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## Opinionated Poets, Opinionated Lovers: Callimachus and Martial on Social and Sexual Behavior

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**Opinionated Poets, Opinionated Lovers:  
Callimachus and Martial on Social and Sexual Behavior**

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Honors in the Department of the Classical Mediterranean and Middle East

Advisor: Professor Nanette Goldman

May 4, 2020

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## Chapter I—An Introduction to the Epigrammatic World

When thinking about the ancient world, many people will remember the great names—Caesar, Socrates, Homer and Virgil—the monuments that still survive, the heroic battles lost and won. But the ancient world was also populated by everyday people living unimaginably diverse and complicated lives, ones that aren't commemorated in epics. And for scholars trying to understand what the ancient world might have looked like, studying these people, what they ate and where they worked, the ways they entertained themselves, and what they believed is just as important as being familiar with the major accomplishments of empires. Fortunately for us, plenty of artifacts survive to tell us about the lives of common people throughout the ages: the pots, pans, knives, and spinning tools they used every day, the notes they wrote, and entire towns like Pompeii. But most important, especially for this paper, are the literary works that chronicle the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of everyday life. In this paper, I examine the works of two poets, Martial (writing during the Roman empire) and Callimachus (who lived in Ptolemaic Alexandria), to learn about the daily life of people like them. Their poems illuminate ideas of behavior and social conduct in the ancient world, especially for those individuals who weren't considered elite. Through examining the two authors' poems, we gain a deeper sense of daily lives and emotions, and can then create a fuller picture of ancient social life and behavior. Focusing on individual authors, rather than doing a survey of the genre, provides an in-depth, cohesive picture, rather than a broader, less detailed, image of societal views. In their poetry, both Martial and Callimachus reflect and perpetuate ideas of proper social behavior, implicitly and explicitly stated, under empire.

This paper focuses on aspects of ancient society that are often overlooked or underappreciated, although that has begun to change in recent decades. In my analysis of ancient social behavior, I focus primarily on the behavior of women, and sexual conduct of people of all genders, as well as discuss the role of proper social behavior in empire generally. Changes in the field in the past 50 years have meant that such topics are now receiving more scholarly attention, and there have been many important studies and articles on women, sexuality, and sexual practices in the ancient world.<sup>1</sup> This work has done a great deal to broaden our understanding of the ancient world, especially regarding subjects that the ancient writers often neglected in their works. Thus, I draw upon that modern scholarship, in the hopes of providing a different lens with which to approach the subjects of ancient women and sexual behavior.

Additionally, this paper provides a new way to understand ancient epigram, especially when considering poems from different authors. Many scholars of epigrammatists trace a lineage from the earliest poets in the eighth century BCE up until the present, and use the works of different poets to track that change; there are, however, fewer studies comparing the thematic programs of specific epigrammatists, especially ones—like Martial and Callimachus—who were not contemporaneous. In general, a great deal of research has already been done on the topics I address in my paper—interpreting ancient epigram, studying daily life, and understanding ancient sexuality and morality—as well as the two authors whose epigrams I focus on. However, I believe there has not been adequate work on the connections between Callimachus and Martial,

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<sup>1</sup> Authors who have been particularly important in the fields of ancient gender and sexuality studies include Sue Blundell, Kenneth Dover, David Halperin, Deborah Kamen, Kirk Ormand, Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz, and Amy Richlin. This is by no means a comprehensive list, but a survey of work from the past 35 years, and includes scholars whose work deeply influenced my thinking on this project.

and much of that work has considered Callimachus' influence on Martial and later Roman poets, rather than looking at commonalities regardless of time and influence.

Therefore, I have organized this paper to focus on the content of the epigrams, and what they can tell us about daily life during the authors' lifetimes. I analyze the epigrams of Martial before those of Callimachus, rather than looking at them in chronological order. While this does prevent us from seeing how epigrammatic themes developed over time, it nevertheless enables us to focus more completely on the authors themselves, on their content and language. I have chosen to discuss Martial's epigrams before those of Callimachus because I believe they are emblematic of the claims I make, and that studying his epigrams allows us to better track some common themes in Callimachus' epigrams. Because Martial's poems are often rather direct, and Callimachus' more nuanced, it is helpful to first become saturated in the epigrammatic world through Martial's poems. With that background, it becomes easier to understand the finer points of Callimachus' epigrams. In this instance, I believe inverting the chronology, and studying a Roman poet before his Greek predecessors, helps to elucidate certain themes in this paper, and adds to the scholarship in a new way.<sup>2</sup>

This paper examines epigram in both the Ptolemaic empire and the Roman empire, and considers the importance of social and imperial factors of daily life during both poet's lifetimes. Before, however, beginning to interpret the epigrams themselves, I provide an overview of epigram as a genre and some of the many changes it went through, as well as contextual information on the two empires I study, and background on the authors themselves. The second chapter discusses the epigrams of Martial, and the themes of

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<sup>2</sup> As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, many modern scholars have examined the ways Callimachus and the Hellenistic poets have influenced Martial and other Roman writers. While this is certainly an interesting and fruitful approach, it is one I have decided not to follow.

social behavior, empire, and women's sexuality that we can see in them. I then move on to analyzing Callimachus' epigrams in the third chapter, and the importance of proper social behavior and attitudes towards relationships that his epigrams show. Finally, I conclude with a brief discussion of the two authors, and what we can learn from their epigrams, both separately and in comparison.

## A History of Epigram

Before examining the epigrams of Martial or Callimachus, it is crucial to understand the historical and social function of epigram. Epigram as a genre stretches back, well before Callimachus or Martial, into the eighth century BCE.<sup>3</sup> The first epigrams were carved into stone, and give their name (ἐπί "upon" + γράμμα "that which is drawn/written") to the genre as a whole.<sup>4</sup> They were used to commemorate individuals, and were frequently associated with tombstones or votive offerings.<sup>5</sup> These early epigrams were generally brief, giving simple information about the person—their name, where they lived, and their father's or husband's name (especially if the individual was a woman). According to Regina Höschele, epigrams quickly became more elaborate, with writers devising unique "strategies by which...to attract attention and convey their message."<sup>6</sup> From the beginning, epigram was a genre of individuality: it was created to memorialize everyday people and their actions.

Unlike other forms of ancient poetry (like tragedy or epic), epigram was never meant to be performed.<sup>7</sup> Instead, passersby would read the words inscribed upon a tomb, or the

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<sup>3</sup> Regina Höschele "Epigram and Minor Genres," in *A Companion to Greek Literature*, ed. Martin Hose and David Schenker, 190-204 (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 190.

<sup>4</sup> Höschele "Epigram and Minor Genres," 190.

<sup>5</sup> Höschele, "Epigram and Minor Genres," 190.

<sup>6</sup> Höschele, "Epigram and Minor Genres," 190.

<sup>7</sup> Höschele, "Epigram and Minor Genres," 190.

dedications left at a temple. This literary beginning not only aids our understanding of epigram, but was something the ancients thought about as well; there are different linguistic conventions when something is designed to be transmitted materially rather than orally. The lithic nature of early epigram led to certain generic tendencies<sup>8</sup>—especially when carving, it makes sense to adhere to a recognizable formula and use concise phrasing, both of which are easier and cheaper to engrave. However, the use of these formulas also led to experimentation: once a tradition has been established, slight deviations from the norm draw attention, make a person memorable, unique even in death.

Due to the original setting of epigram, much of what survives comes down to us absent of its original, intended context.<sup>9</sup> In copying epigrams, the poem becomes separated from the physical, permanent setting that gave meaning to the words. The same is true even for epigrams that were originally composed for publication; although there is evidence that authors would often compose and structure collections of epigrams around a larger theme or point, those books don't always survive to the present day.<sup>10</sup> This is especially true for Greek poetry written before and during the Hellenistic era.<sup>11</sup> Most of the extant work composed during that time period survives in two late Byzantine collections, the *Palatine* and *Planudean Anthologies*, which often contain the only surviving copy of a poem.<sup>12</sup> These drew heavily on ancient anthologies, such as the *Garlands* of Meleager (written ca. 100 BCE) and Philip (ca. 53 CE). This proves that epigrams

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<sup>8</sup> Höschele, "Epigram and Minor Genres," 190.

<sup>9</sup> Höschele, "Epigram and Minor Genres," 193.

<sup>10</sup> See Kathryn Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context* (1998), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/fulcrum.3r074v658>, chapter 5.

<sup>11</sup> Traditionally dated between 323 BCE (the death of Alexander the Great) and 31 BCE (Marc Antony's defeat at the Battle of Actium and the fall of Ptolemaic Egypt to the Romans).

<sup>12</sup> Höschele "Epigram and Minor Genres," 191. The Palatine Anthology was compiled in the mid-tenth century CE, and the Planudean in either 1299 or 1301 CE.



were collected into books in antiquity, even if not always intentionally by the author.<sup>13</sup> Much of what survives to us is by chance and editorial preference.

Epigram was never static. The Hellenistic shift from stone to papyrus led to several other changes, turning epigram into a more literary, sophisticated, and playful genre.<sup>14</sup> When a poem is separated from its context—when the words are no longer engraved upon a stone, immovable and timeless—it can be hard, if not impossible, to understand the larger meaning of the epigram. Höschele provides an example where, “if we stand in front of a tomb or votive offering, the reference of local adverbs such as ἐνθάδε (there) or demonstrative pronouns such as τόδε (this) is immediately manifest; if we encounter the same words on the written page, it is up to our imagination to picture the locale or object in question.”<sup>15</sup> While this does not mean that epideictic or funerary epigrams ceased to exist, it does open up the possibility for more creative topics: if the reader is already using their imagination, creating the setting of a votive offering, it is not a stretch to imagine a scenario where a narrator begs his lover or criticizes his neighbor’s behavior.

Thus, the flexible new media, such as papyrus, spurred the creation of new forms and topics for epigram. When the poetry was no longer tied to a physical site, poets could experiment; they no longer had to write what was expected, stick to a formula. The variable nature of papyrus—no space constraints, no specified physical subject—allowed the creativity of epigram to flourish. Moreover, their generally short length encouraged improvisation.<sup>16</sup> In many

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<sup>13</sup> Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 191.

<sup>14</sup> Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 191.

<sup>15</sup> Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 192.

<sup>16</sup> Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 194.

ways, epigrams are the epitome of creative poetics, manipulating length, meter, language, and imagery.

Within that tradition of innovation, there were several common themes and tropes. Love and relationships, symposiastic parties, and personal invective have long been common topics considered by epigrammatists. All these subjects focus more on individuals rather than the lofty, mythical topics of epic, and the meter and style of epigram was considered preferable for such ordinary themes. Epigrammatists were “deeply influenced by the contemporary aesthetic interest in everyday life and the lower strata of society,” even more so than authors of other types of literature.<sup>17</sup> As such, they used imagery and language that was common in everyday life. Additionally, many epigrams would often end on a witty note, leaving the reader to reconsider the point of the poem or laugh at the poem's subject. Roman writers, in particular, developed and perfected epigram as a suitable genre for invective, although lyric invective existed in the Greek world.<sup>18</sup> The shorter, more personal format of epigram served well when lampooning someone's character. Content and form thus went hand-in-hand: a lighter, wittier commentary on everyday society worked well with the stylistic tendencies of the genre.

In many ways, epigram is very closely tied to the symposium: “Hellenistic epigram, if not a product of the symposium in the first place then at least a product of a world in which the symposium mattered, often addresses symposiastic themes.”<sup>19</sup> The *symposium* was a key location of socialization for adult males in the Greek world, and involved drinking, music,

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<sup>17</sup> Jon S. Bruss, “Epigram,” in *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, ed. James Joseph Clauss and Martine Cuypers (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 132.

<sup>18</sup> Lindsay Cameron Watson, “Invective,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower, Anthony Spawforth, and Esther Eidinow, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-3308>.

<sup>19</sup> Bruss, “Epigram,” 124.

dancing women, and other entertainment.<sup>20</sup> Additionally, they were an environment where pederasty was encouraged: *symposia* were centered around men, and properly-conducted pederastic relationships were considered especially masculine.<sup>21</sup> *Symposia* and relations with older citizen males became crucial to the socialization of young men. Thus, they provided both an ideal subject and venue for epigrams: not only did they supply ample gossip to write about, but poetic recitation was often a fitting form of entertainment at a *symposium*, and the witty nature of epigram would have kept guests entertained.

These symposiastic themes encouraged epigram's focus on love and sex. Indeed, many epigrammatists would write about the two in tandem—the environment of the *symposium*, soaked in wine, allowed “the satisfaction of wants and desires and for indulgence in pleasure.”<sup>22</sup> In that environment, even on paper, poets were allowed to express their and others' sexual desire more freely. From this, the sub-genre of amatory epigram arose in the early Hellenistic period, becoming the Greek poetic choice for love poems;<sup>23</sup> but it came to maturity in Rome, where writers combined elements of amatory epigram and elegiac poetry into their epigrams.<sup>24</sup> Martial, as well, is infamous for writing erotically-charged epigrams, the roots of which we can trace back to the *symposium*.

One defining characteristic of epigram is its brevity. Epigrams could be as short as a single couplet, or occasionally run upwards of 20 lines.<sup>25</sup> Thus, epigrammatists often strove to

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<sup>20</sup> Sean Corner, “Symposion,” in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 201.

<sup>21</sup> Corner, “Symposion,” 207.

<sup>22</sup> Corner, “Symposion,” 200. For poems in which *symposia* play a prominent role in relationships, see my discussion on Callimachus in chapter III, especially epigrams PA 12.51 and 12.230.

<sup>23</sup> Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 199.

<sup>24</sup> David Wray, “Catullus the Roman Love Elegist?” in *A Companion to Roman Love Elegy*, ed. Barbara K. Gold (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), <https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/macal/detail.action?docID=877780>, 26.

<sup>25</sup> Jane E. Phillips, “Classical Epigram,” *The Classical Outlook* 69, no. 1 (Fall 1991), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43936799>, 18.

convey their thoughts as concisely as possible.<sup>26</sup> This tendency originally derived from the lithic nature of the poems—stone is expensive to carve, and tombstones, even of the rich, are only so big. To create a connection with readers in such few lines, epigrammatists often used wordplay to catch one’s attention—be that vivid vocabulary, double-entendres, or detailed imagery. Much of what strikes modern readers as unique about ancient epigram stems from the constraints that space placed on the genre.

Unlike epic, epigram was not designed to be composed in just one meter. However, there were still more commonly employed meters: by the Roman empire, epigrams were usually composed in elegiac couplets, which alternate dactylic hexameters and pentameters, but other meters (such as hendecasyllables) were still used.<sup>27</sup> There was significant metrical experimentation as the genre of literary epigram was being developed during the Hellenistic era, which can be seen in Callimachus’ broad use of meters. The choice of meter becomes another element that poets can manipulate, adapting meter to fit a theme or highlight the emotion of an epigram.

Epigrams become a puzzle of sorts, where the author often establishes a norm and then, at the end, inverts or questions it. Thus, literary epigrams are hardly ever straightforward. According to Jon Bruss, “the best among Hellenistic epigrams present many of the same challenges and rewards. They too invite the reader to read closely the little that is there so that they may...supplement what the poem does not say but the reader must realize in order to truly

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<sup>26</sup> A prime example of this is Callimachus’ PA 7.453, a two-line poem whose every word can be (and has been, by one translator or another) imbued with multiple meanings.

<sup>27</sup> T. James Luce, *Ancient Writers: Greece and Rome*, (2 vol. New York: Scribner, 1982), 889. Martial would still vary his meter, with several of his poems forgoing couplets, even though they are now considered, in many ways, the epitome of ancient epigram.

appreciate the poet's creation."<sup>28</sup> And Martial (along with other Roman epigrammatists) revolutionized the genre in his own way: he used wordplay, obscenity, and references to traditional Latin literature in his writing, all to create poems tackling complex social issues. There is always another layer of meaning to the poem, and grasping it allows the reader to appreciate the epigram more fully.

### **Epigram and Ptolemaic Alexandria**

When Alexander the Great died in 323 BCE, his newly-conquered territory was left to his generals.<sup>29</sup> Ptolemy I (called Σωτήρ, "Soter" or "Savior") took control of Egypt, and consolidated his rule, combining Greek ideals of imperial governance with the Egyptian administrative structures.<sup>30</sup> Through his efforts, the Ptolemies came to control modern Egypt and Libya, as well as parts of Cyprus, Asia Minor, Phoenicia, and eventually Syria and the Hellespont.<sup>31</sup> Although Ptolemy I remained deeply concerned with greater Mediterranean political affairs and expansion, his interests in Alexandria focused on the more intellectual.<sup>32</sup> Ptolemy I's most lasting contribution was, arguably, the creation of the museum and library at Alexandria, which he established as a continuation of the academic and artistic society that flourished in classical Athens.<sup>33</sup> The library's intended purpose was to house copies of all Greek

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<sup>28</sup> Bruss, "Epigram," 118.

<sup>29</sup> Albert Brian Bosworth, "Alexander the Great," *Who's Who in the Classical World*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095401572>.

<sup>30</sup> Kathryn Gutzwiller, *A Guide to Hellenistic Literature* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 16-7.

<sup>31</sup> Günther Hölbl, "Ptolemaic Period," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Donald B. Redford (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195102345.001.0001/acref-9780195102345-e-0586>.

<sup>32</sup> Gutzwiller, *Guide to Hellenistic Literature*, 16.

<sup>33</sup> C. A. Trypanis, "The Alexandrian Age: Alexandrian Literature with Special Reference to Alexandrian Poetry," *Studies in the History of Art* 10 (Jan 1, 1982), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42617919>, 54.

literature that existed at the time, and multiple editions or versions, if available.<sup>34</sup> But it also encouraged the creation of new Greek literature written in Alexandria: at the library, poets, academics, and scientists could work on specialized, individual projects.<sup>35</sup> They focused on their intellectual pursuits, which often intersected with society at large. In a time of upheaval and change, “poets of the age experimented with the genres, combining dialect, meter, theme and treatment in original and unexpected ways.”<sup>36</sup> In Ptolemaic Alexandria, the everyday saturated the literary world.

Ptolemaic Alexandria became a center for both intellectuals and politicians. In centralizing power, Ptolemy I took the Greek notion of a city-state and expanded it into an empire.<sup>37</sup> He used the already-established Egyptian notion of sibling marriage to solidify his rule and create a dynasty.<sup>38</sup> “[T]he vast Hellenistic monarchies emerg[ed] with their mixed populations, their crowded capitals, their great increase in wealth and luxury, and their endowed institutions of learning”<sup>39</sup> and that is what made Alexandria the center of the Mediterranean world in the fourth and third centuries BCE.

Politics was embedded in the poetic world of Hellenistic Alexandria. Because the library was sponsored by the Ptolemies, academics working there relied on staying in the rulers' good graces. As such, patronage (in which a wealthy citizen financially supported an artist) was

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<sup>34</sup> Gutzwiller, *Guide to Hellenistic Literature*, 20.

<sup>35</sup> Trypanis, “The Alexandrian Age,” 54.

<sup>36</sup> Alan Cameron, “Genre and Style in Callimachus,” *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974-) 122, (Jan 1, 1992), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/284375>, 308.

<sup>37</sup> Trypanis, “The Alexandrian Age,” 53.

<sup>38</sup> Pharaohs would occasionally marry sisters, half-sisters, or cousins, probably for purposes of inheritance. Additionally, the pharaoh was often worshipped as a god, and the ruling couple would be associated with Isis and Osiris, the rulers of the gods, who were also siblings. Ray H. Bixler, “Sibling Incest in the Royal Families of Egypt, Peru, and Hawaii,” *The Journal of Sex Research* 18, no. 3 (Aug., 1982), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3812218>, 267-8.

<sup>39</sup> Trypanis, “The Alexandrian Age,” 53.

important to the Hellenistic poet, and the court became a central focus. Many of the poets that flourished in Ptolemaic Alexandria did so because their work built upon the court's artistic and aesthetic preferences and trends.<sup>40</sup> And even when poets weren't trying to overtly please their rulers, the culture of the Ptolemaic empire seeped into their work: the aesthetic preferences of the court are often closely mirrored in the poetry from the time.<sup>41</sup>

Callimachus was a key figure in Alexandrian literary and scholarly circles. He lived during the reigns of Ptolemy II (Φιλάδελφος, "Philadelphos") and Ptolemy III (Εὐεργέτης, "Euergetes"); between c. 300 BCE and 246 BCE, although the exact dates remain uncertain.<sup>42</sup> We do know, however, that he was born in Cyrene, a Ptolemaic colony in modern Libya.<sup>43</sup> In Alexandria, Callimachus became a central academic at the library, creating a comprehensive inventory of the works and separate editions kept there.<sup>44</sup> It is his poetry, however, that he is remembered for: Callimachus appears frequently in both the papyrus remains and Roman works celebrating Greek poets.<sup>45</sup> He was often influenced by the literature he worked with, and his poems are replete with allusions to Homer, lyric poets, and tragedians, while still setting contemporary trends.

Callimachus was a prolific poet, writing not only epigrams, but also lyrics, hymns, iambs, and a longer elegiac poem—and all of this separate from his prose works—most of

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<sup>40</sup> Gutzwiller, *Guide to Hellenistic Literature*, 21.

<sup>41</sup> Gutzwiller, *Guide to Hellenistic Literature*, 21.

<sup>42</sup> Gordon L. Fain, "Callimachus," in *Ancient Greek Epigrams: Major Poets in Verse Translation*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/j.ctt1pnw7r.9>, 119; Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 459.

<sup>43</sup> Fain, "Callimachus," 119-20. See Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 458-9 for a more in-depth discussion of his parentage. Exactly who his parents are is still debatable: while a tenth century CE text links him to the founding family of Cyrene, calling him "Battiades," the word could be an ethnic rather than a patronymic.

<sup>44</sup> Fain, "Callimachus," 120.

<sup>45</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 458.

which no longer survive.<sup>46</sup> This variety shows Callimachus’s brilliance: he “felt free to explore the boundaries of different genres and to mix one with another, inviting reproach but also providing an enormous stimulus to Greek literature.”<sup>47</sup> Callimachus epitomizes Hellenistic poetry in a way few others do—living in Alexandria and remaining in the Ptolemies’ good graces, experimenting with genre, innovating while still appreciating the ancients. As Alan Cameron claims, “the epigram was arguably the most lasting contribution made by the Hellenistic age to Greek literature,”<sup>48</sup> and it is one that Callimachus helped to revolutionize.

### **Epigram and the Roman Empire**

The Romans inherited epigram, like much else, from the Greeks—but they shaped it to fit their own culture. They incorporated elements from other genres, especially satire and rhetoric, both of which had a long tradition in Roman literature, and tended to use a more straightforward, vulgar vocabulary than the Greeks did.<sup>49</sup> All of this helps illustrate how, for the Romans, epigrams were popular entertainment, suitable for the lowest classes as well as the emperor himself.<sup>50</sup> “Sometimes obscene, often merciless, very witty and even funny,” the epigram came to symbolize Roman literary entertainment.<sup>51</sup>

Living and succeeding in imperial Rome meant conforming to the emperor’s desires, which frequently changed in the often-turbulent political climate. Martial lived during the reign of the Flavians, who took power in the wake of the civil wars in 69 CE, and into the principates

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<sup>46</sup> Fain, “Callimachus,” 120-1.

<sup>47</sup> Fain, “Callimachus,” 122.

<sup>48</sup> Cameron, “Genre and Style in Callimachus,” 306.

<sup>49</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 889.

<sup>50</sup> There is evidence (see Martial, epigram 11.20, below) that even Augustus composed epigrams. This is also part of the tradition of emperors styling themselves as poets, or interested in the arts.

<sup>51</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 889.



of Nerva and Trajan. In just over one year (69-70 CE), four separate people declared themselves emperor after the assassination of Nero, and Vespasian, a military leader under previous emperors, emerged victorious.<sup>52</sup> He and, subsequently, his two sons, Titus and Domitian, ruled from 69 to 96 CE.<sup>53</sup> Under the Flavians, the empire was expanded on both the eastern and western fronts: Vespasian settled unrest in Germany, along the Rhine and the Danube rivers, and subdued the Jewish rebellions in the east, with his son Titus' help.<sup>54</sup> But much of the Flavian reign was focused on peace at home: buildings such as the Colosseum and new temples were sponsored by the Flavians, and they “oversaw a return to Augustan-style traditionalism and moral rectitude, and the republic remained an important ideological concept for the dynasty.”<sup>55</sup> They focused on rebuilding the empire after the civil wars, and also helped a new ruling class to strengthen and oversee the empire.<sup>56</sup>

Of particular importance for the Flavians, especially after Nero's rule, was the relationship between the empire and the people. Nero's excess was still on people's minds, especially his personal palace, the *Domus Aurea*, which had taken over whole neighborhoods in its construction and garnered public loathing. The Flavians were thus tasked with restoring public faith in both the empire itself and their new dynasty. One way they did this was through public works: the Colosseum, the baths of Titus, the *Templum Pacis*, and significant rebuilding

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<sup>52</sup> Ronald Mellor, “The New Aristocracy of Power,” in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, ed. A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 73-4.

<sup>53</sup> Karen Acton, “Flavian Family and Dynasty,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. Michael Gagarin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-486?rskey=WRgkW6&result=6>.

<sup>54</sup> Mellor, “The New Aristocracy of Power,” 82; John Brian Campbell, “Titus,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-6496?rskey=z3wyro&result=3>.

<sup>55</sup> Acton, “Flavian Family and Dynasty.”

<sup>56</sup> Mellor, “The New Aristocracy of Power,” 84.

after the fires of 64 and 69 CE.<sup>57</sup> The Flavians used their building program to solidify their reign and monumentalize themselves, creating the image of an ideal emperor in the process. They also emphasized their connection to the Julio-Claudians, especially Augustus; this was partially to help legitimize their rule, as Vespasian was the first emperor not related to Julius Caesar. Thus, they harkened back to the Augustans through legislation, especially moral regulation, and imperial propaganda.

The Flavians also used imperial expansion to solidify their rule. As Rhiannon Evans summarizes, “Vespasian’s nomination depended upon his military reputation and actual success in Judaea...much of Titus’ popularity was accrued during his military service in Britain, Germany, and Judaea, while Domitian is represented as an emperor desperately trying to extend the bounds of empire.”<sup>58</sup> By highlighting their civilizing role on the borders of the empire, the Flavians were able to assert their right to rule even in Rome; not only did they bring an end to foreign and civil violence, but they were (to Roman eyes) taming the barbarians. In both instances, they brought civility to Romans and foreigners alike: they expanded the empire, imposed Roman rule abroad, while also repairing the damage—physical and ideological—from Nero’s rule. In bringing order to Rome, calming the turmoil that lingered after Nero’s assassination, the Flavians asserted themselves as the rightful emperors—but they had to maintain that dominant position, through foreign wars, to maintain control.

However, the Flavian dynasty ended in disrepute, with the murder of the then-deranged Domitian. In the wake of the tragedy, Nerva, frequently targeted by Domitian during the Flavian

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<sup>57</sup> James E. Packer, “*Plurima Et Amplissima Opera*: Parsing Flavian Rome,” in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, 197. The first building Vespasian rebuilt was the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, which was important to the Roman people and state.

<sup>58</sup> Rhiannon Evans, “Containment and Corruption: The Discourse of Flavian Empire,” in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, 255.

regime despite being consul twice, was made emperor.<sup>59</sup> Much like the rise of the Flavians, this was seen as a restoration of stability to the imperial throne, although there was significant anxiety surrounding Nerva's lack of a son and heir.<sup>60</sup> However, Nerva was an ideal candidate because he was not only distantly related to the Julio-Claudian emperor Tiberius, but also because of his weak association with the Flavians, and Domitian in particular,<sup>61</sup> he symbolized a strong break from the previous tyranny and a return to Julio-Claudian prosperity. Nevertheless, Nerva also provided stability and continuity with the Flavian government, maintaining the more socially accepted aspects of Domitian's regime.<sup>62</sup> However, Nerva reigned for only two years before he died of fever in early 98.<sup>63</sup> Yet his short rule provided a transition away from the chaotic end of Domitian's despotism and paved the way for his successors.

To solve the crisis surrounding his lack of an heir, Nerva had adopted Trajan in 97 CE. Romans would often adopt an heir when they did not have a son to continue their family line, but in this case, Nerva further justified it by claiming the adoption was a choice made in the empire's interest.<sup>64</sup> Trajan was a military leader in Germany, and thus had support of the troops, always an important consideration in the Roman world.<sup>65</sup> During Trajan's reign, the empire was at the extent of its conquered territory with his defeats of the Dacians and Parthians.<sup>66</sup> Additionally,

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<sup>59</sup> Miriam Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," in *The High Empire, AD 70–192*, ed. Alan K. Bowman, Peter Garnsey, and Dominic Rathbone, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 11 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/cambridge-ancient-history/nerva-to-hadrian/42947F250420D76946F0B977AD6CDCE7>, 84.

<sup>60</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 84.

<sup>61</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 84-5.

<sup>62</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 91.

<sup>63</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 96.

<sup>64</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 94.

<sup>65</sup> Griffin, "Nerva to Hadrian," 95. Roman imperial history is littered with military murders and uprisings against the emperor; thus, it was crucial that any new emperor gain their acceptance.

<sup>66</sup> Olivier Hekster, "Trajan," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-1275?rsk=0AbuHC&result=4>.

Trajan was the first emperor not from the Italian peninsula—he was born in southern Spain<sup>67</sup>—and his rise to the highest political office showed the growing acceptance of non-Italian peoples as Romans. Trajan’s rule was marked not only by military victories, but prosperity in the city of Rome itself: Trajan built public amenities, like the grand forum that bears his name and the improved harbor near Ostia, and made a show of cooperation with the Senate, something the Romans considered of great importance.<sup>68</sup> He also expanded food relief programs in Rome and the countryside, a decision that was based on both ideological and economic reasons.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, Trajan was often seen as an approachable ruler: when he arrived in Rome after becoming emperor, he greeted the crowds amiably. As Miriam Griffin says, “this is *civilitas*, the modesty and restraint of a *princeps* who behaves as if he were on equal terms with his subjects, while they all accept that he is not”:<sup>70</sup> Trajan wielded his power wisely. Much like Nerva, Trajan continued many of Domitian’s successful practices, while maintaining an ideological distance from the failed emperor.<sup>71</sup> The end of Trajan’s rule led to “dynastic continuity, and though it was achieved almost to the end by adoption, great emphasis was placed on family tradition.”<sup>72</sup> In many ways, Trajan and his successors were some of the greatest Roman emperors and ruled the empire at its most prosperous

Martial was and continues to be a popular Roman imperial poet from the end of the first century CE; however, he himself was not born in Rome. Martial was born sometime between 38 and 41 CE in Bilbilis, a Roman city in the northeast of modern Spain.<sup>73</sup> His father was most

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<sup>67</sup> Hekster, “Trajan.”

<sup>68</sup> Hekster, “Trajan.”

<sup>69</sup> Griffin, “Nerva to Hadrian,” 115.

<sup>70</sup> Griffin, “Nerva to Hadrian,” 103.

<sup>71</sup> Griffin, “Nerva to Hadrian,” 98.

<sup>72</sup> Griffin, “Nerva to Hadrian,” 97.

<sup>73</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 887.

likely a member of the equestrian class (or at least, Martial himself became one), and his early life in Spain was comfortable.<sup>74</sup> In 64 CE, Martial moved to Rome, and quickly gained the patronage of another Spaniard, Seneca the Younger; Seneca was, however, only the first in a long line of men who acted as a patron to Martial.<sup>75</sup> Between his arrival and the publication of his first epigrammatic book approximately fifteen years later, we know little about his life except for a short stint in politics, as a military tribunate.<sup>76</sup> Martial eventually published fifteen books of poetry between the years of 80 and 102 CE, and gained favor from many high-status Romans, including the emperor Domitian.<sup>77</sup> Martial's work was widely read, and was deeply intertwined with Roman social life, with its many mentions of friends, enemies, and strangers in the bathhouse.

In many ways, and with such a large amount of surviving work, Martial revolutionized epigram: "a student of rhetoric as well as verse, [he] utilized many and various tricks of style," and had a both a large vocabulary and a penchant for wordplay and flexibility with syntax.<sup>78</sup> However, Martial's poetry was not erudite: much of his material was not just focused on the everyday, but was scathing and sexual. He writes about Romans of all social circles, from the imperial family to the trade workers, and they all served as part of his audience.<sup>79</sup> The outlook Martial takes in his poems matches that of everyday Romans: they could relate to his complaints about patrons, frustration with nosy neighbors, and relationship problems. It is not hard to see how all this made Martial so popular throughout the ages.

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<sup>74</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 887.

<sup>75</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 887.

<sup>76</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 887-8.

<sup>77</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 890.

<sup>78</sup> Luce, *Ancient Writers*, 891.

<sup>79</sup> Edward E. Best, Jr, "Martial's Readers in the Roman World," *The Classical Journal* 64, No. 5, (Feb., 1969), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3296217>, 212.

## Chapter II—Epigrams of Martial: A Survey in Empire and Sexuality

Martial's focus on individuals, on daily minutiae, has taught us volumes about the average Roman and the realities of living under the empire. His poetry frequently discusses aspects of everyday life from the political to the sexual, and everywhere in between. He often relies on the Roman idea of *mores* to make his point. The word *mos* (singular) can be translated as a custom, the character of a person, or "habits in respect to right and wrong."<sup>80</sup> The idea of *mores* was an important concept for Romans; it guided much of Roman society, and was used as a justification for character judgments of others. Ideas of morality and proper behavior would reinforce notions of political standing, citizenship, and gender dynamics. Part of succeeding in ancient Rome was obeying the *mores*, conforming to the proper expectations. *Mores* acted as guiding principles for how individuals should behave in society.

Thus, tracking these conceptions of right and wrong in Martial's poetry allows us to see how people were viewed in society. Throughout all of this, it is important to remember that the characters represented in the epigrams are at least somewhat fictive and embellished, but the practices that they engaged in were very much present in Roman society either manifestly or secretly. In the poems, "these fictions served as vehicles for the articulations of anxieties, personal and political."<sup>81</sup> Martial uses his poetry to discuss issues of social morality, employing imagined situations and personas, rather than confronting the topics head-on.

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<sup>80</sup> P. G. W. Glare, ed., "mos," entry 4, *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press/Clarendon Press, 1968).

<sup>81</sup> Catharine Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge University Press, <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/politics-of-immorality-in-ancient-rome/C44A21822086D3C51939E3AAAF5D08DC>, 36

One of the defining features of Martial's epigrams, apart from the risqué content, is his use of language. As Patricia Watson says, "it [language] plays a fundamental role in his portrayal of Roman life and is integral to the effectiveness of his satire."<sup>82</sup> He combines everyday vocabulary, obscene terms, and poetic language from other genres in his epigrams, and this is part of what makes them unique. Martial uses a diversity of tone and subject that "is accompanied by a corresponding variation in register in keeping with the notion of *decorum*, that is, the suiting of a language to context,"<sup>83</sup> so that his subject matter and language reinforce each other. Martial's obscene language is perhaps the most notable example, especially when used in a sexual context. For Martial and the Romans, obscenity and sexual misbehavior were linked, and many of his obscene epigrams address strange sexual practices;<sup>84</sup> he rarely uses such language in poems discussing politics, dinner parties, or other widely-acceptable topics. Thus, obscenity is one of the ways that he shows immoral behavior—the language matches the actions. His obscene language exposes and ridicules sexually immoral individuals.

Along with obscenity, Martial uses language of invective, and the two often reinforce each other in his epigrams. Moreover, invective pairs well with Martial's main subject: daily life. In general, Roman satirists justified their use of invective by arguing "that its real-life subject-matter and criticism were relevant and ethically beneficial to the reader."<sup>85</sup> When Martial critiques an individual's behavior, he does so to further his argument about social *mores* and the ways that people were expected to act—and the more egregiously they misbehaved, the stronger his point comes across. Moreover, Martial uses his obscenity and erotically-influenced invective

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<sup>82</sup> Patricia Watson, "The Originality of Martial's Language," *Glotta* 78, no. 1/4 (Jan 1, 2002), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40267146>, 222.

<sup>83</sup> Watson, "The Originality of Martial's Language," 223.

<sup>84</sup> Watson, "The Originality of Martial's Language," 228.

<sup>85</sup> Art L. Spisak, *Martial: A Social Guide* (London: Duckworth, 2007), 20.

to “attac[k] Roman *gravitas* or *severitas* carried to a stifling and hypocritical degree.”<sup>86</sup> This was common among Roman satirists, who would exaggerate social conventions to unreasonable proportions, often leaving readers uneasy and off-balance, revealing the underlying issues with those conventions.<sup>87</sup> And Martial does this frequently, establishing a paradigm, building its importance before, in the last few lines, suggesting the whole situation is other than as it first appears. His epigrams are designed specifically to judge others’ behaviors.

### **The Role of Empire in Martial’s Epigrams**

The Roman empire greatly affected the daily lives of its citizens, especially those living in the city of Rome, as mentioned previously. Martial himself was intimately connected with not just the emperor, but also with important, wealthy Romans in the city, through the socio-political network of patronage.<sup>88</sup> Under the empire, people gained social influence through closeness to the emperor, which Martial often uses to his advantage. His writing reflects the prevalence of patronage, from dedicating poems to the emperor or other patrons, to complaining about his role as a client, dependent on the whims and mercy of prominent Romans. In this socio-political hierarchy, the emperor was always at the top, had the most power, the most social influence. Accordingly, Martial’s poems about the emperor show him in a flattering light, regardless of the prevailing opinion. In his epigrams, Martial frequently references imperial programs and social laws and addresses the emperor himself; thus, the emperor plays a crucial role in understanding

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<sup>86</sup> Spisak, *Martial: A Social Guide*, 32-3.

<sup>87</sup> Kirk Ormand, *Controlling Desires: Sexuality in Ancient Greece and Rome* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2009), 238.

<sup>88</sup> See Nicholas Purcell, “Patronage, Non-literary,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. Simon Hornblower and Anthony Spawforth, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 200), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-4788#>.



ideas of Roman social morality and behavior, in the interactions between everyday people and their ruler.

Martial writes about the person of the emperor—or at least, the current emperor—as a Roman par excellence, praising him as better than his predecessors. Upon the ascension of Nerva, Martial claims the following:

*quae modo litoreos ibatis carmina Pyrgos,  
ite Sacra, iam non pulverulenta, Via.  
contigit Ausoniae procerum mitissimus aulae  
Nerva: licet tuto nunc Helicone frui:  
recta fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas 5  
iam redeunt; longi terga dedere metus.  
hoc populi gentesque tuae, pia Roma, precantur:  
dux tibi sit semper talis, et iste diu.<sup>89</sup>*

Songs, [you] who were just going to seaside Pyrgi,  
Take the Via Sacra, no longer dusty.  
Most gentle Nerva reached the Ausonian hall of leading men:  
Now it is permitted to enjoy Helicon safely:  
Virtuous faith, cheerful compassion, safe rule 5  
Have now returned; enduring fears have gone away.  
Pious Rome, your people and tribes pray this:  
May your leader always be like this, and may this one be for a long time.<sup>90</sup>

After the murder of Domitian, Martial is careful to show Nerva in a positive light, and avoids mentioning the patronage that he enjoyed under Domitian. Instead of eulogizing Domitian, he compliments Nerva and the prosperity he has brought to Rome, offering prayers for the emperor's good health. Loyalty to the emperor is essential, but it is best not to be loyal to any particular emperor, especially once his time has come and gone.

The language of this poem is saturated with ideas of peace, prosperity, and piety, all of which Martial uses to glorify Nerva. Throughout the epigram, Martial creates the idea that Nerva

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<sup>89</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, trans. and ed. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, 3 vols (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 12.5.

<sup>90</sup> All translations are my own, unless otherwise specified.

has improved the city of Rome. He has not only cleaned the streets so they are “no longer dusty” (*iam non pulverulenta*), but has made it safe for everyday people; they no longer have to worry about the emperor’s whims, and can enjoy the finer things in life, especially poetry and music (invoked through the mention of Helicon, the Muses’ sacred mountain). Along with this, Martial makes a prayer on behalf of the emperor, that the Romans be blessed with such a compassionate ruler for a long time. Starting in the second line, we see religious language: that Nerva beautified the Via Sacra, the main road through the Roman forum that passes by temples and civic monuments, shows that he values Roman traditions and religious values. Nerva is therefore a worthy ruler of pious Rome (*pia Roma*), because he respects Roman religion. Martial structures this poem to highlight the Roman values the Nerva embodies, thus proving that he is a worthy ruler.

Additionally, the Romans conceived of themselves in opposition to others. As such, Martial frequently employs language of foreigners, and especially of imperial domination over them. Importantly, “the act of mapping and drawing boundaries effectively enacts empire”<sup>91</sup>—both geographically and in literature. In several of Martial’s epigrams, imagery of imperial conquest plays a substantive role. This language of conquest structures the emperor as an ideal Roman, physically enacting his domination over others.

In several of Martial’s poems, he uses the idea of military might to show what a successful emperor looks like. In epigram 12.8, the city of Rome herself revels under the new emperor, Trajan, praised for his military success.

*terrarum dea gentiumque Roma,  
cui par est nihil et nihil secundum,  
Traiani modo laeta cum futuros  
tot per saecula computaret annos,*

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<sup>91</sup> Evans, “Containment and Corruption,” 259.

*et fortem iuvenemque Martiumque,* 5  
*in tanto duce militem videret,*  
*dixit praeside gloriosa tali:*  
*“Parthorum proceres ducesque Serum,*  
*Thracas, Sauromatae, Getae, Britanni,*  
*possum ostendere Caesarem: venite.”* 10

Rome, goddess of lands and peoples,  
 To whom nothing is equal and nothing is second,  
 Just now exulting in Trajan, when  
 She counted the coming years through so many ages,  
 And saw the strong young soldier 5  
 Of Mars in such a leader,  
 Said, reveling in so great a leader:  
 “Leading men of Parthians and generals of Asians,  
 Thracians, Sarmatians, Getans, Britains,  
 I can show you a Caesar: come.” 10

Rome is described as equaled by nothing and second to none, and Trajan is a ruler worthy of such an empire. Compared to leaders of other empires, he is the only true “Caesar,” or emperor: the rest become weak and insignificant when compared to him. There is frequently a moral dimension to this language of domination. Because the Romans value *mores*, they are thus fit to rule a vast empire, the argument goes. Not just Trajan, as in 12.8, when he is described as *praeside tali* (so great a leader), but all of Rome, for whom such an emperor is fitting. As such, there is a “strong sense that only those morally appropriate will achieve the imperial dream.”<sup>92</sup> Only those morally-upstanding enough are worthy of an empire, and conversely, any new territories will be subjected to Roman *mores* and social expectations.

Rather than simply implying the military and moral superiority of the Romans, Martial deploys language of both in a single epigram, showing how the two reinforce each other:

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<sup>92</sup> Evans, “Containment and Corruption,” 263.

*palma regit nostros, mitissime Caesar, Hiberos,  
 et placido fruitur Pax peregrina iugo.  
 ergo agimus laeti tanto pro munere grates:  
 misisti mores in loca nostra tuos.*<sup>93</sup>

Most gentle Caesar, the [victorious] palm rules our Spaniards,  
 And foreign Peace enjoys her mild yoke.  
 Therefore we, happy, give thanks for so great a gift:  
 You sent your *mores* to our land.

This epigram claims that the emperor has made the territory prosperous by imposing Roman morals.<sup>94</sup> Trajan is seen as taming the land, bringing peace to Spain, and subjugating it (both peace and Spain) to his rule. Importantly, the poem explicitly states that Trajan brought his *mores* to the region, that said *mores* are instrumental in his dominion. The language of the emperor's morals is especially interesting in this case because Trajan was from Spain—the *mores* of a Roman emperor must be different from those of a Spanish youth, this poem implies. Traditionally, "Roman moralists constructed a close association between Rome's military successes in extending the empire and the personal virtues of the Roman people."<sup>95</sup> Martial frequently uses that association in his epigrams, as the example here, as well as the previous poem, clearly illustrates.

There then comes to be a strict hierarchy between foreigners and Romans, as well as between citizens and non-citizens. Roman society distinguished between citizens, freedmen, and slaves, and each group had different expectations for behavior. This can be seen in epigram 11.96, in which Martial chastises a foreign slave.

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<sup>93</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.9.

<sup>94</sup> Whether those morals were brought peacefully or imposed through force is a relevant question, especially when considering what "Roman morals" might be, especially in a military or colonial context.

<sup>95</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 43.

*Marcia, non Rhenus, salit hic, Germane: quid obstas  
 et puerum prohibes divitis imbre lacus?  
 barbare, non debet, summoto cive ministro,  
 captivam victrix unda levare sitim.*

The Marcia, not the Rhine, flows here, German: why do you stand in the way  
 And block a slave from the water of a plentiful lake?  
 Barbarian, victorious water should not relieve a captive thirst,  
 While holding a citizen servant at bay.

The driving point of this epigram is the distinction Martial makes between the two slaves, one Roman and one German. Martial also uses the word *puer* (boy) in this poem, rather than any word manifestly meaning “slave.” As Kirk Ormand says, “slaves were regularly called *pueri*, that is, ‘boys.’ They were seen as not full men.”<sup>96</sup> Although he would not actually have been a “citizen,” the Roman slave is expected to have precedence over the German, the foreigner. In illuminating this disparity, Martial shows us that where someone is born can be just as important as servile status as a category for enforcing social dynamics.

Moreover, for most of Martial’s career, Rome had been at war with Germans in the Danube and Rhine regions. Thus, “from a Roman point of view, it would have been particularly annoying that a German slave should cause trouble at a drinking fountain while his relatives were being equally troublesome back at home on the Rhine.”<sup>97</sup> This poem’s dynamic reinforces ideas of Roman superiority, and the proper behavior of foreigners towards Romans, as well as touching upon issues of slavery and citizenship in the Roman world. For Martial and other Romans, ideas of empire and citizenship played a crucial role in daily life.

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<sup>96</sup>Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 135.

<sup>97</sup>N. M. Kay, *Martial, Book XI: A Commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 262.

## Empire and Sexuality

For the Romans, class structure was deeply enmeshed with ideas of proper sexuality. Sex was often seen as a way for Roman men as a way to reinforce their socio-political status over other men,<sup>98</sup> using women and slaves as proxies. For Romans, the idea of masculinity did not indicate just biological sex, but rather included gender and class status; and thus, citizen men had the most authority.<sup>99</sup> Many of Martial's poems focus on ideas about women's roles in and desire for sex, through the male gaze. Along with male conceptions of dominance, women were expected to be subordinate and passive. According to Holt Parker, "the sexually active woman is the prostitute or the adulteress, who inverts the value of the society. She hunts and seeks out men to give her pleasure and uses them as toys."<sup>100</sup> These women who actively sought out sex were often disparaged for performing female behavior that was seen as socially unacceptable, challenging expectations. Furthermore, Romans had a complicated relationship with female sexual activity: they found it desirable at the same time they deemed it improper and nonnormative.<sup>101</sup> This paradox created an untenable position for women and allowed authors like Martial to critique them at every turn.

As we have seen in previous poems, separating notions of empire and morality is nearly impossible in the Roman world. The two reinforce each other, creating a social hierarchy. The language of inside and outsider, of belonging in the empire, can then be applied even in sexual contexts. In epigram 7.30, Martial scolds a young Roman woman for her choice of sex partners.

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<sup>98</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 140.

<sup>99</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 135. See Jonathan Walters, "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in *Roman Sexualities*, ed. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn Skinner, 29-46 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) for a deeper discussion.

<sup>100</sup> Quoted in Deborah Kamen and Sarah Levin-Richardson, "Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary," in *Ancient Sex: New Essays*, ed. Ruby Blondell and Kirk Ormand (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 2015), 235.

<sup>101</sup> Kamen and Levin-Richardson, "Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary," 235.

*das Parthis, das Germanis, das, Caelia, Dacis,*  
*nec Cilicum spernis Cappadocumque toros;*  
*et tibi de Pharia Memphiticus urbe fututor*  
*navigat, a rubris et niger Indus aquis;*  
*nec recutitorum fugis inguina Iudaeorum,* 5  
*nec te Sarmatico transit Alanus equo.*  
*qua ratione facis, cum sis Romana puella,*  
*quod Romana tibi mentula nulla placet?*

You give to Parthians, you give to Germans, you give, Caelia, to Dacians,  
 Nor do you reject the beds of Cilicians or Cappadocians;  
 And for you, an Egyptian paramour sails from the Pharian city,  
 And a black Ethiopian from the Red Sea;  
 Nor do you flee the groins of circumcised Jews, 5  
 Nor does a Scythian on a Sarmatian horse pass you over.  
 By what reason do you do this—since you’re a Roman girl,  
 Why does no Roman dick satisfy you?

The majority of the poem lists all the men Caelia will have sex with: newly-conquered Dacians, monotheistic Jews, and men coming from all reaches of the eastern world. However, as Martial says in the last couplet, she refuses to sleep with “Romans.” Not just people living in the Roman empire—because Egypt, Judaea, Germany, and Greece were all Roman territories—but Roman citizens, “real” Roman men. In his question, Martial embeds a cutting insult: that Caelia is sexually improper, has sex in a shameful way, because she doesn’t have sex with Roman citizen men.

The organization of the poem helps make Martial’s point: the threefold repetition of *das* in the first line emphasizes Caelia’s typical behavior, its variety and insatiability, while in the last two lines, Martial questions her reasoning for her actions. By placing the two in opposition, Martial draws a clear distinction between Caelia’s actions and society’s expectations of who her sexual partners should be. And with the use of the word *mentula*, an obscene term for the

penis,<sup>102</sup> Martial further degrades Caelia and her preferences, using the language of invective to insult her choices. In this poem, Martial criticizes Caelia's sexual practices, not just for their insatiable nature, but for her lack of discrimination in partners—until it comes to Roman men.

In preferring (or at least, actually having sex with) men from the outskirts of the empire over Roman citizens, Caelia inverts the social hierarchy. If Caelia puts these non-citizen men ahead of Roman men in bed, what might that say about her opinions of them in society as a whole? Moreover, the men that fill the first line of the poem are traditionally seen as military enemies of the Romans,<sup>103</sup> and Martial begins by claiming that Caelia prefers them to Roman-born men. Her lack of desire to sleep with Roman men is then construed as either a simple dismissal, or at worst, a threat—Martial's lampooning of her highlights that, reasserting the paradigm of Roman men's dominance and casting her as the one eschewing *mores*.

But Caelia is not the only example of a woman who brings foreign concepts (or men) into the bedroom. In another epigram, Martial writes about a Roman woman who talks dirty in Greek.

*cum tibi non Ephesos nec sit Rhodos aut Mitylene,  
 sed domus in vico, Laelia, Patricio,  
 deque coloratis numquam lita mater Etruscis,  
 durus Aricina de regione pater;  
 κύριέ μου, μέλι μου, ψυχή μου congeris usque, 5  
 pro pudor! Hersiliae civis et Egeriae.  
 lectulus has voces, nec lectulus audiat omnis,  
 sed quem lascivo stravit amica viro.  
 scire cupis quo casta modo matrona loquaris?  
 numquid, quae crisat, blandior esse potest? 10  
 tu licet ediscas totam referasque Corinthon,  
 non tamen ominino, Laelia, Lais eris.<sup>104</sup>*

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<sup>102</sup> Gergő Gellérfi, "Obscenity Or Taboo? Remarks on Profanities in Juvenal and Martial" (2017). [http://real.mtak.hu/86081/7/1\\_GraecoLatinaBrunensia\\_22-2017-2\\_10.pdf](http://real.mtak.hu/86081/7/1_GraecoLatinaBrunensia_22-2017-2_10.pdf), 161.

<sup>103</sup> Guillermo Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII: A Commentary*, trans. J. J. Zoltowski (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 215.

<sup>104</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.68.



Although Ephesus nor Rhodes or Mytilene is not yours,  
 But a house in the Patrician quarter, Laelia,  
 And your mother, never quarreling, descends from tanned Etruscans,  
 And your hardy father from the region of Aricia;  
 “My master, my honey, my soul,” you pile up all the way, 5  
 For shame! A citizen of Hersilia and Egeria.  
 A bed should hear these voices—not every bed,  
 But the one a girlfriend spreads with her horny man.  
 You want to know how you might talk like a chaste matron?  
 Can she who shakes her ass be any more alluring? 10  
 Although you learn by heart and bring back all of Corinth,  
 Yet not at all will you become Lais, Laelia.

Martial here establishes the dichotomy between the *matrona* (matron) and the *amica*, which can loosely be translated as “girlfriend.”<sup>105</sup> In doing so, he also shows that the two were seen as having different sets of expectations and *mores*: while an *amica* or a prostitute could get away with using Greek pet names, a married matron can’t. Importantly, Martial never explicitly states if Laelia is married; but he implies that, to please her eventual (if not current) husband, she must learn to seduce men like a proper Roman woman. He also condemns her for flaunting this improper behavior in public, saying it is not fitting for *omnis lectulus* (every little bed), but rather a prostitute’s—and her current actions are “too public and not appropriate for a Roman matron.”<sup>106</sup>

The behavior Laelia is expected to follow is reinforced by her parentage. She is not from Greece, but her family has lived on the Italian peninsula for generations: her mother is Etruscan and her father Latin. Martial reinforces this idea when he mentions Hersilia and Egeria, two mytho-historical wives of upstanding reputations.<sup>107</sup> Martial claims that, by ignoring the

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<sup>105</sup> This term draws heavily on language of Latin love elegy. See Charleton T. Lewis and Charles Short, “amicus,” *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879)

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aalphabetic+letter%3DA>.

<sup>106</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 172.

<sup>107</sup> See commentary.

expectations of sexual behavior, Laelia is disregarding her cultural ancestors, the women whose behavior she should emulate. “Her sexual misbehavior, then, is a betrayal of her class status.”<sup>108</sup> All of the geographical language in the poem points out just how wrong it is for Laelia to be talking like this, just how much she is perverting what the Romans considered proper.

Moreover, Romans were especially concerned with distancing themselves and their social practices from those of the Greeks, whom they saw as decadent.<sup>109</sup> This makes it even more concerning for Martial (and his audience) that Laelia is using Greek, rather than preferring purely Latin sexual language. The Romans “work hard to distinguish [their] practices and morals from their soft, eastern, conquered neighbors,”<sup>110</sup> and Laelia thus threatens Roman society by aspiring to their enemies’ behaviors. And to top it all off, the final line claims that despite all her perverse actions, Laelia won’t ever become Lais, a famous Greek prostitute<sup>111</sup>—she will never be a Greek girl, nor will she be able to successfully be a prostitute (because of her social standing), regardless of how improperly she displays her sexuality. Much like Caelia, Laelia is painted as sexually immoral and inferior because of her penchant for Greek.

In yet another epigram, Martial disparages women who don’t follow social expectations of morality, reprimanding them for their sex life. In this instance, he also provides them with advice:

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<sup>108</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 172.

<sup>109</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 132.

<sup>110</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 132.

<sup>111</sup> “Lais,” *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, ed. M. C. Howatson, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199548545.001.0001/acref-9780199548545-e-1751?rskey=GJs3CC&result=1>. See 11.104 and its discussion for another mention of Lais, as well as the commentary.

*lusistis, satis est: lascivi nubite cunni:  
 permissa est vobis non nisi casta Venus.  
 haec est casta Venus? nubit Laetoria Lygdo:  
 turpius uxor erit quam modo moecha fuit.*<sup>112</sup>

You've played, it's enough: marry, you horny sluts:  
 Venus is not allowed to you unless she's chaste.  
 This is chaste sex? Latoria marries Lygidus:  
 She will be more indecent a wife than as just an adulteress.

These women are painted as sluts (how I have chosen to translate *cunni*) because they are having sex out of wedlock, or “playing,” as Martial calls it.<sup>113</sup> In this poem, Martial’s language is especially harsh—*cunnus* is a vulgar term for female genitalia, and was occasionally used to insult a woman. The word then strengthens the force of Martial’s negative opinions in the poem. This poem provides “insight into the real fears that Roman men had about unrestrained female sexual behavior,”<sup>114</sup> because their “horniness” is the impetus behind their need to marry, according to society. Women need a husband to control and satiate their desire. Venus, as metonymy for intercourse, is only allowed, is only proper, if the woman is chaste, i.e. married. As Catharine Edwards states, “Roman authors treat uncontrolled female sexuality as an emblem of the general breakdown of order;”<sup>115</sup> Martial builds upon that idea, saying that, even when these women marry, proper social order will not be restored. Because of their past indecencies, they will still pervert the ideal of proper marriage. Thus, even the appearance of moral behavior—marrying, having sex with your husband—is still corrupted by these women. In this epigram, Martial touches upon the role female sexuality has in shaping Roman society, and the ways that men sought to control it.

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<sup>112</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 6.45.

<sup>113</sup> See commentary.

<sup>114</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 171.

<sup>115</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 43.

An important aspect of how sexual morality was constructed in ancient Rome are the marriage laws instituted under Augustus, which come to bear his name. As part of his program to restore prosperity to Rome, Augustus, the first emperor, instituted several laws designed to incentivize marriage and procreation, as well as specify whom Roman citizens and Roman-born women could marry.<sup>116</sup> This was driven, at least in part, by the civil wars of the past 50-75 years.<sup>117</sup> It was widely believed, at least by moralists at the time, that the civil wars were driven by the abandonment of morality,<sup>118</sup> and thus, Augustus appealed to more traditional notions of Roman morality and peace to consolidate his power and restore stability. According to Kirk Ormand, “sexual misbehavior is one part of a picture of general moral dissolution” that Augustus’ propaganda claimed to fix.<sup>119</sup> Thus, Augustus’ moral reforms, especially those concerned with protecting marriages and children, fit nicely into his wider political aspirations.

He passed two laws c.18 BCE: the first, the *lex Iulia de Maritandis Ordinibus* (the Julian Law on Marriage) “stipulated that citizen men between the ages of 25 and 60 were to be married,” and that married men with at least three children “were given increased access to certain political offices.”<sup>120</sup> Women who gave birth to three children were allowed more public autonomy, able to perform legal and monetary transactions without a man’s permission.<sup>121</sup> The second law was the *lex Iulia de Adulteriis* (the Julian Law on Adulterers).<sup>122</sup> The law, “made sex

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<sup>116</sup> Roman women were not allowed to vote, which meant that, as enfranchisement was the main requirement of being a citizen, they themselves were not Roman citizens. Any boys born to a Roman-born woman, however, would be citizens, assuming their father was at least a freedman.

<sup>117</sup> David Wheeler-Reed, *Regulating Sex in the Roman Empire: Ideology, the Bible, and the Early Christians* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 5-6.

<sup>118</sup> Wheeler-Reed, *Regulating Sex in the Roman Empire*, 6.

<sup>119</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 168.

<sup>120</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 129-30.

<sup>121</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 130.

<sup>122</sup> The two laws are often referred to as simply the *lex Iulia* or the (Augustan) marriage laws, both of which are terms I will use interchangeably.

with another man's wife a violation of criminal law (rather than being subject of a civil action) for the first time in Roman history."<sup>123</sup> It is worth noting that this law targeted women's extra-marital affairs, but not those of their husbands.<sup>124</sup> While it is still a matter of some debate as to how strictly these laws were enforced—although Augustus is famous for exiling his own daughter because of an adultery charge—it was a considerable statement as far as sexual morality was concerned in the public eye. Additionally, criminalizing adultery helped to institutionalize and legitimate Augustus' dynastic ambitions.<sup>125</sup> The laws, their incentives and punishments, were designed to make others in the empire practice sexual behavior that conformed to Augustus' *mores*; however, their success is difficult to track.

Moreover, the *lex Iulia* aided in stratifying society. First of all, it created a direct link between marriage and social status.<sup>126</sup> In doing so, the legislation codified that social hierarchy, with a lower status making the crime more serious.<sup>127</sup> The law also divided society in another way, separating women into two groups: "wives and prostitutes—those whom one might marry and those with whom one might have sex outside the marriage."<sup>128</sup> However, Martial sees those categories as less rigid,<sup>129</sup> also creating slippage between how the two were expected to behave. Thus, *matronae* in Martial came to be both criticized and praised for acting like *meretrices* (prostitutes), depending on the context.

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<sup>123</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 130.

<sup>124</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 38.

<sup>125</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 62.

<sup>126</sup> Wheeler-Reed, *Regulating Sex in the Roman Empire*, 8.

<sup>127</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 51.

<sup>128</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 61

<sup>129</sup> Patricia A. Watson, "Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus: The Sexuality of the *Matrona* in Martial," *Mnemnosyne* 58, No. 1, (2005), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4433616>, 73.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Flavians were the direct successors to the Julio-Claudian dynasty, with Vespasian ascending the throne after the assassination of Nero and subsequent civil war. In many ways, their rise to power paralleled that of Augustus, and all three Flavian rulers emphasized their connection to the Julio-Claudians, as a way of legitimizing their rule. Domitian, in particular, revived the Augustan marriage and adultery laws in 89 CE, which had fallen out of favor in the intervening time.<sup>130</sup> Along with other moral and religious reforms, Domitian used the marriage laws to portray himself as upholding traditional Roman customs, much like his Augustan predecessor did.<sup>131</sup> However, this was coupled with some of his more egotistical and erratic tendencies, and “while reviving the Augustan laws on morality, Domitian’s abuse of imperial power reminded many of the worst times under the Julio-Claudian emperors.”<sup>132</sup> Martial thus writes about the moral reforms from several perspectives, both critiquing and praising Domitian and the people who conformed (or didn’t) to the regulations.

As he is wont to do, Martial complicates and satirizes many of the issues that arose from Domitian’s revival of the Augustan marriage laws. In one epigram, he hints at the laws’ ineffectiveness at improving moral probity:

*quae legis causa nupsit tibi Laelia, Quinte,  
uxorem potes hanc dicere legitimam.*<sup>133</sup>

She who married you because of the law, Laelia—Quintus,  
You may call that one your lawful wife.

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<sup>130</sup> Alessandro Galimberti, “The Emperor Domitian,” in *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, ed. Andrew Zissos, (Wiley-Blackwell, 2016), 103.

<sup>131</sup> Galimberti, “The Emperor Domitian,” 99-100. Other religious and moral aspects of Domitian’s reign include his strong association with the cult of Capitoline Jupiter, and the condemnation of at least 2 unchaste Vestal Virgins (priestesses who were to be buried alive if ever found to have had sex).

<sup>132</sup> Laura K. Van Abbema, “Women in Flavian Rome,” in *A Companion to the Flavian Age of Imperial Rome*, 296.

<sup>133</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 5.75.

Laelia<sup>134</sup> seems to be marrying her new husband solely to avoid being penalized by the new law. Within this simple statement about their marriage, Martial implies something improper—either they were only marrying for the benefits, or to avoid the consequences of sexual misconduct. The main point of the epigram hinges on the repetition of legality (*legis, legitimam*), which emphasizes that Laelia’s main justification for marrying Quintus was to conform to the morality laws, rather than for the typical reasons—love, familial alliances, social pressure. By only making the statement at face value, Martial leaves the reader questioning the true purpose behind the marriage, whether Laelia was secretly an adulteress hoping to avoid punishment. In this poem, Martial highlights that, although Romans conformed to the law, their reasons for doing so might be morally questionable.

He further expounds upon the moral and practical failures of the marriage laws in another epigram, this time addressed to a woman who expressly married someone to comply with the law.

*quod nubis, Proculina, concubino  
et, moechum modo, nunc facis maritum,  
ne Lex Iulia te notare possit:  
non nubis, Proculina, sed fateris.*<sup>135</sup>

Because you marry your lover, Proculina,  
And now make a recent adulterer your husband,  
So that the Lex Iulia is not able to catch you:  
You don’t get married, Proculina, you confess.

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<sup>134</sup> Presumably a different Laelia than that discussed in 10.68, although that is not fully contestable, as very few of Martial’s characters can be associated with real Romans; Rosario Moreno Soldevila, Alberto Marina Castillo, and Juan Fernandez Valverde, “Laelia, “*A Prosopography to Martial’s Epigrams* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), [https://www.google.com/books/edition/A\\_Prosopography\\_to\\_Martial\\_s\\_Epigrams/YzGGDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=prosopography+to+martial%27s+epigram&print](https://www.google.com/books/edition/A_Prosopography_to_Martial_s_Epigrams/YzGGDwAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=prosopography+to+martial%27s+epigram&print).

<sup>135</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 6.22.

In this epigram, Martial again hints at the fact that the marriage laws were often obeyed only at face value. As far as the legal system is concerned, Proculina is acting as she's supposed to: she's conforming to the law, and is therefore seen as morally correct in the government's eyes. However, the fact that she felt compelled to marry the man she was seeing suggests that there was something improper going on; as Martial says, her new husband was recently an "adulterer," that is, he was having sex with another man's wife. The implication, therefore, is that Proculina herself was that unfaithful wife with whom he was having an affair. And indeed, the poem confirms this when Martial says that her marriage to her new husband is really a confession of both of their immoral behaviors. So while Proculina is not technically doing anything illegal, she has circumvented the law, using a new marriage as an escape from being held accountable for her affair. This situation could then "be read as subversive of the moral attitudes of the...regime," with Martial writing about people deliberately going against the imperial law.<sup>136</sup> In these two poems, Martial begins to expose the limitations of the marriage laws, the ways that people disregarded or worked around them in their daily lives. He ultimately hints that the laws weren't necessarily as effective as the imperial government and propaganda made them seem.

Martial continues in this vein in other poems, questioning the efficacy of the *lex Iulia* at actually improving the sexual morality of Roman citizens—conforming to the law is not the same as changing one's behavior. Epigram 11.7 is one poem in which he highlights this disparity between expectation and reality:

*iam certe stupido non dices, Paula, marito,  
ad moechum quotiens longius ire voles,  
"Caesar in Albanum iussit me mane venire,  
Caesar Circeios." iam strophæ talis abit.  
Penelopæ licet esse tibi sub principe Nerva:  
sed prohibet scabies ingeniumque vetus.*

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<sup>136</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 130.



*infelix, quid ages? Aegram simulabis amicam?  
 haerebit dominae vir comes ipse suae,  
 ibit et ad fratrem tecum matremque patremque.  
 quas igitur fraudes ingeniosa paras? 10  
 diceret hystericam se forsitan altera moecha  
 in Sinuessano velle sedere lacu.  
 quanto tu melius, quotiens placet ire fututum,  
 quae verum mavis dicere, Paula, viro!*

Certainly now, Paula, you don't tell your unaware husband,  
 Whenever you want to go to your lover farther away  
 "Caesar ordered me to go to Alba in the morning,  
 Caesar sent me to Circeii." Such a trick is now gone.  
 You are allowed to be a Penelope under Nerva's principate: 5  
 But your old itch and your nature prevent it.  
 Unlucky woman, what will you do? Will you fake a sick friend?  
 Your man will cling to his wife,  
 Will go with you even to your brother, and mother, and father.  
 So, what lies are you preparing, clever woman? 10  
 Another adulteress would perhaps claim to be hysterical,  
 That she wanted to sit in the Sinuessan lake.  
 You—how much better—whenever you want to go fuck,  
 You prefer to tell your man the truth, Paula!

In this poem, Martial ultimately shows the ineffectiveness that the Julian law has on Paula's sexual behavior and relationships. As Laura van Abbema says about his poetry in general, "Martial...offers a negative valuation on the sexualization of the Roman wife, especially as the conflation of courtesan and matron is often placed in a social/political context,"<sup>137</sup> and this poem is an example of that, combining a woman's sexual misbehavior with a commentary on the Julian laws. Before the laws, Paula was apparently in the habit of lying to her husband whenever she went to visit her lover. But after they were enforced, her behavior changes: she does not live a more moral life, breaking up with her boyfriend. Nor does she act any more faithfully, although she could become a loyal enough wife to rival Penelope, as the poem suggests. Instead, she is now honest with her husband about her affairs. While it could be argued that Paula *is* being more

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<sup>137</sup> Van Abbema, "Women in Flavian Rome," 309.

morally responsible, in not lying to her husband, this is certainly not the effect that the *lex Iulia* wished to have, as her behavior is still as improper as ever.

We should note that, in this poem, Martial praises Nerva rather than Domitian as the one who increased enforcement of the *lex Iulia*; however, this epigram was published after Domitian's death, and Martial now "suggests that the old regime condoned and exploited moral laxity while the new one does not."<sup>138</sup> Moreover, this allows Martial the ability to subtly critique Domitian, whose own sexual proclivities did not necessarily conform to his expectations for the rest of the empire.<sup>139</sup> Mentioning Nerva is also in keeping with Roman poets' habit of praising the newest emperor.

In this poem, Martial contrasts Paula to the women that make up even more elaborate—although arguably more believable, as well—excuses in the hopes of avoiding their husbands' scrutiny. That affairs often continued even after the law was instituted is evident from the fact that these hypothetical excuses come to Martial so readily, and would be so easily recognized by his audience—they are something *alterae moechae* (other adulteresses) do. Thus, what is notable about Paula is not that she continues to cheat, but that she is so upfront about it. Moreover, this poem highlights Paula's desires and active participation in the affair, using active language and the imagery of her desire as an insatiable itch (*scabies*).<sup>140</sup> But while this poem discusses the prevalence of women having affairs and derides the *lex Iulia*, Watson argues that Martial "does not seriously condone behavior that involves acting contrary to the Augustan marriage

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<sup>138</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 77.

<sup>139</sup> Hannah Fearnley, "Reading the Imperial Revolution: Martial, Epigrams 10," in *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*, 620-1.

<sup>140</sup> Kamen and Levin-Richardson, "Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary," 247. See commentary for a further discussion on the word *scabies*.

legislation.”<sup>141</sup> He does not approve, but instead critiques and makes fun of these women, ultimately shaming them publicly for their improper behavior.

Additionally, the ending of the poem can be read as providing “a hint of satire on the connivance of the husband in his wife’s infidelities,” insinuating that Paula possibly never lied to her husband.<sup>142</sup> By revealing that Paula tells her husband the truth about her actions, Martial implies that her husband not only accepts her affairs, but even encourages them. Importantly, according to the *lex Iulia*, a man could be accused of colluding, acting as a pimp, if he knew of his wife’s affair but did not charge her.<sup>143</sup> Thus, this sudden apparent-reversal regarding Paula’s lies forces us, as readers, to question Paula’s actions in the poem and, outside of it, if the marriage laws were at all effective. In this epigram, Martial highlights the hypocrisy, not just of the law, but of those who disregarded the laws or justified their immoral actions: Paula, although honest to her husband, doesn’t follow expectations of sexual propriety.

On the other hand, Martial also criticizes women who conform too strictly to society’s morals for behavior, striving to be the ideal Roman *matrona*. Epigram 11.104, in which the narrator complains about his wife’s behavior, is one poem in which Martial does this.<sup>144</sup>

*uxor, vade foras aut moribus utere nostris:  
non sum ego nec Curius nec Numa nec Tatius.  
me iucunda iuvant tractae per pocula noctes:  
tu properas pota surgere tristis aqua.  
tu tenebris gaudes: me ludere teste lucerna  
et iuvat admissa rumpere luce latus.  
fascia te tunicaeque obscuraque pallia celant:  
at mihi nulla satis nuda puella iacet.* 5

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<sup>141</sup> Watson, “*Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus*,” 71.

<sup>142</sup> Kay, *Martial*, Book XI, 81.

<sup>143</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 39.

<sup>144</sup> It is unclear if Martial himself was ever married. That is not a question I intend to tackle in this paper, and, especially regarding this epigram, we must remember that narrative voice can be very different from the author’s life. For a further discussion, see Patricia Watson, “Martial’s Marriage: A New Approach,” *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 146 (2003): 38-48, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41234546>.

*basia me capiunt blandas imitata columbas:*  
*tu mihi das aviae qualia mane soles.* 10  
*nec motu dignaris opus nec voce iuvare*  
*nec digitis, tamquam tura merumque pares:*  
*masturbabantur Phrygii post ostia servi,*  
*Hectoreo quotiens sederat uxor equo,*  
*et quamvis Ithaco stertente pudica solebat* 15  
*illic Penelope semper habere manum.*  
*pedicare negas: dabat hoc Cornelia Graccho,*  
*Iulia Pompeio, Porcia, Brute, tibi;*  
*dulcia Darbanio nondum miscente ministro*  
*pocula Iuno fuit pro Ganymede Iovi.* 20  
*si te delectat gravitas, Lucretia toto*  
*sis licet usque die: Laida nocte volo.*

Wife, get out, or obey my morals:  
 I am not Curius or Numa or Tattius.  
 Pleasant cups help me through drawn-out nights:  
 Having drunk water, you sullenly hurry to get up.  
 You enjoy shadows; I, in playing with a lantern as a witness, 5  
 And it helps me, with permitted light, to burst my balls.  
 Your bra and tunic and dark cloaks hide you:  
 But no girl lies naked enough for me  
 Kisses imitating flattering doves capture me:  
 You give me the sort you usually give your grandmother in the morning. 10  
 You don't think it fit to help along the work with movement or voice,  
 Or fingers, as if you were preparing incense and unmixed wine:  
 Phrygian slaves used to masturbate behind the door  
 Whenever his wife sat on the Hectorean horse;  
 And however chaste Penelope was, even with the Ithacan snoring, 15  
 she was accustomed to always have a hand there.  
 You refuse anal: Cornelia would give that to Gracchus,  
 Iulia to Pompey, Porcia would do it for you, Brutus;  
 Before the Darbanian servant mixed sweet cups,  
 Iuno was Iove's instead of Ganymede. 20  
 If dignity pleases you, you can be a complete Lucretia  
 The whole day: at night, I want Lais.

Here, Martial claims that a chaste wife is not desirable, and takes issue with the stark divide between *matrona* and sexually promiscuous woman that Roman moralists promoted. While the wife follows Roman precepts of proper behavior, the narrator is not satisfied; instead, he “denounces his wife for the highly ironic reason that her behavior exactly conforms with the

conventional standards for a *matrona*.<sup>145</sup> Examples throughout the poem showcase the wife's exemplary behavior, eventually comparing her to Lucretia, the idealized chaste Roman wife.<sup>146</sup> But while she is following society's rules for behavior, "the wife is depicted as not living up to the ideal of the *matrona* because her husband's *mores*, to which she refuses to adapt herself, are *different* from those of the men who epitomize traditional moral standards."<sup>147</sup> Thus, it is not the wife's behavior per se, but only her behavior *in contrast* to her husband's *mores* that makes her immoral. In this poem, Martial not only takes issue with society's ideas of sexual behavior, but shows that a woman should conform to her husband's *mores* as well as society's.

The husband's dissatisfaction is the driving force of the epigram—he spends the majority of the poem complaining about his wife's behavior and how it fails to meet his standards. In doing so, he continually references well-known wives, claiming that their morality did not preclude sexual activity. In fact, "he *does* espouse the ideal of a wife who is loyal to her husband, but he redefines the paradigm to suit his own times, and in doing so, may well reflect the view of his male contemporaries."<sup>148</sup> Martial strengthens his argument by claiming that other upstanding Roman wives from the Republic—Cornelia, Iulia, and Porcia—acceded to their husbands' desires, foregoing their image of chastity in the marriage bed. He also uses mythological examples to rationalize his demands: Penelope, who remained faithful to Odysseus for twenty years, would still masturbate even once her husband returned; and Andromache, Hector's wife,

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<sup>145</sup> Watson, "Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus," 63-4.

<sup>146</sup> Catherine Connors, "Lucretia," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-732?rskey=WarSsl&result=2>.

<sup>147</sup> Watson, "Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus," 65; italics in original.

<sup>148</sup> Watson, "Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus," 63; italics in original. See 11.7 as an example of a wife's lack of sexual loyalty to her husband.

was evidently so sexy when she slept with him that even their slaves were aroused.<sup>149</sup> By providing these examples, Martial claims “that a *casta matrona* who was sexually aware might make an attractive wife,”<sup>150</sup> and that his own wife has no reason not to be sexually active: she can still be a good wife while having sex.

In contrast to the idea that female sexuality played a role in the supposed decline of Roman religion,<sup>151</sup> the wife in this poem is too pious—whenever she’s having sex, she treats it like a religious rite using incense and unmixed wine (*tura merumque*), an instance where chastity would be required (line 12). Moreover, her chastity pervades every facet of her life: she abstains from wine, a drink that lowers inhibitions and raises libidos, and she never kisses her husband passionately, but gives him the same demure kisses she does her relatives. In this poem, Martial critiques the idea of the chaste *matrona*, exaggerating her qualities to show how undesirable they are. Sometimes, conforming to ideas of sexual morality and propriety could be too extreme; instead, a woman must walk the impossibly narrow line between excessive chastity and promiscuity.

However, Martial’s opinions on what makes a desirable wife are different from those society regularly espoused. He focuses much more on the sexual aspects of marriage. In this poem, “Martial advocates that wives act as *meretrices* within their marriage. Thus, he redefines the concept of *matrona* to include sexuality while still retaining the concept of *pudicitia* (i.e. sexual fidelity to one’s spouse), thereby complying, at least on the surface, with the Augustan marriage legislation which Domitian had reinforced.”<sup>152</sup> While he does not specifically go

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<sup>149</sup> See commentary for more information on Martial’s allusions in this poem.

<sup>150</sup> Watson, “*Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus*,” 86.

<sup>151</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 44.

<sup>152</sup> Watson, “*Non Tristis Torus Et Tamen Pudicus*,” 70.

against the marriage laws, Martial does blur the boundaries between wives and sexually-improper women. Thus, in portraying a more accurate, if also more scathing and invective, representation of women's sexual practices, Martial also subtly critiques the emperor.

Martial's use of wordplay and imagery in this poem, reinforces the link between marriage and sexuality. One such pun centers on the word *testis* in the Latin. The word means both "witness," in the legal sense; but was also a word for testicles. With the blatant sexual nature of the poem, any reader would be aware of the double entendre. Additionally, the phrase *vade foras* (go outside) is also legal, often used in instances of divorce;<sup>153</sup> Martial claims the husband is so frustrated by his wife's sexual morality that he is considering divorce and making a private affair into a public proceeding. And beyond the blatantly sexual imagery of naked girls, Martial also uses the image of a woman riding a man like a horse, which was popular with other erotic writers; elsewhere, the term *sedere equo* is used to describe a horse jockey.<sup>154</sup> Thus, Martial's use of sexually-influenced wordplay and imagery helps to reinforce the theme of the poem: the husband's overwhelming sexual desire.

Even the Imperial family was not exempt from the ideas of sexual morality and misbehavior that circulated in Rome. During the politically turbulent times at the end of the Republic, the emperor Augustus (then Octavian) supposedly composed epigrams himself, which dealt with political relationships in a sexual way—or so Martial claims in epigram 11.20:<sup>155</sup>

*Caesaris Augusti lascivos, livide, versus  
sex lege, qui tristis verba Latina legis:  
"quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam  
Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.*

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<sup>153</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 277.

<sup>154</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 180-1.

<sup>155</sup> The poem Martial quotes was likely written by the first emperor himself: "language and style is right for the date...[and] epigrams by Augustus are attested elsewhere.... The authenticity of this poem is further corroborated by its convincing historical setting." Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 111.

*Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret  
pedicem? Faciam? non puto, si sapiam.  
'aut futue: aut pugnemus' ait. quid quod mihi vita  
carior est ipsa mentula? signa canant!"*  
*absolvis lepidos nimirum, Auguste, libellos,  
qui scis Romana simplicitate loqui.*

Sullen one, read six of Caesar Augustus' horny verses,  
You who spitefully read Latin words.  
"Since Antony fucked Glaphyra, Fulvia decided  
this punishment for me: that I also fuck her.  
That I fuck Fulvia? What if Manius begs me  
To peg him? Would I do it? I don't think so, if I have any sense.  
'Either fuck me, or let us fight,' she says. What  
Is dearer than life to me than my dick? Let the standards proclaim!"  
No doubt you absolve my witty books, Augustus,  
You who know how to speak with Roman frankness.

When Martial quotes a supposed epigram of Augustus', he is, in part, justifying his own poetry.

If the first emperor, the leader of moral reforms, wrote about immoral sexual acts, then surely he is exonerated as well? There is a long tradition of Roman writers appealing to precedent, especially when writing about obscene topics.<sup>156</sup> This poem touches upon the sexual misconduct of the Imperial elite at the time: Fulvia, Marc Antony's wife, is upset with him because of an affair, and attempts to exact revenge against him by sleeping with Augustus, his main political rival. And Augustus also compares having sex with Fulvia to battle, bringing in important socio-political contexts.<sup>157</sup> In this poem, we can see Augustus distancing himself from Fulvia not just on a political level, but on a sexual one as well.

Importantly, accusations of adultery were often leveled at those threatening the republic's stability,<sup>158</sup> and this epigram exemplifies that, where the very people threatening Augustus' political authority are those suggesting scandalous sex. Antony's sexual misbehavior was well-

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<sup>156</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 110.

<sup>157</sup> See Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 111 for a fuller discussion.

<sup>158</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 46.



known (or greatly rumored) in the ancient world; Cicero, in his *Philippics*, often disparages Antony for his sexual escapades, which he sees as “unacceptable behavior and speaks to a combination of depravity and poor financial management on Antony’s part.”<sup>159</sup> The enjambment in lines 5 and 6 shows Augustus’ complete disgust for all things sexual, especially in regards to the misconduct of Fulvia, Antony, and Manius. The shorter lines make very clear Augustus’ negative opinions towards both the people and the acts, without extra vocabulary or complicated syntax to distract from his claims. In doing so, it reinforces the connection the poem makes between sexual impropriety and political disputes.

Moreover, Fulvia’s involvement in this, as well, parallels political developments during Martial’s own times. Women gained political power, changing the ways that men interacted politically, in both the late Republic and Flavian Age.<sup>160</sup> In all of this language, we can see the nexus between sexual morality and socio-political life: “the association of political and sexual power suggests the two could be seen as mutually reinforcing.”<sup>161</sup> Martial’s epigram is continuously operating on multiple levels, inviting comparison between the time when it was written (96 CE) and the end of the republic. This poem-within-a-poem also compares sex to war, important not just because it relates to the Perusine conflict,<sup>162</sup> but because it again reinforces the idea of Roman masculine domination, both in the bedroom and on the battlefield.

This poem also draws specific attention to ideas of male homosexual relations and how they reinforce Roman ideas of masculinity and domination. Augustus asserts his superiority,

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<sup>159</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 169.

<sup>160</sup> Van Abbema, “Women in Flavian Rome,” 298.

<sup>161</sup> Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality*, 47-8.

<sup>162</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 111. The Perusine conflict was a dispute between Fulvia and Anton, on the one hand, and Octavian, originally over the settlement of Roman veterans. Octavian eventually besieged Antony’s brother Lucius in Perugia.

establishing himself as a dominant, active male; and in fighting for his *mentula* (dick, penis; this was a vulgar term), he reinforces the connection between manliness (embodied phallically) and military might.<sup>163</sup> All of these notions position Augustus at the top of the social—and sexual—hierarchy. When Martial uses the former emperor's words, he justifies his own actions: if Augustus, an emperor known for his unparalleled *mores*, wrote poems as dirty as his, then Martial is merely following the emperor's example and should not be criticized for his choice of literary topics.

Martial's approach to proper behavior is as varied as the empire in which he lives. The city of Rome itself was filled with every kind of person, and Martial shows their commonality by proving that no one is above ridicule and criticism. In his cutting remarks, however, Martial also illustrates social practices and norms that were part of everyday life, the beliefs that society held about how people should act. But when he comments on those expectations, Martial also probes deeper; he doesn't just show the people who misbehave, who enjoy unusual sex or lie to their family, he also exposes the hypocrisy inherent in those judgements. Because no one is immune to his pen, above reproach, Martial's epigrams provide us a picture of Roman society that is often overlooked, where the distinction between whores and wives is often blurred to the point of nonexistence.

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<sup>163</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 112.

### Chapter III— Epigrams of Callimachus: Sepulchral and Symposiastic

Many of the themes and trends in Martial's epigrams are also visible in those of Callimachus' While the two didn't write at the same time—and indeed, Callimachus certainly influenced Roman epigrammatists to some degree—they write about similar topics, about daily life and love in an empire. Callimachus is, in many ways, more subtle and literary-minded than Martial, and his epigrams reflect that. While no less instructive, Callimachus' poems are best examined once a reader is familiar with the epigrammatic genre, able to fully appreciate Callimachus' subtle mastery. Therefore, Martial's poems can help illuminate those of Callimachus, and it is for that reason that we are only now turning our attention to Callimachus.

In his epigrams, Callimachus discusses how people behave in society, and the ways individual behaviors reflect ideas of virtue and morality in the larger societal context. He highlights individuals and their actions, examining the ways they conform to expectations of behavior within Ptolemaic society. This fits within the larger context of Alexandrian poetry at the time, when “authors preferred to write poems that strike us as more personal, often exploring emotional or psychological states.”<sup>164</sup> Callimachus' epigrams focus on a wide range of subjects, looking at people's behavior civically, religiously, and romantically. Although Callimachus does not make frequent references to politics, studying his epigrams still allows us to situate his literary world within the realities of the Ptolemaic empire.

Unlike Martial's work, Callimachus' epigrams are devoid of direct references to politics or the Ptolemies. Yet this does not mean that his poems aren't still influenced by the empire. Certainly, some of his other poetry is more saturated with political imagery, but his epigrams

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<sup>164</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 108.

have remained decidedly apolitical. This is in keeping with the state of the epigrammatic genre during the Hellenistic era: focused primarily on individuals, and suited for dedicatory or symposiastic use. Additionally, we have little to no evidence of Ptolemaic decrees that would have directly affected the personal aspects of life, in the ways the Augustan marriage laws did. But in their personal nature, Callimachus' epigrams can still teach us about daily life under the Ptolemies. Although Callimachus doesn't discuss political strife or imperial edicts, his epigrams are still a product of the Ptolemaic empire, and the imagery he uses, the behavior he highlights, all illustrate the influence of the Ptolemies and the imperial ideas that shaped daily life in Alexandria.

Callimachus' epigrams often center on individuals and their actions, showing behavior worth emulating, as well as singling out people who don't conform to those ideas of proper behavior. He structures his epigrams as exemplars for his audience, often with the underlying didactic purpose of instructing his readers on how they should behave in society. Thus, he writes his poems not only to moralize on the society in which he lives, but with the aim that his readers take something away with them, a piece of advice or a reminder of how to act.

Callimachus' poetry is, in many ways, unique among the Hellenistic poets. During a time of poetic innovation, he used both cutting-edge ideas and traditional practices, creating a style that is all his own and inspiring writers for generations to come. Callimachus was intimately familiar with Greek literature from Homer to Euripides, and his poems "are witty, polished, and relentlessly learned."<sup>165</sup> However, his attitude towards literary genres was revolutionary, even at the time, as he would combine elements of different styles in his poetry, including vocabulary,

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<sup>165</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 108.

syntax, and meter, while still retaining the elements that made epigram unique.<sup>166</sup> In many ways, Callimachus became the epitome of Alexandrian poetry.<sup>167</sup> Part of this was certainly spurred by the world in which Callimachus lived: the fall of the city-state after Alexander's death and the rise of empires led to both greater individual mobility and freedom, and an increased sense of pessimism.<sup>168</sup> The Ptolemaic era was a time of change socially, politically, and literarily, and Callimachus is a poet emblematic of the age.

Callimachus' poems show a great deal of variation—not just in theme, but in the finer points of his composition as well. As Gordon Fain says about the poet's writing, "Callimachus' poetry contains a greater variety of syntax and more frequent and varied address" than historical, inscribed epigrams did, a trend in contemporary Hellenistic epigram.<sup>169</sup> Additionally, Callimachus used a range of meters when composing: not just elegiac couplets, but iambic and hendecasyllabic patterns of multiple origins. Iambic meters, interestingly, were considered by Aristotle to best replicate everyday speech;<sup>170</sup> by using them, Callimachus further creates a focus on the everyday, with a meter that sounds like the human voice. Elegiac couplets, on the other hand, were the traditional verse for inscribed epigram, and fit well with his dedicatory poems. Yet there are several poems where he writes epitaphs in unusual meters<sup>171</sup>—another example of his experimentation. Callimachus also varies his use of dialect, sometimes better match his

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<sup>166</sup> Cameron, "Genre and Style in Callimachus," 305.

<sup>167</sup> Ferguson, "The Epigrams of Callimachus," 64.

<sup>168</sup> Ferguson, "The Epigrams of Callimachus," 78.

<sup>169</sup> Gordon L. Fain, *Writing Epigrams: The Art of Composition in Catullus, Callimachus, and Martial*, Latomus Vol. 312 (Brussels: Editions Latomus, 2008), 102.

<sup>170</sup> James W. Halporn, Martin Ostwald, and Thomas G. Rosenmeyer, *The Meters of Greek and Latin Poetry* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1963), 14.

<sup>171</sup> PA 7.728, PA 13.24, and PA 13.25 are all examples discussed in this paper.

theme, sometimes reverting to his native dialect. His vocabulary draws on other genres—from epic to contemporary poetry—and allows him to make a wide variety of allusions.

Callimachus would use ideas about elegy in many of his poems (both epigrams and lyric compositions), and believed that elegy provided the opportunity for different narrative structures.<sup>172</sup> Epigram and elegy originally served very different roles in the poetic world of the ancients—elegy was more suitable for love poems whereas epigrams were originally commemorative in nature—and by combining them, Callimachus creates a more dynamic form of epigram amplifies the personal aspects of both genres. Even though he would alter the content and treatment of elegy (and epic), “Callimachus nonetheless reveals himself extraordinarily sensitive to what he perceived to be the essential form and stylistic level appropriate to the differences between the genres.”<sup>173</sup> This combination of genres, the innovation that pervades Callimachus’ work, is a trademark of Alexandrian society at the time. Writers were influenced by the political and cultural changes of the previous hundred years, and were both discussing contemporary societal trends and reacting to ancient texts again. Callimachus’ manipulation of genre, his language and content, are all aspects of that interaction between the contemporary and the classic.

### **Learning From Others**

Many of Callimachus’ poems provide examples of behavior worth emulating, giving his audience advice on how to behave properly. He frequently discusses the actions of individuals, both their notable achievements and instances of immoral behavior. This combines with the

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<sup>172</sup> Cameron, “Genre and Style in Callimachus,” 310.

<sup>173</sup> Cameron, “Genre and Style in Callimachus,” 312.

didactic elements in his epigrams, where the reader is supposed to learn something from the poem; other poems illuminate societal (mis)behavior, but are less instructional, instead serving to demonstrate Callimachus' point. Ideas of proper behavior pervade his epigrams.

Callimachus frequently discusses an individual's involvement in society as a key aspect of social behavior. Civic duty, for Callimachus, is an important part of an individual's role in their community. This is illustrated in an epigram commemorating a religious dedication:

Δήμητρι τῆ Πυλαίῃ,  
τῆ τοῦτον οὐκ Πελασγῶν  
Ἀκρίσιος τὸν νηὸν ἐδείματο, ταῦθ' ὁ Ναθκρατίκης  
καὶ τῆ κάτω θυγατρὶ  
τὰ δῶρα Τιμόδημος  
εἶσατο τῶν κερδέων δεκατεύματα· καὶ γὰρ εὔξαθ' οὕτως.<sup>174</sup> 5

To Pylean Demeter,  
For whom Akrisios  
Of the Pelagians built this temple, and  
To her daughter down below,  
Timodemos, the Naukratian, dedicates  
These gifts as tithe for his profits; for he prayed thus. 5

In the first half of this epigram, Callimachus focuses on ideas of euergetism as a way for people to contribute to and be valued by society. Euergetism (from Greek εὐεργετέω lit. “to work well,” or “to be a benefactor”) is the practice, especially among more elite members of society, of benefaction, usually monetary, to the city; such donations would often include public buildings or the sponsoring and funding of public festivals or games.<sup>175</sup> This specific epigram, in part, memorializes the person who ‘built’ (paid for) the temple, an action which not just benefited the city and celebrated the goddesses it was built for, but also immortalized Akrisios and his generous donation. Euergetism was an important aspect of social standing in Hellenistic Greece,

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<sup>174</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, trans. A. W. Mair (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), PA 13.25.

<sup>175</sup> Matthew Nicholls, “Euergetism.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (2017), <https://www.britannica.com/topic/euergetism>.

and Callimachus relies upon it in this epigram to highlight the benefaction of the poem's subjects.

This epigram also touches upon the role of religion in constructing ideas of social morality. Timodemos' votive offering is significant enough to be commemorated, even though we are not told exactly what he dedicates.<sup>176</sup> The mere fact, however, that he was paying his respects to the gods is noteworthy: being ritually observant was a fundamental part of Hellenistic society (and of most ancient Mediterranean societies). The important part of the poem is not so much the identity of the dedications, but that Timodemos was fulfilling his promise to the goddesses. As a votive offering, this epigram records that Demeter and Persephone granted Timodemos' earlier prayer.<sup>177</sup> Votives were frequent in the Greco-Roman world and reinforced the reciprocal relationship between humans and divinities. Additionally, they were a public form of personal worship, with the vow made and the gifts dedicated at the temple.<sup>178</sup> Thus, in this poem, Timodemos seeks to permanently record his piety, reinforcing the image that he is conforming to society's expectations.

This epigram acts as a more traditional, inscribed epigram might, relying on its environment to supplement the written information and provide context. We know very little about the men in the poem, and we have only the barest context for the dedication: Timodemos is completing a votive offering, made in response to his prayers being granted. Importantly, Callimachus gives us no hint of what Timodemos dedicated, using only the deictic ταῦθ' (these

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<sup>176</sup> Considering that he prays to Demeter and Persephone, both agricultural and fertility gods, it is certainly possible that Timodemos prayed for a successful harvest. Additionally, the word δεκατέμματα, translated as "tithe" or "tenth" could easily be understood as a tenth of his harvest.

<sup>177</sup> Irad Malkin, "Votive Offerings," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-6861>.

<sup>178</sup> Malkin, "Votive Offerings."



things) to describe the gift. With this word, he reminds his audience of the lapidary beginnings of epigram, in which the poem is tied to the location upon which it was carved. Because an inscribed epigram would have been stationary and situated in a three-dimensional space—rather than on a piece of papyrus—it would have been obvious what the deictic referred to: the gifts that were placed nearby and dedicated at the same time as the epigram.<sup>179</sup> This epigram, while referencing such a situation, provides no such closure. As Höschele says about another dedicatory epigram of Callimachus' (PA 6.347), “in the context of a book it becomes intriguing precisely because of what it leaves unsaid.”<sup>180</sup> We are left wanting to know more about Timodemos, his life, and his dedication to the goddesses.

Another example of the link between piety and social morality is demonstrated in epigram PA 13.24. This poem memorializes a woman making an offering to a deity.

τὰ δῶρα τὰφροδίτη  
 Σῖμον ἢ περίφοιτος, εἰκὼν' αὐτῆς,  
 ἔθηκε τήν τε μίτρην  
 ἣ μαστοῦς ἐφίλησε τόν τε πανόν,  
 αὐτοῦς θ' οὐς ἐφόρει τάλαινα θύρσους. 5

These gifts the wandering woman Simone gave  
 To Aphrodite: an image of herself,  
 And her binding-ribbon,  
 Which adored her breasts, and a torch,  
 And her wands, which, poor woman, she used to carry. 5

Much like the previous poem (which the editors of the Palatine Anthology placed directly after this one, coincidentally enough<sup>181</sup>), this epigram focuses on an individual dedicating objects to a

<sup>179</sup> See Höschele “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 192.

<sup>180</sup> Höschele, “Epigram and Minor Genres,” 192.

<sup>181</sup> There has been much speculation on whether or not Callimachus composed his epigrams into a book. If so, it is entirely possible that these two were placed next to each other by him — while he most likely organized his poems by subject (erotic, sepulchral, dedicatory), Callimachus would often create variety by juxtaposing poems with different perspectives. See Kathryn Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, chapter 5 for a deeper discussion.

specific deity. However, Callimachus specifies the gifts in this poem, as well as the goddess, and thus allows his audience to learn more about the poem's subject. Importantly, Simone dedicates her breast band and a thyrsus (θύρσος), a wand or staff that was often used in worship of Dionysus.<sup>182</sup> Frank Nisetich posits that these gifts are the tools of her trade, and that Simone was a prostitute. Thus, in this dedication, Simone could be thanking Aphrodite for a successful business, or giving up her work, leaving these physical reminders behind as she transitions into a new life. The word *περίφοιτος*, which Callimachus uses to describe Simone, is also an important aspect of the poem. The verb from which this adjective is derived, *φοιτάω*, can mean not just “to wander or go,” but also “to have sexual relations with.”<sup>183</sup> This secondary meaning, along with the dedication to Aphrodite, goddess of love, furthers the suggestion that Simone might be one who “sleeps around:” either a prostitute or otherwise sexually-promiscuous woman. Ultimately, we know what Simone dedicated, but not necessarily why, and it is that unresolvable mystery that makes this epigram more than a simple dedication and draws readers in.

But even with allusions to Simone's questionable sexual behavior, Callimachus has still chosen to commemorate her in the epigram. It is worth noting that there is a history in archaic and classical Greece of memorials to prostitutes in religious sanctuaries.<sup>184</sup> Thus, Callimachus could very well be continuing this tradition in another medium, and with a Hellenistic twist; during the Hellenistic era, prostitutes were cultically associated with Aphrodite.<sup>185</sup> While this

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<sup>182</sup> Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, “θύρσος,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*, rev. Henry Stuart Jones and Roderick MacKenzie (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940)

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0057>.

<sup>183</sup> Liddell and Scott, “φοιτάω” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>184</sup> Catherine Keesling, “Heavenly Bodies: Monuments to Prostitutes in Greek Sanctuaries,” in *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, ed. Christopher A. Faraone and Laura K. McClure (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 60.

<sup>185</sup> Keesling, “Heavenly Bodies,” 71.

strengthens the identification of Simone as a prostitute, it also tells us, as modern readers, something important about wider social interactions with the gods. Worshipping the gods was a marker of respectable behavior, and that association was still relevant regardless of an individual's behavior outside the temple. So while Simone was (probably) a prostitute, and thus sexually misbehaving in society's eyes, she still has strong religious obligations, and Callimachus relies on those in this dedicatory epigram, creating a complicated picture of this woman and her adherence to society's norms.

As we have seen, many of Callimachus' poems focus upon the importance of the gods in daily life. In PA 5.146, a dedication to Berenice II, he introduces imagery of loyalty to the empire and how it relates to godly worship: both are important to be seen as civically upstanding.

τέσσαρες αἱ Χάριτες· ποτὶ γὰρ μία ταῖς πρὸς τήναις  
 ἄρτι ποτεπλάσθη κῆτι μύροισι νοτεῖ.  
 εὐαίων ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρίζαλος Βερενίκα,  
 ἄς ἄτερ οὐδ' αὐταὶ ταὶ Χάριτες Χάριτες.

There are four Graces: for in addition to the three famous ones, one  
 Was just carved, and is still moist with incenses.  
 May Berenice be fortunate in all things, and resplendent,  
 Without whom the Graces are not Graces.

Here, Callimachus compares a statue of Berenice II, the wife of Ptolemy III and empress at the time he was writing, to statues of the Graces, minor goddesses who embody the finer things in life.<sup>186</sup> However, the comparison extends beyond statuary, to the goddesses themselves, and in doing so, Callimachus elevates Berenice herself to divine status. Here, Callimachus combines ideas of religious devotion with devotion to the state. Placing Berenice among the Graces is part

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<sup>186</sup> "The Graces," *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199548545.001.0001/acref-9780199548545-e-1392?rskey=ag8DGc&result=1>.

of a larger pattern in Callimachus' works of praising the queen by comparing her to the gods.<sup>187</sup> Berenice is so splendid that she becomes an integral part of the trio-now-quartet; Callimachus claims that, without her, the Graces would no longer be seen as such.

The imagery of statuary adds to the idea of Berenice as divine: she is a figure worthy of artistic reproduction, in much the same way goddesses are. Additionally, temples would have statues of the gods they were built for, and the devout would dedicate votives to the images. Analogously, a statue of Berenice has recently been cast, to which Callimachus dedicates this poem; in doing so, he places her permanently among the goddesses. He uses this as an opportunity to pray for the queen's well-being, addressing the prayer to the statue, much as a worshipper would to a god's cult statue. By praising a statue, rather than the empress herself, Callimachus adheres to the dedicatory of nature while still honoring Berenice.

Additionally, this epigram connects to Callimachus's longer poetic works. Callimachus rarely addresses contemporary politics directly in his epigrams; instead, he focuses on the common, the everyday in his epigrams, letting the content be dictated by the more informal genre.<sup>188</sup> Even in this poem, he avoids making any explicit political claims; he uses the language of religion instead, and dedicates the poem to a statue rather than to Berenice herself. In its context, this epigram fits into Callimachus' larger oeuvre in a unique way, because it references a prominent Ptolemy. Thus, it is especially helpful to examine some of his longer poems, in order to better understand this epigram's relevance.

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<sup>187</sup> See Dee L. Clayman's "Callimachus on Murder and Marriage" in *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) for a discussion of allusions to Berenice in sections of his other work dealing with Athena and Demeter.

<sup>188</sup> For a discussion on this, see chapter I.

Many of Callimachus' other works, such as his *Aitia*, discuss Berenice and her political and social importance, comparing her to various goddesses in the process. In the *Aitia* (a longer elegiac poem organized into four books, which tells the origins of myths<sup>189</sup>) there are two stories that relate to the queen.<sup>190</sup> The "Lock of Berenice" at the end of the *Aitia* discusses her marriage to Ptolemy III and includes several references to the two as divine. The story focuses on Berenice, distraught that her new husband is going off to war; she vows that she will sacrifice a lock of her hair to the gods if Ptolemy returns safely.<sup>191</sup> There are political ramifications of the marriage, and these are mentioned in the "Lock"—Berenice's first husband died under questionable circumstances and Berenice is widely believed to have participated in his murder, which the poem terms "a noble crime."<sup>192</sup> Thus, "in colluding with his assassination, Berenice was acting as an agent of the Ptolemies who would have provided material as well as moral support for her,"<sup>193</sup> and whose family she joined soon after. Her vow to the gods in the "Lock" then becomes just another show of her devotion to her new royal family.

In the "Lock of Berenice," "Callimachus makes it clear that a new moral era has now dawned, and normalcy has returned to the palace,"<sup>194</sup> and that this morality derives from Berenice's faithfulness to Ptolemy III. In his role at the library of Alexandria, Callimachus sought to remain in the Ptolemies' favor, and writing poems that praised the queen was one way to do this. Thus, he emphasizes Berenice's morality throughout his works. As Dee Clayman says,

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<sup>189</sup> John Ferguson, *Callimachus* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980), 30.

<sup>190</sup> Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 184. Clayman "Callimachus on Murder and Marriage" in *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt* also provides several other stories about goddesses, ultimately alluding to Berenice.

<sup>191</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 97.

<sup>192</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 98. The Greek text is highly damaged, but a translation by Catullus provides much of the original contents (such as the phrase quoted).

<sup>193</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 98.

<sup>194</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 100.

“the political refashioning of Berenice’s identity worked to explain her questionable past, while Callimachus’ poetry built a vocabulary of images with the same effect...projecting her power as the sort wielded by the great goddesses.”<sup>195</sup> Throughout his poems, Callimachus shapes a coherent image of Berenice as devoted to her husband (as a proper woman should be), religiously powerful, and beautiful.

Thus, in epigram PA 5.146, Callimachus builds upon his other works that praise Berenice and her exceptional morality and beauty, making small adjustments to the royal subject, as befits the genre. As mentioned briefly above, he praises Berenice indirectly. Additionally, he creates a personal connection between himself and the queen by using Doric, this dialect of their shared homeland, Cyrene. In this poem, it is as if Callimachus creates a personal conversation between the two, embedded in the language.<sup>196</sup> He emphasizes the connection between them, through their common birthplace, in order to make her a more appropriate, everyday subject for epigram, and to heighten their relationship. In this poem, although Berenice is situated as divine, a goddess, someone to emulate, there is also a sense of the common, in the language Callimachus uses to praise her.

Beyond royalty and gods, Callimachus also writes poems commending everyday people, and often utilizes the original purpose of epigram: to serve as an epitaph. While distinct from his dedicatory epigrams, his epitaphic epigrams are also frequently didactic in nature, leaving the reader to ponder the moral or point of the poem. Callimachus’ sepulchral epigrams are varied, creating no coherent, hopeful picture of death; instead are very frank about death and the afterlife, and often sardonic or cynical.<sup>197</sup> However, his sepulchral epigrams provide an

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<sup>195</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 103.

<sup>196</sup> Clayman, *Berenice II and the Golden Age of Ptolemaic Egypt*, 80.

<sup>197</sup> Ferguson, “The Epigrams of Callimachus,” 76.

opportunity to praise someone for their upstanding behavior while they were alive, both commemorating the dead and providing an example to those still living. Epigram PA 7.728 is one such example:

ιερέη Δήμητρος ἐγὼ ποτε καὶ παλὶν Καβείρων,  
 ὄνερ, καὶ μετέπειτα Δινδυμήνης  
 ἢ γρηῖς γενόμην, ἢ νῦν κόνις, ἢ ‘ν [ὄτλοις Ἐλευθοῦς]  
 πολλῶν προστασίη νέων γυναικῶν.  
 καὶ μοι τέκν’ ἐγένοντο δὺ’ ἄρσενα, κηπέμυσ’ ἐκείνων  
 εὐγήρωσ ἐνὶ χερσίν· ἔρπε χαίρων. 5

I was a priestess of Demeter once, and then of the Kabeiroi,  
 Sir, and thereafter of Dindymion.  
 I became an old woman, now am dust, the one in [the sufferings of Eileithyia,]  
 I was a leader of many young women.  
 And I bore two male sons, and I died of happy old age 5  
 In their arms; move along, sir, rejoicing.

This poem takes on the voice of the dead woman, who recounts her life’s achievements to the reader.<sup>198</sup> In enumerating the cults she served as a priestess of, Callimachus both praises the old woman and holds her up as worthy of emulation. She participated in society through her religious involvement, and was so pious that she served multiple deities. Religion was an important social aspect in Greek life and an opportunity for women to interact with people outside the home; even “women of the Ptolemaic aristocracy, like Greek women elsewhere and at all times, participated actively in religion.”<sup>199</sup> While this unnamed woman was most likely not aristocratic, she still lived up to their ideals, and involved herself in religion, one of the few suitable occupations for women outside the home. She was also entrusted with caring for young women, which suggests that she was well-respected enough to take on such an important role,

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<sup>198</sup> This epigram, yet again, plays on ideas of inscribed epigram, in this case ones that would have been carved into an individual’s tombstone. Such epigrams would often “address” passersby, inviting them to stop and read the poem. See Bruss, “Epigram,” 119.

<sup>199</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), 49.

raising these “new women” (νέων γυναικῶν, which could also be translated as “new wives”) in society. In Ptolemaic Alexandria, girls and young women did have some education, and would likely have had female instructors<sup>200</sup>—perhaps that is what this woman was. Given her religious involvement, it is equally possible that her role as προστάσις (leader<sup>201</sup>) was part of a ritual or religious festival. And beyond her social involvement, she successfully cared for a family of her own, raising two citizen sons, and was able to die in their company. In short, she lived the epitome of a Greek woman’s life.

However, not everyone lived up to the same standards as the woman in PA 7.728. In another epitaph, Callimachus tells a very different story about maternal behavior, combining sepulchral epigram with cynical humor:

στήλην μητριῆς, μικρὰν λίθον, ἔστεφε κοῦρος,  
 ὡς βίον ἠλλάχθαι καὶ τρόπον οἰόμενος·  
 ἢ δὲ τάφῳ κλινθέντα κατέκτανε παῖδα πεσοῦσα·  
 φεύγετε μητριῆς καὶ τάφον οἱ πρόγονοι.<sup>202</sup>

A boy wreathed the grave of his stepmother, a small stone,  
 Thinking that her nature, like her life, had changed;  
 But falling from the tomb, she killed the child, when he bent over;  
 Stepsons, avoid even the tomb of a stepmother.

As Callimachus claims in this succinct poem, this woman abused her stepson even from beyond the grave. He imbues the woman’s gravestone with her spirit, as though it is able to act out her wishes, making this poem both mundane and fantastical. Even though the boy was paying his respects, his stepmother’s behavior is purportedly just as malevolent as it was when she was alive, if not more so. Although dead, she is still able to harm her former stepson. Callimachus uses this invented example as a warning, generalizing the behavior of all stepmothers: they are

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<sup>200</sup> Pomeroy, *Women in Hellenistic Egypt*, 48.

<sup>201</sup> Liddell and Scott, “προστάσις” *A Greek-English Lexicon*

<sup>202</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA 9.67.



spiteful of their stepchildren, not to be trusted. As he claims, their nature doesn't change, regardless of the circumstances. Thus, Callimachus provides an example of negative behavior, using it to didactic ends, as well as making a cynical comment of people's characters—they are unable to improve and change, even in death.

### Understanding Callimachean Love

Callimachus devotes a good number of his epigrams to exploring relationships—both sexual and romantic—and their realities. He discusses both heterosexual and male same-sex relationships, and questions what an ideal relationship would look like. His poems “frequently lament an unrequited love,”<sup>203</sup> exposing the dissatisfaction love frequently brings. However, he also writes about what makes a relationship successful, what the ideal marriage should be. In one epigram, PA 7.89, he stages a conversation between a young man in search of advice and the older man he asks:

ξείνος Ἀταρνείτης τις ἀνείρετο Πιττακὸν οὕτω  
 τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, παῖδα τὸν Ὑρράδιον  
 “ἄττα γέρον, δοιός με καλεῖ γάμος· ἡ μία μὲν δὴ  
 νύμφη καὶ πλοῦτῳ καὶ γενεῇ κατ’ ἐμέ,  
 ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη προβέβηκε· τι λώιον; εἰ δ’ ἄγε σύμ μοι  
 βούλευσον, ποτέρην εἰς ὑμέναιον ἄγω.” 5  
 εἶπεν· ὁ δὲ σκίπωνα, γερωντικὸν ὄπλον, ἀείρας,  
 “ἠνίδε, κεῖνοί σοι πᾶν ἐρέουσιν ἔπος.”  
 οἱ δ’ ἄρ’ ὑπὸ πληγῆσι θαὸς βέμβικας ἔχοντες  
 ἔστρεφον εὐρείη παῖδες ἐνὶ τριόδῳ. 10  
 “κείνων ἔρχεο,” φησί, “μετ’ ἴχνια.” χῶ μὲν ἐπέστη  
 πλησίον· οἱ δ’ ἔλεγον· “τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.”  
 ταῦτ’ αἶων ὁ ξείνος ἐφείσατο μείζονος οἴκου  
 δράξασθαι, παίδων κληδόνα συνθέμενος,  
 τὴν δ’ ὀλίγην ὡς κείνος ἐς οἰκίον ἤγετο νύμφην. 15  
 οὕτω καὶ σύ γ’ ἰὼν τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα.

<sup>203</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 117.

Some Atarnean stranger thus asked Pittakos  
 The Mytilene, son of Hyrradios:  
 “Old sir, a double marriage calls me; the one, indeed,  
 Is a maiden, like me in wealth and birth.  
 But the other maiden is superior; what is better? Come, if you will,           5  
 Debate with me: which should I lead into marriage?”  
 He spoke; and the other, raising his staff, the tool of an old man, said  
 “Look, those ones will give you all the advice.”  
 And some boys, hitting tops to make them spin faster,  
 Were playing in the wide intersection.   10  
 “Go,” said the old man, “after their footprints.” He stood  
 Nearby; and the boys said, “go down your own path.”  
 And hearing this, the stranger refrained from taking  
 The greater home, interpreting the omen of the boys,  
 And he led the lesser one as wife into his home.                                   15  
 And thus you, travelling, go down your own path.

As Callimachus ultimately shows, the ideal relationship is one that is attainable, within one’s means. Like many of his other poems, Callimachus here puts forth an idea of restraint and “refined choice,” using imagery that requires the reader to think critically to fully understand the poem.<sup>204</sup> The driving force of the epigram, the moral to take away, is the rather enigmatic “drive down your own path” (τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα), a phrase replete with imagery and multiple meanings: “the boys apparently refer to their tops, while Pittacus intends the stranger to understand a reference to brides.”<sup>205</sup> And for the reader, this advice extends beyond just wives in the final line: Callimachus tells us to be content with what we have, drive down our own road, don’t go looking for something better. In advocating this idea of moderation, the poem outlines Callimachus’ opinions on relationships and how they fit in with larger society. It is with some of this language that Callimachus begins to construct what an ideal relationship looks like—it is one based on restraint.

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<sup>204</sup> Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 226.

<sup>205</sup> Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands*, 226.

However, Callimachus also complicates the ideal relationship that he presented in the previous epigram. Part of this can be attributed to the hint of cynicism that underlies many of Callimachus' poems. He seems to say that, while such a relationship may be what society values, it is simply an ideal, impossible to actually obtain, and often undesirable in real life.<sup>206</sup> For example, in another epigram the narrator talks about relationships that are ultimately unattainable:

ὠγρευτής, Ἐπίδουκες, ἐν οὐρεσι πάντα λαγῶν  
 διφᾶ καὶ πάσης ἴχνια δορκαλίδος  
 στείβη καὶ νιφετῷ κεχρημένος, ἦν δέ τις εἶπη  
 “τῆ, τόδε βέβληται, θερίον,” οὐκ ἔλαβεν.  
 χούμους ἔρωσ τοιόσδε· τὰ γὰρ φεύγοντα διώκειν  
 οἶδε, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσσω κείμενα παρπέτεται.<sup>207</sup> 5

The hunter, Epidukes, may search after every hare  
 In the mountains, and tread the tracks of every antelope  
 Even in a snowstorm; but if ever someone says  
 “Look! that beast has fallen,” he does not take it.  
 And the same as this is love; for he knows to chase the ones fleeing, 5  
 But flies past those lying in the middle.

In comparing his love to Epidukes' unorthodox hunting style, the narrator implies that he does not necessarily want his flirting to end in a relationship; rather, both men seek out the thrill of the chase. Indeed, this leads us to question what exactly Callimachus' opinions on relationships are, whether he values restraint in love, or if the more desirable aspect is the pursuit. In this poem, Callimachus lays out an alternative possible behavior in relationships; rather than settling for a realistic relationship, like the Atarnean stranger in epigram PA 7.89 (discussed above) does, the narrator prefers to pursue a partner that is less attainable, requires more effort.

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<sup>206</sup> Compare this to Martial's discussion of his wife's behavior in epigram 11.104, in which chastity is expected from society, to the husband's disappointment.

<sup>207</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA 12.102.

In the end, we find out that the poem was not actually about Epidukes hunting wild animals, but rather how the narrator “hunts” after lovers. This is in keeping with many Hellenistic poems, which “contain a twist at the end, a sudden reversal”<sup>208</sup> that changes the meaning of the epigram. Additionally, with the language of hunting operating as an extended metaphor for flirting, Callimachus skillfully employs imagery in this poem. In Callimachus’ poetry, “imagery is seldom elaborate, but effectively used.”<sup>209</sup> And the imagery in this poem adds to his point: we spend the first two-thirds of the epigram believing Callimachus is writing about hunting, before realizing it’s all an allegory for love. In using the language of hunting, Callimachus makes us reevaluate the epigram, read it more deeply to truly understand the meaning and implications.

Callimachus writes not only about the dynamics of relationships, but also specifically about people as objects of desire, what makes someone attractive. In epigram PA 12.51, the author is infatuated with a younger wine-bearer he meets at a party:

ἔγχει καὶ πάλιν εἰπὲ “Διοκλέος.” οὐδ’ Ἀχελῷος  
 κείνου τῶν ἱερῶν αἰσθάνεται κυάθων.  
 κάλος ὁ παῖς, Ἀχελῷε, λίην καλός, εἰ δέ τις οὐχὶ  
 φησὶν—ἐπισταίμην μούνος ἐγὼ τὰ καλά.

Fill a cup, and say again “to Diokles!” Not even Achelous  
 Has perception of that one’s divine wine cups.  
 The boy is gorgeous, Achelous, exceedingly gorgeous, and if anyone  
 Says to the contrary—may I alone know beauty.

Diokles, the wine-bearer, is praised both for the wine he pours—it is incomparable, described as divine—as well as for his physical appearance. The narrator is so taken by the boy’s beauty that he forgoes watering down his wine, even with water from the river Achelous, a famous Greek

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<sup>208</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 118.

<sup>209</sup> Ferguson, “The Epigrams of Callimachus,” 71.

river personified.<sup>210</sup> There is evidence from later Hellenistic poetry of toasting to someone with unmixed wine (AP 5.136 and 5.137, two poems of Meleager's) and Callimachus may have first recorded that custom in epigram here.<sup>211</sup> The mention of Achelous brings a divine presence into the poem, establishing that the narrator's preference in men is superior even to a (minor) divinity's. But because Achelous is a river-god, acting partially as metonymy for water (line 2), Callimachus' imagery here is especially subtle, intertwining with the language of the poem and its context. The name Achelous becomes polysemantic in the poem, both the addressee and part of an elaborate image. Moreover, Callimachus here defends his taste in men, saying that if anyone, even a god, doesn't find Diokles attractive, it is because they don't understand true beauty. In this poem, Callimachus shows us how love and desire can be the true arbiters of taste, regardless of prevailing opinion. At times, love and attractiveness can be their own justifications.

With the wine and erotically-charged language in this poem, we are put in mind of *symposia*, a theme that Callimachus often writes on. As Sean Corner eloquently summarizes, “the *sumposion* was an occasion for male homosociality,” a place where they could relax.<sup>212</sup> Poetic and musical performances, drinks and toasts, and erotic images were frequent symposiastic diversions. The *symposium* would also often serve as a locus for pederastic courtship, in which a teenage boy would form a close relationship with an older man.<sup>213</sup> The Greeks used the term παιδικά to describe the system, emphasizing the relative youngness of the boy—he was still a παῖς (child), not yet a full citizen. Because many social boundaries would be

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<sup>210</sup> Bruss, “Epigram,” 127.

<sup>211</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, note p.158. Meleager wrote later than Callimachus, c. 100 BCE. See Alan Douglas Edward Cameron, “Meleager,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-4066>.

<sup>212</sup> Corner, “Sumposion,” 200. Corner's spelling of “*sumposion*” will be preserved in quotations, whereas I will use the spelling “*symposium*” elsewhere.

<sup>213</sup> Corner, “Sumposion,” 200.

relaxed in a *symposium*, it allowed for closer relationships between men of different ages. But pederasty frequently “placed temperance at the heart of an initiation into the reciprocal and mutual relations of free, adult male society. Love between males, as long as it was conducted properly, could be praised as the most virile form of love.”<sup>214</sup> The *symposium* became a place of social integration for young men and an environment that allowed for erotic exploration and expression between men of all ages. Importantly for *symposia* and Callimachus’ characterization of them, they were still a reflection of civil ethics and order:<sup>215</sup> although norms could be relaxed and sexual topics explored, there was still a sense of civic engagement and responsibility, as well as personal self-control.

Thus, ideas of pederastic love and the appropriate same-sex relationship are explored in several of Callimachus’ poems. Take, for example, AP 12.230:

τὸν τὸ καλὸν μελανεῦντα Θεόκριτον, εἰ μὲν ἔμ’ ἔχθει,  
 τετράκι μισοίης, εἰ δὲ φιλεῖ, φιλέοις·  
 ναιχί πρὸς εὐχαίτεω Γανυμήδεος, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ,  
 καὶ σύ ποτ’ ἠράσθης—οὐκέτι μακρὰ λέγω.

If he hates me, beautiful, darkening Theokritos,  
 May you hate him four times over; but if he loves me, may you love him;  
 Certainly before beautiful-haired Ganymede, heavenly Zeus,  
 Even you at some time loved—let me say nothing more.

In this poem, Theokritos, the object of the author’s affections, is described as “darkening”

(μελανεῦντα); his beard is just beginning to grow, to obscure his chin. For the classical Greeks (whom Callimachus develops upon in his poetry), this was the age at which young men were the most desirable: no longer a child, and thus sexually unavailable, but not yet a citizen man,

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<sup>214</sup> Corner, “Symposion,” 207.

<sup>215</sup> Corner, “Symposion,” 207.

sexually off-limits according to society's rules.<sup>216</sup> In general, "poets demonstrate an obsession with the beauty of the boy who will grow too old and rather suddenly be no longer attractive at all,"<sup>217</sup> and Callimachus is no exception in this poem. The poem focuses on the sexual availability and desirability of Theokritos, exemplified in the physical description and comparison to Ganymede, but also considers the power he has in the relationship because of his attractiveness--the author's prayer depends upon Theokritos' emotions.

The author is asking Zeus for divine intervention, either positive or negative, depending on Theokritos' actions. As Callimachus points out, Zeus is no stranger to pederastic relationships, although a god—he is still situated in the dominant paradigm of pederasty. Additionally, Theokritos' name, literally "god-chosen," brings him into comparison with Ganymede, Zeus' favorite lover—and cup-bearer, a common combination in pederastic love and Callimachus' poetry.<sup>218</sup> This epigram is significant not just because it situates Zeus in the world of pederasty, but also because it highlights the uncertainty of feelings in relationships: the narrator is unsure of Diokles' feelings towards him, and turns towards divine assistance. The theme of love's frustrations is a common one in Callimachus' poetry, where he discusses lovers' behavior and the impact it has on the beloved. This poem focuses on the anxieties of the lover (as the narrator),<sup>219</sup> and less on whether his object of devotion and whether he is a suitable partner.

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<sup>216</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 13. Adult men were expected to be active (penetrating) in sex, and thus, if two adult citizen men were having sex, one would have to be penetrated (and therefore sexually deviant). For this reason, it was crucial that the younger partner in a pederastic relationship was not yet a full citizen.

<sup>217</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 118. On p 119, he discusses the idea that, for the Hellenistic era poets "a boy can only be so old, and no older."

<sup>218</sup> cf. Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA 12.51.

<sup>219</sup> Ormand, *Controlling Desires*, 120.

In many of his poems, Callimachus creates a tension between reality and desire in love.

In one particular poem, Callimachus focuses on how relationships will often end differently from how the lovers expect, taking the relationship of two everyday individuals as an example:

ὄμοσε Καλλίγνωτος Ἴωνίδι μήποτ' ἐκείνης  
 ἔξειν μήτε φίλον κρέσσονα μήτε φίλην.  
 ὄμοσεν. ἀλλὰ λέγουσιν ἀληθέα τοὺς ἐν ἔρωτι  
 ὄρκους μὴ δύνειν οὐατ' ἐς ἀθανάτων.  
 νῦν δ' ὁ μὲν ἀρσεωικῶ θέρεται πυρί· τῆς δὲ ταλαίνης  
 νύμφης ὡς Μεγαρέων οὐ λόγος οὐδ' ἀριθμός.<sup>220</sup> 5

Kallignotos swore to Ionis that he would never have  
 A boyfriend or a girlfriend better than her.  
 He swore! But truly, they say the oaths made in love  
 Do not enter into the ears of the immortals.  
 And now he warms himself with a manly fire; but of the wretched 5  
 Maiden, like the Megarians, there is neither word nor number.

In this poem, Callimachus shows how the reality of relationships is often very different from what is expected or hoped for. He touches upon the idea that relationships are rarely ever satisfying, that they will inevitably end in heartbreak. The repetition of ὄμοσε(v) (he swore) reinforces the betrayal Ionis feels, although Callimachus, as narrator, expects nothing less. As Francis Cairns says, “Conventionally lovers’ oaths were sworn to be broken...and their breach was considered of little interest to the gods. But in lines 1-2 Callimachus raises his readers’ hopes of Kallignotos’ fidelity, just as those of Ionis were raised.”<sup>221</sup> In focusing on Ionis’ emotions more than his own cynicism, Callimachus forces us to connect with her emotionally; while we, like Callimachus, may know better than to trust a man’s word, the poem still ends with Ionis’ pain, so extreme that we can’t help but sympathize.

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<sup>220</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA 5.6.

<sup>221</sup> Francis Cairns, *Hellenistic Epigram: Contexts of Exploration* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 369.



Another significant idea in this poem is the dynamic between male and female lovers: they were not always seen as fulfilling equal roles, and often existed in different social contexts. As such, poems that bring male and female lovers into conversation provide a unique perspective. From this poem, we can see that Kallignotos (and possibly Callimachus) view both men and women as desirable sexual partners, with only slight differentiation between them, apart from marriage. And Kallignotos' new boyfriend shows that a new partner can be more exciting than long-term love, that fidelity is hard to come by. But for Ionis, her lover's desertion breaks her heart so severely that she disappears from the story, her future with Kallignotos having been destroyed like the city-state of Megara, known for being utterly defeated by the Delphic oracle.<sup>222</sup> In this poem, Callimachus highlights the dissatisfaction of love, not just from Ionis' perspective; but in mentioning Kallignotos' new flame, he hints at the heartbreak to come. This poem illustrates how, for Callimachus, love is a continuous process of heartbreak and desertion, even by those who promised otherwise. He "views Ionis' plight with the world-weary and disabused gaze of a fellow-lover who has similarly loved, lost, and suffered,"<sup>223</sup> combining narrative with his own feelings and creating an emotionally complex poem. Moreover, he stresses how the behavior of lovers is often disappointing, and uses this epigram to warn his readers.

This theme of inadequate lovers is continued in another poem of Callimachus', in which he complains about a man he finds attractive, but who has much in common with things Callimachus, as the narrator, despises.

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<sup>222</sup> "Megara," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, ed. John Roberts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1390>; Cairns, *Hellenistic Epigram*, 369.

<sup>223</sup> Cairns, *Hellenistic Epigram*, 370.

ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ  
χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει,  
μισῶ καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ' ἀπὸ κρήνης  
πίνω· σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια.  
Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναίχῃ καλὸς κακλός—ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν 5  
τοῦτο σαφῶς Ἥχώ, φησί τις “ἄλλος ἔχει.”<sup>224</sup>

I detest the cyclical poem, nor do I enjoy  
The road that carries many here and there,  
And I hate the wandering lover, and from the fountain,  
I don't drink; I loathe all public things.  
Lusianias, you are pretty indeed, pretty—but before saying 5  
That, someone—certainly Echo—says “someone else holds him.”

In this epigram, Callimachus again discusses the dissatisfaction that frequently comes in love: although Lusianias is attractive, he is not faithful. Callimachus establishes this comparison in a roundabout way, ultimately disparaging Lusianias. As the narrator says in the first several lines, he does not enjoy public things, establishes himself as having discerning taste, rather than going along with popular opinion (i.e. the cyclical poem, which was popular at the time<sup>225</sup>). And this means that he also detests Lusianias, who is a περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον (lit. “revolving lover”), public.

In this poem, we can see that the narrator views love cynically: no matter how attractive someone is, how much you may like them, there is always something wrong with them. Callimachus uses language and metaphor to craft a powerful message. The repetition of verbs with strong negative connotations—ἐχθαίρω...οὐδὲ χαίρω...μισέω...σικχαίνω—maintain the strength of the narrator's feelings as he progresses through literary and civic judgements in the poem.<sup>226</sup> However, the commentary soon becomes more personal, and Callimachus ends with a

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<sup>224</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA 12.43.

<sup>225</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 295.

<sup>226</sup> Ferguson, “The Epigrams of Callimachus,” 66.

disparagement of Lusantias. In the last couplet, the two phrases provide an ironic tension between Lusantias' attractiveness and his unavailability. On the one hand, the narrator clearly appreciates Lusantias aesthetically; but on the other hand, Lusantias evidently "gets around,"<sup>227</sup> and Callimachus equates this to him being a public commodity, something someone else always possesses. The metaphors that Callimachus uses help to craft his message that Lusantias, although gorgeous, is an unsuitable partner because of his actions. Throughout the poem, Callimachus builds up to the assertion, although left implied, that he finds Lusantias' behavior unacceptable.

Another common theme of unrequited love is that of the lover locked outside the door of their paramour, a subgenre of epigram called a *paraclausithyron* (a combination of the Greek words for "lament," "beside," and "door").<sup>228</sup> Often, the abandoned lover bemoans their misfortune, railing against their partner's behavior. Such is epigram PA 5.23:<sup>229</sup>

οὕτως ὑπνώσαις, Κωνώπιον, ὡς ἐμὲ ποιεῖς  
 κοιμᾶσθαι ψυχροῖς τοῖσδε παρὰ προθύροις.  
 οὕτως ὑπώσαις, ἀδικωτάτη, ὡς τὸν ἐραστὴν  
 κοιμίζεις, ἐλέου δ' οὐδ' ὄναρ ἠντίασας.  
 γείτονες οἰκτεῖρουσι, σὺ δ' οὐδ' ὄναρ. ἢ πολὴ δὲ  
 αὐτίκ' ἀναμνήσει ταῦτά σε πάντα κόμη. 5

I hope you sleep, Konopion, as you make me  
 Fall asleep, by these cold front doors.  
 I hope you sleep, most unjust woman, as you make your lover  
 Sleep, offering no dream of compassion.  
 Your neighbors pity me, but you have no dream; but grey 5  
 Hair will soon remind you of all these things.

<sup>227</sup> cf. Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, PA.13.24 for my translation of περίφοιτον.

<sup>228</sup> H. V. Canter, "The Paraclausithyron as a Literary Theme," *The American Journal of Philology* 41, no. 4 (1920), <https://www.jstor.org/stable/289473>, 356, fn. 11. Canter notes that this derivation is not entirely convincing, and posits κλείω (to close) as another possible derivation.

<sup>229</sup> The authorship of this epigram has long been disputed, with it being attributed to the author Rufinus in the Planudean Anthology, and to Callimachus elsewhere. See Frank Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 314.

In this first couplet, Callimachus specifically mentions being locked outside by his love, Konopion (line 2), in keeping with the idea of exclusion. In addition, this epigram uses language of invective to make its point: bitter, the author hopes his girlfriend sleeps just as terribly as he does, spending the night locked out on her porch. Throughout the epigram, the narrator's use of language shows her harshness towards him, calling her unjust (*ἀδικωτάτη*) and claiming that she lacks compassion, even to the point that her neighbors feel bad for him (4-5). Moreover, the spondees that fill the first half of lines 1 and 3 emphasize the abandoned lover's curse that begins those hexameters. The metrics and the repetition of the phrases draw us, as readers, to that part of the poem, reinforcing that emotional entreaty in our minds.

While this poem fits into a larger literary tradition, especially in its theme, Callimachus also uses it in his larger program of commenting on behavior. As this epigram makes very clear, Konopion's behavior is unacceptable and excessive, and the author hopes she suffers just as much as he has, as punishment. The use of invective, which is unusual for Callimachus, adds to this. As readers, we can feel the narrator's wrath through his curses and the specific ways he singles Konopion out: using her name in the first line, calling her *ἀδικωτάτη* (lit. "most unjust," but possibly "bitch" in modern day?), and ending with the reminder that age will take away her beauty. In this poem, Callimachus presents a scathing condemnation against Konopion, a woman who leaves her lover to freeze outside, rather than treating him properly, completely foregoing society's expectations of proper behavior towards one's partner.

However, another *paraclausithyron* of Callimachus presents a very different perspective on the theme. In PA 12.118, the narrator tries to justify his behavior when he arrives at his lover's locked door:

εἰ μὲν ἐκὼν, Ἀρχῖν', ἐπεκώμασα, μυρία μέμφου,  
 εἰ δ' ἄκων ἦκω, τὴν προπέτειαν ἔα  
 Ἄκρητος καὶ Ἔρως μ' ἠνάγκασαν, ὧν ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν  
 εἶλκεν, ὁ δ' οὐκ εἶα τὴν προπέσειαν εἶν.  
 ἐλθῶν δ' οὐκ ἐβόησα, τίς ἢ τίνοσ, ἀλλ' ἐφίλησα  
 τὴν φλιήν· εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἀδίκημ', ἀδικέω.

If I willingly arrived in revelry, Archinos, blame me infinitely,  
 But if I came unwillingly, pardon my rashness.  
 Unmixed Wine and Love compelled me, the first one  
 Dragged me, and the other does not stop me from allowing rashness.  
 But arriving, I did not shout who I am or whose son, but kissed  
 The doorpost; if that is wrongdoing, I do wrong.

Unlike the narrator in the previous epigram, who railed against his girlfriend, this narrator apologizes for his behavior, saying that he did not intend to stop by so late at night, but accidentally did so while drunk and in love. Ferguson in fact calls this a *metaparaclausithyron*, “in which the poet apologizes for a serenade which evidently left the door shut.”<sup>230</sup> In general, the narrator recognizes that he behaved improperly and asks forgiveness. He allows one caveat, however: it was not his own desire, but the influence of love and liquor, that compelled him to show up so late at night, act so rashly. Because he was not in control of his emotions and actions, the narrator argues, he should not be blamed for them. This is shown by the juxtaposition of ἐκὼν (willing) and ἄκων (unwilling, ἐκὼν with an α-privative) in the first couplet—another subtle wordplay of Callimachus’. In this poem, Callimachus proposes a different facet of proper behavior—one’s intentions. Elsewhere, he argues that people should be in charge of their actions, avoiding excessiveness. But here, Callimachus shows that there are other forces that influence human behavior, and that those circumstances can allow for social faux-pas.

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<sup>230</sup> Ferguson, “The Epigrams of Callimachus,” 78.

In this epigram, then, Callimachus sets forth the image that love, desire, and strong wine overcome all other emotions, making one go against their better judgement; however, it is in the natures of love and wine to make one act excessively. This poem positions its narrator as so infatuated that, even outside his lover's house, he cannot help but kiss the door, as a stand-in for his lover. Even if, as he says, it is wrong to be so overcome with emotion, helplessly in love, he accepts it, admits that he is "wrong"—but the poem hints that it is justified because his feelings are so strong and driven by outside forces. The final line showcases the point that Callimachus wants to make: while the rest of the poem seems to hint that the subject acted improperly, was too effusive in his love, the admission and justification of his "wrongdoing" causes us to reevaluate that. Perhaps there are some scenarios where excess is excusable, Callimachus leaves us wondering.

Callimachus provides very little information about his lover in this poem, other than his name: Archinos. In doing so, he forces the reader to focus solely on the action of the narrator, judging his behavior on its merits, and not the reaction of his lover or any outside party. While the image in the poem has a clear setting and involves other people, the language is focused on the narrator. And by not mentioning the lover's reaction, Callimachus asks us, as readers, to judge the narrator's behavior.

Throughout his poetry, Callimachus focuses on ideas of restraint and proper behavior, how the two interact. He also shows how religion plays a crucial role in the ways people, especially women, are perceived within society. In addressing multiple aspects of daily life, focusing on personal emotions and depicting individual's characters, Callimachus provides us with insight into the ways that ideas of social behavior manifested in Alexandrian society. And although he avoids openly discussing the ruling family and their politics, his references allow us

to glimpse the ways they influenced public life. His epigrams, although often cynical, show us both positive and negative aspects of living in Ptolemaic Alexandria, revealing the plights of pious worshippers and broken-hearted lovers from millennia ago.

## Conclusions

As we have seen, many of Martial's and Callimachus' poems focus on the importance of social standing and proper behavior in their respective worlds. Their poems create vivid depictions of the worlds they live in, and examining their epigrams thus gives us a window into those worlds. This paper has explored the ways concepts of ancient behavior and empire manifest in the works of Callimachus and Martial, the actions and ideas that they focus on in their poetry. Love and sex are often on not just their minds, but the rest of society's as well. Both authors also think about the ways that imperial society affects individuals: for Martial, that is through the marriage laws, whereas Callimachus relies more upon ideas of piety and euergetism, as exemplified by wealthy and influential members of society.

While the two authors present very different opinions and approach the issues with their own unique voices, these differences can tell us almost as much as the similarities they share. The two poets focus on the mismatch between society's expectations of proper behavior, and the reality of an individual's actions. Both Martial and Callimachus have not only a unique perspective on daily life, but their language and stylistics help to create a strong literary voice. Because of this, the two authors write about similar subjects in very different ways—and from this, we can begin to construct an idea of daily life based on what they do—and don't—say. Both are products of imperial cities, and concepts of empire saturate their poems; while Callimachus' work is only colored by references to the ruling family, Martial writes directly (and even critically) about the emperor *de jour*.

For both poets and their respective societies, there were countless precepts expected to be followed, from the ways people should act in social situations to the proper behavior in romantic and sexual relationships. Throughout their epigrams, Callimachus and Martial comment on



social behavior, either critiquing or praising individuals for their actions. By discussing everyday behavior to such length, from so many perspectives, their epigrams provide a picture of the myriad ways people could misbehave, and the prevailing societal opinions everyone was subjected to. And moreover, in placing such an emphasis on those opinions and precepts—whether dictated by the emperor, justified by the gods, or expected by your neighbors—the authors reinforce those social hierarchies and behavioral expectations.

Additionally, poetics play a crucial role in their epigrams. Both authors use clever wordplay, allude to contemporary culture and the work of past poets, and use the constraints of the genre to reinforce their arguments. Their epigrams are rife with stories of daily life, and their creativity and experimentation with genre make their epigrams even more entertaining to read. Their command of the epigrammatic genre made both Callimachus and Martial popular in their own time, and has led to them being exceedingly interesting to study in modern times. Their epigrams always have another layer of meaning or a clever new use of a word.

While this is only a brief analysis, and it gives us just a glimpse into the details of the ancient world, we can start to build a picture of the lives they may have lived. They both frequently write about relationships, about the dissatisfactions that come from love and sex, as well as what the ideal relationship should look like. In this sense, they provide us a new perspective on the realities of daily life in the ancient world, details that were, and still are, often overlooked. And while the two wrote in very different empires, lived hundreds of years apart, their epigrams illustrate the commonalities of ancient life. They are each products of their separate empires, and express themselves in unique ways. However, the fact that they both write about similar topics, have similar concerns, allows us to learn more about ancient life, the ways that people interacted with each other, the opinions societies have held for hundreds--if not

thousands--of years. As Callimachus and Martial show us, someone will always be around to judge your choices and laugh at your mistakes.

## Appendix I—Supplementary Poems<sup>231</sup>

### Martial 7.5

*Si desiderium, Caesar, populique patrumque  
 Respicias et Latiae gaudia vera togae,  
 Redde deum votis poscentibus. Invidet hosti  
 Roma suo, veniat laurea multa licet:  
 Terrarum dominum propius videt ille tuoque  
 Terretur vultu barbarus et fruitur.* 5

If you care about the desire of the people and the fathers, Caesar,  
 And the true delights of the Latin toga,  
 Return our god to us, asking with prayers. Rome envies  
 Her enemy, although the great triumph returns:  
 That barbarian sees the master of the earth approaching, and  
 Is terrified by your face, and delights. 5

### Martial 7. 88

*Fertur habere meos, si vera est fama, libellos  
 Inter delicias pulchra Vienna suas.  
 Me legit omnis ibi senior iuvenisque puerque  
 Et coram tetrico casta puella viro.  
 Hoc ego maluerim quam si mea carmina canent  
 Qui Nilum ex ipso protinus ore bibunt;  
 Quam meus Hispano si me Tagus impleat auro,  
 Pascat et Hybla meas, pascat Hymettos apes.  
 Non nihil ergo sumus nec blandae munere linguae  
 Decipimur: credam iam, puto, Lause, tibi.* 5  
 10

If the rumor is true, pretty Vienna carries  
 My books among her pleasures.  
 Everyone reads me there, the old and the young, the boy  
 And the chaste girl, in front of her harsh husband.  
 I wanted this more than if they would sing my songs,  
 They who drink the Nile straight from its mouth; 5  
 More than if my Tagus would satisfy me with Iberian gold,  
 And Hybla and Hymettos nourish my bees.  
 Therefore, we are not nothing but deceived by the favor of a  
 Flattering tongue: I should now, I think, believe you, Lausus. 10

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<sup>231</sup> These poems were translated as part of my honors project, but were not included in the final paper.

**Martial 9.7**

*Dixerat “o mores! o tempora!” Tullius olim,  
 Sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas,  
 Cum gener atque socer diris concurreret armis  
 Maestaque civili caede maderet humus.  
 Cur nunc “o mores!” cur nunc “o tempora!” dicis? 5  
 Quod tibi non placeat, Maeciliane, quid est?  
 Nulla ducum feritas, nulla est insania ferri;  
 Pace frui certa laetitiaque licet.  
 Non nostri faciunt tibi quod tua tempora sordent,  
 Sed faciunt mores, Maeciliane, tui. 10*

Tullius once said “oh the morals! oh the times!”  
 When Catiline was plotting sacrilegious crimes,  
 And when father- and son-in-law were joined with awful weapons  
 And the ground was soaked with the tragic bloodshed of a citizen.  
 Why now do you cry “oh the morals!,” why now “oh the times!”? 5  
 What is it, Maecilianus, that doesn’t please you?  
 There is no savageness of generals, there is no insanity to endure;  
 Your times appear dirty to you not because of what our morals do,  
 But because of, Maecilianus, what yours do. 10

**Callimachus PA 9.565**

ἤλθε Θεαίτητος καθαρὴν ὁδόν. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ κισσὸν  
 τὸν τεὸν οὐχ αὐτῆ, Βάκχε, κέλευθος ἄγει,  
 ἄλλων μὲν κήρυκες ἐπὶ βραχὺν οὐνομα καιρὸν  
 φθέγγονται, κείνου δ’ Ἑλλάς ἀεὶ σοφίην.

Theaitetos took the pure road. But if  
 This road doesn’t lead to your ivy, Bacchus,  
 Then the name[s] of others will the heralds for only a short time  
 Extol, but Greece will always know the skill of this one.

## Appendix II—Commentary

### Martial 5.75

1 *causa*] often used in a legal sense (OLD 1 “a trial”), as well as an excuse or reason (OLD 5-7).<sup>232</sup>

### Martial 6.22

3 *ne...possit*] negative purpose clause; see A&G §531.

### Martial 6.45

1 *lusistis*] *ludo*, to play or amuse oneself, can be used as a euphemism for sexual acts, and is less obscene than other terms (such as *futuo*).

*cunni*] an especially obscene term for female genitalia, it was often used to insult women as well.

*Venus*] used as metonymy for sex.

4 *turpius*] *turpior* in α.<sup>233</sup>

### Martial 7.5

4 *veniat...licet*] *licet* + subj is often concessive (“although”); see A&G §527.

5 *dominum...tuo*] switch from third to second person, showing that addressee of poem (*tuo*) is also *dominum*.

### Martial 7.30

1 *das...Dacis*] tricolon, with “reiterated asyndetic anaphora” that places emphasis on Caelia’s sexual insatiability and lack of discrimination of partners.<sup>234</sup>

*das*] sexual connotations of the verb *dare* (to give). Galán Vioque terms it “the intransitive-middle sense,” in which the word often means “to make oneself available sexually.”<sup>235</sup>

*Parthis*] Parthians, “An ancient territory roughly corresponding to the modern province of Khorāsān,” in modern Iran,<sup>236</sup> and a longtime enemy of the Romans.

*Dacis*] Dacians, who lived in what is now northern Romania.<sup>237</sup> Trajan conquered the Dacians in 106 CE, the events of which are commemorated on the column in Rome, which bears his name.

<sup>232</sup> Glare, “*causa*,” *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*.

<sup>233</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 2, note p. 34.

<sup>234</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 215.

<sup>235</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 215.

<sup>236</sup> John Everett-Heath, “Parthia.” *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Place Names*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191882913.001.0001/acref-9780191882913-e-5715>.

<sup>237</sup> M. M. and John Joseph Wilkes, “Dacia,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-2000>.

2 *Cilicium*] Cilicians. Cilicia was a Roman province in southern Asia Minor, following the coastline from Turkey to Syria.<sup>238</sup>

*nec...Cappadocumque*] As Galán Vioque says, “the negative pattern *nec...-que*, attested from Cicero on, is rare.”<sup>239</sup> The Cappadocians lived in Syria, Turkey, and Iraq.<sup>240</sup>

3 *Pharia*] of or relating to the island of Pharos, near Alexandria. Often used to mean Egyptian (OLD).

*Pharia...urbe*] *Phario...orbe* Heinsius.<sup>241</sup>

*Memphiticus*] “of or belonging to Memphis,” a city in Egypt (OLD). Much like *Pharia*, this word can be used as synecdoche for Egyptian.<sup>242</sup>

*fututor*] this noun comes from the verb *futuo* “to penetrate sexually” or “to fuck.” *Futuo* is an extremely explicit word, found mostly in Martial and graffiti.<sup>243</sup> I have chosen to translate *fututor* as “paramour” rather than “fucker” because of modern connotations of that word as similar to “bastard” or “jerk.”

5 *inguen*] “groin, “used euphemistically for penis in other, “higher-brow” genres for both men and women;”<sup>244</sup> see Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, 47-8.

6 *Sarmatico...equo*] Sarmatian or Scythian, from the eastern reaches of the land Romans considered Scythian (modern Iran), who were known to fight on horseback.<sup>245</sup> Beyond the horse as transportation, “an obscene interpretation of this reference...in which the woman ‘rides’ a man, who acts as an *equus*, is well-attested in Latin erotic literature.”<sup>246</sup>

*Alanus*] the Alani were a people of Scythia, and was a term used to broadly “characterize the lands to their north and east, roughly from the Danube to the Don, Caucasus, and Volga.”<sup>247</sup> Galán Vioque notes that they were “proverbially fierce.”<sup>248</sup>

<sup>238</sup> George Ewart Bean and Stephen Mitchell, “Cilicia” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed. , <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-1572?rskey=ObRyfU&result=3>.

<sup>239</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 216.

<sup>240</sup> Mehmet Fatih Yavuz, “Cappadocia,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-209?rskey=DDBBRM&result=3>.

<sup>241</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 2, note p. 100.

<sup>242</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 216.

<sup>243</sup> Gellerfi, “Obscenity Or Taboo?,” 159.

<sup>244</sup> Gellerfi, “Obscenity Or Taboo?,” 161.

<sup>245</sup> “Sarmatians,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1969>.

<sup>246</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 219.

<sup>247</sup> “Scythia,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1993?rskey=AXGb1O&result=3>.

<sup>248</sup> Galán Vioque, *Martial, Book VII*, 219.

**Martial 7.88**

5 *maluerim...canent*] conditional clause of comparison; see A&G §524.

7 *Tagus*] the Tagus is a river on the Iberian peninsula.<sup>249</sup>

8 *Hybla*] Hybla Heraea was a native Sicilian town, in southern Sicily.<sup>250</sup>  
*Hymettus*] a mountain southeast of Athens.<sup>251</sup>

10 *Lausus*] the name Lausus has mytho-historical connotations, attached to a character in the *Aeneid* and also the son of Numitor, one of the Roman kings. It is unclear whether the name is a pseudonym for a real individual or simply an invention.<sup>252</sup>

**Martial 9.7**

1 “*o mores...Tullius*] the phrase *o mores, o tempora* (oh the morals, oh the times!) was one used by Marcus Tullius Cicero, the late Republican orator, in several of his speeches, usually to make a statement about the poor moral conduct of the individuals he was prosecuting, as his legal speeches were often filled with personal claims.<sup>253</sup> It is, in many ways, consistent with other characterizations of the late Republican and Civil War eras as times of moral failure.

2 *Catilina*] Catiline was a rival of Cicero’s for consul; after being defeated by Cicero, he was accused of planning treason, prosecuted by Cicero, and soon fled Rome to command an uprising in Etruria. Following that, he and the fellow conspirators were declared enemies of the state and executed.<sup>254</sup>

6 *Maeciliane*] most likely a fake name, used here and in two other epigrams.<sup>255</sup>

**Martial 10.68**

1 *cum...sit*] *cum* with the subjunctive can be either causal or concessive; see A&G §549.  
*Ephesus*] Greek city-state in Asia Minor, along the Aegean; becomes an important province in the Roman empire.<sup>256</sup>

<sup>249</sup> “Tagus,” *World Encyclopedia*, Phillip’s,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199546091.001.0001/acref-9780199546091-e-11311?rskey=qzIHpr&result=2>.

<sup>250</sup> John Evertt-Heath, “Ragusa,” *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Place Names*,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191882913.001.0001/acref-9780191882913-e-9088?rskey=qbTwbi&result=3>.

<sup>251</sup> Robin G. Osborne, “Hymettus,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed.,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-3193>.

<sup>252</sup> Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, and Fernandez Valverde, “Lausus,” *A Prosopography to Martial's Epigrams*.

<sup>253</sup> “Cicero,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-2263>.

<sup>254</sup> Maridien Schneider, “Catiline,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-219>.

<sup>255</sup> Moreno Soldevila, Marina Castillo, and Fernandez Valverde, “Maecilianus,” *A Prosopography to Martial's Epigrams*.

<sup>256</sup> Mehmet Fatih Yavuz, “Ephesus,” *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*,  
<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-433>.

*Rhodos*] one of the Dodecanese islands in Greece, lying east of Crete.<sup>257</sup>

*Mitylene*] “the most important polis in Lesbos,” especially from the sixth century BCE to the Roman sack in 79 BCE, it was situated on the east coast of the island.<sup>258</sup>

2 *vico...Patricio*] the Patricians were one of the main divisions in Roman society, who typically were seen as being more prestigious and wealthier (as compared to plebeians). Thus, the *vicus Patricius* would be a neighborhood or area in Rome where the Patricians tended to live.

4 *Aricina*] also called Aricia. In the Alban foothills, southeast of Rome, Aricia has been involved in Italian history and politics since the sixth century BCE.<sup>259</sup>

6 *Hersilia*] Hersilia was the legendary wife of Romulus, and is credited as being one of the women who stopped the Sabine War; see Livy *Ad Urbe Condita*, I.11. According to Ovid (*Met.* XIV.851), she was deified along with her husband.

*Egeria*] Egeria was a water goddess worshipped outside of Rome; she was also, according to Livy, the “consort and advisor” to Numa Pompilius, the second king of Rome.<sup>260</sup>

8 *stravi*] to make a bed or to pave a road. In using this word, Martial suggests that such a relationship is dirty.

10 *quae crisat...potest*] *cum crisas...potes* β,<sup>261</sup> in which Martial would be speaking to Laelia.

11 *licet ediscas*] *licet* + *subj* is often concessive; see A&G §527.

12 *Lais*] an archetypal name for a prostitute in Greek; the name comes from two well-known Greek *hetairai* (ἑταῖραι or “courtesans”) and, as a consequence, their stories have been conflated.<sup>262</sup>

### Martial 11.7

1 *stupido*] stock character of the unobservant husband; according to Kay, “the word suggests the adultery mime,” another familiar form of entertainment for Romans.<sup>263</sup>

<sup>257</sup> Christopher B. Mee and Ellen E. Rice, “Rhodes,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5588>.

<sup>258</sup> “Mytilēnē,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1474>.

<sup>259</sup> Edward Togo Salmon and T. W. Potter, “Aricia,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-726>.

<sup>260</sup> C. Robert III Phillips, “Egeria,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-2350>.

<sup>261</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 2, note p. 386.

<sup>262</sup> “Lais,” *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*.

<sup>263</sup> Kay, *Martial*, Book XI, 77.



4 *Circeii*] Circeius is an area 60 miles outside of Rome, in modern Lazio.<sup>264</sup>  
*strophā*] from the Greek στρόφη “turning”

6 *scabies*] here, in the sense of *prurigo* “itch, lasciviousness.”<sup>265</sup>

12 *Sinuesano*] Sinuessa, a lake, is located north of Cumae, and was well known for having curative waters. Thus, it ties back to the mention of “hysteria” in the previous line. Additionally, “the immoral reputation of these curative bathing establishments was well known in the Roman world.”<sup>266</sup>

13 *ire fututum*] see 7.30.3. “*futuo* (active) is here used of the female role in heterosexual intercourse; elsewhere it is only used of [l]esbians.”<sup>267</sup> For further study of the active *futuo* being used of women, see Kamen and Richard-Levinson, “Lusty Ladies in the Roman Imaginary” (2015).

### Martial 11.20

2 *verba Latina*] this is in reference with *Romana simplicitate loqui* (ln 10).<sup>268</sup> There is a sense of Roman (and thus Latin) words as being honest, if not pleasant, in this poem.

3 *Glaphyran*] Glaphyra was the wife of Archelaus, the ethnarch of greater Judaea, as well as the ex-wife of Juba, king of Mauretania. Both regions were at this time, under Roman rule.<sup>269</sup>

5 *Manius*] Manius was “an agent of Antony’s helping Fulvia,” who worked against Octavian during the Perusine conflict (42-40 BCE).<sup>270</sup>

8 *signa canant*] “an epic phrase.”<sup>271</sup> In using this phrase, Martial makes reference to Virgil, who wrote during Augustus’ reign and legitimizes his poetry by using a phrase from a higher genre.

10 *Romana simplicitate loqui*] “‘simplicitas’ refers to a lack of artifice and pretense, and often has overtones of honesty and innocence” and is Roman, in this instance, because of Martial’s affinity for obscenity, or simple, honest speech.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 79.

<sup>265</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 79.

<sup>266</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 80.

<sup>267</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 80.

<sup>268</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 112.

<sup>269</sup> Tessa Rajak, “Archelaus,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.,

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-679>.

<sup>270</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 111.

<sup>271</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 113.

<sup>272</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 113-14.

**Martial 11.96**

- 1 *Marcia*] one of the main aqueducts into Rome, well-known for the exceptional quality of its water.<sup>273</sup>
- 2 *imbre*] “rain”; here, metonymy for water in general  
*lacus*] a reference to the basin of the fountain, although Kay describes it here as metonymy for the whole fountain.<sup>274</sup>
- 3 *ministro*] “servant”; would not have been a slave, but also not of citizen status; Gronovius first posited *ministro*, although others (such as Kay) use *ministri*.<sup>275</sup>

**Martial 11.104**

- 1 *vade foras*] a term often used in language of divorce.<sup>276</sup>
- 2 *Curius...Numa....Tatius*] tricolon. Curius is Marcus Curius Dentatus who lived in the early third century BCE and ended the Samnite War.<sup>277</sup> Kay (103) mentions he “was idealized by Cato,” which implies that he was especially morally severe. Numa is Numa Pompilius, the second (semi-mythical) king of Rome, who, according to tradition, instituted much of Roman religion.<sup>278</sup> Tatius is less well-known than the other two, but is included because of his “Sabine origin and early Republican date,” attributes he shares with the others.<sup>279</sup> He is, although the story is shadowy, related to Tarpeia, as well as Romulus; although in this, Kay contradicts himself, as Romulus was king centuries before the republic was founded.<sup>280</sup>
- 3 *iucunda...noctes*] synchysis (interlocked word order)
- 5 *teste*] testis: “witness” or “testicle”—considering the sexual tone of the poem, Martial is, if not expressly using both meanings here, then at least suggesting the lewd one by using the meaning of “witness.”
- 6 *rumpere...latus*] individually, *rumpere* means “to break” or “to tear,” and *latus* is the side or flank of people or animals. In keeping with Martial’s language and tone, I have translated the phrase (perhaps liberally) as “to bust one’s balls,” that is “to cum.”

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<sup>273</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 292.

<sup>274</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 263.

<sup>275</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 263.

<sup>276</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 277.

<sup>277</sup> Edward Togo Salmon and Tim J. Cornell, “Curius Dentatus, Manius,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-1963>.

<sup>278</sup> Andrew Drummond, “Pompilius, Numa,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5218>.

<sup>279</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 277.

<sup>280</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 277.

12 *tura merumque pares*] religious connotations: chastity was expected at religious ceremonies (such as sacrifices) where incense and wine were used. There is a tradition of amatory poets frustrated with such religiously-mandated chastity.<sup>281</sup>

13-4 *Prygii...Hectoreo...uxor*] a reference to Hector of Troy, and his wife Andromache. Phrygia is located in Asia Minor, and is an ally of the Trojans in the Homeric epics.<sup>282</sup> The image also plays on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*.<sup>283</sup>

15-6 *Ithaco...manum*] another reference to a Homeric wife; Penelope was considered, even in antiquity, as the epitome of a loyal wife. As Kay says, while Penelope, still *pudica*, still masturbates, "M[artial]'s wife far outstrips her in *pudor*."<sup>284</sup>

17-8 *Cornelia...Porcia*] all three were Roman matrons renowned for loyalty to their husbands. Cornelia was the mother of the Gracchi brothers, tribunes infamous for their social reforms in the 130s and 120s BCE. She never remarried, remaining faithful after her husband's death.<sup>285</sup> Iulia was the daughter of Julius Caesar and wife of Pompey; she died of childbirth in 54 BCE.<sup>286</sup> Porcia was the daughter of Cato the younger and wife of Brutus, and was allegedly involved in the planning of Caesar's murder.<sup>287</sup>

21 *gravitas*] heaviness, but also dignity or importance. It was "a staple Roman virtue, humorously regarded by M[artial] here as unbefitting a wife; usually it would have been prized as a feminine quality."<sup>288</sup>

*Lucretia*] wife of Lucius Collatinus, she was raped by Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the Roman kings. Her rape and subsequent suicide (prompted by the fact that she was no longer chaste) led to the overthrow of Superbus and the institution of the Roman republic.<sup>289</sup> See Livy *Ab Urbe Condita* for a fuller account.

22 *Laida*] See Martial 10.68.12 for the name. Kay claims that here, "M[artial] is thinking of the more famous one from Corinth."<sup>290</sup>

## Martial 12.5

1 *Pyrgos*] Pyrgi was originally an Etruscan port, but became a Roman colony in the third century BCE. Two main temples and several other excavated areas have been important for

<sup>281</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 280.

<sup>282</sup> Alan M. Greaves, "Phrygia," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-986>.

<sup>283</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 280.

<sup>284</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 281.

<sup>285</sup> Suzanne Dixon, "Cornelia," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-311>.

<sup>286</sup> "Iulia," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1163>.

<sup>287</sup> Theodore John Cadoux, "Porcia," *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5249>.

<sup>288</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 282.

<sup>289</sup> Connors, "Lucretia," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*.

<sup>290</sup> Kay, *Martial, Book XI*, 282.

understanding Etruscan religion and connections to Carthage before Roman colonization. Pyrgi is located on the eastern coast of Italy, 60 km north of Rome.<sup>291</sup>

2 *Sacra...Via*] the Via Sacra (Sacred Road) ran through the Roman Forum, and was part of the triumphal route.

3 *Ausonia*] a poetic name for Italians, “derived from *Ausones*, an ancient, perhaps originally Greek, name for the inhabitants of middle and south Italy.”<sup>292</sup>  
*mitissimus*] used here and in 12.9, both describing the emperor. The word *mitis* or any of its derivations is not used to describe an emperor until book 12, and it appears only one other time in book 12 (12.21) in a comparison between a woman (*domina*) and the city of Rome.

4 *tuto*] *tuto* in Friedländer, *toto* in βγ.<sup>293</sup>  
*Helicone*] Helicon is a mountain in southwest Boeotia, and was believed to be sacred to the Muses;<sup>294</sup> thus, it was often used by poets as a *locus amoenus*, or ideal natural space.

### Martial 12.8

1 *Roma*] acts as the subject for the entirety of the poem, and main verb *dixit* (7).

3-4 *cum...computaret*] circumstantial temporal clause, with the imperfect subjunctive; see A&G §546.

8 *Serum*] the word “Seres” is derived from the word for silk, and was used to indicate Asians in general.<sup>295</sup>

9 *Thracēs*] the Thracians were the “autochthonous population of the northern Balkan area,” ultimately conquered by the Romans.<sup>296</sup>

*Sauromatae*] see 7.30.6.

*Getae*] the Getae were a “Thracian tribe who had settled by the fourth century BC on the lower Danube to the south and east of the Carpathians,” in what is now eastern Romania.<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>291</sup> David William Robertson Ridgeway, “Pyrgi” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-5452>.

<sup>292</sup> “Ausō'nia , Au'sōnes,” *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199548545.001.0001/acref-9780199548545-e-0438>.

<sup>293</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, vol. 3, note p. 96.

<sup>294</sup> “Helicon,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780192801463.001.0001/acref-9780192801463-e-1011>.

<sup>295</sup> Nicholas Purcell, “Seres,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5847>.

<sup>296</sup> Alexander Kazhdan, “Thracians,” *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. Alexander P. Kazhdan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005),

<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-5484>

<sup>297</sup> John Joseph Wilks, “Getae,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-2838>.

### Martial 12.9

1 *palma*] the palm branch, or a wreath of palm leaves was often given as a prize or token of victory. It can also be used metonymically to mean the victor themselves, although the authors who do so (Virgil and Statius) wrote before Martial.<sup>298</sup> In this poem, it can be interpreted as a reference to the Roman empire's military defeat over the Spaniards.

*nostros*] referring to himself (Martial), using authorial plural, but also possibly referring to both Trajan and himself, since Trajan was Spanish.<sup>299</sup>

*mitissime*] see Martial 12.5.3.

*Hiberos*] an alternate name for Spain (the Iberian peninsula).

4 *missisti...tuos*] chiasmus

*loca nostra*] accusative; *loca*, the neuter plural can refer to “places connected with each other, a region.”<sup>300</sup>

### Callimachus PA 5.6

This poem combines “contrivedly simplistic everyday speech and more formal language.”<sup>301</sup>

1 Καλλιγνοτος] the name is derived from καλός (pretty) and the root of γινώσκω (to know).

2 κρέσσονα] Ionic (frequently uses η instead of ᾱ).<sup>302</sup> κρείσσονα (Attic) in Plan.<sup>303</sup>

3-4 ἀλλὰ...ἀθανάτων] as Nisetich says, Zeus once told Hera, after caught having sex with Io that had not actually made love to Io. He further mentions a fragment of Hesiod, in which Zeus “made all similar oaths taken by lovers free of sanction.”<sup>304</sup>

6 Μεγαρέων] Megara was a city located between Athens and Corinth.<sup>305</sup>

### Callimachus PA 5.23

Uncertain attribution: in the Planudean Anthology, it is credited to Rufinus, and in the Palatine Anthology, all the surrounding poems are credited to Rufinus, and this one to Callimachus.<sup>306</sup>

1 Κωνόπιον] lit. “little mosquito.” Gow and Page call it “a characteristic type of name or nickname for a *hetaera*.”<sup>307</sup>

ὕπνωσαις] optative of wish; repeated in 3.

<sup>298</sup> Lewis and Short, “palma,” *A Latin Dictionary*.

<sup>299</sup> Hekster, “Trajan.”

<sup>300</sup> Lewis and Short, “locus,” *A Latin Dictionary*.

<sup>301</sup> Cairns, *Hellenistic Epigram*, 373.

<sup>302</sup> Herbert Weir Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, rev. Gordon M. Messing (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 3.

<sup>303</sup> Rudolf Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus, Volume 2: Hymns and Epigrams* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 87.

<sup>304</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 268.

<sup>305</sup> “Megara,” *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*.

<sup>306</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 314

<sup>307</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 314

- 3 structure of the line parallels line 1.  
ἀδικωτάτη] correption of final syllable.
- 6 ἀναμνήσει] third person singular future indicative, Doric contraction (as opposed to third singular aorist short-vowel subjunctive).

### Callimachus PA 5.146

- 1 τήναις] κείναις in AP, τήναις posited by Wilamowitz.<sup>308</sup>
- 2 κἔτι] καὶ ἔτι  
ποτεπλάσθη] aorist indicative passive, missing past indicative augment.
- 3 ἀρίζαλος] Doric. The Doric dialect retains the long α (ᾱ) in places where Attic uses η.<sup>309</sup>  
Βερενίκα] Doric/Aeolic (Aeolic also uses ᾱ for η).<sup>310</sup>

### Callimachus PA 7.89

- 1 Ἄταρνεϊτης] Atarneus was a town on the coast of Asia Minor, east of Mytilene.<sup>311</sup>  
Πιττακὸν] also spelled Pittacus. A late seventh to early sixth century BCE statesman and lawyer from Mytilene, he was a “moderate reformer” like Solon, and was accused of being a tyrant by Alcaeus.<sup>312</sup>
- 2 Μυτιληωαῖον] see Martial 10.68.1.  
Ἵγρράδιον] Ἵγρράδιου in Diog. and AP corr., Ἵγρράδιον in earlier AP and Schneider.<sup>313</sup>
- 10 εὐρείη] Ionic
- 11 ὦ] = ὄς in nominative, accusative, and vocative.
- 16 γ’ ἰὼν] AP.; Δίων: von Wilamowitz, Moellendorff, from Diog.<sup>314</sup> Dion was a common name, and would thus be the addressee of the poem.<sup>315</sup>

### Callimachus PA 7.728

This poem alternates greater Archilocheans (four dactyls and an ithyphallic) and Phalaecean hendecasyllables.<sup>316</sup> I have indented the hendecasyllables in my text and translation to show that alternation.

<sup>308</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 95.

<sup>309</sup> Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 3.

<sup>310</sup> Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 3.

<sup>311</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 311.

<sup>312</sup> Rosalind Thomas, “Pittacus,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-5098>.

<sup>313</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 80.

<sup>314</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 80.

<sup>315</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 311.

<sup>316</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 309; M. L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 129.

- 1     ἱερέη] spelling attested only in Callimachus.<sup>317</sup>  
       Καβείρων] Cabeiri or Cabiri, “divinities at certain mystery sanctuaries,” located throughout the northern Aegean, in Thrace, the western Asiatic mainland, and Thebes.<sup>318</sup>
- 2     ῶνερ] = ἀνήρ; metathesis of vowel lengths (for metrical reasons).  
       Δινδυμήνης] Dindymene, an alternate name for Cybele who also had a cult religion associated with her. Cybele was, at different times and in different regions, associated with Demeter and other earth/fertility goddesses. In the Roman world, she also became associated with another eastern mystery god, Mithras, through the *taurobolium* or sacrifice of a bull.<sup>319</sup>
- 3     ἦ ν’] ηνο in Oxford Edition, from AP 1.<sup>320</sup>  
       Ἐλευθοῦς] spelling attested only in Hellenistic epigrams. Eileithyia was a childbirth goddess, originally Minoan. She was worshipped across the Cycladic islands, as well as mainland Greece.<sup>321</sup> The end of this line is missing, but has been resupplied by editors; as Nisetich says, “there is room for about six syllables.”<sup>322</sup>
- 4     προστασίη] Ionic
- 5     κῆπέμυσα] καὶ ἐπέμυσα, from ἐπιμύω “to close the eyes, to close over” and by extension, “to die.”<sup>323</sup>

### Callimachus PA 9.67

This poem is technically anonymous, but attributed to Callimachus in the Planudean Anthology.<sup>324</sup>

- 1     μικὰν] μιὰράν Bently;<sup>325</sup> and thus from the adjective μιὰρός, “stained (with blood),” and by extension “morally reprehensive.”<sup>326</sup>  
       κοῦρος] Ionic.
- 3     ῆ] feminine nominative singular article; it is unclear if this refers to the woman or the stone—both are feminine. It is possible that Callimachus created this ambiguity on purpose;

<sup>317</sup> Liddell and Scott, “ἱερεία, ἦ” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>318</sup> Albert Schachter, “Cabiri,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-1207>.

<sup>319</sup> Francis Walton Redding and John Scheid, “Cybele,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-1970>.

<sup>320</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus*, Volume 2, 91.

<sup>321</sup> Herbert Jennings Rose, Herbert William Parke, and B. C. Deitrich, “Eileithyia,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780198606413.001.0001/acref-9780198606413-e-2357>.

<sup>322</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 309.

<sup>323</sup> Liddell and Scott, “ἐπιμύω” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>324</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, 142.

<sup>325</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, 142.

<sup>326</sup> Liddell and Scott, “μιὰρός” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

however, I have chosen to translate it as the stepmother to further reinforce Callimachus' negative evaluation of her.

4 φύγετε...πρόγονοι] imperative with a nominative subject.

### Callimachus PA 9.565

1 καθαρή] καθαρός (adj), meaning “clean, without blemish” but also morally clean or pure.<sup>327</sup>

κισσὸν] ivy, which furthers the identification of this poem with a civic writing competition. As Nisetich claims, that “Theaitetos has failed to win a poetry contest, but not necessarily in drama, as all the contests in Alexandria were held under the auspices of Bacchos (Dionysos).”<sup>328</sup> Recorded as ἐπικισσοῦ in AP.<sup>329</sup>

1-4 εἰ δ'...φθέγγονται] present simple conditional; see Smyth §2297

### Callimachus PA 12.43

2 τίς] interrogative pronoun. It is used here with κελεύθῳ (1) to mean (literally) “what sort of road,” in which κελεύθῳ is a dative of specification.

καὶ] corrected

4 δημόσια] from δῆμος (deme), the population of a county or township, and the main voting group in democratic Athens.<sup>330</sup> Thus, it is not just “public” but “civic” as well.

### Callimachus PA 12.51

1 Ἀχελῷος] Achelous, “the longest of all Greek rivers, rising in central Epirus” and flowing into the Corinthian Gulf. It becomes personified as a river-god in early Greek literature (Homeric, if not earlier).<sup>331</sup>

2 κύαθων] the κύαθος (kuathos) was a ladle used to draw wine from the krater, or mixing-bowl.<sup>332</sup>

4 ἐπισταίμην] optative of wish.

### Callimachus PA 12.102

1 ὄργρευτῆς] contraction of the masculine nominative singular article ὁ into the noun ἄργρευτῆς (hunter).

3 κεχρημένος] κεχαρημένος Bentley (from χαίρω).<sup>333</sup>

<sup>327</sup> Liddell and Scott, “καθαρός,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>328</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 312..

<sup>329</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 82.

<sup>330</sup> Liddell and Scott, “δῆμος,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>331</sup> William M. Murray, “Acheloüs,” *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-30>.

<sup>332</sup> Liddell and Scott, “κύαθος,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>333</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns and Epigrams*, note p.158.



5 χούμους] καὶ ὁμός spelled οὐμός elsewhere in AP.<sup>334</sup>

### Callimachus PA 12.118

1 ἐπεκόμασα] from ἐπικωμάζω “to arrive in revelry.”<sup>335</sup>

2 προπέτειαν] prominence, rashness.<sup>336</sup>

3 Ἄκρητος] Ionic for ἄκρατος

4 τὴν προπέσειαν ἔαν] σώφρονα θυμὸν ἔχειν in AP (same as Theog. 754).<sup>337</sup>

5 τίς ἢ τίνοϛ] interrogatives, rather than indefinite pronouns.

6 φλιήν] doorpost, lintel.<sup>338</sup>

### Callimachus PA 12.230

1 μελανεῖντα] future active masculine accusative singular participle from μελαίνω, “to grow dark.”<sup>339</sup> In this instance, implies that Theokritos is beginning to grow a beard. As discussed in chapter III, “Understanding Callimachean Love,” the ability to grow facial hair was seen as a marker of transition into adulthood, and the end of the age range in which a teenage boy was a suitable pederastic partner.

1-2 εἰ...ἔχθει...μισοίης] mixed conditional

3 εὐχαίτεω] Ionic

4 ἠράσθηϛ] aorist indicative passive—the verb ἔραμαι is deponent, and thus has an active translation.

### Callimachus PA 13.24

This poem uses a combination of catalectic iambic dimeters and Phalaecean hendecasyllables.<sup>340</sup> I have indented the dimeters in my text and translation to show that alternation.

1 τὰφροδίτη] = τῆ Ἄφροδίτη. Uncontracted (and without iota-subscripts) in AP.<sup>341</sup>

2 ἡ περίφοιτος] lit. “revolving, wandering about” but here and in PA 12.43, has a sexual connotation.

<sup>334</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 89.

<sup>335</sup> Liddell and Scott, “ἐπικωμάζω,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>336</sup> Liddell and Scott, “προπέτεια,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>337</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 92.

<sup>338</sup> Liddell and Scott, “φλιή,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>339</sup> Liddell and Scott, “μελαίνω,” *A Greek-English Lexicon*.

<sup>340</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 301.

<sup>341</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 91.

4 πανόν] = φανόν, torch. πᾶνα in Oxford edition, from AP.<sup>342</sup>

### Callimachus PA 13.25

This poem uses a combination of catalectic iambic dimeter and Archilochean meter.<sup>343</sup> I have indented the dimeters in my text and translation to show that alternation.

3 Ἀκρίσιος] Akrisios was the king of Argos and grandfather of Perseus.<sup>344</sup> It is unclear if the epigram refers to this famous Akrisios, or another man with the same name.

Ναυκρατίκης] Naukratis was a Greek city in Egypt, along the Nile. It was a trading post starting in the seventh century BCE.<sup>345</sup>

4 κάτω θυγατρὶ] Persephone

6 δεκατεύματα] hapax legomenon (this is the only instance of this word in extant Greek literature). The word δεκάτεν appears in an Attic inscription from the fifth century BCE (*Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* 286), and is also translated “tithe.”<sup>346</sup>

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<sup>342</sup> Pfeiffer, *Callimachus, Volume 2*, 91.

<sup>343</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 301.

<sup>344</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 301.

<sup>345</sup> Nisetich, *The Poems of Callimachus*, 301.

<sup>346</sup> Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter, “Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry” (Cambridge University Press), accessed Oct 6, 2019 <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/tradition-and-innovation-in-hellenistic-poetry/0D8ABAF7DAA79A708CDACEEEE64A900>, 308.

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