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A Priest and a "Queen": Donne's Epigram "Martial"

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In the *Variorum Edition* of John Donne's epigrams, the bulk of commentary on the poem "Martial" is limited by the fact that it is content to see "Martial" as a satire of the Jesuit priest Matthew Raderus, mainly for his bowdlerized edition of Martial's epigrams:[1]

> Why this man gelded *Martiall* I muse,
> Except himselfe alone his tricks would use,
> As *Katherine*, for the Courts sake, put down Stewes.

"Martial," as brief as it is, not only attacks the individual Jesuit Raderus but encapsulates attacks made by Donne in *Pseudo-martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave* against the Society of Jesus for overstepping the bounds of religion and meddling in politics. Furthermore, beyond the satire of the Jesuits, the third line of the poem intimates another of Donne's veiled rebukes of the English monarchy and its own abuse, as Donne sees it, of religion.

Raderus's "gelded" edition of Martial's epigrams was first published in 1602 with the obscene poems expunged.[2] As Raderus himself explains in

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[1]Gary A. Stringer, ed., *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, vol. 8 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 308–310. *The Variorum* uses the title "Martial," whereas the earliest version of the poem, found in the Westmoreland manuscript, is uniquely entitled "Martial: castratus" (*Variorum*, p. 58). In later manuscripts the poem is almost exclusively called "Raderus," the only variant being "Randerus" (*Variorum*, p. 59).

[2]M. Thomas Hester, "Reading Donne's Epigrams: 'Raderus/Ralphius,'" *Papers on Language and Literature* 21 (1985): 325.

the preface to his edition, "lest the youth destroy their innocence . . . the chaste, pure Martial himself is put forth and published for you";[3] and, he adds, "at any rate, only the things stinking of the whorehouse and brothels have been cast out into the pig pen."[4] A comparison of Raderus's 1602 edition with an unexpurgated edition of Martial published in 1601 shows that what Raderus found fit for the "pig pen" amounts to more than a few line edits.[5] Out of the fourteen books of Martial's epigrams, Raderus's edition is missing over three hundred complete poems and numerous lines from over thirty others (see Appendix I). With rare exception, the omitted verses are of a sexual nature, and Raderus shows no particular bias against sodomy, masturbation, adultery, or any other hint of sexuality for that matter: it has all been "gelded" (see Appendix II).

Among these omissions are some that may have direct bearing on Donne's "Martial." In particular, Martial's epigram 9.5 stands out. An encomium to Domitian, praising the emperor for the success of his morality laws, the poem ends with the following dubious tribute: "And that sense of shame which, before you, had not ever been in the marriage bed has begun to be, through you, even in the brothel."[6] In effect, this passage employs the same tactic (equivocation) and addresses the same topic (laws against prostitution) as the final simile in "Martial": "As *Katherine*, for the courts sake, put down Stewes." Donne's verse suggests that the unidentified queen "Katherine" has closed the brothels "so as to

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[3] *M. Valeriis Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XIV* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1602), n. p.: "Ne iuventus . . . perdat innocentiam. . . . Ipse purus putus Martialis tibi proponitur et exponitur."

[4] *M. Valeriis Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XIV*, n. p.: "Sola duntaxat stabulum et fornices olentia, ad haram eiecta."

[5] The unabridged 1601 edition is *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammatum Libri XIV* (Paris: Bartholomeus Macaeus, 1601), which includes Domitius Calderinus's commentary from the year 1474. Except for slight differences in numbering, all the poems in the 1601 edition also appear in D. R. Shackleton Bailey, ed., *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Stuttgardt: Teubner, 1990). Therefore, I will use Shackleton Bailey's modern edition as the primary reference for Martial's epigrams.

[6] Shackleton Bailey, 9.5.8–9: "Qui nec cubili fuerat ante te quondam, / pudor esse per te coepit et lupanari."

benefit the morals of the Court."[7] However, it can also be construed to mean that the queen has acted "so that the Court could have a monopoly of sexual licence."[8]

Martial's poem exhibits the same ambiguity. In one sense, the verse praises Domitian in hyperbolic style; Domitian's legislation has benefited the empire by improving the morals not only of spouses, but even of prostitutes. Conversely, it could mean that Domitian, legislator of modesty, now frequents the brothel himself. Moreover, the mention of the marriage bed may be a veiled reference to Domitian's own reputation for adultery, which is rumored by three different classical historians[9]—Dio Cassius,[10] Suetonius,[11] and Tacitus.[12] Such an interpretation rests on the Latin *pudor*, which can be translated "sense of shame" or "modesty" but also, conversely, "shame" or "disgrace."[13] Thus, the Latin can be rendered: "And that disgrace which, before you, had not ever been in the marriage bed has begun to be, through you, even in the brothel." This rendering strikes at Domitian doubly—both for his immodest, youthful adultery and for the hypocrisy of his imperial whoremongering.

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[7]A. J. Smith, ed., *John Donne: The Complete English Poems* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 467.

[8]A. J. Smith, ed., p. 467.

[9]Brian W. Jones, ed., *Seutonius: Domitian* (London: Bristol Classical Press–Duckworth, 1996), p. 17.

[10]Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, vol. 8, trans. Earnest Cary, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1925), section 65.3.4: "He devoted himself to his passion for Domitia, the daughter of Corbulo. He had taken her away from her husband, Lucius Lamia Aelianus, and at this time had her for one of his mistresses."

[11]Jones, ed., *Seutonius: Domitian,* section 1.3: "*contractatis multorum uxoribus Domitiam Longinam Aelio Lamiae nuptam etiam matrimonium abduxit*." (My translation: "After having 'tried out' the wives of many men, he married Domitia Longina, the bride of Aelius Lamia.")

[12]Tacitus, *The Histories*, vol. 3, trans. Clifford H. Moore, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), section 4.2: "With debauchery and adulteries he played the part of an emperor's son."

[13]See P. G. W. Glare, ed., *The Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 1514; see also, John C. Traupman, ed., *The Bantam New College Latin & English Dictionary* (New York: Bantam Books, 1966), p. 345.

Nevertheless, perhaps what is most significant here is not the similar tactic of the two epigrams, or even the similar topic of the jests, but the similar object of the jests: in each case, an imperial ruler. The similarity may evince a conscious allusion in the same way "Martial" (in the Westmoreland manuscript called "Martial: castratus") echoes the plea in Martial's epigram 1.35 not to "castrate his verses."[14] The allusion to epigram 9.5 would suggest the identity of Donne's "Katherine" is not at all arbitrary, as some have argued, but altogether essential for understanding the full thrust of "Martial"; just as Martial 9.5 satirizes Domitian, Donne's epigram satirizes a certain "Katherine."

Yet even if Donne intended no allusion to his classical mentor, Donne's epigram is at least written in the same vein as Martial's. It was Martial who fixed the epigram as a satiric genre, and it is Donne who has been called the nearest equivalent to Martial in the English language. With or without the allusion, I believe the identity of the Katherine in question is essential to the satirical wit of "Martial," and the simile of the third line serves not only to amplify the distich but also to contrast with it. However, before considering who this Katherine may be and how her identity complicates the poem, let us first consider why Donne saw fit to satirize Raderus.

As Herbert J. C. Grierson argues, the answer to this question probably lies no further than Raderus's identity as a Jesuit.[15] Grierson bases his observation on the marked similarities in both language and idea between "Martial" and a passage found in Donne's 1611 satire of the Jesuits, *Ignatius His Conclave*:

> *Raderus*, and others of his *Order*, did use to gelde *Poets*, and other *Authors* . . . not . . . that the memory thereof should bee abolished; but that when themselves had first tried, whether *Tiberius* his *Spintria* & *Martialis symplegma*, and others of that kinde, were not rather *Chimeraes*, & speculations of luxuriant wits, then things certaine & constant, and such as might bee reduced to an Art and methods in licentiousnes (for Jesuits never content themselves with the *Theory* in anything, but

[14]Hester, "Reading Donne's Epigrams," p. 326.

[15]Grierson, *The Poems of John Donne*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912) 2:60.

> straight proceed to *practise*) they might after communicate them to their owne *Disciples* and *Novitiates*.[16]

All the sentiment of "Martial" is here, albeit without the compression; in a sense, the passage can be read as a gloss on the epigram, a gloss that confirms Donne's bawdy intent: Raderus gelded Martial in order to try out Martial's licentiousness tricks himself, particularly on his students.

But, as Timothy Healy points out, Donne's lewd, not to mention jocose, accusations against Raderus and the Jesuits belie a more serious critique.[17] *Ignatius His Conclave* appears to be a satirical response to the ongoing, heated debate over whether or not English Catholics should take the Oath of Allegiance. As Healy sees it, Donne's prose satire is a contribution to the series of publications by James I, upholding allegiance, and the Jesuit Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, urging recusancy.[18] At issue here was more than just public opinion, because, during the early years of James's reign, the debate over the Oath of Allegiance had deadly consequences. The Gunpowder Plot of 1605, the assassination of Henri IV in May 1610, and the corresponding persecution of Catholics were ample proof that the debate was not mere rhetoric. And, in the opinion of many English, including Donne, the authors of recusant violence were the Jesuits.[19]

In another of his prose works, *Pseudo-Martyr* (1610), Donne launches perhaps his most bitter assault of the Jesuits and their political machinations.[20] In this work, Donne likens the Jesuits to Satan, "*compass[ing] the Earth, too and fro*,"[21] and charges that they are bound, because of their unique fourth vow pledging allegiance to the pope, "to penetrate any Kingdome, and instill Sedition into their Disciples, and

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[16]Timothy Healy, ed., *John Donne: Ignatius His Conclave* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 67. Future references to *Ignatius His Conclave* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number.

[17]Healy, ed., p. xxiv.

[18]Healy, ed., p. xix.

[19]Evelyn M. Simpson, *A Study of the Prose Works of John Donne*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1948), p. 192.

[20]Healy, ed., p. xviii.

[21]Anthony Raspa, ed., *John Donne: Pseudo-Martyr* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p. 28. Future references to *Pseudo-Martyr* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number.

followers" (p. 40). He also makes sure to refer to the Jesuit Juan Mariani's infamous *De Rege et De Regis Institutione* from the year 1559, which, according to Donne, argues that "it is lawfull in some cases to kill a King," recommending, jesuitically, that "by putting poison in [the King's] meat or drink, you make him, though ignorantly, kill himselfe" (p. 43). In a similar fashion, in *Ignatius His Conclave*, Donne mentions the "sword" of "*Jesuites Assassinates*, and *King-Killings*" and even goes so far as to insinuate a direct link between the Jesuits and the foiled, recusant plot to blow up Parliament in 1605. Thus, the character Ignatius Loyola says the following: "As God himselfe was pleased to defend his Paradice with fire and sword, so we [the Jesuits] stand watchfull upon the borders of our *Church*, not onely provided, as that *Cherubin* was with fire and sword, but with the later invention of *Gun-powder*" (p. 61).

Donne's invective against the Jesuits is not directed against all Catholics, or even against all recusants for that matter. For much of his life, Donne was a recusant himself, and his own brother Henry had perished in the persecutions of Catholics during Elizabeth's reign.[22] In all likelihood, one reason Donne singles out the Jesuits in both *Pseudo-martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave* is because of the way in which they justified their polemics, hiding behind the guise of religion. In *Pseudo-martyr* he practically charges the Jesuits with abandoning religion altogether in their obsession with "secular businesses" (p. 41). This is no mild charge coming from Donne. In 1609 in a letter addressed to Sir Henry Goodyear, concerning the Oath of Supremacy, he says that he distrusts those who "write for religion without it."[23] By the time of his writing *Pseudo-martyr*, he had come to the conclusion that recusancy as a matter of faith was simply unnecessary, and, as the title of the treatise suggests, he believed the Jesuits and the recusants who took their lead were actually stoking the fires for their own, "pseudo" martyrdom.

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[22]Dennis Flynn, "Donne the Survivor," in *The Eagle and the Dove: Reassessing John Donne*, ed. Claude J. Summers and Ted-Larry Pebworth, Essays in Seventeenth-Century Literature, 1 (Columbia: University Missouri Press, 1986), p. 19.

[23]Edmund Gosse, ed., *The Life and Letters of John Donne*, vol. 1 (London: W. Heinemann, 1899), p. 221. Also, Helen Gardner and Timothy Healy, eds., *John Donne: Selected Prose* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 136.

In *Satyre III*, a poem that predates both *Pseudo-martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave*, Donne sets up a comparison between seeking "true religion" and courting a mistress. In the poem, five suitors—Mirreus, Crants, Graius, Phrygius, and Gracchus—fail to choose the proper, "fair" bride on account of their own mistaken, religious preconceptions.[24] In the epigram "Martial," Donne lampoons the Jesuit Raderus in a similar way, insinuating that Raderus was turning tricks with everyone but the fair bride. For example, in Martial's 9.41 a certain Ponticus is mocked for a libidinous preference for his own left hand: "Ponticus, because you never fuck, but use your left hand as a mistress, and your friendly hand services your lovelife, do you think this is nothing?"[25] That Ponticus's trick may also be the predilection of Raderus is suggested in the private nature of the tricks which the Jesuit practices "himselfe alone." Furthermore, if the more common title of Donne's epigram, "Raderus," is given preference because of the relevant connotations of its Latin root *rado* ("to cut," "to lash"),[26] Donne may have been aware of another connotation of *rado* that even the scrupulous Jesuit editor failed to recognize. For, in a verse Raderus did not expunge from one of Martial's epigrams—"*Non tondet, inquam. quid igitur facit? Radit*"[27]—the vagueness of *rado* has been taken to mean "to masturbate."[28]

Raderus may also be inclined to the kind of tricks that one simply cannot master alone, tricks that would please a woman such as Martial's Lesbia, who, in one of the expurgated epigrams, is cast as a dominatrix: "You command my tail to stand up for you always, Lesbia."[29] In Donne's

[24]Hester, *Kinde Pitty and Brave Scorn: John Donne's Satyres* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1982), pp. 63–64.

[25]Shackleton Bailey, 9.41.1–3: "Pontice, quod numquam futuis, sed paelice laeva / uteris et Veneri servit amica manus, / hoc nihil esse putas?"

[26]Hester, "The Titles/Headings of Donne's English Epigrams," *American Notes and Queries* n. s. 3.1 (1990): 4.

[27]Shackleton Bailey, 2.17.5; the Latin can be translated, "He does not shave, I say. So what does he do? He scratches."

[28]J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London: Duckworth, 1982), p. 168.

[29]Shackleton Bailey, 6.23.1: "Stare iubes semper nostrum tibi, Lesbia, penem."

epigram the word "use," which can connote "sexual intercourse,"[30] taken together with the reference to Raderus as "this man," may imply a lack of fealty on Raderus's part to his vow of celibacy as a priest.[31] There is also the possibility that Raderus's desired bride is no bride at all, but a boy, as is the case with Martial's Naevolus: "Since the boy's dick hurts, Naevolus, as does your ass, / I'm no prophet, but I know what you are up to."[32] Among English Protestants of the early modern period, sodomy was a common charge against Catholic clergy.[33] For example, John Bale, the first English Protestant church historiographer,[34] wrote that Roman clerics "in their prelacyes, presthodes, and innumberable kyndes of Monkerye, for want of women hath brent (sic) in their lustes, and done abhomynacyons without nombre."[35] The claim in *Ignatius His Conclave* that Raderus and the other Jesuits master the "art and methods" of licentiousness in order that they may "communicate them to their owne *Disciples* and *Novitiates*" shows that Donne himself was not above making such slanderous accusations (p. 67).[36]

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[30]S. v. "use," n., 3b (*Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 3rd ed. [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009], 28 June 2009 <http://dictionary.oed.com>).

[31]Hester, "Reading Donne's Epigrams," pp. 325–327.

[32]Shackleton Bailey, 3.71.1–2: "Mentula cum doleat puero, tibi, Naevole, culus, / non sum divinus, sed scio quid facias."

[33]Michael B. Young, *King James and the History of Homosexuality* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 37.

[34]Fritz Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1967), p. 89.

[35]Bale, *Acts of English Votaries* (Antwerp: S. Mierdman, 1546), *Early English Books Online*, British Library, 24 June 2009 <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, fol. 8v.

[36]Hester suggests that the mention of Katherine in the third line of "Martial," "a *queen* (which was Elizabethan slang for both 'prostitute' and 'homosexual') prohibiting the prostitutes from serving their customers may be intended to insult the editor/priest by facetiously accusing him of sodomy also" ("Reading Donne's Epigrams," p. 326). However, according to the *OED*, the earliest usage of *queen* (or *quean*) as slang for "homosexual" occurred in 1893 (s. v. "queen," n., 13). Also, no mention is made of the slang meaning "homosexual" in any of the following sources: James T. Henke, *Courtesans and Cuckolds: A Glossary of Renaissance Dramatic Bawdy (Exclusive of Shakespeare)*, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, vol. 181 (New York: Garland, 1979), p. 213; Ian Lancashire, ed., *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (Toronto: University

The simile in the third line of "Martial" "amplifies" the sexual satire of Raderus; as M. Thomas Hester argues, the jibe is all the more pronounced because of the comparison between the "'pure' queen whose prohibitions may have been intended to serve her own sexual desires and [the] 'chaste' priest whose excisions may have been intended to further his own sexual knowledge."[37] However, attentiveness to the meaning of the Greek root of "Katherine" (*καθαρός* or "pure") should not exclude the substantial historical implications of the name as well. These implications not only confirm the politico-religious satire latent in the distich but create a complex interplay between the two "halves" of the poem, allowing Donne to take aim at more than one target, yet also making it impossible for the reader to identify any one of these targets with certainty.

For Alexander Grosart, Donne's "Katherine" is the French monarch Katherine de Medici,[38] whose reputation would be difficult to disentangle from the circumstances surrounding the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1572.[39] Although her connection to the massacre of Huguenots has never been categorically proven, she is said to have been "happy to let the Catholic powers believe that she had long planned the massacre," and to have "never showed regret or remorse" over the incident.[40] In fact, her brand of Machiavellian politics was also connected to other rumors of political assassination and even poisonings.[41] Such behavior corresponds well with depiction of the Jesuits given by Donne in both *Pseudo-martyr* and *Ignatius His Conclave*. If the "Katherine" of "Martial" is indeed Katherine de Medici, the final simile not only serves to amplify the sexual innuendo of the distich, but also to emphasize a brand of religious hypocrisy seemingly peculiar to Catholics.

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of Toronto Library and University of Toronto Press, 2009), 26 June 2009 <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>; and Gordon Williams, ed., *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 3 (London: Athlone Press, 1994), p. 1127.

[37]Hester, "Reading Donne's Epigrams," p. 326.

[38]Grosart, ed., *The Complete Poems of John Donne, D.D.*, vol. 2, The Fuller Worthies' Library (London: Robson and Sons, 1872–1873), p. 310.

[39]R. J. Knecht, *Catherine De' Medici*, Profiles in Power (New York: Longman, 1998), p. xiii.

[40]Knecht, p. 162.

[41]Knecht, pp. 158, 164.

In England, the name Katherine was linked with the reign of Henry VIII and his three wives who bore the name. His first marriage to Catherine of Aragon, or more specifically his divorce from her, brought about the establishment of the Church of England in the first place, and as much as Donne was willing to satirize the Jesuits in "Martial," he may also have intended to satirize the king's politicization of religion as well. In other words, if "Katherine" is a recollection of Henry VIII's queen, the simile can mean that Katherine closed down the stews for the moral sake of her infamously lecherous husband and his royal company—in vain. In which case, "Martial" proves itself more than a unilateral strike against Catholics, but a kind of dialectic, juxtaposing the Catholic "thesis" (that is, Raderus) with a "Protestant" antithesis.

Besides Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII was also married to Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr.[42] If "Martial" does work according to a dialectic, the Protestants Howard and Parr complement even further the Protestant antithesis of the third line. The circumstances of Howard's term as queen fit well with the sexual innuendo of the poem. It was her reputation for promiscuity, and the ensuing scandal it caused for Henry, that prompted her execution on 13 February 1542.[43] As for Parr, she was in ways the epitome of a "Protestant Queen."[44] She herself wrote two works of evangelical, spiritual devotion: *Prayers and Meditations* in the year 1545 and *The Lamentation, or Complaint of a Sinner, made by the most vertuous and right gratious Ladie, Queene Catherine* in 1547.[45] The latter expresses a decided "animus" against the Catholic Church.[46] Parr also provided ample fodder for Donne's sexual ridicule in that, quickly after the king's death, she renewed a love affair with Thomas Seymour and soon married him, making him no less than

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[42]Wesley Milgate suggests that in "Martial" Donne is alluding to "some old joke" about Henry's three queens named Katherine. See *John Donne: The Satires, Epigrams, and Verse Letter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 202.

[43]David Loades, *Henry VIII and His Queen* (Phoenix Mill, England: Sutton, 1994), pp. 127, 139.

[44]Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 1994), p. 1.

[45]Fraser, p. 379.

[46]Loades, p. 154.

her fourth husband.[47] It was during Henry's marriage to Parr, in fact, that he outlawed the London stews in April 1546:[48]

> [W]herefore his majesty straightly chargeth and commandeth that all such persons as have accustomed most abominably to abuse their bodies contrary to God's law and honesty, in any such common place called the stews now about the city of London, do, before the Feast of Easter next coming, depart from those common places and resort incontinently to their natural countries with their bags and baggages, upon pain of imprisonment and further to be punished at the King's majesty's will and pleasure.[49]

There is no evidence that the queen's piety had any influence on this proclamation, but it is certainly ironic that a man rumored to have died of syphilis found it necessary to restrict those who were wont to "abuse their bodies contrary to God's law and honesty." In any case, Henry's proclamation may not have hindered London's trade in flesh, as the "water poet" John Taylor suggests in a sentiment perhaps drawn from Donne's own jibe in "Martial":[50]

> The *Stewes* in England bore a beastly sway
> til the eighth Henry banish'd them away:
> and since these Common whores were quite put downe
> a damned crewe of privat whores are growne.[51]

Much like his ridicule of Raderus, Donne's innuendo about the stews is not simply a bawdy poke of fun at the royal court. As Ian Archer

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[47]Loades, p. 155.

[48]E. J. Burford and Joy Wotton, *Private Vices—Public Virtues: Bawdry in London from Elizabethan Times to the Regency* (London: Robert Hale, 1995), pp. 11, 16.

[49]Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, C. S. V., eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations, 1: The Early Tudors (1485–1553)* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1964), p. 365.

[50]Burford and Wotton, p. 11.

[51]Taylor, "A Whore," in *All the Works of John Taylor the Water Poet (1630)*, Scolar Press Facsimile (London: Scolar Press, 1973), p. 110.

shows, the stews were too religiously charged an issue for that.[52] In mid-Tudor England, the closing of the brothels had become a rallying point for Protestant rhetoric,[53] a veritable abolitionist movement that culminated in the establishment of the Bridewell commission in the 1570's.[54] For many of these reformers, prostitution and sexual license were unequivocally linked to the Catholic Church, the whore of Babylon.[55] Such a link was not without foundation, because, since medieval times, prostitution in England had been supervised by the local bishops, who oversaw areas known as "liberties" in which prostitution was permitted.[56] The stews outside London, for example, in Southwark on the south bank of the Thames were overseen by the Bishop of Winchester since the time of Henry II in 1161.[57] Individual clerics were rumored to manage and even own brothels in London, and priests, monks, and friars were possibly among the clients themselves.[58] Donne's mention of the closing of the stews conjures a further example of religious hypocrisy, in this case, ecclesiastic involvement with prostitution.

Besides Henry VIII's three wives, another possibility is that Donne's Katherine is the "pure" virgin Queen Elizabeth I. Although there is no evidence that Elizabeth ever tried to outlaw the stews, if Donne's *Satyre IV* is to be trusted, Elizabethan courtiers would have been well qualified for the kind of stew-like business articulated in the third line of "Martial." In *Satyre IV*, for example, the satirist provides a portrait of a court rife with the "seaven deadly sinnes" (232).[59] According to the satire, the "lustfull" court includes in its number some who love "whores," some "boyes," and some even "goats" (128). But it is not merely the

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[52]Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[53]Archer, p. 249.

[54]Archer, p. 211.

[55]Archer, p. 252.

[56]Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 26, 37.

[57]Burford and Wotton, p. 15.

[58]Karras, p. 45.

[59]Citations from the *Satyres* are all taken from Frank J. Warnke, ed., *John Donne: Poetry and Prose*, Modern Library College Editions (New York: Random House, 1967).

Elizabethan court's lewd behavior that is conceivably the target of the wit of "Martial." The politico-religious implications of the court's behavior would also be conducive to satire intended to chastise religious hypocrisy. *Satyre IV* "indicts the hypocrisy and injustice of a system that persecutes and destroys sincere devotees of a politically illegal religion at the same time that it tolerates and even fosters" all manner of perversities.[60]

Another target of Donne's epigram may have been a "Katherine" of a wholly different kind than either Elizabeth or Henry VIII's wives. For shortly after Raderus's publication of his edition of Martial in 1602, the London stews were shut down once again, this time on 16 September 1603.[61] The monarch imposing this decree was not a queen but James I, who had been proclaimed king of England on 24 March of that year.[62] Other Jacobean writers lampooned the consequences of James's proclamation with sarcasm equal to Donne's "Martial." Thomas Dekker commented that, because of the decree, bawds "now sit no longer upon the skirts of the Cittie, but jett up and downe, even in the cloake of the Cittie."[63] Ben Jonson, in his epigram 7, observed another method by which the law was cleverly undermined: "Where lately harboured many a famous whore, / A purging bill, now fixed upon the door, / Tells you it is a hot-house: so it may, / And still be a whore house. They are *synonima*."[64]

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[60]Hester, *Kinde Pitty*, p. 95.

[61]James Ludovic Crawford and Robert Steele, eds., *A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns and of Others Published Under Authority, 1485–1714: Vol. 1 England and Wales*, Bibliotheca Lindesiana, vol. 5 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910), p. 111. See also John Twyning, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 38; and Wallace Shugg, "Prostitution in Shakespeare's London," *Shakespeare Studies* 10 (1977): 303.

[62]S. J. Houston, *James I*, 2nd ed., Seminar Studies in History (New York: Longman, 1995), p. 26.

[63]A. B. Grosart, ed., *The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker*, vol. 2 (London, 1885; reprinted, New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), p. 93. This passage is cited by Twyning, p. 38.

[64]George Parfitt, ed., *The Complete Poems* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1975), p. 36. Future references to the epigrams of Ben Jonson are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number. This passage is cited by Twyning, p. 213 n. 92.

Much like the court in "Martial," which, Donne writes, usurped the London flesh market, James's courtly retinue was also perceived by some contemporaries as scandalous. For example, in a letter dated July 1606, Sir John Harington describes the situation at James's court as a "lack of good order, discretion, and sobriety."[65] The prodigality of James's courtiers was rumored to be such that even "many of their ladies and daughters, to the intent to maintain themselves according to their dignity, prostitute their bodies in shameful manner."[66] Ben Jonson, in his epigram 61, exposes the perverse rationalizaton for a court lady's abortion:[67] "Oh, you live at court: / And there's both loss of time, and loss of sport / In a great belly" (p. 53). In another account from the year 1619, the court is figured as "a turgent and turbulent Sea" inhabited by an "infinite swarme of amphibious and prodigious monsters of impietie."[68] Similarly, the seventeenth-century memoirist Lucy Hutchinson writes that "the court of this king was a nursery of lust and intemperance."[69] In his book of *Problems*, Donne himself contends that courtiers are more likely than others to be atheists because "they see Vice prosper" and, "burdend with Sinne," they "endevour to put off the feare

[65]Norman Egbert McClure, ed., *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington Together with the Prayse of Private Life* (New York: Octagon Books, 1977), p. 120. See also, Young, p. 28.

[66]Simonds D'Ewes, *The Secret History of the Reign of King James I*, p. 326, in *The Autobiography and Correspondance of Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Bart., During the Reigns of James I and Charles I*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London: Richard Bentley, 1845), pp. 319–411.

[67]See Leah S. Marcus, "Jonson and the Court," *The Cambridge Companion to Ben Jonson*, ed. Richard Harp and Stanley Stewart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 41.

[68]A. D. B., *The Court of the Most Illustrious and Most Magnificent Iames, the First* (London: Edw. Griffin, 1619), *Early English Books Online*, Cambridge University Library, 16 July 2009 <http://eebo.chadwyck.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu>, pp. 17, 18. This passage is cited by Linda Levy Peck, *Court Patronage and Corruption in Early Stuart England* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), pp. 179, 277.

[69]*Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson Written by his Widow Lucy*, Everyman's Library (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1908), p. 62. This passage is cited by Houston, p. 111.

and knowledge of God."[70] Whatever the truth of the matter, the mere reputation of James's court would have been sufficient in itself to provoke a jibe like the one in Donne's "Martial."

Two seventeenth-century homonyms of the word "Katherine" warrant Donne's usage of the feminine appellation for James I: the English words "katheran" and "Catharan." "Katheran," a derivative from the Scottish "catherein," means someone from the Scottish Highlands.[71] James himself, born in the Lowland city of Edinburgh, was certainly no Highlander. For him, the people of the Highlands were removed not only geographically but also culturally from the nodes of civilization.[72] As he wrote in *Basilikon Doron*, "As for the Hie-lands, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some shewe of civilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles, and are alluterly barbares, without any sort or shewe of civilitie."[73] Still, for a Londoner like Donne, the very fact that James was reared north of the Borders would have been sufficient cause to satirize him as a Highlander. The other homonym, the word "Catharan," connotes a Puritan.[74] Although James was never a Puritan either, at the time of his accession in 1603, concern about the Presbyterian Kirk's influence on the Scottish king, and on any measures of reform he might take, made leaders of the English Church, at the very least, uneasy about the new monarch.[75] As for the Puritans themselves,

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[70]Helen Peters, ed., *Paradoxes and Problems* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 23–24.

[71]*OED*, s. v. "cateran," n., 1b.

[72]See Jennifer M. Brown, "Scottish Politics 1567–1625," *The Reign of James VI and I*, Ed. Alan G. R. Smith (London: The Macmillan Press, 1973), pp. 31–32.

[73]Charles Howard McIlwain, ed., *The Political Works of James I Reprinted from the Edition of 1616* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918; reissued, New York: Russell & Russell, 1965), p. 22. Future references to *The Political Works of James I* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number.

[74]*OED*, s. v. "catharan," n., 1.

[75]See Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government By Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity, 1603–1625* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 29–31; also, see James Doelman, *King James and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), pp. 15–16, 21.

they saw in James, a lifelong Calvinist, a possible ally for the kind of liturgical reforms that had been smothered since the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559.[76] They even presented James with a formal list of grievances, the Millenary Petition, to which he responded within a year of his accession by invoking the Hampton Court Conference.[77] For someone with the theological savvy of Donne, informed as it was by his Catholic background, these circumstances would have been more than enough to deride James as a "Catharan." In fact, this is exactly how Cardinal Bellarmine derided James in 1608 when he responded to the king's defence of the Oath of Allegiance: "When in Scotland he [James] was a Puritan and an enemy of the Protestants; now in England he conducts himself as a Protestant and an adversary of the Puritans."[78]

The possibility also looms that Donne chose the feminine name to intimate that James was a sodomist. In *King James and the History of Homosexuality*, Michael B. Young argues that effeminacy "was an integral part of Jacobean discourse about sexual relations between males."[79] Although irrefutable evidence of sexual interaction between James and other men does not exist,[80] it has been claimed that "the intimate epistles of King James creatively constitute a gospel about his homoerotic desire" for court favorites like Esme Stuart (Duke of Lennox), Robert Carr (Earl of Somerset), and George Villiers (Duke of Buckingham).[81] Letters such as one addressed from James to Buckingham in December 1623 seem to bear out the existence of such desire:[82]

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[76]Houston, pp. 56–57.

[77]Alan Smith says James granted "modest accomodations" to the Puritans at the Hampton Court, though they were never carried out (pp. 10–11). See also, Doelman, pp. 16, 21.

[78]Bellarmine, *Responsio Ad Librum Inscriptum Triplici Nodo Triplex Cuneus*, p. 242, in Justinus Fevre, ed., *Roberti Bellarmini Opera Omnia*, vol. 12 (Paris: 1874; reprinted, Frankfurt au Main: Minerva G. M. B. H., 1965), pp. 205–256: "cum in Scotia Puritanus, et Protestantium inimicus esset, nunc in Anglia Protestans, et Puritanorum adversarium se gerit."

[79]Young, p. 5.

[80]Young, p. 36.

[81]David M. Bergeron, *King James & Letters of Homoerotic Desire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), pp. 5–6

[82]Bergeron, p. 138.

> For, God so love me, as I desire only to live in this world for your sake, and that I had rather live banished in any part of the earth with you than live a sorrowful widow's life without you. And so God bless you, my sweet child and wife, and grant that ye may ever be a comfort to your dear dad and husband.[83]

Still, despite the unabashed language of a spousal relationship, it can be only speculated whether or not this "marriage" was ever consummated.

Whatever the truth of the matter, contemporaries of James appear to have surmised that his relationships with male favorites were indeed sexual.[84] In an entry dated 29 August 1622, the diarist Simonds D'Ewes recalls a conversation in which, he says, "wee had probable cause to feare" that "the sinne of sodomye" was "a sinne in the prince."[85] On 1 October 1622, D'Ewes mentions a pamphlet which had been published in 1615, the *Corona Regia*, which he describes as "terrible and whollye aginst the King himselfe, accusing him of atheisme, sodomye, etc." (p. 100). *The Corona Regia* itself reproves the king for vices which, "although shut up in secret and overshadowed by silence, still burst out publicly as if through cracks and introduce themselves among the people."[86] The author of the pamphlet castigates James because, as he reminds him, "you summon boys, especially the finest looking ones, and you appraise the blessings and wonders of their 'natural endowment.'"[87] Another chronicler also mentions James's regard for good-looking young men: "Now, as no other reason appeared in favour of their choyce but

[83]Bodleian Library, Tanner MS 72, fol. 14.

[84]Young, pp. 36–44.

[85]Elisabeth Bourcher, ed., *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1622–1624)*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Litteratures 5 (Paris: Didier, 1974), pp. 92–93. Future references to *The Diary of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number. This passage is cited by Young, p. 50.

[86]Corneille de Breda, *Corona Regia, Id est panegyrici cuiusdam vere aurei quem Iacobo I. Magnae Britanniae, &c. Regi fidei defensori delinearat* (Londini [i.e. Louvain]: Pro officina regia Io. Bill [i. e., J. C. Flavius], 1615), Early English Books Online, British Library, 24 June 2009 <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, p. 68: "quae etsi secreto clausae, & silentio obumbratae, tamen velut per rimas in publicum erumpunt, & se populo insinuant."

[87]de Breda, p. 105: "tu pueros, eosque formosissimos vocas, & in his naturae beneficia & miracula aestimas." For discussion, see also Young, p. 56.

handsomnesse, so the love the king shewed was as amorously convayed, as if he had mistaken their sex, and thought them ladies."[88] In the same account, the king's behavior towards his favorites is said to have led to popular conjecture: "The kings kissing them after so lascivious a mode in publick, and upon the theatre, as it were, of the world, prompted many to imagine some things done in the tyring-house, that exceed my expressions no lesse then they do my experience" (p. 275). According to Young, similar rumors about James's penchant for males date back as far as the 1580s and his relationship with his cousin the Duke of Lennox.[89] Plausibly, the continual rumors about sodomy could have provided Donne with a motive to mock James by feminizing him as a "Katherine." Moreover, in light of James's alleged promiscuity, the name also may have been meant as a pun upon the Lowland Scots term "Katy," meaning a "whore."[90]

If the sexual satire of "Martial" serves as a veiled rebuke of religious hypocrisy, James's beliefs about monarchical supremacy in matters of religion would have given sufficient motivation for Donne's ridicule. The Oath of Supremacy of 22 June 1606, promulgated in response to the Gunpowder Plot,[91] declares "that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreme Governour of this Realme" in "all Spirituall, or Ecclesiasticall

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[88]Francis Osborne, *Some Traditionall Memorialls on the Reign of King James the First* (1658), in Walter Scott, ed., *Secret History of the Court of James the First*, vol. 1. (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Co., 1811), p. 274. Future references to *Some Traditional Memorialls on the Reign of King James the First* are to this edition and will be cited parenthetically by page number. Also, Robert Ashton, ed., *James I by His Contemporaries: An account of his career and character as seen by some of his contemporaries* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), p. 114. This passage is cited by Young, p. 74.

[89]Young, pp. 39–40. For example, see *The Calendar of the State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547–1603*, William K. Boyd and Henry W. Meikle, eds., vol. 6 (Edinburgh: 1907–1936), pp. 149, Extracts of Letters: Sir H. Wodrington, 15th May 1582: "The ministry are informed that the Duke [of Lennox] goes about to draw the King to carnal lust."

[90]Williams, p. 755, and *OED,* s. v. "Katy," n., 1; "kittock," n., 1; and "kitty," n., 1.

[91]John Hungerford Pollen, "English Post-Reformation Oaths," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 11 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), 17 August 2009 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11177a.htm>.

things or causes, as Temporall" (p. 86). However, even before 1606, during his tenure as king of Scotland, James had already defined his ecclesiastical role in works such as *The True Law of Free Monarchs* and *Basilikon Doron.*[92] For James, the faith of his people was determined by the monarch's faith, similar to the tradition established at Augsburg in the sixteenth century—*cuius regio eius religio*.[93] As he advised his son Prince Henry in *Basilikon Doron*, God makes the king "a little God to sit on his Throne, and rule over other men" (p. 12). James believed his personal understanding of Christianity was uniquely "grounded upon the plaine words of the Scripture" (p. 13), unlike the understanding of the "two extremities": the Papists, who trusted too much in "the Churches authority," and the Puritans, who followed their "owne conceits and dreamed revelations" (p. 17). For those who strayed beyond the "bounds" of the true religion, the monarch could, James argued, "gravely and with authoritie redact them in order againe" (p. 17). In a speech delivered before Parliament in March 1603, James reiterated his authority over the church, intimating that God had made him "his Lieutenant" in matters of religion solely because of his "Birthright and lineall descent."[94] Several months later, at the Hampton Court Conference, James referred to his ecclesiastical authority in the same vein, invoking the principle *A Jove Principium*—that is, that the origin of his authority was derived from God.[95] James interpreted this privilege to mean, among other things, that "in the commencement of their raigne" monarchs had the authority to "take the first course for the establishing of the Church, both for doctrine and policie."[96]

For Donne, as he explained to Sir Henry Goodyear in 1609, matters of religion cannot be reduced to a "temporall inheritance."[97] In *Satyre III*,

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[92]For discussion see McIlwain, ed., pp. xlv–xlvii, and Doelman, pp. 8–14.

[93]"Whose realm, his religion." See McIwain, ed., p. xlvi.

[94]"Speech of 1603–1604," in McIlwain, ed., pp. 276–277.

[95]Doelman, p. 7.

[96]William Barlow, *The svmme and svbstance of the conference which, it pleased his excellent Maiestie to haue with the lords, bishops, and other of his clergie, (at vvhich the most of the lordes of the councell were present) in his Maiesties priuy-chamber, at Hampton Court. Ianuary 14. 1603* (London: John Windet, 1604), *Early English Books Online*, Folger Shakespeare Library, 24 June 2009 <http://eebo.chadwyck.com>, p. 3.

[97]Gardner and Healy, eds., p. 136.

the poet challenges claims to ecclesiastical authority by temporal leaders like "a Philip, or a Gregory, / A Harry, or a Martin" because such claims endanger the souls of individual believers, forcing them to replace their trust in the eternal standard of "God himselfe" with the temporal standards of "mans lawes," that is, of kings, popes, and reformers.[98] To entrust one's soul to a temporal authority which has stepped beyond its rightful "bounds" is a form of "idolatrie" and can only lead to spiritual destruction: "So perish Soules, which more chuse mens unjust / Power from God claym'd, than God himselfe to trust" (109–110). Already in the first year of his reign, James's rhetoric of "birthright" and "lineal descent" and of "redacting" and "establishing" portended the kind of "Power" which in Donne's eyes might seek to defend religion "without it," motivated more by temporal concerns ("the Courts sake") than spiritual.[99]

In the end, the two "halves" of Donne's "Martial" pit religious hypocrisy against religious hypocrisy, cloaked as sexual license. As Hester writes about *Satyre IV*, Donne's critique of Anglican hypocrisy "does not champion Catholic devotion *qua* Catholic devotion over Anglican devotion."[100] The same is true of "Martial." That Raderus is singled out in the first part of the poem is due not so much to the fact that he is a Catholic priest as he is a member of the politicizing Jesuits. The second part of the poem offers further examples, mainly Protestant, of religious hypocrisy, using the historically charged name "Katherine" to call to mind multiple personages and events of politico-religious import: Katherine de Medici and the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre; Henry VIII, his queens, and the establishment of the Church of England; Elizabeth I and the persecution of Catholic recusants; James I and secular control of the spiritual affairs of the English church. Nonetheless, the immediate topical import of the epigram in the year 1603 cannot be ignored. It is a subversive jibe at James I. The ridicule of Raderus, and the Jesuits, deflects the blow against the English monarch. Furthermore, the use of the name Katherine complicates and even covers over any critique of James, but the satire of the new king and his royal policy is no less present. It has been argued that Donne's poetry in the early Jacobean

[98]Hester, *Kinde Pitty*, p. 68.
[99]Hester, *Kinde Pitty*, p. 70.
[100]Hester, *Kinde Pitty*, p. 95.

period was "by no means unambiguously absolutist."[101] That "Katherine" is an appellation for James bears this out. Also, in light of arguments like those of Arthur Marotti and Annabel Patterson that the absolutism of prose works like *Ignatius His Conclave* and even *Pseudo-martyr* should not be taken at face value, the epigram "Martial" appears to be Donne's initial blow in a critique of James and his court that would not cease even with the publication of his more celebrated and seemingly pro-monarchical works of 1610 and 1611.[102]

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[101]David Norbrook, "The Monarch of Wit and the Republic of Letters: Donne's Politics," in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeeth-Century English Poetry*, ed. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 17.

[102]See Arthur F. Marotti, *John Donne: Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1986), p. 191: "[*Ignatius His Conclave*] satirized corrupt workings of contemporary Jacobean politics under the guise of directing its aim elsewhere" (that is, againt the Jesuits). See also, Annabel Patterson, "All Donne," in *Soliciting Interpretation*, pp. 49–51. Besides pointing out ironic passages in *Ignatius His Conclave* that undermine monarchical absolutism, Patterson suggests it is "open to interpretation" whether Donne was pressed into writing *Pseudo-martyr* or did so voluntarily.

Appendix I

This is a table of the poems and verses from D. R. Shackleton Bailey's *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Stuttgardt: Teubner, 1990) that are not found in Matthew Raderus's *M. Valeriis Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XIV* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1602).

Epigrammaton Liber: 6; 25; 28; 29.

Liber I: 23; 24; 31; 34; 35; 37; 41 line 13; 46; 57; 58; 68; 71; 73; 74; 77; 83; 84; 90; 92; 94; 103 lines 9–10; 106; 109 lines 15–16; 115.

Liber II: 4; 9; 25; 28; 31; 33; 34; 42; 45; 47; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53 lines 7–8; 54; 56; 60; 61; 62; 63; 70; 72; 73; 83; 84; 87; 89.

Liber III: 3; 8; 11; 15; 17; 24; 30 lines 3–4; 32; 33; 34; 39; 42; 44 line 11; 51; 53; 54; 65; 68; 69; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 76; 77; 79; 80; 81; 82; 83; 84; 85; 86; 87; 88; 89; 90; 91; 92; 93; 95 lines 13–14; 96; 97; 98.

Liber IV: 4 line 4; 7; 9; 12; 16; 17; 22; 28; 31; 38; 42; 43; 48; 50; 70; 71; 81; 84.

Liber V: 7 lines 7–8; 41 lines 1–3; 46; 48; 55; 61; 78 lines 26–29.

Liber VI: 2; 6; 16; 21; 22; 23; 26; 31; 33; 34; 36; 37; 39; 40; 45; 49; 50; 54; 56; 66; 67; 68; 71; 73; 81; 90; 91; 93.

Liber VII: 10 lines 1–4; 14; 15; 18; 24 lines 7–8; 29; 30; 35; 50; 55; 58; 62; 67; 70; 74; 75; 82; 91.

Liber VIII: 44 lines 10–17; 46; 50 lines 23–26; 51; 52; 55 lines 15–16; 63; 64 lines 10–11; 73; 77 lines 5–6; 79.

Liber IX: 2; 4; 5; 7; 21; 25; 27; 29 lines 9–10; 32; 33; 36; 37; 40; 41; 47; 56; 57; 59 lines 3–14; 63; 66; 67; 69; 73 lines 5–6; 80; 90 lines 7–8; 92 lines 11–12; 93 lines 7–8; 95; 95b; 103.

Liber X: 14 lines 7–8; 22; 29; 38 lines 4–8; 40; 42; 48 lines 9–10; 52; 55; 63 lines 7–8; 64; 66; 67; 68; 75; 81; 84; 86; 90; 91; 92 line 12; 95; 98; 102.

Liber XI: 2; 6 lines 14–16; 7; 8; 11 lines 5–6; 15; 16; 18 line 21; 19; 20; 21; 22; 23; 25; 26; 27; 28; 29; 30; 39; 40; 43; 45; 46; 47; 49; 51; 56 lines 11–12; 58; 60; 61; 62; 63; 64; 66; 70; 71; 72; 73; 74; 75; 77; 78; 81; 85; 87; 88; 89; 90; 94; 95; 97; 98; 99; 100; 101; 102; 104.

Liber XII: 16; 20; 22; 26; 33; 35; 38; 40 lines 3–4; 42; 43; 49; 55; 58; 59 line 10; 65; 66 lines 7–8; 71; 75; 77; 79; 83; 85; 86; 91; 93; 95; 96; 97.

Liber XIII: 34, 56, 63, 64, 67.

Liber XIV: 6; 8; 9; 39; 47; 66; 70; 74; 75; 119; 134; 147; 149; 171; 174; 175; 180; 181; 187; 189; 193; 201; 203; 204; 205; 206; 207; 214; 215.

Appendix II

What follows is a sampling of poems not found in Matthew Raderus's *M. Valeriis Martialis Epigrammaton Libri XIV* (Ingolstadt: Adam Sartorius, 1602). All poems are taken from D. R. Shackleton Bailey's *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammata* (Stuttgardt: Teubner, 1990). The translations are mine.

1.35

Versus scribere me parum severos
nec quos praelegit in schola magister,
Corneli, quereris: sed hi libelli,
tamquam coniugibus suis mariti,
non possunt sine mentula placere.
quid si me iubeas thalassionem
verbis dicere non thalassionis?
quis Floralia vestit et stolatum
permittit meretricibus pudorem?
lex heaec carminibus data est iocosis,
ne possint, nisi pruriant, iuvare.
quare deposita severitate
parcas lusibus et iocis rogamus,
nec castrare velis meos libellos.
gallo turpius est nihil Priapo.

Cornelius, you complain that I write verses a little severe and not the kind which a teacher lectures about in school: but these little books, like husbands with their wives, cannot please without a dick. What if you should order me to recite a wedding song, but not with the words of a wedding song? Who covers over a festival of flowers or permits modesty to prostitutes? This is the law given to funny songs: they can't be pleasing, if they don't arouse. So, with your sternness put aside, we ask you to spare my riddles and my jokes, and that you not wish to castrate my little books. Nothing is worse than a Priapus who's a eunuch.

3.71
Mentula cum doleat puero, tibi, Naevole, culus,
non sum divinus, sed scio quid facias.

Since the boy's dick hurts, Naevolus, as does your ass, I'm no prophet, but I know what you are up to.

6.23
Stare iubes semper nostrum tibi, Lesbia, penem:
crede mihi, non est mentula quod digitus.
tu licet et manibus blandis et vocibus instes,
te contra facies imperiosa tua est.

You command my tail to stand up for you always, Lesbia. Trust me, a dick is not a finger. Okay, you try to get your way with charming hands and words, but your domineering face works against you.

9.5
Tibi, summe Rheni domitor et parens orbis,
pudice princeps, gratias agunt urbes:
populos habebunt; parere iam scelus non est.
non puer avari sectus arte mangonis
virilitatis damna maeret ereptae,
nec quam superbus computet stipem leno
dat prostituto misera mater infanti.
qui nec cubili fuerat ante te quondam,
pudor esse per te coepit et lupanari.

To you, chaste prince, most excellent conqueror of the Rhine and father of the world, the cities give thanks. They will have citizens; it is no longer a crime to give birth. A boy castrated by the skill of a greedy slave dealer no longer mourns the defects of his stolen manhood, nor does a poor mother give to her prostituted child the stipend which a haughty pimp determines. And that decency which, before you, had not ever been in the marriage bed has begun to be, through you, even in the brothel.

9.41
Pontice, quod numquam futuis, sed paelice laeva
uteris et Veneri servit amica manus,
hoc nihil esse putas? scelus est, mihi crede, sed ingens,
quantum vix animo concipis ipse tuo.
nempe semel futuit, generaret Horatius ut tres;
Mars semel, ut geminos Ilia casta daret.
omnia perdiderat, si masturbatus uterque
madasset manibus gaudia foeda suis.
ipsam crede tibi naturam dicere rerum:
'istud quod digitis, Pontice, perdis, homo est.'

Ponticus, because you never fuck but use your left hand as a mistress, and your kindly hand services your love life, do you think it's nothing? It is a crime, trust me, but how huge, you yourself scarcely understand in your heart. Of course, Horatius fucked once so that he might father three; Mars once so that chaste Ilia might give him twins. It would have ruined everything, if each, having masturbated, would have dripped the foul delights into his own hands. Pretend Nature herself speaks to you: "Ponticus, what you squander in your hands is a human being!"