more licentious and erotic in content. He says in lines 11-12: si bene te novi, longum iam lassa libellum ponebas, totum nunc studiosa legis. The implication is that, in Martial's opinion, many a Roman wife has sex and illicit sex on her mind. While Martial certainly did not consider III, 68 an introduction to case files on wayward wives, his denigrating remark above expresses his feeling that the matrona had a craving for the erotic and the sensual. If III 68 can serve as a general psychological introduction to the adulterous attitudes of certain Roman wives, Martial can supply the examples of particular cases of illicit conduct. I 68 and V 61 show two wives enjoying extra-marital affairs; Naevia in 68, who savors more than one identity (Naevia non una est), and Marianus's wife (61), who has a young crispulus (curly-hair) in constant attendance, are apparently dealing with either slow-witted or naive husbands. Rufus's naivete causes Naevia to laugh with demissa...voltu, and Marianus's wife can so befuddle him that he can explain her young male slave's function as "doing my wife's
business" (Uxoris res agit...iste meae). The husband does not realize the dual meaning of his words. In these two cases, the wives involved indeed may need diversions to forget the dullards to whom they are married; Martial's derisive tone toward the husbands suggest this. More castigating, however, is Martial toward those adulterous wives who practice their vices with audacious disregard for public morality and their husbands' feelings. Of especially reprehensible character is the Paula of XI 7, who has given up caring about appearances in regard to her husband and, quotens placet ire fututum, simply tells him the truth without attempting to conceal the purpose of her expeditions from home. Correspondingly, in III 92, Martial's "wife" brazenly asks him to put up with a lover of hers. To Martial's credit in handling this promiscous audacity, he threatens to castrate his hypothetical rival (huic ego non oculos eruo, Galle, duos?). 1 The tone in this poem and in XI 7, towards the female adulterers is obviously critical. The casual unconcern of both women is a source of irritation to the poet as indicated by his stated reaction in XI 7. The audacity of these two women pales before that of the wife of Gallus, perhaps a governor in Libya, 2 who not only cuckolds her husband but also does so with black lovers; she passes from the range of practicing amateur to notorious nymphomaniac. The report of the crime of greed, expressed in a chiasmus in II 56, inmodicae foedo crimine avaritiae, which first brings the married slut to Martial's attention, actually refers to avarice in terms of lust. The simplicity of vocabulary and the brevity
of sentence structure makes this criticism crisply cutting. In this four line epigram, only faur words comprise the second line; and six, the fourth. Dalliance with non-Italian nationalities, however, was not restricted to a governor's wife. Marulla in VI 39 has given birth to seven children, all sired by members of the troupe of slaves connected with her household. The descriptive catalogue of the offspring makes it clear that each child has sprung from his mother's union with a non-Italian national. Lines l5-17 which describe the ugly, deformed wretch (hunc vero acute capite et auribus longis, quae sic moventur ut solent asellorum), resulting from Marulla's dalliance with the cretin (morio) Cyrta are sufficient to indicate Martial's disgust. Although the Gellia of VI 90 and the Galla of X 95 cannot match Marulla's capacity, since they have only one paramour, they are nontheless criticized for their adulterous action. In VI 90, a concise two-liner, Martial sarcastically implies that no moral airs can be exhibited by Gellia, the "wife of two" (uxor...duorum). Galla would like to be known just as the "wife of two," but the presence of an unwanted baby confuses the issue. Apparently her husband and her lover, who return the child to her, express certain doubts (non... dubie) about the limits of her romatic interest. Again, the language is simple and direct; and the criticism, telling. The Caelia of VI 67 and the Galla of VII 58 are not bothered by the problem of an unwanted baby; both have circumvented that obstacle nicely. Caelia ${ }^{3}$ consorts with eunuchs only (volt futui Caelia nec parere). and Galla has already married six or seven paederasts (cinaedis).

The effectiveness of VI 67 is related to its conciseness and simplicity of vocabulary; the method of asking a question and then answering it with a terse five word reply gains the reader's immediate attention and sets him to thinking more effectively than does a longer, more verbose poem. VII 58 with its ten lines loses some of its punch by its length, even though Martial makes an additional point by suggesting that Galla, when she finishes with her non-productive interests, may have difficulty finding a real man even in a rough conservative from the country (hirsutum et dura rusticitate trucem). The consequences of adulterous by-play, however, are sometimes more painful then just the discovery of the effeminacy of a seemingly likely partner. In IV 58, Galla is too ashamed to mourn in public her dead husband (amissum...maritum), whom she cuckolded while alive. The alliterative nature of the second line of this concise epigram -- plorare pudet te, puto, ...virum -- gives a weeping, grieving quality to the poem's ending and aids in indicating the depth of the unfaithful wife's belated sorrow. Regret, too, must have touched the heard of Cleopatra in IV 22; she left her new marriage-bed (adhuc placanda marito) for a night plunge in a pool and had to fight off the attentions of an ardent Martial. Martial, at least, appreciated the relative innocence of the young Cleopatra and ceased to go beyond seeking kisses -- perspicuae plus vetuistis aquae. Sometimes the consequences of illicit conduct, however, almost have a ring of poetic justice. In VI 21, stella, the husband, has ceased his philandering out of respect and love for his new
bride, Ianthis, but she takes up where he left off. Venus must now strike Ianthis with the secret lask (arcano...loro) of faithfulness. The mythological allusions to Venus, Juno, and Mars lend an ironic charm to this ten-liner by reminding the reader of the bed-bouncing escapades of the olympic gods. For pure irony, though, there is the match of Alauda and his wife in XII 58; he is an ancillariolum or lover of servant maids, and she is a lecticariola or lover of litter-bearers. The pair seem to deserve each other (estis--pares). Martial's coining of the two sarcastic diminutives gives this compact two-liner a genuine sting and individuality. None of the preceding cases, however, can compare with the implied proligacy of the wife of Candidus in III 26. Although the poem is primarily intended as a slashing jab at the pretentious Candidus who prides himself on his exclusive ownership of various valuable posessions, the concluding line of the epigram, labeling Candidus's wife as a property of the people (uxorem... cum populo), delineates in three words the nadir of feminine adultery. That Martial reserved this epithet for only one wayward wife perhaps indicates the limited number of wives actually practicing adultery or, at least, indicates Martial's feeling in regard to the selective nature of feminine adulterers. The lone exception to the proceding examples of wives who have certainly initiated their own affairs is the Laevina of $I 62$. Called casta and compared to the antiquis Sabinis, Laevina comes to the notorious resort of Baiae, loses her head over a young man, and forsakes her husband. The image inspired by the
phrase incidit in flammas, which describes the sudden emotion which has overcome her, shows that the ancients knew well the concept of the "flame" of passion. The final line, coniuge penelope venit, abit Helene, implies that at least a limited seduction has taken place. Laevina comes the closest to being excused by the poet.

In an analysis of those epigrams dealing with the promiscuous conduct of single women, a certain difficulty exists in the establishment of a distinction between the poems treating the playing amateur and the poems encompassing the activities of the paid professional. Poems concerned with the adventures of unattached women, where specific vocabulary does not indicate the contrary, are assumed to be referring to the amateur single. The prevailing tone of the majority of the poems dealing with these amateur singles tends to be obscene. Perhaps, because the single girl has neither children nor a husband to injure, Martial feels freer to express himself in direct terms.

In I 100, for example, the reader is introduced to a freespirit named Afra, who is said to have "mammas and dadas" (mammas atque tatas). From this initial statement, Martial expands the description by saying that Afra is the mammarum maxima mamma. By the very effective use of alliteration and the double meaning of mamma to refer to physical attributes and to promiscuous tendency, the poet in just two lines makes his cutting point. In I 106, Naevia has promised her boy friend Rufus a beatam noctem--the ancient equivalent of a "one night stand." This Naevia must have been attractive for Rufus abstains
from drink to enjoy the certas nequitias fututionis. Perhaps the Naevia of II 9 whom Martial is pursuing, is the same girl. This Naevia, however, demonstrated more coyness; she has not replied to Martial's note, non dabit ergo. Martial's ego shows when he says in the final line: sed puto quod scripsi legerat: ergo dabit. Again the double play on the verk do provides the punning punch to the poet's sally. Also, the use of two two-syllable words to complete each line of this twoliner tends to create a rhythmic halt to the flow of the Latin and emphasizes the poet's point. In II 25, Galla demonstrates a similar coyness to that of Naevia, but in this case Galla never "gives" but semper promittit. Martial supplies a províso when he addresses Galla: si semper fallis, iam rogo, Galla, nega. This poem provides an example of Martial's fondness for using a particular word as a pivotal point to his epigrammatic structure. The semper in line one and the semper in line two afford the poet a neat basis for transition. Coyness, however, is not always treated so delicately by Martial; he delivers a rather raw rebuke to a certain Saufeia when she refuses to bathe with him. He catalogues hypothetical physical defects as the reasons for her refusal: aut tibi pannosae dependent pectore mammae/ aut sulcos uteri prodere nuda times/ aut infinito lacerum patet inguen hiatu/ aut aliquid cunni prominet ore tui. After this gross list, the poet tempers his remarks by saying that no such physical defects, he believes, exist; she does, however; suffer from the defect of stupidity, fatus es. This two-word ending to a rather involved eight-line
poem (III 72) brings the reader up abruptly and slams Martial's point home. As for Saufeia, if she read the poem, she would first be depressed by the hypothetical catalogue of her physical faults, then elated by Martial's denial of their existence, and finally jolted by the final insult. One gets the impression that Martial must have enjoyed manipulating the emotions of his readers. The Catulla of VIII 53 is, however, not bothered by Saufeia's coyness -- being formosissima, yet vilissima she lacks no attention. A dividing aut is all that prevents the last line from being a chiasmus, when Martial voices the wish that Catulla might be formosam minus aut magis pudicam. Again, brevity and antithesis give punch to Martial's poetic effort. A level of degradation similar to that of Catulla is reached by a lasciva puella in IX 67, cuius nequitias vincere nulla potest. In this girl, Martial, himself no shrinking violet in the matter of sexual adventures, finds someone whose complaisance is gained only by consent to a vile sexual proviso, condicione mala. The poet does not detail the requirements of the stipulation, but the fact that he left her (puram) is a thundering admission in regard to the perverted nature of the request. Equally unsatisfactory to Martial is the conduct of his girl-friend, Polla, X 40: her rumored dalliance with a cinaedus is confirmed by the poet, who surprises the two. Unfortunately, the man is not a cinaedus but worse. The. sound of the assonance in the third line of this three-liner, inrupi, Lupe, almost destroys the serious tone of the poem by its comic effect.

In the catalogue of poems dealing with the paid professional,
the principal characteristic of the epigrams as a whole is their tone. When Martial deals with the professionals, he sees their promiscuity as complete and consuming. Their conduct, he feels, is indicative of a grossness of character, and they receive correspondingly gross treatment. That is not to say that Martial is a moralizer or a social reformer -- his references to his own free-style of life refute any contention of that nature -- but when Martial sees a nymphomaniac, he calls her a nymphomaniac. Actually, in one of his poems, Martial makes an assertion that can only be taken as a reference to a redeeming social value of the world's oldest profession. In advice to Victor, an inexperienced young friend in XI 78, he recommends that he become versed in the ways of love, utere femineis conplexibut, implying that a young new bride is not going to be able to help him overcome his shyness, metuit teli vulnera prima novi. The poet's advice: take yourself down to the red-light district of Rome, ergo Suburanae tironem trade magistrae. The first half of the last line -- illa virum faciet -- constitutes advice often given over the centuries; thus, Martial, in addition to his poetic prowess, can be said to have an understanding of young men inexperienced in human sexuality. That the girls of the Subura district fulfilled a necessary social funtion did not preclude the poet from exhibiting the usual disdain straight society is accustomed to display towards ladies of the evening; VI 66, which deals with the slave sale of a girl of questionable reputation, shows that clearly when Martial terms the girl as famae non nimium bonae.../ quales in media sedent Subura. To say that Martial is a practicing hypocrite is incorrect, however, in II 31, the
poet begins his epigram by flatly stating: saepe ego Christinam futui. When Marianus asks how she performs, Martial unblushingly answers that she is a consummate artist, supra quod fieri nil,---potest. Again, in terms of structural style, Martial has posed a hypothetical question and answered it -- in this case, with a crisp six-word reply. The vocabulary chosen would not press even the novice Latin student. In IX 32, Martial reveals the existence and presence in Rome of a lower echelon of paid prostitute -- hanc...quam redimit totam denarius alter. This rather unprepossessing woman consorts with Martial's slave (puero...dedit...meo) and presents her person to three lovers at the same time (pariter sufficit una tribus). When Martial states that she is the girl whom possideat crassae mentula Burdigalae, the reader is left with no doubt as to the poet's disgust. Coarseness and lewd conduct receive coarse and lewd treatment. XI 27 begins just as crudely as IX 32 ends: ferreus es, si stare potest tibi mentula. From. this coarse beginning, Martial proceeds to make the logical wish that he could find a girl friend worthy of the many things most girls demand. As he puts it in the final two lines: Nunc tu velle putas haec me donare puellae? nolo, sed his ut sit digna puella volo. In regard to the opening obscenity, the reader must assume that Martial used it as a device to surprise the reader and attract his attention in order to make a rather wise point. The average whore, however, did not inspire Martial with such elevated wishes. In $X 75$, the poet refers to a certain Galla who comes down on her price with the passage of time until she "gives" for free.

The last two lines of this rather involved fourteen-liner comprise the kernel of the poem, and again Martial turns to the method of rhetorical question to conclude his epigram crisply and give it an appropriately cutting edge: inferius num quid potuit descendere? fecit./ dat gratis, ultro dat mihi Galla: nego. The vocabulary and sentence structure continue to be of the simplest kind. Galla, at least, has something on the Lesbia of XI 62; this girl, according to Martial, does not charge; she pays. Martial, however, does not state the situation as an unadorned fact. In one of his most amusing and effective epigrams, the poet states: Lesbia se iurat gratis numquam esse fututam. / verum est. Cum futui, vult, numerare solet. In this poem, which has been stated entire, Martial exhibits a straightforward humor which is refreshing. Although most of his epigrams bring a smile to the reader, the poet sometimes becomes bogged down in a forced punning cuteness, and in $X I$ 62 he escapes this putfall. Of similar moral turpitude as Lesbia is the Thais of IV 12. No payment exchanges hands in either direction, but Thais is ready for anything: nulli, Thai, negas. Her principal shame, so says the poet, is the fact that she denies nothing. In this two-liner, there are two pivotal words -- pudet and negare; Their use and repetition form the structural basis of the epigram. Martial's ability to take a simple structure and use it as a springboard for a telling cut is one of his most obvious attributes as a writer. The Caelia of VII 30 shares the promiscuous proclivities of Thais;
she "gives" to almost every nationality under the Roman sun but has an unexplainable aversion to the indigenous Roman male. Martial gives the reader a geography lesson by listing Caelia's lovers or customers; this list sets up the poet's final obscene question: quod Romana tibi mentula nulla placet? This poem reverses the form of XI 27 which began with an obscenity; Martial apparently wishes to have the reader associate in his mind the name of Caelia with a lewd phrase. The placement of a phrase is, undoubtedly, a method of emphasis in Martial's writing arsenal. Along with Caelia and Thais, the Lesbia of I 34 must be placed in the lowest rank in the category of paid professional. Her interest in her business goes beyond the usual -- plus spectator quam to delectat adulter. She qualified, then, as a genuine exhibitionist, who, Martial says, would even disgust the average meretrix. A touch of modesty is even inherent in the lowest scrapings of the city -- abscondunt spurcas et monumenta lupas. As he has done often in the past, Martial ends his poem with a rhetorical question and a following reply, in this case the poet does not forbid Lesbia to engage in business (futui) but to be caught (deprendi). The question-answer format would tend to pall in any other poet, but Martial's originality of content and idea overcome this potential obstacle to enjoyment. On lighter subjects are the final two poems in the general category of paid professional. X 68 chides a certain hardy Laelia to cease her affectation of speaking sweet nothings to Martial in Greek; a spotty veneer
of class does not constitute the makings of a lady. In this poem, Martial incorporates Greek phrases of endearment (Kúp<é
 sophisticated. That Martial has successfully introduced Greek phrases into a line of Latin poetry is an artistic accomplishment in itself, but this introduction of phrases also serves the purpose of softening the reader's attitude toward Laelia, a girl attempting to overcome her good, but simple background, deque coloratis numguam lita mater Etruscis, / durus Aricina de regione pater. In XII 65, Martial expresses surprise at the lack of a sense of self-worth manifested by a certain hooker named Phyllis. Formosa Phyllis...tota se praestitisset omnibus modis largam. Feeling genuinely appreciative, Martial is contemplating what fine gift he will give her an Baeticarum pondus acre lavarum, an de moneta Caesaris decem flavos, but Phyllis begins to ask only for a jar of wine (amphoram vini). There is something almost pathetic about a girl selling herself short, literally and figuratively, as Phyllis does. The lack of structural slickness in XII 65 may indicate that the poet feels the same.

The category of lusting witches of wealth mentioned in the introduction to the general topic of promiscuity comprise those poems which Martial devotes to aging women, either widowed or single, whose sexual cravings have increased, rather than decreased, with age. The extent of their desire is in direct proportion to their own diminished physical appeal. Their
conduct, unseemly to their age and social position, merits a number of Martial's most stinging sallies.

To Matronia's immodest question in III 32 whether he could love an old woman, Martial crushingly replies that he could possibly love an old woman (vetulam) but that she could not qualify even as a vetulam since she was already a corpse (mortua). Sed tu mortua, non vetula es. Again an answer to a hypothetical question allows Martial the structural basis for a poetically incisive attack. The crone in VII 75 exceeds Matronia's immodesty by desiring free carnal services, cum... deformis anusque. To such a res perridicula, Martial gives a scathing : judgment of the old woman: vis dare nec dare vis. The play on the two meanings of dare -- one obscene and one, not -- is typical of Martial's genius in utilizing a simple vocabulary and loading it with meaning. Of similar desire but with a more accurate assessment of her own desperate situation, Sila in XI 23 is willing to marry Martial on any terms (nubere...nulla non lege). To such an offer, Martial proposes a number of degrading stipulations to the hypothetical match including no marital relations, separate beds, and freedom for Martial to dally. His proviso in regard to the giving of kisses in line 14, nec quasi nupta debis sed quasi mater anus, leaves no doubt in regard to his feeling concerning her proper social role. For those aging women who are unsuccessful in solliciting the attentions of a free-born Roman, there is always recourse to slaves. In II 34, Galla has redeemed her favorite,

Phileros, with her entire dowry (tota...dote) and has thus put her three sons in dire financial straits (perire fame). The cano...cunno in line 3, meant as a reference to Galla, provides the reader with an alliterative obscenity and clearly reveals Martial's feelings. Reprehensible as Galla's conduct may seem, she must be given credit for at least pursuing adults. Telesina in II 49, besides being a moecha, pueris dat. Martial sarcastically plays on the double meaning of dat and commends Telesina for her kindness. Again, Martial uses simple language for maximum effect. Telesina's fondness for boys is mirrored in the actions of the Chloe in IV 28 and the "love" of Martial in VII, 14. Chloe has bestowed the richest of gifts on her tenero Luperco, hoping, as the lover of smoothskinned boys (glabraria), to hold his attention. Martial's coining of the term glabraria from the masculine substantive, glaber = "beardless slave," constitutes a stylistically effective hapax legomenon. Angered bemusement makes Martial linguistically creative. An older girl friend of Martial has a similar romatic predilection as Chloe. Martial remonstrates that, unlike Catullus's Lesbia who mourned her sparrow, his girl friend grieves over the loss of a twelve-year-old boy. Martial's comparison in lines 9 and 10 between the boy's age and the size of his membrum virile (senos...annos, mentula... sesquipedalis) demonstrates Martial's ability to combine the amusingly obscene with critical social satire. In the same coarse vein is XI 29, in which Martial remonstrates with a certain Phyllis who begins lanquida...vetula tractare virilia
dextra in order to please him. The poet tells Phyllis plainly that promises of riches not pawing (digitis) will gain his attention. The obscene imagery evoked by mus, the supposed pet name of Phyllis for Martial, is an appropriate indication of the tone of the poem and the poet's corresponding opinion of his antique admirer. A fitting close to the sub-category of lust as practiced by older women would be the stepmother of Gallas, who attempts to avoid the public notice of her romatic by-play by keeping it in the family. Gallus, the object of his stepmother's affection, cannot be termed reluctant, but the hypocrisy of this de iure incest angers Martial sufficiently to cause him to eschew any linguistic or stylistic cuteness. IV 16 is a straightforward criticism of both Gallus and his stepmother.

The attention Martial gives to individuals attempting to circumvent the Julian laws concerning marriage probably originated more from Martial's desire to please Domitian than from a gnawing sense of legal transgression. ${ }^{4}$ The Julian laws of $19 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C}$. and $18 \mathrm{~B} . \mathrm{C} .$, which aimed at the restoration of family life, the encouragement of marriage, and the discouragement of childlessness by placing disabilities upon unmarried and childless persons, were raised from the level of de iure to de facto by Domitian in order to quell the tide of casual divorce and illicit affairs. ${ }^{5}$ Regardless of his true intent, Martial still managed a number of poetically effective attacks on those women attempting to circumvent legally the intent of Domitian's program of moral reform.

The epigrams dealing with the feminine transgressors of the Julian laws were actually devoted to those women who satisfied the strict legal intent of the stipulation against adultery, but not its moral intent. Rumored liaisons suddenly materialized into marriage, and Martial was not fooled in regard to the true character of the women involved by such legalistic maneuvering. Typical of Martial's expressed anger is I 74 in which Paula has married her lover, making the former liaison obvious. Particularly effective, stylistically, is Martial's use of a two-word statement to begin the first line and a three-word exclamation to begin the second in this concise two-liner. Moechus erat:.../ ecce vir est. The brevity of the statements underlines the speed of the transition. A straightforward statement concerning the same legal maneuvering is $V 75$, in which Laelia marries Quintus legis causa and now may be called his uxorem... legitimam. No poetic or stylistic devices are to be found in this poem. In VI 7, Martial introduces us to a hardy soul named Telesilla, who, hyperbolically, has married her tenth husband in thirty days, tricesima lux est, / et nubit decimo iam Telesilla viro. Martial, master of the concise cut, spears her nicely in line 5: adultera lege est. In only three words, Martial has summed up the position of Telesilla and all the rest who have sought to avoid punishment under the Julian laws; they are adulteresses by form of law. Of the same intent is VI 22, which tells of Proculina's marriage, Martial makes the final line more dramatic by addressing Proculina directly, with the vocative dividing the neat four-word jab in half, non nubis, Proculina, sed fateris. VI 45 has Lactoria marrying Lygdus, also, to circumvent Julian punishment; haec est casta

Venus? asks Martial. "Hardly," says Martial, answering his own rhetorical question, "she will be more vile (turpior) as a wife than she was as a moecha." By utilizing the form of the rhetorical question as a structural basis, Martial hits hard at the basic fallacy of the stipulation against adultery. The law can force a woman to change her legal status, but not her foul, adulterous nature.

As was indicated in the introduction to Martial's treatment of promiscuous women, the area of pornographic epigrams written purely for the sake of smut and shock value have little validity in a study of the poet's attitude toward women. The ancient world's dirty jokes, as well as the dirty jokes of every age, are sui generis and for the most part have a sexless, ribald quality prurient only to the erotically inclined. Several such epigrams are summarized here to illustrate the genre as written by Martial and to indicate the lack of pertinence of the poems to a psychological study.

In VII 57, Gabinia is accused of making a knight or a horseman out of a boxer -- in the sexual sense. In XI 40, Glycera cannot love Lupercus in the way he likes -- her teeth ache. In XII 55, Aegle has kisses for sale only, but her oral work is for free. These three are sufficient to present a representative idea of the type of epigram in which the poet occasionally indulges. The poet only hopes to achieve•a smirk in these poems.

In the introduction to the general category of promiscuity as treated by both writers, the statement was made that Juvenal
in his overall approach tended to view the promiscuous action of women as a genuine threat to the Roman moral fiber-- the reason being that Juvenal dealt almost wholly with married women in Satire VI. This more limited approach by Juvenal in many instances prevents a one-to-one comparison with Martial. The more restricted scope of Juvenal, besides being a matter of choice, is related also to the artistic medium in which he framesihis treatment. A continuous satire, supposedly containing apt transitions leading to smooth flow, is obviously unsuited to touch as many aspects of feminine vice as a collection of unconnected epigrams composed at different times. In the case of promiscuity, the attitudes of the two writers must be derived from their views taken as a whole. With Martial, the reader has seen a wide variety of promiscuous women treated -- the wandering married, the amateur single, the paid professional, and the lusting oldster. Yet even with this variety of types and degrees of lascivious action, one gets the distinct impression that verbal slickness and structural precision are more important to the native of Bilbilis than the specific women treated and the individual vices they represented. This does not appear to be the case with Juvenal; although some rhetorical formality and bombast burden his style, ${ }^{6}$ Juvenai's choice of vocabulary and his tone demonstrate a genuine feeling of urgency and sourness. His portraits vary in length from passing potshots to in-depth studies.

In the former category is the Hiberina mentioned in lines 5354. Within the context of these lines, Juvenal follows the structural formula so often used effectively by Martial--the rhetorical question followed by the cutting answer. Juvenal asks: unus Hiberinae vir suffizit? He replies acidly: ocius illud / extorquebis, ut haec oculo contenta sit uno. There is no humor here -- Hiberina would rather be half-blind than curb her sexual appetite; Juvenal's verbal attack is intended for the jugular. The question-answer format continues in the lines immediately following (55-59), in which Juvenal expresses incredulity concerning the supposed moral influence of a rustic or farm upbringing. Let the chaste farm maid live at the notorious resorts of Gabii and Fidenae (vivat Gabiis... Vivat Fidenis) in the same manner as she did at home, says Juvenal, and then he will believe in the moral influence of the agelli...paterni. The repetitive use of the hortatory is an effective stylistic device and indicates a more than dispassionate feeling on the patt of the poet. Still on the subject of the supposed moral influence of a rustic setting, Juvenal in lines 58-59 makes sarcastic reference to the sexual by-play occurring in montibus aut in speluncis and to the continued wakefulness of Jupiter and Mars. The latter reference pertains, of course, to the excuse used by some farm girls who had become pregnant that they had been raped by one of the gods. Two successive rhetorical questions in these lines end the subject of the morally ameliorating influence of the farm and
are sufficient to indicate the poet's disgust; no answers are even needed. In lines 63-66, Juvenal deals with the lustful reactions of three women to the performance of a male dancer. The poet's choice of vocabulary in regard to the first two clearly manifest his disdain: Tucciacannot control herself (non imperat) and Apula sighs as if in sexual embrace (Apula gannit / sicut in amplexu subito). Impero as a verb is frequently used in a military contaxt and connotes a sense of control; Tuccia because of her lustful inclinations is obviously not in command of herself. Gannio as a verb frequently refers to a guttural groan and could be considered onomatoepoetic; : Apula connot restrain herself from simulating sexual ecstasy even in the theater. On the same general subject are lines 71-75, which deal with the love of certain women for the comedian, the singer, and the tragedian. One wauld think that such diversion would preclude a certain degree of wealth, but diligit Aelia pauper. As in the case of the farm girl, Juvenal is ready to note that social rank and wealth are far from being the sole criteria for lascivious action. The rich, however, may have more opportunity -- solvitur his magno comodi fibula. The use of fibula as a metaphor to symbolize the comedian's craft is probably stock, but effective. When Juvenal says in line 74: Hispulla tragoedo gaudet, he shows that he, like Martial, is capable of verbal double meaning. Martial in his VI 6, in one of the few direct one-to-one comparisons speaks of a certain Paula who not only
loves the three actors in the standard comedy but the "walkon" (K K ¢ 0 . ... Tpócultor) too. With Martial, the joke of numbers is paramount; for Juvenal, a joke is subordinate or even incidental to his point. In lines 78-81, for instance, in which Juvenal berates those women who have consorted with gladiators, the emphasis relies, not on humor, but on sarcasm. Elaborate and festive signs of an impending birth (longa per angustos figimus pulpita vicos, / ornentur postes et grandi ianua lauro) herald only the arrival of an infant who resembles the local gladiatorial hero (Euryalum aut Murmillonem exprimat). Detailed description and the double use of the hortatory underline the author's disgust. Within lines 82-91, Juvenal writes particularly bitterly. Eppia, the wife of a senator, has betrayed her husband and her noble heritage by running off with a gladiator. The poet's biting sarcasm is readily apparent in the order of importance in which he places those people Eppia has callously abandoned. Building an aura of pathos, he says that she is immemor...domus et coniugis atque sororis...patriae, but he says finally her true sacrifice lies in the fact that she left her other gladiator and actor boyfrieñs -- ludos Paridemque reliquit. The reader has to see a certain wry humor in this type of stylistic treatment. Of related nature inssubject matter is Martial's IV 9, in which Labulla, the daughter of a physician forsakes her husband for a certain Clitus. Martial rebukes Labulla with a final Greek

two ways. Either Labulla is acting without hope and, thus, not as the daughter of a physician would or she is acting in profligate fashion. Again, verbal slickness and punning precision are most important to Martial in his writing. In lines 114-132, Juvenal recounts the story of Messalina's enjoyment of her role as common professional prostitute while still wife of the emperor Claudius. Juvenal seems almost to enjoy regaling the sordid and distasteful details of Messalina's schedule as eager harlot -- intravit calidum vereri centone lupanar; tunc nuda papillis prostitit auratis titulum mentita Lycisine. The reader can almost smell the brothel fetid with the reek of dirty coverlets. Description to create atmosphere and heighten drama is Juvenal's forte. In comparison with the epigrams concerning the paid professional, Juvenal is much more concerned than Martial with indicating the level of degeneracy to which the common harlot falls; Martial manages a bemused detachment in his treatment, association with the lower elements of Rome perhaps making him more tolerant. In lines 136-141, Juvenal recounts the domestic aituation of a cer-tain-Clusennia, whose rich dowry to her money-loving husband has given her a right to sexual license. The poet sarcastically embroiders the description with image-provoking references to Venus and her sagittae and the faces of the marriage ceremony. He minces no words in conclusion, though: libertas emitur; ... vidua est, locuples quae nupsit avaro. In this section, Juvenal nicely mingles poetic imagery and prose-like statement of fact
to achieve effective treatment. The poet reserves more space for the lascivious action marring the supposedly secluded and secret rites of the Bona Dea. The meetings are devoted, so says Juvenal, to sex games and enactments (lenorum ancillas...Saufeia...provocat), in which nothing is left to the imagination (nil ibi per ludum simulabitur). Line 327 contains a resoundingly misogynous statement, when Juvenal comments on the reactions of the female audience: Tunc prurigo morae impatiens, tum femina simplex. The latter phrase is particularly illuminating: "then woman is as she is." If Juvenal believes that woman's true being is only expressed in an animalistic manner, then the poet's basic opinion of women is low. In lines 355-356, Juvenal remarks on the unflagging desire of Ogulvia who would give the vasa novissima to some smooth-faced athlete (levibus athletis) if he gave her some attention. Not even argenti superest quodcumque paterni is safe when her ardor is fired. These lines are reminiscent of of the married women mentioned before, who demonstrated unseemly affection for actors and gladiators. Since Juvenal makes a fairly straightforward statement in these lines with no attempt at poetic elaboration, his irritation is especially evident. In lines 029-034, there occurs the famous line in response to the suggestion that a husband place guards around his wayward wife; sed quis custodiat ipsos custodes? Besides packing the rhetorical question with succinct wisdom, Juvenal makes a nice linguistic play on the verb custodio and its cognate noun custos,
the two functioning together for smooth-reading emphasis. In lines 385-388, Juvenal makes reference to a married noble-born woman who makes disgraceful prayers at the temples of Janus on behalf of her lover, some musician. The fact that Juvenal identifies her only as being of the noble lineage of Lamiae and Appii emphasizes his irritation that such ignoble conduct should be displayed in public by such a high-born woman. Neither Juvenal nor Martial have much mercy for those women who by reason of breeding and advantage should be models of virtue and circumspection. Lines $465-466$ refer to the use of cosmetics by wanton wives for the exclusive enjoyment of their lovers, Moecho foliata parantur. The identification of the perfume used as quicquid graciles huc mittitis Indi indicates Juvenal's fondness for elaborate sarcasm. An appropriate finale to the general topic of promiscuity is contained in lines 594-601 of Juvenal's Satire VI. In these lines, Juvenal abhors the fact that the rich feminine profligate has recourse to the services of an abortionist -- sed iacet aurato vix ulla puerpera licto. The poet's saroasmechoes that of Martial's when he advises the husband to give his wayward wife the abortionist's concoction (bibendum... quidquid erit); for if the husband does not, esset Aethiopis fortasse pater. To both poets, then, the subject of promiscuity provides a rich field for poetic expression. Juvenal rather shrilly represents promiscuous action as morally and socially reprehensible; Martial prefers to view it with more bemusement than anger.

It would be a mistake, however, to classify Juvenal as the enraged moralist and Martial as the bemused humorist in regard to the topic of promiscuity. Juvenal many times displays too well conceived verbal precision to be categorized as the unrestained moralist; and Martial has too many epigrams which show more bite than humor to be catalogued as the detached observer.

FOOTNOTES

1. oculos ... duos i.e. testiculos. Martial, Epigrams, Vol. I, transl. by Walter C. A. Ker (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), p. 221.
2. gentibus in Libycis i.e. where Gallus was perhaps governor, interpretation by Ker. Martial, Epigrams, Vol. I, transl. by Walter C. A. Ker (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), p. 142.
3. Gellia is a possible alternate reading. Marcus Valerius Martialis, Epigrammata, ed. by W. M. Lindsay (Ogford: Clarendon Press, 1969), VI 67.
4. See VI 2; IX 6,8.
5. Intent of the Julian laws as.moral reforms: James J. Robinson, Selections from the Public and Private Law of the Romans (New York: American Book Company, 1905), p. 124; W. W. Buckland, A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian, 3rd ed. rev. by Peter Stein (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 108, 110. Divorce, ease in obtaining: Robinson, p. 121; John A. Crook, Law and Life of Rome (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 105-6; Buckland, p. 116,117; quick divorce for political reasons: Crook, pp. 103-104; distinction between divortium and repuduim; Robinson, pp. 123-124.
6. General discussion of the rhetorical, philosophic, and literary influences on Juvenal in Gilbert Highet's Juvenal, The Satirist (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954): summary and conclusion, pp. 92-93; outlined history of misogynous influences pp. 264-266; debate concerning Juvenal's philosophic inclination: C. W. Mendell; Latin Poetry: The Age of Rhetoric and Satire (New York, Archon Books, 1967), p. 152. Diverse opinions about the rhetorical influences on Juvenal: Mendell, p. 152; Ludwig Friedlaender, D. Junii Juvenalis: Saturarum Libri V (Amsterdam, Adolph M. Hakkert, 1962), p. 54; Charles Witke, Latin Satire: The Structure of Persussion (Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1970), p. 142 .

Opinion in regard to Martial's philosophic inclination: Kirby Flower Smith, Martial, The Epigrammatist and Other Essays (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920), p. 20; Mendell, p. 177; opinion in regard to the rhetorical influences on Martial: Mendell, p. 152; J. Wight Duff, A Iiterary History of Rome in the Silver Age (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 514.
7. The lines marked 01-34, which are now accepted as genuine by Juvenalian critics, were discoverd in 1899 by Mr. E. O. Winstedt in a Bodleian manuscript (Canonicianum 41), now know by the letter 0 . For the announcement of this discovery see Classical Review, May, 1899, pp. 201 following. Juvenal, Satires, transl. by G. G. Ramsay (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928), p. 110.
8. A variation on this theme of guards and perhaps the kernel of inspiration for Juvenal mas Martial's I 73, in which Martial sarcastically congratulates a certain Caecilianus for placing guards over his wife; she who was completely avoided before is now the goal of ingentis turbae fututorum. Martial avoids puns in this epigram and sees the poem's punch in concise sarcasm in his final comment to Caecilianum: ingeniosus homo es.

## II. DECEIT

Next to promiscuity, the category of feminine deceit receives the most attention from Martial and Juvenal. Perhaps, because of its nearness to and involvement with sexual perversity and husband manipulation, the vice of deceit seems especially distasteful to both authors. It is Martial, however, who seems again better able to retain his sense of humor and perspective.

In Martial's case, the majority of epigrams dealing with deceit are sex-oriented. There are examples which delineate or imply darker transgressions originating out of deceit -subtle murder, in particular. Additional attention is also focused on displays of deceit for personal advancement or gain. Of the first category, the epigrams dealing with subtle manipulation by sex, III 90 is especially apropos. In this neat two-liner, a certain Galla demonstrates her feminine wiles, volt, non volt dare; in just two lines; Martial captures the capricious nature of the average woman. From the poet's standpoint, however, the reader gets the impression that Martial was probably more pleased with his clever use of the verb volo. It occurs five times in just two lines -- the first four being present indicatives and the fifth being a present subjunctive, all in the third person singular. From physical appearance along, the poem appears slick, In IV 38, another Galla is
addressed; Martial warns her to refuse his advances and thus heighten the excitement of the pursuit -- satiatur amor nisi gaudia torquent. The poet cautions her, however, not to refuse too long, sed noli nimium, Galla, negare diu. In content, the epigram indicates the poet's realization of the power of a woman's coyness; in style, the effective use of alliteration of the initial "n" sound in the last line just quoted recreates the sound of the artful coquette saying "no, no, no" to the blandishments of a suitor. At the opposite extreme of conduct are the girls who never say no. In IV 71, Martial bemoans the fact that he has searched the city and nulla puella negat. Obviously, these overeager women need lessons in romatic strategem; deceit, if it is wisely and moderately used, can be a definite virtue rather than a vice, or so Martial implies. Stylistically, the epigram is effectively written. At the end of each even line in this six-liner, the poet closes with the word negat. The refrain pounds home to the reader Martial's disgust with the promiscuous nature of Roman women. Structurally, the poem can be compartmentalized into three couplets. Each of the three units has been effectively wittten -- the first can stand along in terms of content; the second contains three successive conditional clauses introduced by tamquam and followed by a terse conclusion for emphasis; and the third begins each of the last two lines with a rhetorical question followed by a summary conclusions. This poem was obviously not written in a hurry, and content places second
behind structural precision. The poet's concern for structural precision is seen also in IV 81, in which Martial addressed Fabulla, who has taken his lament in IV 71 too seriously and has become too coy -- negare iussi, pernegare non iussi. Martial's moderation of his previous stand indicates an inclination on the part of the poet toward the same capricious deceit he berates. A single line reference within V 42 -- dispensatorem fallax spoliabit amica -- denigrating the false and grasping nature of a mistress indicates further an inability on the poet's part to make up his own mind. One woman whose deceitful nature has met its match is the Paula of IX 5; although the poet addresses her a being a "wise" lady (sapisti), the connotation of the verb is one of deceit. Paula wants to marry Priscus, who, in his turn, is wise (gapit) because he does not want to marry her. The verb sapio cond stitutes the pivotal basis for the joke and indicates again that form rather than content is primary with Martial. A symbol of the nadir of deceit is the Philaenis of IX 29, supposed witch and promoter of adultery (lena). In castigating her incessant talk (heu quae lingua silet), Martial engages in hyperbole in describing the unconquerable qualities of her tongue, non illam mille catentae vincebant, nec quae turba Sarapin amat... The truly revealing crux of the poet's ridicule is contained, however, in the last two lines, in which he alters a previously used poetic formula of tribute. In V 34, for example, Martial pays tribute to a beloved Erotion, who has recently died, and asks in the final lines by apostrophe that
the earth rest lightly on her bones, mollia non rigidus caespes tegat ossa nec illi, terra, gravis fueris. In IX 29, the poet reworks this formula in an insulting manner by appending a negative purpose clause, sit tibi terra levis molligue tegaris harena, ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes. The variation is clever; however, the reader must wonder which Martial found more important -- the seriousness of the content or the humor of the formulaic varation. The Lydia of XI 71 needs no assistance or consultation with the likes of Philaenis. She puts off her aged husband with protestations of hysteria (hystericam) and then cuckolds him with the physicians he summoned. Martial contents himself with conveying his sarcasm through the final exclamation -- o medicina gravis! The terse quality of the exclamation stops the flow of the preceding coordinate clauses suddenly and thus emphasises the poet's feeling. Labulla of XII 93 shares Lydia's talent for feminine deceit when she is able to exchange kisses indirectly with her lover even in the presence of her husband (coram coniuge). The play involves the wife kissing the household's dwarf fool (parvum...morionem) who in turn is kissed by the moecho. Even though the final line is an emphatic exclamation, quanto morio maior est maritus, the unsatisfactory nature of the deceit leaves the reader unconvinced as to which individuals are the fools. Perhaps in regard to deceit as an expression of woman's wiles, Martial meant XI 50 as representative of his own opinion. in this epigram, he remonstrated with a certain Phyllis and her
constant demands for money and gifts, nulla est hora tibi qua non me, Phylli, furentem / despolies... The verb despolio calls to mind the image of a city being ravaged, and the verbal furens denotes a Martial practically in a frenzy and not in psychological condition to fend off the deception of a calculating mistress. The hortatory in the next to last line indicates the urgency of Martial's desire for fair play, sit pudor et tandem veri respectus et aequi. The last line is too pat, however, to indicate any genuine emotion on the part of the poet.

Of a more serious nature than the poems dealing with deceit in terms of feminine subtleties are those devoted to women who, Martial suggests, have eliminated husbands, relatives, and friends by more than a drop of a veil. In IV 24 the poet shows a wry sense of humor in a concise two-liner, a type in which he excels. A certain Lycoris, according to Martial, has buried all her friends, omnes quas habuit,... Lycoris amicas / extulit. When Martial brings the epigram to a quick halt with the following statement, uxori fiat amica meae, the reader sees Martial at his best. Unadorned humor is the most effective and Martial is capable of it when he want to. It is ironic, however, that he chooses to display a fine example of humor in regard to such a subject as murider. Closely related in subject matter is IX 15, in which a certain scelerata Chloe is indirectly accused of murdering her seven husbands. Martial sees genuine irony in Chloe's monument inscription:
se fecisse Chloe -- both the monuments and corpses are Chloe's handiwork. The dominant stylistic characteristic of this epigram is the recurrent "s" sound in both lines -inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum / "se fecisse" Chloe. quid pote simplicius -- suggest a hiss, and perhaps that is what Martial is doing to Chloe. The Galla of IX 78 is like Chloe, accused of burying her seven husbands; but, says Martial, poetic justice has entered the picture. She has married a Picentinus, who is as much a killer as she. When the poet says, sequi, vult, puto, Galla viros, the reader sees Martial at his concise best. The theme of a marriage between two killers is also duplicated in VIII 43. There is something very appropxiate about two deceitful murderers mistaking the attentionscof the other, and the humor of the grim situation is not lost on the poet.

In the category of deceit utilized for strict advancement and gain, $\forall I 71$ is an especially apt example. Telethusa, an enterprising young lady, edere lascivos ad Baetica crusmata gestus / et Gaditanis ludere docta modis, advances from ancilla to domina. The poetic presentation is fairly straightforward, the image-provoiing verbs uro and excrucio to describe Telethusa's effect on her dominum are trite but accurate. Of similar enterprising inclination is the Galla of IX 4 , who is playing a profitable game of blackmail. A prostitute by trade, aureolis futui cum possit Galla duobus -- she supplements her income by discreet silence for a price, non fellat tanti Galla. quid ergo?
tacet. In the last line, Martial presents an effective staccato structure -- four word statement followed by a two word rhetorical question followed by a one word statement. The abrupt nature of the structure gives the proper emphasis to the poet's ironic intention. Of less serious nature or form of deceit is that practised by the Galliđ of 1 33, She weeps for her deceased father only when there is an audience. In one of the few totally serious and sincere epigrams he has written, Martial's last line can be termed didactic, ille dolet vere qui sine teste dolet. The simplicity of the structure and vocabulary emphasize the lesson. In $X 41$, however, the poet again becomes witty and rebukes a certain Proceleia, who divorces her praetor husband rather than help bear the cost of properly attiring him for appropriate public festivals, The Kernel of the jest is contained in the last line when Martial comments on Proculeia's divorce action: discidium non est hoc, Proculeia: lucrum est. From the final noun lucrum, denoting profit or gain, comes the implication of Proculeia's cold-blooded business acumen. Again, the poet's choice of vocabulary helps associate the subject treated with the distinguishing vice, and simplicity of structure and vocabulary means Martial at his best.

With Martial, the reader sees a variety of types treated in the general category of deceit; with Juvenal, as was the case in the general category of promiscuity, the scope of the treatment is more limited. Again, Juvenal's primary focus is on married women and the tortures they inflict on their husbands. Because he deals almost exclusively with the trickery and deceit
of wives, the assumption is reinforced that in Juvenal's opinion the weakening of the marriage-bone constitutes a parallel weakening in the moral fiber of Roman society. In VI 208-223, the poet plainly speaks his belief in the basically low and deceifful nature of the average wife. In 210-211, he minces no words: igitur longe minus utilis illi/ uxor, quisquis erit bonus optandusque maritus. Here, Juvenal's vocabulary is simple and direct, in keeping with the didactic nature of the message. Having stated his opinion in frank terms, he documents it with specific examples: the hapless husband will give, sell, or buy nothing without his wife's permission; she will arrange and terminate his friendships at her whim. In a portion of the former example, vendes hac opstante nihil, nihil, haec si nolet, emetur, Juvenal has cleverly arranged his sentence structure in such a way that the first nihil, the object of the first clause, is placed next to the second nihil, the subject of the second clause. Thus, by judicious word placement, the poet emphasizes the zero position of the husband. The emphasis goes beyong the purely visual relationship of the two nihil's. The active construction followed by the passive enables even the translator to relate them in a one-two position for emphasis. The untenable position of the husband of an independent wife is further clarified in lines 216-23. Not only does he notehave control over the writing of his own will, non unus tibi rivalis dictabitur heres, but also he cannot successfully intercede on behalf of some unfortunate slave, who has annoyed
his capricious mistress. In the latter case, Juvenal has artfully introduced the device of a hypothetic conversation between the cowed husband and the domineering wife concerning the slave's punishment. When the wife speaks, she does so in derogatory and peremptory tones: pone crucem servo: ... o demens, ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto: / hoc volo, sic iubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas. The use of the imperative (pone)implies the imperious nature of the woman; the name-calling (o demens) exclamation manifests the disrespect she kolds for her husband; and the abrupt clauses (hoc volo, sic iubeo) give mute, but obvious, evidence of the selfish, demanding nature of her psychological make-up. Three successive questions are sufficient to indicate the pleading, desperate position of the hen-pecked husband -- meruit quo crimine/ servus / supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? Each succeeding question is shorter than its predecessor, indicating clearly how the husband is withering before the enraged stare of his wife. Within four lines (219-223), Juvenal has shown himself to be an accomplished dramatist; and by interjecting a playlet within the structure of the satire, he infuses enargy and variety into his narrative. In lines 231-241, the poet deals with the source and supposed trainer of the obnoxious deceit of the wife -- the husband's mother-in-law. No mother-in-law jokes here! Juvenal hits out with gusto. The implication of the text is that the deceitful wife was not necessarily that way by nature and that even if she did have naturally deceitful inclination, the mother-in-law worsens
the situation by aiding and encouraging her daughter in her deceptive conduct. As in the case of the deceitful nature of the average wife, the poet leads off with a direct introductory statement: desperanda tibi salva concordia socru; he then follows with a descriptive account of the mother-inlaw's underhanded conduct. He recounts how the deceptive ingenuity of the mother-in-law enables the willing wife to cuckold her husband under his own roof, illa docet missis a corruptore tabellis / nil rude mec simplex rescribere, decipit illa / custodes aut aere domat: Withtihe lover inflamed by a properly worded letter and the guards fooled or bribed, the mother-in-law eleverly gets the husband out of the house by claimingther daughter is sick and calling the doctor (advocat Archigenen). The choice of vocabulary in regard to the lover who now comes forth from hiding, praeputia ducit, is appropriately bbscene and separates the scene from the realm of a romatic idyll to a sexually raw encounter. In the following and concluding lines of the section (239-241), Juvenal uses a stylistic formula successfully employed by Martial -- the rhetorical question followed by the cutting reply. In this case, the poet asks how anyone couldeexpect a deceitful daughter to be different from her deceitful mother and answers that the mother-in-law takes pride in her offspring's deception, utile porro filiolam turpi vetulae producere turpem. The principal difference between Juvenal's handling of the formula and Martial's handling is that the latter author is much more concise, but since Juvenal is writing lengthy satire and Martial is writing terse epigram,
the form each poet follows is appropriate to his medium. In the final line quoted above, the choice of the diminutive filiolam to designate the daughter and deceitful wife is quite artful for it gives the connotation of the little "chip-off-the-old-block," which is indeed appropriate to the content. In lines 268-278, the poet deals with a traditional and customary complaint of husbands -- the wife using the martial-bed as the scene of wheedling, bickering, and deceit. Again the introductory sentence, sets the scene: semper habet lites alternaque iurgia lectus / in quo nupta iacet; minimum dormitur in illo. When the wife is occulti conscia facti, she is most cunning and simulates some complaint concerning the slapes or an imagined mistress (ficta paelice) of her husband's, always holding the ultimate weapon in reserve -tears: uberibus semper lacrimis semperque paratis. This line (273) with its neatly interlocking parts is pleasing both to sight and in sound and can be cited as an example of Juvenal's care in composition. This line, at least, was obviously not consiructed by a poet led astray by haste and passion. In line 270, Juvenal places an especially effective metaphor, in which he compares the wife who is in a bickering and deceitful mood in bed to a tigress bereft of her cubs, tunc orba tigride peior. In just four simple words, the poet produces a clear and vivid image. Martial's VI 23 also treats of wheeding as a form of deceit, but the implication is that it is Martial and his mistress who are in bed, not husband and wife. In Martial's poem, the physical blandish-
ments of his mistress are given equal space with the verbal wheedling, stare iubes nostrum semper tibi, Lesbia, penem: / crede mihi, non est mentula quod digitus. The poet concludes this four-liner by saying that although Lesbia may try both physical and verbal inducements on him (manibus blandis et vocibus), her imperious countenance (facies imperiosa) gives her away. In regard to the inducements just mentioned, Martial is especially clever to have one adjective (blandis) modify two different nouns. Translated 'caressing," the adjective is effectively accurate in both physical and abstract instances. When the reader compares the manner in which each author treats his subject, Martial emerges as the more vital and vibrant poet, but likewise the more flippant. To compress the maximum crudity in the most concise poetic form is obviously a challenge to him; Juvenal has the more lasting message. In lines o 29-o $34^{\prime}$ of the Satire is contained the famous description of the deceit practised to circumvent guards posted against female adultery. Within the description occurs the famous question: sed quis custodiat custodes? In this instance, instead of a rhetorical question followed by a cutting reply, the form is reversed and an exclamatory command (pone seram, cohibe) is answered by the above ironic question. When Juvenal points out that the young wife by paying the guards makes them fellow conspirators (hac mercede silent), the logic becomes overwhelming. Also unlike previous formata, which featured opening scene- and opinion-setting statements,
the didactic opinion appears last in this particular section, crimen commune tacetur: prospicit hoc prudens et ab illis incipit uxor. Variation of format aids in keeping the reader's attention and prevents him from missing the poet's points. A variation on the same guard theme occurs in Martial's X 69, in which a certain Polla sets guards and spies over her husband, custodes das, Polla; the independent nature of thisscheming wife is obvious when she refuses to allow her husband to place guards over her, non accipis ipsa. The kernel of the joke, however, occurs in the last line -- hoc est uxorem ducere, polla, virum. The basically deceitful nature of Polla becomes of secondary importance to Martial in his quest for a laugh in response to the implication of role reversal. Again, humor is foremost with Martial; the lesson, with Juvenal. In lines $610-626$, Juvenal rails against the use of magical spells (magicos...cantus) and charms (philtra) by certain deceitful wives. With such spells ánd potions, husbands are quite confounded, inde anima caligo et magna oblivio rerum. The originality of presentation in this particular section emerges in the historical reference which Juvenal makes to form the basis for the rationale of spell and drug use. Specifically the references are to Caligula (avunculus ille Nerouis) whose wife Caesonia supposedly maddened him with a potion (cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli infudit) and to Agrippina who murdered her husband Claudius (Agrippinae boletus). With examples such as these to prod the average wife,

Juvenal can only ask a rhetorical question: quae non faciet quod principis uxor? The utilization of historical allusion is but another example of Juvenal's ability to give variety and vigor to his narrative.

In summary, both Martial and Juvenal find the category of deceit a fertile field for poetic castigation. The difference lies in purpose. To Martial, the jest is of primary inportance; the lesson secondary. The basic nature of Juvenal's treatment is didactic, but the care lavished both on general composition and specific structure do not indicate total moral fervor.

FOOTNOTES

1. See footnote 7 after Promiscuity.

## III. VANITY

In the examples citing female vanity, Martial and Juvenal produce evidence as to the immutability of the power and control of the fundamentals of fashion. The examples from the category of vanity show the two authors at their most light-hearted. Perhaps, the nature and manifestation of the vice lend themselves to this approach.

In regard to the artificiality of cosmetic aids, Martial with his spear-sharp wit is capable of brutally effective epigrams. In the category of perfume- and deodorantoriented aids, the poets show little mercy. In III 55, a certain Gellia has becomeaaccustomed to adorn herself with an injudicious amount of perfume, et fluere excusso cinnama fusa vitro. The insult is contained in the final line, in which Martial compares Gellia's sweetness to that of his dog's, scis, puto, posse meum sic bene olere camem. Line 2 quoted above is especially effective as its compressed, interlocking structure created a vivid image of a Gellia practically sloshing inccheap perfume. The past participle fusa, both in sound and in meaning, recreates the image of Gellia pouring the cloying sweetness over herself. The same theme of offensive smell is carried on in VI 93; but in this epigram the poet wishes a certain Thais could find an effective perfume
or deodorant. In an outrageous list of comparisons, Martial itemizes those things with which Thais's smell might be equated, amoung which are a he-goat fresh from amour (ab amore recens hircus), a putrified chicken within the prison of its own egg shell (pullus abortive...in ovo), and a jar fouled by corrupt fish-sauce (amphora corrupto... vitiata garo). Although the last of the examples mentioned features an effective interlocking structure, the power of the list originates in the intrinsically gross images pictured. The average person may have not even gotten a whiff of a billy-goat, but the smell of rotten eggs and putrid sauce containers are easily brought to mind. By making his comparisons commonplace, Martial emphasizes the truly revolting aura surrounding Thais. In IX 62, a certain Philaenis seeks to conceal her own odor by wearing the rank-smelling garments dyed with the shell-fish (tinctis murice vestibus). Since the murex produced a purple dye and purple-dyed garmets were signs of high social rank, the poet's jest is contained in the idea that people have mistaken Philaenis's fondness for such garments as symbols of arrogance or aspiration (ambitiosa...superna). Such is not the case -- delectatur odore, non colore. The effectiveness of this poem is found in the simplicity of Martial's vocabulary. With the exception of murex, which was a Roman commonplace, the vocabulary would not test a freshman's ability. Although modern perfume and deodorant merchants would have been in demand in first and second century A.D. Rome, the hair-dressers and wig-makers
would have also fared well. In VI 12, Martial indicates in just two lines that the wig-makers had an eager market when he questions Fabulla's assertion that she is wearing her own hair -- hair, which he knows she buys (capillos...quos emit). The structure of this poem reverses the usual format of rhetorical question and cutting answer. The question (numquid ergo, Paule, peierat? $)^{1}$, which ends this concise two-lines, is used to cut intthis instance. By variation of format, Martial, like Juvenal, shows his control as a writer. X 90 , while on the subject of hair care, is entirely of a gross and crude nature -- quid vellis vetulum, Ligeia, cunnum? / quid busti cineres tui lacessis? With two obscene rhetorical questions, the poet sets the tone of this stingingly derogatory epigram aimed at an aging, vain woman. The disgust and disdain for the Ligeia of the poem is manifested by Martial's direct crudity -- erras si tibi cunnus hic videtur, / ad quem mentula pertinere desit. In a poem such as this, Martial comes close to the border line between art and pure pornography. Regardless of the low nature of the subject matter and the choice of vocabulary, however, Martial never loses control in regard to structural tightness; the two rhetorical questions almost require the eight-line response. Of a less obscene form of vanity is feminine mendacity concerning age. IV 20 gives a comprehensive view of the problem; the youthful Caerellia wants to be considered mature and sophisticated, dicit se vetulam...pupa; and the crone Gellia wishes to be considered yound and attractive, pupam se dicit... anus. The
repetition of the two altera and the assonance of the last two syllables of the predicate adjective in each clause emphasize Martial's final decisive line -- altera ridicula est, altera putidula. The Lesbia of x 39 is in her vanity much like the Gellia of IV 20. When Lesbia maintains that she was born during the consulship of a certain Brutus, consule... Bruto, the poet insultingly asks whether more correctly she cannot date her birth in the reign of one of the legendary kings of Rome, Numa Pompilius, nata es, Lesbia, rege Numa? Martial answers his own derisive rhetorical question with an equally derisive answer, ficta Prometheo diceris esse luto. The force of the presentation of this epigramiis contained in the frequently used question-answer format and the final mythological reference to Prometheus, legendary originator of the human race. The use of the word lutum, meaning clay or mud, besides referring to the details of the Promethean myth, may have derogatory implications in regard to the color and texture of aged Lesbia's skin. Although the poet shows little mercy to either Gellia or Lesbia, he is not altogether insensitive to the pathos of a woman losing her bloom with the passage of time. In one of his most effective and correspondingly sincere poems, Martial, in VI 40, answers the pleading question of a former love and former beauty -- femina praeferri potuit tibi nulla, Lycori: / praeferri Glycerae femina nulla potest. The comparison may seem like a brutal answer; but couched in simple, straight-
forward language, it emerges rather as an objective and not totally unsympathetic analysis, especially when it is related to the lines following, haec erit hoc quod tu: tu non potes esse quod haec est. / tempora quid faciunt: hanc volo, te volui. At first glance, the third line (haec erit...) seems to be word play for visual effect; but once translated, the line demonstrated the author's sagacity. The beginning of the fourth and last line, tempora quid faciunt, may be a cliche, but in the context of the poem it reads effectively. This epigramiis as close as Martial comes to being directly didactic. Of a less philosophic nature are IV 62 and VII 13, which should be taken as one. Both refer to a certain Lycoris whose hue (fusca) is darker than she would like. Hearing of the whitening powers of the atmosphere at Tibur (Tiburtinis albescere solibus...antiqui dentis...ebur), she comes posthaste. The measure of her disappointment is crisply summed up in the last half of the last line of VII 13, parvo tempore nigra redit. The gamut of Lycoris's emotion can be traced by the length of the poet's sentences -- the explanatory hope of the first sentence taking up two and one-half lines of the four-line epigram, the exultant joy of arrival in the five word exclamation, and then the closing four-word statement of disappointment. Structural rhythm is another facet of Martial's writing arsenal. Of a more universal form of vanity than displeasure over skin pigment is that demonstrated by a certain lucky Fabulla in I 64. Bella... et puella...et
dives, Fabulla enjoys all the advantages except for the fact that she is unable to curb her mouth, te nimium, Fabulła, laudas. Self-praise dims her light considerably, nec dives neque bella nec puella es. The rhetorical question of line two and the cutting statement of lines three and four demonstrate again the poet's fondness for the question-answer format. The simplicity of the vocabulary used is exemplified by the last line of the poem quoted above. Universal vanity requires universal language. The psychological constitution of the Fabulla of 1 64, is closely akin to that of the Fabulla of VIII 79. The Fabulla of VIII 79 could well be the aged version of the self-praising young Fabulla. Faded, yet still arrogant and vain, she surrounds herself with older and uglier companions (omnis aut vetulas habes amicas / aut turpis vetulisque foediores) in order to appear young (puella) and beautiful (formosa) by contrast. The poet utilizes the verbs duco and traho to picture Fabulla conducting her ugly retinue. The verb duco, meaning "to lead," connotes a generāl at the head of a military force, implying the imperious nature of Fabulla; the verb traho, meaning "to drag," connotes a physical disability on the part of the retinue to keep up, underlining the age and decrepitude of Fabulla's company. Again, Martial's acumen in choice of vocabulary increases the artistic quality of his poems. The Gellia of VIII 81 with her inordinate love for her pearls (uniones) would certainly have had the same vain inclinations as Fabulla. Gellia can scarcely control
her affection for the gems, hos amplectitur, hos perosculatur, hos fratres vocat, hos vocat sorores... Indeed, she loves them more than life itself / his si quo careat misella casa, / victuram negat esse se nec horam. The power of the presentation of this epigram lies essentially in lines 5 and 6 quoted above. The repetition of hos constitutes an effective anaphora which emphasizes the cold-blooded nature of the vain Gellia. The Saenia of XII $27,{ }^{2}$ however, seems more pathetic than vain. She is reduced to claiming that she has been raped by muggers, a latronibus esse te fututam dicis, Saenia. This claim on the surface would appear to imply the beauty and desirability of Saenia, but Martial dispels this illusion by only three words -- sed negant latrones. ${ }^{3}$ In this epigram, its effectivness lies in its very brevity. Martial, thus, can also recognize the power of unadorned directness. Of all the ladies who demonstrate feminine vanity, the most committed to artificial adornment and improvement is the Galla of IX 37. Her dresses are made in the Subura district (media ornere Subura); her hair is a wig (absentes et tibi...comae); her teeth are false (dentes... nocte reponas) ; and her facial make-up is heavy. (nec tecum facies tua dormiat). For this poor creature, Martial reserves an amusing obscenity; et te nulla movet cani reverentia cunni, / quem potes inter avos iam numerare tuos. In this epigram, the poet demonstrated no special sentence or verbal structure, allowing the originality of idea constitute the epigram's force. The Laelia of XII 23 exhibits a similar form of vanity as Galla.

Like Galla, Laelia has false teeth and Hair, dentibus atque comis...uteris emptis; but, unlike Galla, she has need of a false eye, which she cannot buy, quid facies oculo, Laelia? non emitur. This epigram, as XII 27 , relies on directness and brevity for its punch, but cruelty seems to have replaced humor.

With the exception of VI 40 (quid tempora faciunt!), Martial in his treatment of the vice of vanity demonstrated again his preference for verbal and structural precision over sincerity of feeling. The jest, not philosophy, is Martial's forte. Juvenal, however, while appearing sincere on the surface, often presses his attack too hotly. In lines 184-199 of Satire VI, Juvenal deals with the vanity of women who persist in making a show of speaking Greek, the language of love and sophistication. The poet admits at the beginning of the section that the fault is small but scarcely a tolerable one to husbands, quaedam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis. Before he launches into the vain aspects of the affectation, however, he makes a scholarly insertion, noting that the true shame lies in the fact that Latin, the native language, is neglected, omnia Graece, cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine. Nonetheless, the speaking of Greek, so maintains, the poet, is an affectation of the young, dones tamen ista puellis, and is disgraceful coning from the mouth of a crone, non est hic sermo pudicus in vetula. Greek, says the poet, showing his conversatism, is the language of the erotic; and, to underline his point, he describes its effects in terms
of an obscenity -- digitos habet. This last phrase is indicative of Juvenal's ability to utilize the erotic when he feels it appropriate -- certainly a frequent ploy of Martial. Lest the reader think that Juvenal will let an obscenity state his case, he finishes the section with a didactic rebuke to some old woman who persists in her use of Greek, facies tua conputat annos. While this section states Juvenal's opinion believably, the over-use of the questionanswer format -- four occur in the section -- tend in this case to destroy the unity of the content. The passage lacks vitality primarily because it pales in comparison with the tight dramatic-narrative form utilized before. In lines 259-260, while discussing the indecorous conduct of a would-be female athlete, the poet ironically notes the incongruity of the toughness of the athlete and the fraility of the woman, both found in one female. The toughness disappears when she dons her evening clothes, has sunt quae tenuii sudant in cyclade, quarum delicias et panniculus bombycinus urit. The: : key to the force of the two lines is the image-producing verbs sudo, "to sweat," and uro, "to burn." The damp, burning sensation produced by the garments, as indicated by the verbs, underlines the supposed discomfort and tenderness of this Amazon. In lines 457-473, Juvenal gives a more comprehensive view of the vanity inherent in the use of jewelry and cosmetics. In fact, in regard to the psychological effect of gems on their wearer, the poet is most explicit, nil non permittit mulier sibi, turpe putat nil. From this particular, the poet then vaults to the didactic general -- intolerabilius nibil est quam femina dives.

The poetss jealousy is perhaps indicative of the psychological knocks he has received during this efforts to establish himself financially and professionally, but he is swinging wildly. From the deleterious effect of gems, the poet moves to the ridiculous aspects of the use of cosmetics, interea foeda aspectu ridendaque multo / pane tumat facies. When Juvenal compares the appearance of excess facial cosmetics to dough (panis), he is creating an image which is both vivid and accurate. Play-putty faces indicate the very young or the very old. His final rhetorical question in regand to the overuse of facial cosmetics shows Juvenal's humor at its best, facies dicetur an ulcus? Unlike lines 184-199, Juvenal has judiciously restricted his use of the rhetorical question, and this restraint gives emphasis and vitality to his text. In lines 501-507, the poet devotes his attention to the care bestowed upon the feminine coiffure. The kernel of humor is contained in lines 502-503, in which Juvenal makes two incisive comparisons. In the first, he pictures mylady's coiffure as a slowly rising building, tot adhuc conpagibus altum aedificat caput. The two words, conpago, meaning "story", and aedifico, meaning "to build," are terms taken directly from building and construction jargon. The image of an apartment building slowly ascending into the sky is an especially acute comparison even in regard to many of the modern high fashion hair stÿles. In the second, Juvenal compares the bearer of this coiffure to andromache, wife of

Hector and of correspondingly heroic stature, Andromachan a fronte videbis; but the appearance is different from a rear view, post minor est. The bee-hive style of a decade ago immediately springs to mind. By the use of effective images, Juvenal emphasizes the absurdity of the vain woman's appearance.

In brief summary, Martial and Juvenal treat the category of vanity in the same fashion as they did the previous categories of promiscuity and deceit. Martial seeks the key to a cutting jest, and Juvenal seeks an effective means to a lesson. Martial occasionally stumbles over his own cuteness, and Juvenal occasionally belabors his point unnecessarily. Taken as a whole, however, their treatment emerges as an effective Indictment of vanity as a vice.

FOOTNOTES

1. Both Ker and Lindsay. (see Preface) adopt the emendation of the scholar Munro in regard to the reading of the last line. Manuscript $C^{A}$ (see Lindsay's sigla) reads perierat.
2. The numbering of this poem is questionable. Lindsay lists it as 26 with the number 27 in parentheses immediately following. Ker lists it as 27.
3. Both Ker and Lindsay adopt the reading negant of EA in preference to the negat of (X) $C^{A}$. See Lindsay's sigla.

## IV. MELANGE OF VICES

A chapter comprising a melange of vices is appropriate to a psychological study such as this. The selected vices have been included either because of the frequency of their occurrence in the treatments of Juvenal or Martial or because of their illustrative value in illuminating the psychological approach of each author. In regard to the former qualification, however, the frequency of examples illustrating a particular vice has not been sufficient to warrant. a separate chapter.

Concerning intemperance or drunkeness, neither Martial nor Juvenal subscribes to the modern medical approach of viewing the vice as a curable disease; to them, imtemperance is simply disgusíing. In II 73, Martial makes reference to a certain Lyris, whose mind becomes so befuddled by alcohol, that she cannot remember the form of sexual license she practices, quid faciat volt scire Lyris: quod sobria: fellat. In one of the few one-line epigrans which he has composed, Martial makes a damning indictment of the cell-destroying effects of intemperance. By association, he implies also the lowering of inhibitions which accompanies alcoholism. In the epigram, Martial uses no verbal or structural tricks; brevity is sufficient emphasis. In V 4, a certain Myrłale
is acçustomed to shew laurel leaves (folia devorat lauri) and to mix them with her wine (merumque...fronde ..miscet) in order to kill the reek of alcohol on her lips. The ruse is a pitiful and tranparent one, however, as she betrays her vices by her physical appearance (rubentem prominentibus) venis). The kernel of the joke is contained in the final line, in which the poet sarcastically describes Myrtale bibit laurum -- a sardonic reference and comparison to the priestess of Apollo at Delphi who chewed laurel-leaves to acquire inspiration. The final description is artful in two ways; in the first, the use of bibo, meaning "to drink," is an ironic method of emphasizing Myrtale's drinking problem, since the verb "to chew" would be normally expected: in the second, by comparing Myrtale to a prophesying priestess, he underlines the babbling, nonsensical condition in which Myrtale may very well be most of the time. Martial' implication of the association of alcohol and easy sex in $I 73$ is echoed in line 300 of Juvenal's Satire VI, quid enim Venus ebria curat? The personification of Venus as the symbol of sexual love is a well-used one, of course, but its use in this rhetorical question allows the poet to express in only five words the association of sexual license and alcohol. Juvenal, too, is capable of verbal economy. In the four subsequent lines, the poet graphically pictures the confusion of a tipsy young female banqueter. Her senses confounded, she is unable to make rational distinctions a fact which Juvenal
obscenely points out: inguinis et capitis quae sint discrimine, nescit. The swimming images of the alcoholhigh are adeptly described: iam vertigine tectum / ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa Iucernis. These last two lines are especially effective in terms of descriptive imagery. Double vision and a spinning room are easily identifiable consequences of over-indulgence and relate universally to almost everyone. In lines 425-433, Juvenal passes from the tipsy banqueter, with whom the reader feels empathy, to the obnoxious drunk. In this case, the woman in question is a would-be athlete, flushed (rubicundula) and thirsty (sitiens). Having drunk her fill, she disgusts her husband's dinner guests by vomiting copiously, loto terram ferit intestino. The poet wants the reader to feel the same disgust as the dinner guests, marmoribus rivi properant. For the final sally, Juvenal reserves a stinging simile with which to compare the athlete-drunk, sic tamquam alta in dolia longus deciderit serpens, bibit et vomit. A true artist, the poet chooses the simile of a snake since its writhings and twistings picture vividly the heavings of the sick drunk. Graphic description through the use of vivid image-producing words is a forte of the author. In summary, neither Martial nor Juvenal have much patience with feminine imbibers; they are both disdainful, and the treatment of each may be termed didactic.

In regard to the vice of arrogance, Juvenal devotes more space than Martial. Martial's lone example of arrogance
falls within the realm of snobbery. In V 17, Gellia displays her arrogance by boorishly reciting her family tree, proavos atavosque refers et nomina magna. The upshot of the poem is that although Gellia maintains her high nobility and her intention only to marry a senator (lato...clavo nubere), she marries beneath her (nupsisti...cistifero), the cistiferus being a common baggage carrier. The effectiveness of the presentation is found in the use of anaphora. By the repetition of the subordinate conjunction dum at the beginning of three successive dependent clauses, the poet prepares the way for his concise epigram-ending statement. The arrogant woman, however, receives more attention from Juvenal. In lines 161-183, Juvenal pictures the potentially perfect wife who spoils her good qualities by her own haughty estimation of herself. Let her, says the poet, be admirable in every way, formosa decens dives fecunda; but if she is proud and arrogant, si...adfers grande supercilium, away with her! In this section, lines 161-171, the reader finds the famous line in which the author comments on the frequency with which. a perfect woman is found, rara avis in terris nigroque simillima cycno. More revealing, however, in regard to Juvenal's general estimation of women is the order in which he lists the descriptive adjectives cited above pertaining to the perfect woman. Allowance has to be made, of course, for the demands of metrics, but the order of importance is still revealing. The first two, formosa and decens, "pretty" and Echaste", are the hope of most males; but the fact that physical attributes precede moral qualities may indicate the poet's
more than passing interest in a shapely figure. The fact that dives, meaning "wealthy," precedes fecunda, meaning "fertile," may indicate that creature comforts are more important to Juvenal than the hypothetical continuation of his own family line. The distinguishing characteristic of the next section (lines 172-183) is the reference to the myth of Niobe and her fateful, overweening pride. Because of her arrogance in regard to her own nobility (nobilior Latonae gente), she sows the seeds of her own destruction. The rhetorical question which follows the myth contains the kernel of Juvenal's thought, quae tanti gravitas, quae forma, ut se tibi semper imputet? This question and the longer, less effective one in the last two lines of the section are the poet's method of summarizing his feelings in regard to arrogant pride about lineage. Their use points to the fondness of both authors for the question/answer or the statement/question format. From a critical standpoint, Juvenal would have done well to cease after the first section. The second section with its reference to the myth of Niobe seems stale and pedantic; the poet seems to be writing an uninspired school lesson. In lines 279-285, Juvenal treats of another type of arrogrance -- the insolent boldness of a cornered criminal (iacet in servi conplexibus aut equitis). As soon as she is caught, the wife launches into her defense, attempting immediately to shift the blame from herself, olim convenerat...ut faceres tu guod velles, nec non ego possem indulgere mihi. Her finishing statement is highly ironic: clames licet mare caelo

Confundas, homo sum. Human she is, with her glands pumping continually: Somehow in other contexts, the statement, homo sum, would be a cry of pride and affirmation of life, but here the poet uses it effectively to designate human weakness and, in this case, human degradation. Lest the reader think that Juvenal will finish a section without an explanatory question or answer, the poet concludes: nihil est audacius illis deprensis; iram atque animos a crimine sumunt. Sometimes, Juvenal is too didactic and seems to lack confidence in the reader's ability to understand his implications. In brief summary, the vice of arrogance merits interesting reactions from the two authors. As a manipulation of snobbery, Martial in his V 17 takes pleasure in seeing the woman involved take a fall; for Juvenal, the subject forms the basis for didactic castigation. As a manifestation of shameless boldness; Juvenal treats the vice with some humor, but the lesson is primary.

In regard to the vice of greed, Martial has more examples; Juvenal, the fuller treatment. In III 54, Martial remonstrates with a certain Galla, a lady of easy virtue, because her price is higher than he can afford. This light two-liner can hardly be termed a manifesto against greed, but it does indicate the poet's awareness of the vice. The simplicity of the vocabulary is the epigram's outstanding characteristic; the four principal verbs -- do, posco, rogo, and nego -- give evidence of this. The verb posco, "to demand, " to describe Galla's part of the dialogue is indicative of her imperious nature. In IV 66, Martial makes passing reference to a
grasping or greedy mother (mater avara), whose estate her spendthrift son has squandered. Little stylistic comment, of course, is possible here, but the reference does emphasize the fact that a woman in the Rome of first century, A.D. could be greedy and succeed in her vice. For Juvenal, greed is most definitively expressed by the wife whose mania is the acquisition of material goods. In lines $149-160$, Bibula's desire for possesions is almost unlimited, pastores, ovem, ulmosque Falernas, pueros omnes, exgastula tota; in short, she wants everything her husband's neighbor has (quod... habet vicinus, ematur). Also, when she visits the shops, her taste are expensive, grandia...crystallina, maxima...myrrhina... adamans notissimus. Although the poet utilizes the method of rhetorical question to introduce the details of Bibula's greed (quantulum in hoc?), the length of the list is that with which the poet wishes to impress the reader. In the first list, items important to a landed estate are found; in the second, items important to the furnishing of the villa or to the adornment of the female figure. In essence, the items are all important to the prestige of the wife, directly or indirectly. Bibula is a woman who knows her own gready mind, and the poet's method of presentation emphasizes this fact. In brief summary, the few examples devoted to the vice of greed show Juvenal to be much more concerned with its feminine manifestations than Martial. The jest, not the content, is Martial's concern.

In the realm of superstition and religious gullibility, Juvenal alone sets aside space for treatment. Some areas of the vice he considers examples of feminine stupidity; other areas with the darker implications of husband manipulation and murder constitute sexious stains on the feminine character. In lines 511-531, the poet ridicules the gullibility of a mind which will accept and attempt to comply with the absurd demands of foreign cults. In the first instance, the eunuch of the goddess Bellona, in this case, the moon goddess adopted from Asia and identified with the traditional Italic goddess, commands the gullible wife to purify herself by presenting him with old mulberry-colored garments (xerampelinas) in order that any future calamity may pass into the clothes, ut quidquis subiti et magni $-\cdots$ - discriminis instat in tunicas eat et totum semel expiet annum. This purification order is followed by one equally absurd; the wife must plunge three times into the Tiber (hibernum fracta glacie.... in amnem) and then crawl across the Campus Martius (nuda... cruentis genibus). The remarkable inplication of these demands is that the compliance which they require indicates a degree of character which few wives will manifest in any helpful or humanitarian endeavor. In one of the few obvious Latin exclamations Juvenal concludes the section with an expression of amazement at such feminine gullibility -- en animam et mentem cum qua di nocte loquantur: The strength of this section lies in the fact that Juvenal returns to the dramaticnarrative form used successfully earlier in the satire. The
descriptive pictures of priest-eunuch and gullible wife show Juvenal at his best. In lines 542-547, the poet continues the theme of gullibility and the temptations which that state of mind is unable to resist. In this case, a Jewess soothsayer is introduced, who promises to reveal the unknown for a price, arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem. Described as interpres legum Solymarum...ac summi fida internuntia caeli, the soothsayer is more interested in profit than prophecy, and she comes cheap, aere minuto. An incidental point worthy of comment is the amusing phonetic spelling of the Romans for the proper name Solomon, Solymarum, in this instance, the Latin form appearing in the genitive plural. When Juvenal comments on the powers of Jewish soothsayers in general, qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt, the reader can visualize the poet's tongue fairly dripping with sarcasm. The juxtaposition oof a non-saleable item such as dreams (somnia) with the verb to sell (vendo) is intended as sharp irony. In subsequent lines (548-552), Juvenal introduces the reader to the Armenian haruspex, whose promises are as absurd as the Jewish soothsayer's, amatorem tenerum vel divitis orbi testamentum. The darker aspects of the soothsayer's art are alluded to in a reference to the source of the soothsayer's knowledge, exta...pueri. The reference is no doubt a popular falsehood, but Juvenal wishes to add murder to venality as characteristic aspects of the trade. In lines 553-564, reference is made to the Chaldaean astrologus and
his power over the igullible feminine mind, Chaldaeis set maior erit fiducia. The central emphasis in this section is not on any special stylistic structures, but on the historical reference to the astrologer of Otho, on whose account the death of Galba is blamed (magnus civis obit et formidatus Othoni). This historical allusion, like the one concerning Messalina mentioned in the chapter on promiscuity and the one concerning Agrippina mentioned in the chapter on deceit, demonstrates Juvenal's belief in the power of factual or fictional historical precedent and its influence for bad or for good. In the subsequent section (565-581), the poet makes additional historical references -- one to Tranaquil, wife of Tarquinius Priscus and a noted astrologer, and theoother to Thrasyllus, favorite astrologer of Tiberius. These examples reenforce the contention that Juvenal looked upon historical precedents as important. The implication of all the preceding examples of prophesying charlatans was that only a lady of means could afford them or attract them. Lest the reader believe that womencof poorer circumstances were not guilty of nor had the opportunity for supernatural inquiry, Juvenal includes a final section (582-591) dealing with the vice of superstition as practiced by the feminine poor (si mediocris erit). Her consultations take place in the circus or on a city-wall, plebeium in circo positum est et in aggere fatum, and her questions are as selfish as her wealthy counterparts, an saga vendenti nubat caupone relicto. Seeking to display noospecial structural or linguistic virtuosity,
the poet appeals to the reader's sense of logic in paraileling the examples of the rich and the poor females, demonstrating their weakness for the mysteries of the occult and the secrets of the future. In brief summary, Juvenal finds the category of feminine superstition as an area open for attack. The selfishness involved both in the nature of the requests and in the money squandered on religious mountebanks is a most reprehensible facet of the feminine make-up to Juvenal's way of thinking.

In the category of intellectual affectation, Juvenal is more cancerned with the manifestation of this vice, since his treatment can be the only one termed as definitive. The general implication of the examples cited give evidence that he found display of feminine intellect indicative of mannish, aggressive tendences inappropriate to women. Intellectual competition may have made him feel insecure. In lines 242-245, Juvenal deals with the woman who is an expert on legal proceedings, perhaps, because she is responsible for the initial quarrel, nulla fere causa est in qua non femina litem moverit. Feminine generals supreme, the court experts are ready to take commend, componunt ipsae per se formantque libellos. The stylistic key to the poet's presentation are verbs compono, meaning "arrange," and formo, meaning "to mold." With these two verbs, Juvenal emphasizes the manipulating inclinations of this feminine legal barracuda. The reader can almost see her fashioning the proceedings to
her liking as she would clay figures. In lines 398-412, Juvenal deals with the feminine expert on world and domestic affairs. Although she does not shrink from debating current events with military men in public (cumque paludatis ducibus. - logui recta facis), her real forte is gossip, secreta novercae et pueri, quis amet, quid, diripiatur adulter. No objective news-analyst, she will create news if there is none to be spread, rumoresque... quosdam facit. Although the poet introduces an effective ironic order of importance in regard to list of current events the wife reports (quid Seres, quid Thraces agent...quis diripiatur adulter, the unit as a whole lacks organization. The lastttwo and one-half lines (409-411), dealing with some calamity the wife has invented, are unnecessary and essentially repeat the points made in the first lines of the section. By this repetition, the poet gives the impression that he did not have sufficient time to do a polishing job. In lines 434-456, Juvenal deals with the intellectual bore, who regales the dinrer guests with an ostentious display of learning, laudat Vergilium...inde Maronem atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum. In an amusing comparison, the poet equates her torrent of words (tanta... vis) with the din thought required to ward off evil spirits attendant wi h an eclipse of the moon, una laborant poterit succurrere Lunae. The source of the wife's obnoxious intellectualis: is an inordinate desire to seem wise -- quae docta nimis cupit et fecunda videri. The rare use of the first person in the verb in the independent clause in lines 501-502, edi hanc ego
quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem, indicates special feeling on the part of the poet. The reference to the wife's faithful adherence to the rules of the grammar of $Q$. Remmius Palaemon, famous grammaria. during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula, may mean that the poet himself had been challenged by some female pedant. Juvenal's professional insecurity is showing. In brief summary, the conduct of an ostentatiously intellectual female is to Juvenal the nadir in behavior for any woman who is not classified as immoral. Whether such conduct constitutes a threat to his masculine ego or indicates mannish tendencies inappropriate to a woman of breeding, the poet finds feminine intellectual affectation abhorrent.

## V. MARTIAL*S OWN TRIBUTES TO APPRECIATION OF, AND EYE FOR WOMEN

A separate chapter must be devoted to Martial's tributes to and eye for women first because the number of epigrams which fall into these two categories are considerable and secondly because these epigrams comprise a uniquelyiindividual segment of the author's work and opinion. The category of tribute and the category of appreciation must be distinguished because the former is concerned with elevated, lasting compliments and the latter, with earthy, frank, often physical appraisals of feminine worth.

In regard to the category of tribute, a difficulty arises in the determination of these poems which are genininely sincere and those which fall in the realm of verbal exercise. In the latter case, since the lore of mythology and historical tradition and its morally pedantic aspects were the cultural and educational heritage of an educated Roman, those epigrams containing tributes to the feminine virtue of mythological and historical -- traditional characters will not be included in analysis. Examples in this category are $I$ 13, detailing or dramatizing the bravery of Arria, wife of Paetus, who was sentenced to die during the reign of Claudius:, and I 42, illustrating the resolve of Porcia, wife of Brutus, assassin of Caesar. In the category of sincere tribute, the famoun
epigram (I 109) devoted to the good qualities of the little female dog, Issa, should certainly be counted. This appreciation of a pet is included in the general category of feminine tribute because the poet likens certain points of the dog's behavior to character and behavioral traits he finds admirable in women. Passere nequior Catulli...purior osculo columbae...blandior omnibus puellis, Issa displays the range of emotion which he finds attractive in women. When he comments on Issa's capacity to feel sadness and joy (sentit tristitiamque gaudiumque), he implies an appreciation for the compatibility of feeling between man and companion. The effective interlocking order in line 14, castae tantus...pudor catellae, underlines the theme with which the poet is most concerned. Joining the phrase from line two quoted (purior osculo columbae) and the independent clause in line 15 (ignorat Venerem), Martial demonstrates genuine appreciation for the virtue of chastity, to draw a parallel between appreciation for the virtue of a pet and appreciation for the virtue of a woman may constitute overstatement, but the poet may feel freer to express his real feelings and appreciation in an epigram committing him to no longstanding relationship. The theme of tribute, however, is found most frequently in epigrams devoted to the praise of excellent marriages and the excellent wives who make them so. In IV 13, Martial gives expression to his feelings in a blessing on an upcoming marriage. By the use of effective comparisons from the world
of nature in lines 5-6 (nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi, / nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat), the poet indicates his hope for the future mental and physical closeness of the couple and correspondingly for the closeness of all couples. The interlocking word order of line 8 , pari...Venus aequa iugo, emphasizes Martial's hope for the interlocking physical communion between the two partners. If the epigram were to cease at this point, the implication would be that the poet actually viewed marriage as a viable relationship only as long as the sex drives of the two partners are at their peak. The last two lines (9-10), however, indicate the poet's appreciation of the longer lasting relationship of an enduring marriage, diligat illa senem guondam, sed et ipsa marito / tum quoque, cum fuerit, non videatur anus. In appropriate sequence to IV 13 , is X 38 , which stands as a compliment to the fifteen-year-old marriage of Sulpicia and Calenus. In an overstated, but charming exclamation (lines 4-5), the poet idolizes the time spent by the couple together, o nox omnis et hora, quae notata est / caris litoris Iudici lapillis, line 5 being interlocked neatly in regard to word order. The emphasis of the epigram, although supposedly an appreciation of the marriage in all its aspects, falls on the physical aspect, o quae proelia...ferix lectulus et lucerna vidit. For this couple, at least, the excitement of courtship and honeymoon has lasted through a number of years of marriage, and Martial shows appreciation for this fact. A

Sulpicia, wife of a certain Calenus, is the central character of X 35 and very likely is the same woman mentioned in X 38. This poem greatly expands the characterization of x 35 , which stressed the continuing physical attraction between man and wife. In this picture, Sulpicia emerges as a complete woman, whose pride centers in her role as an exemplary wife, sed castos docet et probos amores, / lusas delicias facetiasque. This particular characterization stresses Sulpicia's exemplary qualities to the point that she is suggested as a hypothetical teacher for Sappho, poetess of love, both hetero-sexual and Lesbian, hac magistra esses doctior et pudica, Sappho. Her fidelity, though, is the quality with which Martial ends the poem, namque ea nec Tonantis uxor / nec Bacchi nec Apollonis puella / erepto sibi viveret Caleno. Such loyalty to a spouse merits even a trite hyperbole. The two poems, however, constitute an appreciation of a wife who can be both a woman and a lady; as a whole, they are in stark contrast to the earthy, almost brutal assessments of most of the females whom Martial treats. In IV 75, the reader meets another exemplary wife, Nigrina, described as inter Latias gloria prima nurus. Foremost of her qualities is her generosity; contrary to the examples of grasping wives who used their families wealth to maintain their independence, Nigrina shares her inherited finances with her husband, te patrios miscere iuvat cum coniuge census. This compliment is contained in the first four lines of this eight-liner; the last four lines
are devoted to a sensible lesson. The poet makes reference to Evadne and Alcestis, two ladies from Greek mythology and drama respectively, who sacrificed themselves for their husbands. In neatly didactic fashion, Martial compares Nigrina with the two fictional heroines and places the service and loyalty of the three women into perspective, tu (Nigrina) melius : certe meruisti pignore vitae / ut tibi non esset morte probandus amor. When he so desires, Martial in as capable of being didactic as Juvenal. The Nigrina of IV 75 has a counterpart in conjugal loyalty in the Nigrina of IX 30, who goes to Cappadocia to bring back her deceased husband's bones, Cappadocum saevis Antistius occidit oris Rusticus. For her, the commitment of her husband's bones to burial constitutes even a second period of bereavement, visa sibi est rapto bis viduata viro. The alliteration of the "v" sound in this last line recreates effectively the repetitive mutterings of grief. For the two Nigrina's, purity of action and conduct were obviously important. In VII 69, the reader encounters a woman, Theophila, who is both pure and learned, cuius Cecropia pectora voce madent. The poet is so impressed by her intellect that he comments further: tam non femineum nec populare sapit. To say that her sagacity is truly unfeminine smacks of geniune male chauvinism, but Martial means it as a compliment. Lest the reader think that Theophila is solely an intellectual, Martial concludes the poem with a pair of simple comparisons of Theophila with Sappho, mentioned before, castior haec
(Theophila) et non doctior illa (Sappho) fuit. The interlocking word order of adjective-pronoun, adjective-pronoun is an effectively emphatic structure and brings the tribute to a neat halt. As mentioned in VI 27 continues the theme of tribute to sexual chastity. The poem itself is a compliment to a neighbor and friend of the poet's; but within it is contained a sincere tribute to the purity of the neighbor's wife and mother of the neighbor's daughter, est tibi, quae partia signatur imagine voltus, testis maternae nata pudicitiae. Judging by the numerous examples of cuckolded husbands in the chapter concerning promiscuity, the reader can appreciate the gravity and sincerity of the compliment. The epitaph contained in X 63 to a mother of ten would also certainly fall in the category of tribute to chastity. Having enjoyed filial respect, quinque dedit pueros, totidem miki Iuno puellas, / cluserunt omina lumina nostra manus, she dies contented. The gloria rara of her marriage, however, is contained in the last line: una pudicitiae mentula nota meae. Because Martial expresses this gloria by an obscenity and because the interlocking word order may symbolize sexual proximity, the epigram may be intended as an ironic joke. Irony, however, is not a characteristic of XI 53, which is a straightforward tribute to a Claudia Rufina - quale decus formae: Besides her physical beauty, the poet lauds her role as a faithful wife and proud mother, di bene quod sancto pererit fecunda marito, / quod sperat generos quodque puella nurus. The fact that Martial uses the noun decus with its connotations of class and breeding to describe Claudia's beauty and the fact that as a still youthful
woman (puella) she can hope for daughters-in-law who may constitute rivals to her influence over her sons indicate a woman and wife of outstanding quality. In IX 39, Martial does not detail the reasons for his tribute to a certain Caesonia, wife of Canius Rufus; but because he includes a salute to her birthday and to that of Domitian's in the same poem, laetatur gemina votorum sorte maritus, the epigram and its praise are obviously sincere. The reference in $X 33$ to a hypothetical oath, the strength of which is in terms of "by your daughter's unsevered marriage tie" (perpetua natae...face), manifests again the poet's appreciation of the woman who keeps her marriage inviolate. An appreciation of sisterly love is expressed in VIII 32 , in which a certain Aratulla is pictured as a pia soror waiting for the return of her brother from Sardinia (a Sardois... oris). The fact that Martial characterizes Aratulla as pia, meaning "dutiful," demonstrates a steadfastness and loyalty in the woman's character, which the poet obviously admires.: III 5 does not touch on qualities quite as deep and important as those previously reviewed; but the virtue of hospitality, to which the epigramiis devoted, is nonetheless important to the poet. Julius's wife receives his friends openly and with warmth, quae te manibusque sinuque excipiet, regardless of the condition of the guest, tu vel pulverulentus eas. No special structural or verbal forms are found in=this epigram, which constitutes a straightforward tribute. In brief summary, if
no other critical comment can be derived from the various poems Martial intended as tributes, the deduction that Martial had appreciation for feminine virtue and was willing to express that appreciation would be sufficient. Although predominantly preoccupied with party-girls, sluts, and whores, Martial never loses respect for those women who maintain a solid sense of values and self-worth.

In the category in which Martial expresses his opinions as to the type of women he prefers, a separation between those poems which state Martial's preferences directly and often seriously and those epigrams which are intended as jesting and sometimes cruel cuts of feminine physical faults is necessary. The latter type, although esentially negative in nature and intent, can be considered indirectly valuable in an assessment of Martial's sense of feminine beauty. In the former category, that of serious appraisal and preference, falls I 57, which constitutes an appropriate introduction. In this epigram, Martial replies to the inquiry of his friend, Flaccus, who has directly asked him what sort of girl he prefers, qualem, Flacce, velim quaeris nolimque puellam? The answer is just as direct, nolo ninis facilem difficilemque nimis. In this answer, the reader finds the poet replying in the stylistic manner he enjoys the most-simple vocabulary arranged in interlocked or symmetrical order. When the answer is textually logical, as it is here, the poet demonstrates genuine creative genius. A logical continuation
of the above answer is contained in III 33, in which, with no prompting, Martial designates the order of preference of social class toward which he is inclined in regard to available females. First is the free-born girl (ingenua); second, the freed-woman (libertina); and third, the servantrmaid (ancilla). However, a comely face will overcome all class consciousness, sed (ancillat vincet utramque, si facio nobis haec erit ingenua. On the surface, the poet's preference seems only to reflect the class consciousness of his time, but his final physical egalitarianism is refreshing. A revealing psychological study of the poet as a total man is $X 47$, in which Martial lists the ingredients for the happy life. In reference to the part played by sex and a man's wife in this recipe: for happiness, Martial comments briefly: non tristis torus et tamen pudicus. The revealing aspect of this comment in regards to Martial's eye for women is not the content of the phrase but its placement in order of importance. In a thirteen line poem, the reference occurs in line ten. For a man for whom the subject of much of his work is involved with sex-oriented subjects or mores, relatively low placement of sex in marriage in regard to order of importance is surprising. Moreover, when it is mentioned, its purer aspects (torus...pudicus) are stressed. II 90 constitutes a similarly revealing psychological study of the poet as the complete man. In this epigram, which is not as comprehensive in scope as X 47 , the poet makes only one mention of women and that is a
wish for a wife who will not be too learned, mihi...sit non doctissima coniunx. In this epigram, sex is not even mentioned; perhaps the poets feels that the subject of and his appreciation for fidelity in marriage has been adequately covered in X 47. His fear of à "too lettered" wife, however, reveals an intellectual insecurity similar to that of Juvenal's. This theme of woman's subordinate role to man is carried over into VIII 12, in which the poet uses his favorite structural play of answering his own rhetorical question to state his objections to marrying a rich woman, uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolim guaeritis? The poet leaves no doubt as to his position on the question: uxori nubere nolo meae. The succinct quality of this statement shows Martial at his best. By his use of the verb, nubo, "to marry" in the sense of the woman to the man, the poet graphically states his position in only four words. The obvious implication of the declaration is that Martial has no desire to be controlled by his wife and her wealth as a wife is controlled by a husband in every normal marriage. In minimum space, Martial has produced maximum meaning. The poet, in conclusion, does not mince words, inferior matrona suo sit....marito: non aliter fiunt femina virque pares. For direct opinion, no statement could be plainer. The poet might sincerely appreciate the virtue and purity of a good wife, but her place of importance was strictly subordinate to that of her husbands.

In contrast to these frequently laudatory and serious statements in regard to the type of woman the poet prefers are
the epigrams concerned with physical attributes, good and bad, of women whom Martial encounters in his life at Rome. The poems devoted to the appreciation of the physical attributes of certain females are in a decided minority, the reason being no doubt that shallow encomiums do not constitute the best quality of grist for Martial's sarcastic mill. Of this laudatory class is V 68, which stands as a straightforward, charming compliment. In this concise twoliner, Martial tells a certain Lesbia that he has sent a lock of hair from a Northern race (arctoa de gente), ut scires quanto sit tua flava magis. With seemingly effortless ease; the poet expresses a compliment which is devoid of verbal or structural cuteness and which stands as an example of a stated appreciation for the blonde even in antiquity. A true indication of the poet's sensuous proclivities is given in VIII 68, in which a comparison is made between the shining quality of grapes behind the transparent protection of greenhouse glass and the shine of a woman's limbs through silk, femineum lucet sic per bombycina corpus. Obviously, the poet himself has not been in a greenhouse all his life. In II 52, the poet again gives evidence that his eye was not always on his manuscript. Well-endowed (mammosa) Spatale must pay admission for three when entering privately owned bathing facilities. The rhythm of the sentence structure is Martial's method of making the epigram appealing to the mind's eye of the reader. Four word independent clause followed by one word independent clause in the first line and four word independent clause
followed by final two word independent clause in the second line make the epigram have a long/short, long/short rhythm, which accentuates the irony the poet intended the two shorter clauses to have, poposcit...illa dedit. IX 97 can be construed as either a compliment or a cut. It has been included in the category of the former, since the latter is more numerously documented. In this epigram, Martial admits to being able to dally with four women in one night, but with a certain Telesilla he maintains that it would be the death of him to spend one night in four years, sed quattuor annis si possum, peream, te, Telessilla, semel. The complimentary implication is that Telesilla is more than a physical match for the poet; the uncomplimentary implication is that she is so ugly that the poet would perish from disgust just from being in proximity to her. There occur no special stylistic devices in this epigram, except for the play on numbers, Martial being content to let the reader decide how he will judge its purpose.

In contrast to the epigrams which can be construed as compliments are the number of poems which are flatly derogatory. Examples of this type can be categorized in a series ranging fromthose concerned with general ugliness to those which deal with specific physical faults. In the general derogatory category is III 53, in which Martial criticizes almost all of Chloe's anatomy, et voltu poteram tuo carere / et collo manibusque cruribusque. He stops short from a complete analysis by concluding the epigram with a cutting final line,
tota te poteram, Chloe, carere. This play of listing various items, in this case, anatomical components, is an effective one in the hands of a poet like Martial, who lulls the reader with the listing and then brings him up short with the final cut. Martial must enjoy creating surprises. A surprise is also in store for the reader of III 87, in which Martial reports the rumor concerning a certain Chione. This ladyiis said to be chaste, nihil cunno purius esse tuo. Martial, however, is annoyed that Chione calls attention to her virtue by bathing covered. To show his annoyance, the poet ends with a stinging insult, si pudor est, transfer subligar in faciemb Poor Chione evidently did not have to beat off too many challenges to her virtue. Although the poet demonstrated no special constructions to underline his disdain for Chione, the reader probably could guess his derogatory feelings before the last line as he describes her chastity in terms of an obscenity (cunnus). $V 29$ is also a general insult; in this instance, a certain Gellia has sent the poet a hare to eat. The hare, according to superstition, was supposed to endow its eater with beauty. The poet returns the insult with a crisp cut, edisti numquam; Gellia, tu leporem. Besides adhering to his stylistic policy of utilizing the simplest of vocabulary, the poet does not bother with any unusual construction; his reply is direct. Martial is no one with whom to be trading insults. X 8, although it is primarily concerned with aging and its deleterious effect on femine charms, can
still be classified as a general cut. Paula, an anus, wishes to marry Martial, but he does not wish to because of the very fact that she is old. The poet, of course, will not leave the subject at that. He cynically adds: vellem, six magis esset. Martial is willing to overlook general physical faults if the female is rich and near to dying. Simplicity and brevity are the only structural characteristics of this concise two-liner. II 33 should also certainly be included in the category of generally derogatory epigrams. Martial asks the same rhetorical question three times, cur non basio te, Philaeni?, and each time he replies with an insulting two word reply, calva...rufa...lusca es. If these insults were not enough, the poet casts an obscene aspersion on anyone who could kiss Philaenis, haec qui basiat, o philaeni, fellat. Structurally, this epigram must have been a favorite of the poet's. The question/answer format is a frequently used one by Martial, and in II 33 he contrives to use it three times in a four-line poem. The Philaenis of $X 22$ may very well be the same character as the Philaenis of II 33. She too is totally unkissable because of ugliness. The similarity of the two epigrams, however, goes beyond subject and content. Structurally, X 22 also features the question/answer format, cur...quaeris? basiare te nolo. For Philaenis, there is little hope for a social life. With III 3 , the reader encounters a poem which is complimentary in one sense but uncomplimentary in another. Martial remonstrates with an unnamed girl that she conceals a physical asset and displays a physical liability,
formosam faciem nigro medicamine celas, sed non formoso corpore laedis aquas. To persuade her of her mistake, the poet addresses her in the words of the goddess of the spring whose waters she assails with her ugly body: aut aperi faciem, aut tunicata lava. For Martial, to frame an address in the words of another person is unusual; he apparently is seeking to make this insult structurally original. From the generally derogatory, Martial is quite capable of passing to the specifically insulting. The poet devotes several poems to unfortunate women who have lost the sight in one eye. In III 8, for example, Martial criticizes a certain Quintus because he loves a girl named Thais who is one-eyed (Iusca). Although the final insult is intended for Quintus, unum oculum Thais non habet, ille duos, and his lack of taste concerning feminine beauty, the connotation concerning Thais is obviously pejorative. The play on numbers (unum...duos) comprises the core of the jest, but the inherent cruelty of the joke tempers any humorous reaction. Of similar theme is IV 65, in which the poet explains why Philaenis weeps with just one eye, oculo Philaenia semper altero plorat. The answer is simple and direct -- lusca est. In this two-liner, Martial utilizes his favorite question/answer format to point out physical disability. This type of jest stronglyrresembles the cruelty humor popular in the 1960's. The same disability is ridiculed in XII 22, in which another one-eyed Philaenis receives the brunt of the poet's caustic wit. Again the question/answer is the central structural device, quam sit lusca Philaenis
indecenter / vis dicam breviter tibi, Fabulle? However, in this case, the reply to this rhetorical question is extremely insulting, esset caeca decentior Philaenis. Whether Martial bears a grudge against some one-eyed female acquaintance or this genre of cruelty jokes reflects the popular disgust and fear of physical deformity is not clear, but the poet shows little mercy in regard to disability. Of similarly insulting and cruel nature are the poems dealing with dental defects. Typical of the type is II 4l, in which Maximina is advised to conceal her three remaining ugly teeth, tu puella non es, / et tres sunt tibi, Maximina, dentes, / sed piane piceique buxeique. Martial's recommendation is blunt -debes...timere risum. His method for avoiding laughter is the following: te maestae decet adsidere matri / lugentium virum piumve fratrem. In the last line, the poet utilizes alliteration (plora... puella, plora) to create the sound of plaintive mutterings appropriate to a lady who cannot chance a laugh. Also, the double meaning of "weep" (plora) is effective both in regard to the type of demeanor Maximina should maintain and in regard to the form of reaction she must feel in feference to her own sad physical plight. Dental problems are also the subject of $V 43$, in which the poet comments on two females, Thais habet nigros, niveos Laecania dentes. In the second and last Iine, Martial again utilizes the question/answer structure -- quae rato est? emptos haec habet, illa suos. Unlike the previous epigrams ooncerned with physical defects, this two-liner has genuine humor. Perhaps
the brevity of the epigram and universality of the situation make this poem more amusing. Besides bad teeth and defective eyes, Martial finds obesity a suitable area for ridicule. In XI 21, the poet is concerned with a certain Lydia, who is as widely spreading (laxa) as the rear of a bronze equestrian statue, tam. .equitis quam aeni. With an opening comparison such as this, the reader knows immediately that the poet is not going to save his verbal jolt for the last line. In fact, the poem is comprised of jolting comparisons which hold Lydia's size up to ridicule. When Martial compares Lydia's expansion to an old shoe soaked by muddy water (tam... cuam vetus a crassa calceus udus aqua), the reader realizes that Martial must have enjoyed writing this epigram. The poet concludes with an amusing obscenity, hanc in piscina dicor futuisse marina. / nescio; piscinam me futuisse puto. The imagery produced by the conclusion is, if nothing else, highly original. The main body of the poem, however, is devoted to comparisons, such as the one quoted above; the hyperbolic nature of these comparisons are what remove this epigram from the category of raw cruelty. In XI 99, the poet introduces us to a certain Lesbia, whose clothesebecause of her fat are so tight as to cause her genuine discomfort when she stands up or sits down, de cathedra quotiens surgis..., pedicant miserae, Lesbia, te tunicae. Passing from this opening obscenity, Martial describes Lesbia's determined efforts to relieve her discomfort, quas (tunicas) cum conata es dextra, conata sinistra / vellere, cum lacrimis eximis et
gemitu. Both of these descriptions produce elear images; and by doing so, they prove their artistic merit. For the conclusion, Martial resorts to his favorite question/answer format, emendare cupis vitium deforme? docebo: / Lesbia, nec surgas censeo nec sedeas. In these two final lines, the reader sees the poet at his caustic best. Simple vocabulary within simple structure make for easy reading and .. easy comprehension. An appropriate final comment by the poet on the question of female fat is XI 100 in which Martial states his general opinion on feminine weight. The poet does not want a mistress who is too thin, quae clune nudo radat et genu pungat, cui serra lumbis, cuspis eminet culo. For incisive anatomical description, Martial knows no peer; the man is no stranger to the bedroom. To complete the analysis of ideal feminine weight, the poet turns his attention to the lack of appeal of the fat woman, sed idem amican nolo mille librarus. / carnarius sum, pinguarius non sum. With carnarius "lover of flesh," and pinguarius, "lover of tallow," the poet has coined two words which are precisely appropriate to his sarcastic intentions. The poet is almost always in complete command of his craft. The only reference to excessive height occurs in VIII 60, in which a certain Claudia is insulted. In one: of the few instances in his collection of Epigrams, Martial encompasses his entire content in one two-line sentence. The lady in question, so says the poet, would be the height of a monument,
si fieris brevior...sesquipede. Brevity and hyperbole are the attractions of this jest. Baldness or near baldness receives comment in XII 7, in which a certain Ligeia is insulted. The poet hypothesizes the number of hairs on Ligeria's head as being an indicator of her age, toto vertice quot gerit capillos / annos si tot habet Ligeia... From this unusual opening condition, the poet advances to the insulting conclusion, trima est. The absence of hyperbole places this epigram in the cruel category; in this case, the brevity of the two-word conclusion heightens the insult. In contrast to the preceding poems devoted to criticism of feminine physical faults is XI 60, in which Martial mitigates the inferred criticism of all ugly females. In XI 60, the reader meets Phlogis and Chione, whom the poet compares in regard to suitability for an hypothecized affair, sit Phlogis an Chione Veneri magis apta requiris? The answer to this rhetorical question is psychologically revealing, pulchrior est Chione; sed Phlogis ulcus habet. In this case, the ulcus or symbol of the sexual itch or desire is more important than physical beauty in the poet's opinion. If there be any doubt in the reader's mind in regard to whether in Martial's opinion feminine wiles can have precedence over unresponsive beauty, the poet expands on the above answer, ulcus habet (Phiogis) quod habere suam vult quisque puellam. What is the point of trying to love Chione asks the poet: agsentem marmoreamve putes. Although the poet utilizes the question/ answer structure again, content is the important facet of
this poem. Thus, the poet demonstrates that he is quite aware that surface beauty does not tell the whole story about a woman. The theme of the importance of desire on the part of the woman is continued in XI 104, in which Martial addresses hishhypothetical "wife". In no mood for debate, the poet states the situation directly: uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris. In subsequent lines, Martial elaborates on what his "customs" are: me ludere teste lucerna / et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus. In addition, says the poet, he wants no chaste coyness on the part of his partner, mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet. Her past passive conduct in bed must cease, nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare nec digitis... With these varied obscene descriptions, the poet leaves no doubt in regard to his feeling concerning the importance of feminine warmth and compliance. Although the poet utilizes some alliteration (ludere...Iucerna...luce latus) and assonance (nulla...nuda puella), content again is the principal concern of the poet. A final assertion by the poet in regard to his feelings about feminine.response is XI l02. There exists great similarity between the Choine of XI 60 and the Lydia of XI 102 -- non est mentitus qui te mihi dixit habere / formosam carnem, Lydia, non faciem. Each is quite beautiful; in particular, Lydia has an exquisite complexion (carnem). Whereas Chione resembles a statute (marmoream), Lydia is like a picture -tam muta recumbas / quam silet...vultus et in tabula. Both ladies appear to be more at home in a museum than in the bed chamber. Martial may have intended an obscene second meaning
in his use of caro, but for the most part his presentation is straightforward and direct. With XI 60, 104, and 102, the poet mitigates his harsh attitude toward feminine physical defects.

In brief summary, the epigrams devoted to Martial's appreciation of and eye for women demonstrate a range of emotion and reaction. The poet is capable of thoughtful assessment, as the tributes demonstrate; he is also capable of superficial harshness, as his poems devoted to physical defects show. His range of feeling is certainly human; the remarkable point is that this range is felt and expressed by one man. Seldom is the reader ever confused in regard to the poet's position on a given matter.

## VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

At the inception of the thesis, the relative position of the two authors in regard to women appeared to be generally clear cut. Juvenal was the didactic, often strident moralizer, and Martial was the jesting free soul. An examination of Saire VI and the selected Epigrams reveals, however, that superficial appearances can be deceiving.

In the case of Martial, the reader is at first somewhat dazzled by the sheer number and variety of feminine subjects of which he is capable. Perhaps the brevity of the majority of the epigrams and the poet's fondness for irony leave the general impression in the reader that Martial has but a flippant, often casual attitude toward women. Although the poet can be and is capable of superficial treatment of a subject in terms of content and although he has a predilection for technical precision, his epigrams devoted to tributes to and appreciation of women show a man who can demonstrate intellectual analysis along with raw physical evaluation. That the poet can manifest genuine appreciation and that many of his epigrams concerned with women and their vices display more bite than humor constitute evidence which point to more personal involvement than Martial would probably have cared to admit.
' In regard to Juvenal, the reader is at first taken back by the rather shrill tone of Satire VI. Married women constitute the principal target for the poet; and, unlike Martial, he appears to have few words of praise for them. The origin and nature of this narrow poetic viewpoint, however, appear to be rooted in structural concerns. Juvenal is a satirist, and as such he chooses a specific subject for mordant commentary, which, in the case of Satire VI, is the vice and depravity of married women. The fact that he castigates wayward wives does not necessarily preclude any appreciation or love on his part for women. His poetic sights have been set for a specific purpose; and if he deviates from his assigned path of abuse, he may interrupt what poetic flow he may be able to construct. That Juvenal is a satirist and is to some extent hampered by the limits which the genre of satire imposes is reenforced by internal stylistic evidence taken from Satire VI. The playlets, within the narrative, featuring vivid description and dramatic episodes, demonstrate a polish and preparation which contradict any assertions that the author is an unrestrained moralist and reformer. The polish and preparation, however, do not constitute evidence for any contention that the poet is a pure technician. The dramatic episodes are for the most part technically highly wrought, but the penetrating insight into human nature is indicative of a man capable of personal and emotional involvement.

In essence neither Martial nor Juvenal can be type cast in regard to their attitudes toward women -- the former as a casual bon vivant and the latter as misogynous moralizer. Their basic psychological approach to women was very similar and similarly human.

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## VITA

Born on May ll, 1941, in Charlottesville, Virginia, I attended Richmond public schools until my high school years. During the summers, I worked as a counselor at Camp Briar Hills near Lexington, Virginia. While attending Episcopal High School in Alexandria, Virginia, I contracted a throat tissue erosion disease, which precluded school attendance or employment from 1959 to 1966. Ultimately diagnosed and treated as a streptococeal-induced disease by the National Institutes of Health, the malady has been declared cured; I have enjoyed excellent health for years. Having received my high school diploma from Thomas Jefferson High School as a home-bound student in 1960, I entered George Washington University in 1966 and received my B.A. in February, 1971, as a Latin major. An extra semester was required because I was advised to take a reduced schedule for health reasons in my first year. Graduating number one in my class, I was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. During my undergraduate years, I was awarded the University Latin prize and the University Greek prize. At the University of Richmond, I have received a University Fellowship from the University and a scholarship award from the Institute of Mediterranean Studies.

