



Ochlos Nautikos: Leisure Culture and Underclass Discontent in the Roman Maritime World

Author(s): Nicholas K. Rauh, Matthew J. Dillon and T. Davina McClain

Source: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, Vol. 6, The Maritime World of Ancient Rome (2008), pp. 197-242

Published by: University of Michigan Press for the American Academy in Rome

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40379303>

Accessed: 18-08-2017 18:39 UTC

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

University of Michigan Press, American Academy in Rome are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*

OCHLOS NAUTIKOS: LEISURE CULTURE AND UNDERCLASS DISCONTENT IN THE ROMAN MARITIME WORLD

Nicholas K. Raub, Matthew J. Dillon, and T. Davina McClain

The purpose of this paper is to identify the existence of a maritime subculture in Roman Mediterranean society by cataloguing its various constituent elements. Roman maritime society at the end of the Republican era appears to have contained several strata of underclass laborers and renegades, including sailors, merchants, innkeepers, pimps, criminals, fugitive slaves, prostitutes, and renegade nobles. Despite their generally low origins, these social elements displayed an uncanny ability to organize themselves into an underclass social hierarchy. At their most successful moments these elements articulated a consciousness of kind and utilized a form of anarchic street democracy to mobilize rapid, spontaneous, and often violent demonstrations in Mediterranean harbors. In essence they formed a maritime counterculture, an *ochlos nautikos* that could on occasion threaten the authority of property-holding elements in maritime cities and warrant the attention of Roman arms. Violent disturbances in maritime cities such as Carthage, Corinth, and Alexandria at the end of the Hellenistic era educated land-based hierarchies throughout the Mediterranean to the importance of maintaining the security of the seas.

A common denominator to the emergence of the Mediterranean maritime subculture appears to be the formation of leisure groups in maritime taverns. At the center of these social groups stood women—barmaids, prostitutes, courtesans, and various female entertainers, such as actors, singers, dancers, mimes. Within this world women appear to have functioned as the axes of recreational, social, criminal, and political intercourse. By attracting men of varied social status and by holding little regard for social distinction, women became an important conduit for communications, thus making themselves integral to the organization of subversive enterprises vertically through the social hierarchy by helping to forge what T. J. Gilfoyle defines as a “sexual democracy.”¹

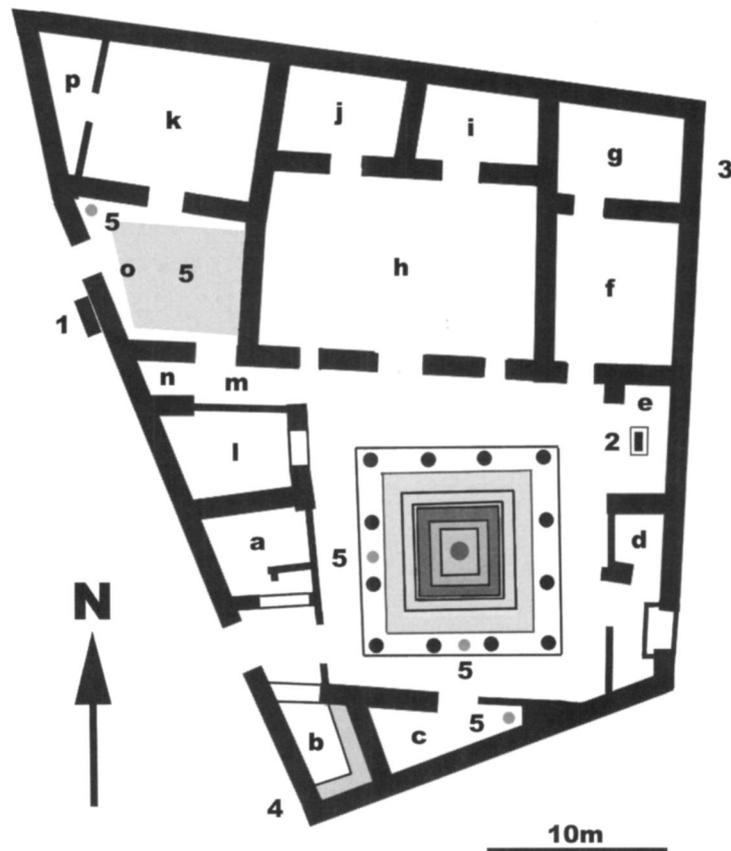
1. The Physical Setting of Maritime Society at Delos

We begin this inquiry by exploring the physical remains of a “typical” maritime community for evidence of tavern culture. To accomplish this end, we propose to revisit the Delian landscape excavated by the École française d’Athènes. Several years ago Raub endured severe criticism for suggesting that the Maison du Lac at Delos functioned as a maritime inn, tavern, or brothel, something referred to by ancient sources as a *taberna deversoria*.² A brief review of that hypothesis helps to demonstrate what the physical remains of the emporium at Delos have generally to say about maritime social formations.

Excavated in 1894, the Maison du Lac is a rather strangely designed residence, tucked away at the northern end of the Sacred Lake at a fork in the road leading from the Sanctuary of

¹ Gilfoyle 1994.

² Raub 1993, 213; reviewed by Boussac and Moretti 1995.

Plan 1. *Maison du Lac*.

Apollo to the Bay of Skardana (plan 1).³ This angular location forced its architect to adapt the design of a two-story, rectangular, peristyle structure to a more or less triangular plot of land. The architect resolved this by placing the peristyle at the southernmost, narrowest end of the house while allowing the dining and living quarters to fan out broadly to the north. Additional peculiarities include the division of the northern side of the house into three large, distinct “suites” of rooms. Each of these suites was accessible from the peristyle yet separated from both of the other suites. At the center lies the elegant *oecus maior* (h) with two smaller serving rooms to its rear—an arrangement characteristic of fine residences throughout the island. To the east lie separate and equally finely decorated two-room quarters and to the west what Chamonard described as a Greek “visitor’s apartment.” Since this last suite of rooms lacks crucial features of such a facility (no kitchen or latrine), its identity as a visitor’s apartment seems unlikely. The lack of available lighting for the interior rooms of the suites (p, k, and g) presents another curious feature. Couve noted a decided lack of evidence for windows on the exterior walls of these rooms, despite the fact that the remains survive 3 m in height.⁴ Even though ground-floor elements of Delian houses typically lack windows, the distance of these rooms from the interior court, the degree to which they fan out from the court, and the narrowness of the intervening passageways all suggest that they remained relatively dark. Again, the lay of the land may have

³ See L. Couve 1895; Chamonard 1922, 417–425; Bruneau 1983, 64; Kreeb 1988, 40, 162–166; Rauh 1993, 206f. Plans are schematic and intended only for purposes of discussion.

⁴ Couve 1895, 491.



Fig. 1. View of doorway at the southeastern corner of the *Maison du Lac*.

dictated a seeming design flaw in this instance; however, it is equally possible that the “suites” were specifically designed for privacy.⁵

In other respects the arrangement of the house was remarkably open. Two southern doorways opened directly onto a ground-floor courtyard, making the courtyard visible to passersby in both streets (fig. 1). The walls and floor of the courtyard were lavishly decorated. A beautiful statue of a woman, identified as a copy of the “small Herculanean woman” of Dresden, stood in an *exedra* (plan 1, e with feature 2) at the northeast corner of the courtyard. According to Kreeb, the designers of the house deliberately arranged the statue to be visible to people passing by the door at the southwest corner of the building.⁶ Other archaeological finds from the second floor of the house—several fragments of wall painting, mosaic, and various pieces of sculpture and relief (including a “Roman” bust and an archaized relief of Hermes leading a procession of the gods)—indicate that that floor was sumptuously decorated as well.⁷ Ground-floor service rooms (a kitchen and washroom, a and b) and servants quarters (c), situated on three narrow sides of the courtyard, appear particularly cramped for a house of this style. The *Maison du Lac* was surprisingly well provided with water, however. In addition to wells in rooms c and o and at the south end of the courtyard *impluvium*, the house contained two large cisterns, one beneath the *impluvium* and another beneath the “visitor’s apartment.” The cisterns were so large that the architects buttressed the floor above them with stone supporting arches similar to those employed in Delian public buildings. The occupants of this house apparently consumed large quantities of water.⁸ As Rauh suggested earlier, the *Maison du Lac* appears to have

⁵ Couve 1895, 488 suggested that the back rooms, i and j, were bedrooms and that the suite—g and f—formed a women’s apartment. Rooms located behind the *oecus maior* (h) are more typically recognized as “service rooms.”

⁶ Kreeb 1988, 162–166—admittedly a relatively common feature of fine houses at Delos.

⁷ Couve 1895, 488 noted that the walls of rooms a, b, c, d, l, g, i, and j were plastered in ordinary gray stucco, whereas rooms e, f, and h were elegantly decorated in contemporary (First Pompeian) style. The stuccoed paneling of the *oecus maior*, room h, was repeatedly refurbished. For photographs:

Hadjidakis 2003, 234, fig. 328; 251, fig. 386; 257–258, figs. 397–399.

⁸ Boussac and Moretti 1995, 567 assert that vaulted cisterns amount to a *banalité délienne*. Nonetheless, the water storage system of this particular house appeared out of the ordinary to the excavator, L. Couve (1895, 486), particularly here near the shore along the depression of the Sacred Lake, where the water table is higher. Houses with larger cisterns do, of course, survive on the slopes of Mt. Cynthus. Even with this system of wells and cisterns, the supply of water in the *Maison du Lac* was apparently insufficient at times. A graffito found in the servants’ quarters (c) records the prayer of a

Fig. 2. View of Dioscuri relief at the southwestern corner of the Maison du Lac, looking north.



Fig. 3. View of the same relief.



serviced a considerable population for a house of its size. Although other private residences at Delos exhibit large cisterns, when combined with the building's accessible courtyard and its location amid public facilities, including two neighboring gymnasia and at least two neighboring "men's clubs,"⁹ the Maison du Lac seems to present itself as something other than a private residence.

The exterior walls of this house offer additional clues to its identity. Two liturgical wall paintings displayed by the doors on its west side indicate that the establishment's "Italian" residents and/or proprietors worshiped the Lares Compitales (plan 1.1). The exterior walls of the house also exhibited three large reliefs. A large granite cornerstone, set high in the wall beside the door at the southwest corner of the house, displays a relief of the twin *piloï* (conical felt caps) and shieldlike disk of the Dioscuri, that is, the patron deities of ancient Mediterranean sailors (plan 1.4; figs. 2–3). Two additional reliefs are visible at the northeast corner of the house, set low on the wall directly

female slave to the divine Maeander River of her homeland, "Be helpful and bring water"; Severyns 1927, 234–238; Chamonard 1922, 422–423.

⁹ The establishment of the Poseidoniastai of Beyrutos and the Agora of the Italians; Rauh 1993, 27f.



Fig. 4. View of phallus relief at northeastern corner of the Maison du Lac.



Fig. 5. View of street separating Maison du Lac from Granite Palaestra, looking south. Phallus and Hercules club relief point toward doorway at southeastern corner of Maison du Lac (photo taken from doorway of Granite Palaestra).

opposite the entrance to the Granite Palaestra (plan 1.3). These reliefs portray a large curved phallus and a rough-hewn object identified as the club of Hercules. The symbols face left and are arranged diagonally with respect to each other (see figs. 4–5). Following a standard interpretation, P. Bruneau originally identified these as apotropaic devices.¹⁰ However, given the distance of these reliefs from the doorways to the house, this function seems unlikely.

Phallus reliefs at street corners such as this are visible at a number of Italian cities, including Ostia, Alba Fucens, and Pompeii. Archaeologists typically believe that they functioned as apotropaic devices, warning passersby of the “particularly dangerous” nature of these locales.¹¹ However, the curved

¹⁰ Bruneau 1964; 1970, 643–645; 1979, 104–105. Bruneau notes that these reliefs were typically placed at road intersections. Hadjidakis 2003, 290, fig. 515 argues that the combined reliefs of the club of Hercules and the phallus make “even clearer the message of what the would-be intruder will suffer.” This argument fails to account for the Dioscuri relief at the opposite end of the house. For earlier discussion, see

Chamonard 1922, 105.

¹¹ Jashemski 1979, 353, nn. 18–20; Picard 1969, 223; Hadjidakis 2003, 286–290. The street corner locations at Pompeii include III.iv.3; IX.v.1. As Hadjidakis’s examples demonstrate, the use of phallic imagery at Delos is sufficiently complex to defy any one explanation.



Fig. 7. View of same phallus.

Fig. 6. Phallus at street corner of Road 5 and Magasin Alpha.

phallus displayed on the east wall of the Maison du Lac fails to convey any particular sense of “danger.” On the contrary, the combined reliefs of the phallus and the Hercules club appear to function as direction indicators. They meet the eye of anyone exiting the Granite Palaestra and direct it along the wall of the Maison du Lac toward the door at its southeast corner (fig. 5). A number of other phallus, Hercules club, and Dioscuri reliefs discovered in the vicinity of the Delian harbor also appear to function as direction indicators, particularly the phallus reliefs.¹² For example, archaeologists discovered two phallus reliefs in situ at street corners, one facing Road Five on the wall of Magasin Alpha, the other facing the Rue du Théâtre from the wall of Magasin 49 (see figs. 6–9).¹³ Both of these phallus reliefs are located in relative proximity to the port, both are situated at eye level on exterior building walls, and both point straight as arrows down narrow alleyways intersecting the two main roads.

A similarly “nonthreatening” phallus relief survives at the entrance to a house known as Maison Gamma, directly behind (to the west of) the Establishment of the Poseidonists of Berytos (figs. 10–12). This curious phallus with small stick legs and an inviting smile is carved in relief directly on the right-hand doorpost of the entryway.¹⁴ With its head pointing toward the street, the smiling

¹² Additional reliefs of twin *piloi* and the club of Hercules were found in the neighborhood of Maison du Lac, though not in situ. A *piloi* relief was found near the House of the Diadumenos, for example, and a club of Herakles near the Establishment of the Beirut Poseidonists (Bruneau 1970, pl. 16, figs. 1 and 3).

¹³ See Bruneau 1979, 104–105; Rauh 1993, 211. The damaged phallus relief on Road Five points west along Road Eight toward side doors of Magasins Alpha and Beta fronting the port. The doorway adjoining Magasin Beta accesses an isolated one-room shop (room 2) at the building’s northwest corner. The opposite alleyway door of Magasin Alpha accesses the building interior via passageways through rooms

4 and 5 of that building. The phallus is located high on the exterior wall of Magasin 49 at the intersection of the Rue du Théâtre and alleyway (ruelle) Delta (Insula III). The alley accesses a cul-de-sac enclosed by four two- to four-room structures, one of which (Magasin 51, rooms a, b, c, d) appears to have housed a fuller’s shop. The buildings accessible from this alleyway all appear to have been menial shops; none of them displays the peristyle court or *oculus maior* of a typical Delian house.

¹⁴ The doorposts with reliefs created a sheltered landing to an interior doorsill of the building’s entrance. Beyond the doorway the building remains unexcavated.

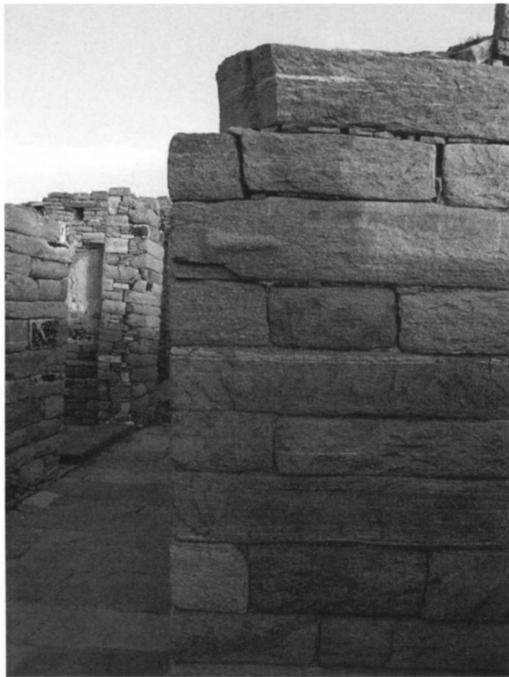


Fig. 8. Phallus at street corner of Rue du Théâtre and Magasin 49.

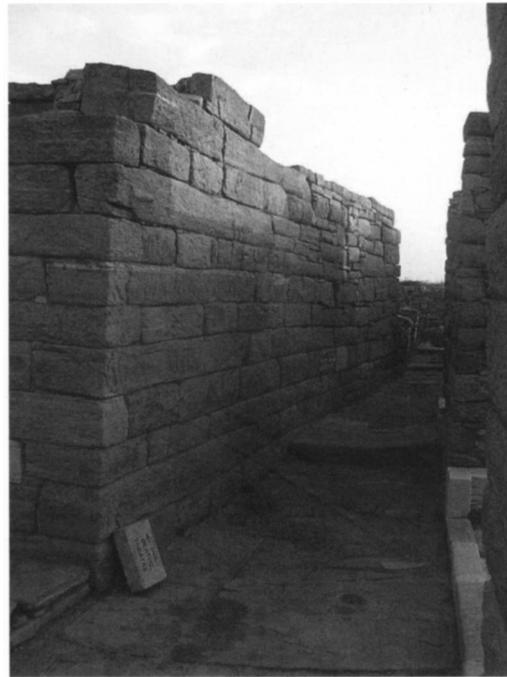


Fig. 9. View of same showing alleyway leading to cul-de-sac.

face of the phallus of Maison Gamma appears to beckon an approaching pedestrian inside. In addition, a figure resembling a human skeleton appears to be slaying a small animal on the left-hand doorpost directly opposite (fig. 12). Much like the phallus at the Maison du Lac, the nonforbidding character of the combined phallus and skeletal reliefs in the doorway of Maison Gamma seemingly fail to meet the requirements of domestic apotropaic devices. Quite the contrary, the reliefs appear to convey a relatively inviting message to passersby.

Another pair of phallus reliefs, the twin phalli discovered at the Maison de Fourni near the Bay of Skardana, seem to contradict the apotropaic argument altogether.¹⁵ Although isolated on the far southern side of the island, this impressive complex exhibited an enclosed courtyard with a raised Rhodian portico on its east side, a line of shops out front, and a large water reservoir constructed between the back wall of the building and a rock outcrop behind. Archaeologists appear to have discovered the phallus reliefs of the Maison de Fourni lying amid wall debris directly before the entryway to the building.¹⁶ Like the smiling phallus at Maison Gamma, the winged dancing character of the Fourni phalli fail to emit the required sense of apotropaic dread. Instead, the phrase inscribed between them on the stone unabashedly proclaims, *Touto emoi, kai touto soi* (“This one’s for me, and this one’s for you!”).¹⁷

While other phallus reliefs discovered at Delos possibly did function apotropaically, the three phalli posted at street corners and the two at the doors of Maison Gamma and the Maison de Fourni

¹⁵ Marcadé 1969, 329f.; Bruneau 1970, 633.

¹⁶ See Roes 1935 and Marcadé 1969, 329f.

¹⁷ For photographs: Hadjidakis 2003, 287. The possibility

that the two phalli advertise the availability of male prostitutes in the Maison de Fourni must also be considered: cf. McGinn 1998, 271, n. 165; McGinn 2004, 226–229. Cf. McGinn 2004, 204, 209 for the apparent evidence of venal sex activities on the premises of a merchants’ clubhouse at Ostia.



Fig. 10 (above left). Phallus relief at doorway of Maison Gamma.

Fig. 11 (left). View of doorway to Maison Gamma.

Fig. 12 (above). Skeletal relief at doorway of Maison Gamma.

possibly did not. As Bruneau commented on observing the phallus at the intersection of Road Five and Magasin Alpha, “ces phallus n’étaient pas apotropaïques, mais signalaient une direction vers laquelle se tendait l’extrémité du membre.”¹⁸ In his book Rauh attempted to follow through with this logic.¹⁹ Since most of these phallus reliefs are located in the port, and the port was full of merchants, sailors, soldiers, and pirates—that is, a large milling crowd of able-bodied, unattached males—he proposed that the phalli pointed to the kinds of services these people most desired: food, drink, entertainment, and sexual companionship (perhaps male and female) in the form of prostitution.²⁰

¹⁸ Bruneau 1979, 105.

¹⁹ Rauh 1993, 213.

²⁰ To insist on the apotropaic function remains restrictive, in any event, since the phallus motif is subject to various interpretations. They were also positive fertility symbols/good luck charms, as shown by the plaque at Pompeii of an erect phallus with the inscription *bic habitat felicitas* (“Here dwells

happiness”: Grant 1982, 109); and the association of Priapic figures with gardens: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.19–22. They could also be scribbled as graffiti as a sort of vandalism, e.g., poem 37.9–10 of Catullus and the graffito (*CIL* 4.1700), “eat shit, you who drew these ‘sopiones’.” A plaque in Pompeii exhibits a phallus with the inscription *banc ego cacavi* (“I shat this”), the meaning of which defies singular explanation (Houseman 1931). Clarke 2003, 99: “No scholar has been able to offer an explanation for this strangely permanent record of

Various design aspects of the Maison du Lac convince Rauh that the building functioned as a house of prostitution or as a more refined combination of dining and evening establishment known as a *taberna deversoria*. These design features include the easy accessibility and sumptuousness of its courtyard, the privacy of the interior suites of rooms, the capacity and number of its wells and cisterns, and the “gaudiness” of the exterior wall reliefs calling attention to its doors. All of these features suggest that the building functioned as something other than a private residence.²¹ In addition, the location of the Maison du Lac opposite both the Palestre du Lac and the Palestre de Granit and literally bisecting the road to Skardana certainly represents prime real estate for a public establishment. Surrounded by palaestrae, by recently excavated shops, and by a number of neighboring “men’s clubs,” the location of the Maison du Lac meets the requirements of an ancient “red light district.”²² Given the maritime, underclass character of society at Delos, the existence of a number of taverns, some cheap and minimally established and others fairly sumptuous, seems appropriate. In view of the evidence of the phallus reliefs, similar, if less obvious, meaning was possibly imparted by the reliefs bearing the *piloi* and shield of the Dioscuri and the club of Hercules. The combination of these symbols, prominently displayed near doorways of public establishments throughout the port, possibly conveyed some universally understood advertisement of recreation and refreshment to the transient maritime visitors of the port.

As noted above, Rauh’s suggestion that the Maison du Lac functioned as a tavern or brothel has drawn harsh criticism, particularly from “Delian” members of the *École française d’Athènes*. After rejecting Rauh’s hypothesis in a review of his book, M. F. Boussac and J. C. Moretti supply

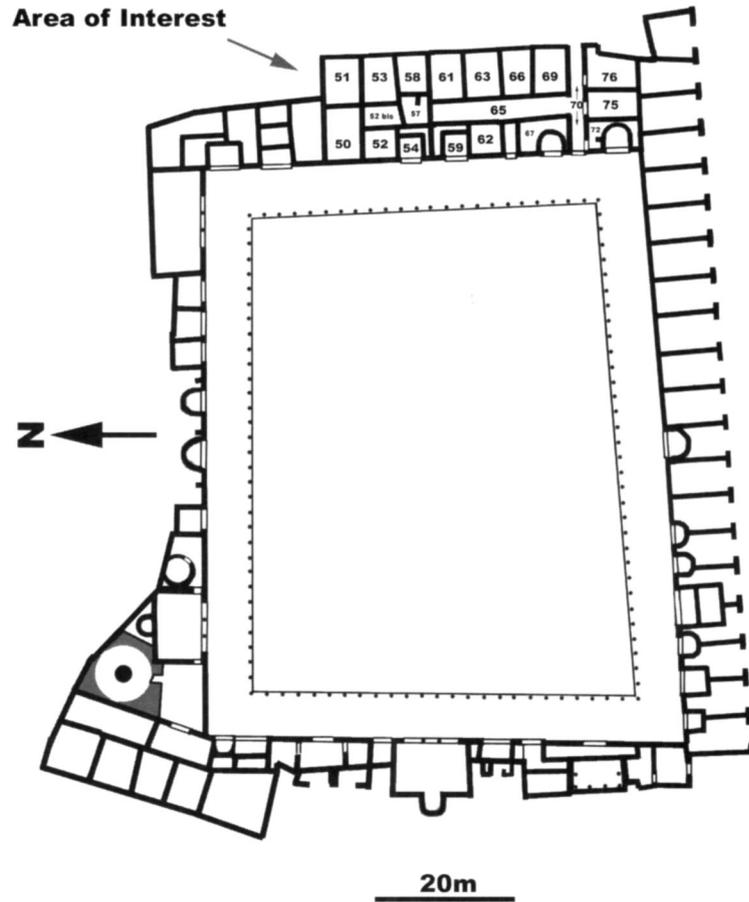
a good-luck bowel movement.” Rather than commemorating defecation, however, the plaque may commemorate anal sex, since it displays a phallus, which would have been “shat” after the act. On the use of phalli as amulets to avoid the evil eye, referred to generally as *fascina*, see Clarke 2003, 96–111.

The ubiquity of the symbol lends itself to multiple functions, therefore. See R. Seaford in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1976), s.v. “phallus” for a brief list of uses. The varied use of phalli at Delos is visually demonstrated in Hadjidakis 2003, 286–290, figs. 504–515. For what it is worth, two additional, if unique, phallus reliefs were found, non in situ, in the neighborhood of Maison du Lac, including the relief of a Silenus equipped with two phalli (discovered amid remains “north” of the Agora of Theophrastos) and the relief of a winged male being menaced by a winged phallus (discovered in remains “west” of the Agora of the Italians): Hadjidakis 2003, 286, figs. 505 and 506 respectively. Guzzo and Ussani 2000 and Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 1995 were unavailable to the authors at the time this article went to press.

²¹ Rauh and Panayotis Hadjidakis, the *epimeletes* and chief administrator of the Delos Museum and archaeological site, cordially disagree on this subject. Hadjidakis (2003, 376–377) interprets the house as a private residence inhabited by the same family for at least two generations. He insists, for example, that children’s toys were found among the remains (Rauh has been unable to track this down). Rauh views the building as the possible residence of one or more prostitutes and perhaps a *taberna deversoria*. Its abundant water supply is typical of brothel establishments:

McGinn 2004, 152; Bruun 1997; Butrica 1999a; 1999b. Its size was typical of relatively small residences that accommodated two to four prostitutes at Pompeii (McGinn 2004, 204f.). Although the interior décor of the Maison du Lac emits nothing specifically “brothel-like” to reinforce this argument, McGinn (2004, 258–259) maintains that Roman taverns and houses of prostitution (i.e., houses used and resided in by prostitutes as opposed to brothel structures designed expressly for this purpose) likewise exhibited decorative aspects typical of residential households and otherwise attempted to emulate the material lifestyle of the upper classes. Since houses of prostitution were essentially indistinguishable in design, they tended to blend into the urban landscape: McGinn 2004, 234.

²² The Beirut Poseidonists (a commercial “club house”), the House of the Diadumenos (identified by Hadjidakis 1997; 2003, 375–376 as a palaestra), and the Agora of the Italians (below) all functioned as something other than private residences. Recent excavations undertaken by Hadjidakis (2003, 78) directly south of the Maison du Lac reveal a cluster of small shoplike structures, including the circular remains of several stone treadmills for milling machines, cereal grinding stones, amphoras, and remains of ovens. Hadjidakis concludes that these are the remains of wine shops and bakeries, again strategically situated to exploit the steady foot traffic passing to and from palaestrae and men’s clubs. For the importance of location to venues of commercial sex: McGinn 2004, 213; for their tendency to cluster in areas of high foot traffic together with restaurants, hotels, baths, and palaestrae: McGinn 2004, 238, 259.

Plan 2. *Agora of the Italians.*

the opinion that, “Le livre a une faiblesse prononcée pour les bordels.”²³ In doing so, they exhibit a remarkable indifference to the cultural forces that shaped Delian society and its landscape at this time. The severity of this criticism directs our attention to another of Rauh’s controversial interpretations from years past, this one regarding the identity of the nearby Agora of the Italians (plan 2). In 1992 and again in 1993,²⁴ he proposed that the Italian Agora, with its broad earthen courtyard (ca. 70 × 50 m), its enclosed double-storied porticoes, its two doorways (one large and monumental, the other narrow and service oriented), its bath complex, and its numerous niches—some harboring statue groups of wealthy benefactors and Roman generals such as C. Marius, others exhibiting seating benches—served as a multifunctional, state-of-the-art recreational facility. That is, the building functioned as a combined palaestra, bath complex, and gladiatorial arena, such as may have existed in south Italian communities at the end of the second century B.C.²⁵ Surviving epigraphical evidence recovered in the ruins indicates that the building was constructed by a diverse array of

²³ Boussac and Moretti 1995, 572, n. 28, following up the assertion that Rauh “cherche à comprendre le mode de vie des marchands italiens, mais s’intéresse moins à leurs activités professionnelles (presque toujours limitées au commerce des esclaves) qu’à leur loisirs.”

²⁴ Rauh 1992; 1993, 289f.; initial publication: Lapalus 1939. The accompanying plan (2) is schematic; the enhanced bor-

der attempts to highlight rooms that were accessible from the interior courtyard.

²⁵ A good percentage of the merchants frequenting Delos came from southern Italy. The building exhibits important similarities with the Pompeian Ludus, for example: Rauh 1993, 326.



Fig. 13. View of transverse corridor (plan 2.65) at the eastern end of the Agora of the Italians, facing north.

benefactors, including the *magistri* and members of the Italian religious fraternities on the island (the Hermaistai, the Apolloniastai, and the Poseidoniastai), wealthy individual Italian merchants such as C. Ofellius L.f. Ferus and M. Orbius L.f. Hor., and even wealthier Near Eastern friends such as Philostratos Philostratou of Ascalon.²⁶ This list of benefactors, combined with a record of the performance of *ludi* by the *magistri* inscribed on a column at the entrance to the building's bath complex, convinced Rauh that the building functioned as a "men's club" for the transient population of Italian merchants and traders that frequented the island during the peak summer sailing season. As J. Delorme observed in his study of Greek palaestrae, this element would otherwise have lacked a place of assembly commensurate with their status as international businessmen.²⁷

While the response to this interpretation proved less hostile, in some ways it was no less skeptical.²⁸ The argument for the building's function as a gladiatorial arena has generated the greatest skepticism, and in hindsight Rauh concedes that the evidence for this particular function lacks conviction.²⁹ Perhaps the weakest part of the argument concerns the narrow, transverse corridor (plan 2.65) sheltering approximately thirteen small cells or cubicles on the building's east side.³⁰ In his article Rauh proposed that the narrow three-room passageway allowing access between the courtyard and the transverse corridor functioned as a *porta libitinensis*, or death gate, through which the remains of gladiatorial victims would have been withdrawn by the attendants dressed as Hermes and Charon (fig. 13).³¹ Beyond this "death gate" but inside the enclosed area of the corridor, Rauh proposed very tentatively that the small cubicles (plan 2, nos. 50, 51, 52, 52 bis, 53, 56, 57, 58, 61, 62,

²⁶ Rauh 1993, 295f.; cf. *ID* 2612 for contributions to restore the complex made presumably after 86 B.C. by returning visitors from Italy, the Aegean, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Syria.

²⁷ Delorme 1960, 453f., 493f.

²⁸ Bruneau 1995; Murray 1995; Boussac and Moretti 1995; Chandezon 1997.

²⁹ Bruneau 1995; Murray 1995; Boussac and Moretti 1995. This in no way diminishes Rauh's belief that gladiatorial combats transpired in the building. They appear to have been

a necessary component of the Campanian-style banquets that possibly occurred there. However, the inadequacy of the evidence demonstrates how little we understand the physical settings of gladiatorial combat at this time. See Étienne 1965; Golvin 1988; Barton 1993; Welch 2003.

³⁰ Lapalus 1939, 75, n. 3; Rauh 1992, n. 2; 1993, 333. These structures are too ruined to determine whether they even had doorways. If so, they possibly stood several centimeters above the level of the corridor itself.

³¹ Rauh 1992, 326.

63, 66, 67, 69) that opened onto the transverse corridor (no. 65) functioned as *carceres*, perhaps for the animals used in *venationes*.³² Given how little can really be said about the relative frequency of gladiatorial combats and/or *venationes* at Delos, let alone the possibility that the combination of these forms of entertainment poses an anachronism in this era, this hypothesis should probably be abandoned.³³ The function of the attached “outbuilding” combining narrow corridor with opposing rows of cubicles remains unresolved, accordingly. Whatever its true function, it needs to be viewed within the context of its role as a service element to the attached “men’s club” of the Agora of the Italians itself. Its design appears too deliberate to have functioned simply as an array of shops or storerooms.³⁴ After considerable reflection on this matter, Rauh would propose a second, equally speculative hypothesis that the narrow corridor and small cubicles attached to the east (back) side of the agora functioned as an adjoining brothel, furnishing *cellae meretriciae* or *oikemata* to the men’s club within. Its design conforms sufficiently to descriptions of brothels elsewhere, including a meticulously controlled point of access and a potentially dark, warm interior flanked by numerous windowless cells screened by curtained doorways.³⁵ Perhaps significantly, recently unearthed evidence of wine shops in the immediate vicinity of the road passing behind this complex of cubicles suggests that steady foot traffic would have passed by its entrance as well.³⁶ Given the crowd of merchants that would have congregated on Delos every summer, a male-oriented recreational function such as this, perhaps subsidized by the religious associations that funded and maintained the “agora” itself, could conceivably have generated significant revenues for the maintenance of the complex.

Confident as Rauh is that this suggestion will provoke fresh attacks on his character, he insists once again that, regardless of the true purpose of these remains, the surviving landscape of the Delian emporium of ca. 100 B.C. conforms with available textual information for the description of Graeco-Roman maritime communities generally.³⁷ Inns, taverns, and brothels were commonplace features in Mediterranean harbors, as commonplace as moles, quays, warehouses, or shop-lined market squares. The presence of phalli pointing like directional indicators about the harbor remind us that recreational leisure time and camaraderie were essential elements in the lives of maritime laborers at emporia such as Delos. In the minds of underclass laborers, recreational pleasures were as important as, if not more important than, the responsibilities of work, the dangers of overseas voyages, and the relentless pursuit of profit. In several respects, the surviving remains in the island emporium at Delos reassure us of the appropriateness of the inquiry here undertaken. As the discussion reviewed above demonstrates, there is an urgent need to examine the function of ancient maritime leisure establishments and the identity of the social formations that congregated in such environments.

³² Evidence for *venationes* at Delos appears to survive in a liturgical wall painting at the Warehouse of the Columns: Rauh 1992; 1993, 323.

³³ The combination of *venationes* with gladiatorial shows appears not to have occurred at Rome until the Augustan era. The lunate sigmas employed in the inscribed graffito of the gladiator M. Caecilius Epagathus, found on a marble block near the Sacred Harbor (*ID* 1961), could indicate that this performer won his eight victories at Delos at a later time; Rauh 1992; 1993, 323. However, his Republican nomenclature argues to the contrary.

³⁴ As proposed for the outbuildings attached to the front

of the complex: Lapalus 1939, 75; Rauh 1992. Bruneau’s observation (1995, 51) that these elements postdate the initial construction of the complex (ca. 120–110 B.C.) in no way eliminates their addition prior to its destruction in 86 and 69 B.C. As he notes, the building underwent constant remodeling before these events.

³⁵ McGinn’s “Purpose Built Brothel” (the *Lupanar*) at Pompeii (2004, 232f.); cf. Beloch 1912, 326, also 43, n. 102.

³⁶ Empereur 1983; Hadjidakis 1994.

³⁷ For recent study of the harbor facilities, see Duchêne and Fraisse 2001.

2. *The Reliability of the Source Tradition for a Roman Maritime Subculture*

A better way to test the validity of hypotheses for Delian taverns and brothels is to evaluate the surviving physical evidence against available literary testimony for these same sorts of locations. Unfortunately, the source tradition for ancient tavern culture and for courtesans and prostitutes is in many respects no less controversial than the physical remains. Short of drawing on more abundant testimony from neighboring eras such as fifth-century B.C. Athens or first-century A.D. Rome, literary testimony capable of reconstructing Mediterranean maritime leisure culture and its late Hellenistic/Roman Republican behavioral patterns remains inadequate. Evidence demonstrating the existence of tavern-based leisure culture in large, “inland” metropoleis, not to mention core cultural centers such as Athens or Rome, is unlikely to furnish a suitable parallel for the drab, backwater harbors of the Mediterranean. In addition, there is the difficulty raised by their distance in time. As brilliant as its culture undoubtedly was, the social composition of first-century B.C. Delos was temporally as far removed from fifth-century B.C. Athens as it was spatially removed from first-century A.D. Rome. Inappropriate use of “external” literary evidence, wrenched in this manner from proper temporal and cultural contexts, may inevitably weaken the results of an already problematic inquiry such as this. We need to proceed cautiously and judiciously through the source tradition, therefore, if we want to avoid drawing more fire.

One way to proceed is by attempting to identify various attributes of lower-class social formations that defined the ancient Mediterranean maritime experience. To the extent that textual descriptions of this experience as well as of the patterns of behavior it contains are consistent through time and space, one could argue preliminarily that they represent the evolving forms of identifiable social behavior. In some respects these attributes need to be recognized for what they were—cultural phenomena unique to distinct environments such as fifth-century B.C. Athens or first-century A.D. Rome. To assume that they had much in common with the social formations of smaller, chronologically and spatially distant Mediterranean communities may be inappropriate. The necessary distinctions that separated core communities and core patterns of behavior from those of the periphery need to be borne in mind.

A second, more significant problem concerns the reliability of literary testimony for historical phenomena. What may at first glance appear as evidence for an evolving pattern of a courtesan-based leisure culture may in fact be nothing more than willful acts of literary antiquarianism and fabrication. According to literary testimony courtesan-based leisure cultures existed by the sixth century B.C. in Athens, Corinth, and Miletus.³⁸ Courtesan-based prostitution appears to have attained its peak in fourth- and third-century B.C. Athens, where beautiful women such as Lais, Phryne, and Glycera socialized with statesmen, generals, poets, dramatists, philosophers, and artists.³⁹ This Classical Greek tradition for an aristocratic leisure culture based on courtesan relationships had a profound impact on Graeco-Roman intellectuals in places such as Alexandria and Rome. Courtesans functioned as stock characters in Greek New Comedy and its Roman offshoot; they formed a central topic of Roman satire; they populated the illusionary world of Hellenistic-Roman elegiac poetry; and they furnished the grist of political invective of the late Roman Republic. Before we can assess the value of this material to the formation of a maritime leisure culture at Delos, we need to ascertain the reliability of this source material for Roman cultural behavior in general.

³⁸ Beloch 1912, 236, who argues that it attained its peak during the Hellenistic era. For Corinth: Hsch. 2.517 (*korinthiazein*, to engage in prostitution); Strabo 8.6.20 (378); Beloch 1912, 245, 286; Athens: Beloch 1912, 211f., 223f., 257f., 286f.; Miletus: Ath. 12.523f., 524a; Juv. *Sat.* 6.296;

Beloch 1912, 246, 274f.

³⁹ For recent studies, see Keuls 1993; Henry 1995; Hamel 2002; Fantham 1975; Brown 1993.

Social scientists argue that a necessary prerequisite for a leisure culture based on prostitution is a pornographic literature that encourages this behavior and articulates its rationale.⁴⁰ By the second century B.C. the great maritime center of Alexandria reportedly displayed an unusual tolerance for this leisure culture. The canals of the Alexandrian resort center of the Canopus were lined with leisure establishments notorious for the ready availability of prostitutes.⁴¹ According to Polybius (14.11), several of the most fashionable houses of the city became named (or perhaps nicknamed) after fashionable courtesans. Alongside its dramatic breakthroughs in science and scholarship, the intellectual community of Alexandria succeeded at generating an influential body of literature concerning courtesans, their history, their etiquette, their *bon mots*, and their purported sex manuals.⁴² Alexandrian writers such as Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 200 B.C.), Artemidoros (second century B.C.), Kallistratos (second century B.C.), Ammonios (first century B.C.), and Gorgias (40s B.C.) generated “historical catalogues” of Athenian courtesans of the “Classical era.”⁴³ The erotic poetry of Alexandrian Sotades of Maronea (second century B.C.), the inventor of the notorious Sotadic verses, was clearly known and adapted to Latin by later Roman poets such as Catullus, Ovid, and Petronius.⁴⁴ Greek pornographic writings, such as the Sybaritic verse, Aristides’s *Milesian Tales*, the *Rhodiaka* of Philippos of Amphipolis, and other erotica, including sex manuals (*techne erotike*) purportedly concocted by Classical courtesans, were similarly translated into Latin by, among others, the Roman senator and scholar L. Cornelius Sisenna (120–67 B.C.).⁴⁵ By the time of the Delian emporium, therefore, a literature promoting the existence of prostitute-based leisure culture appears to have thrived in neighboring eastern waters. Its popularity with Roman literary writers suggests that it attracted more than antiquarians.

The Roman source tradition indicates that Roman society came to grips with “Hellenistic” leisure culture by the time of its conquests in the Greek East.⁴⁶ Bawdy Atellan farces furnished material for Plautus’s comedies, as well as for several erotic performance works composed by the late Republican mimes Laberius and Publilius Syrus (mid-first century B.C.).⁴⁷ An Italian tradition for inscribing scurrilous graffiti on temple walls and dedications, particularly in sanctuaries devoted to the fertility god Priapus, engendered a related literature, the *Carmina Priapeia*, for which an edition containing some 83 or 84 epigrams appears to have existed by the time of Augustus.⁴⁸ By the first century B.C., Roman literary circles began to mine Alexandrian literature for suitable subject materials, including the historical “catalogues” of Athenian courtesans mentioned above.⁴⁹ Greek pornographic writings, such as the Sybaritic verse, Milesian *logoi*, and Sotadic verse, were likewise

⁴⁰ Gilfoyle 1994, 143f.; Beloch 1912, 454–528f.; Jeffreys 1997, 231–236; McGinn 2004, 262.

⁴¹ Strabo 17.1.17 (801); Beloch 1912, 177, 266–267; Kleberg 1957, 99; Montserrat 1996.

⁴² Beloch 1912, 489f.

⁴³ Beloch 1912, 491–492; these catalogues were widely disseminated and conceivably used by comic writers for character formation. Late Hellenistic works on famous sayings of famous courtesans also existed.

⁴⁴ Ath. 14.620c; Mart. 2.86.1–2; 6.26; Beloch 1912, 509, 519.

⁴⁵ For the Sybaritic verse: Arist. *Vesp.* 1259; Suid. s.v. *Sybaritika*; Mart. 12.95; Ov. *Tr.* 2.417; Beloch 1912, 507; Milesian *logo* (*Milesiakai*): Ov. *Tr.* 2.413; Plut. *Crass.* 32; Lucian *Amor.*

1; Beloch 1912, 508; Philippos of Amphipolis: Beloch 1912, 519; for the *logoi* of courtesans (Philaenis, Astyanassa, Niko, Pythionike), Beloch 1912, 511–514.

⁴⁶ Beloch 1912, 224f., 272f., possibly as a result of the influx of slaves during the era of foreign conquest. Beloch argues that prostitutes prior to the Hannibalic War era were “home grown.”

⁴⁷ Titles such as *Colax*, *Hetaira*, *Ephebus*, and *Tusca* of Laberius indicate that several concerned themselves with prostitutes: Beloch 1912, 488.

⁴⁸ According to L. C. Watson (*Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd ed. [Oxford 1976], s.v. “Priape(i)a”), these are generally considered to be the work of one poet. Tibullus, Horace, and Martial wrote later *priapeia*. Cf. Beloch 1912, 527.

⁴⁹ Beloch 1912, 491–492.

translated or otherwise adapted into Latin, as noted above. Although the bulk of this literature was not effectively incorporated into Latin forms until the Augustan era, it was available and most certainly digested by the Roman reading public at the time of the Delian emporium.

Other traditions, such as the increasingly risqué celebration of the Floralia, a six-day festival (28 April–3 May) originally intended to celebrate the bloom of spring flowers, likewise acquired a direct association with prostitution. In 173 B.C. the Floralia was adapted into one of the city's major festivals annually organized by the aediles. From this point onward it was associated with prostitution, so much so that a tradition emerged that the goddess Flora had herself labored as a *meretrix*.⁵⁰ Similarly, the emerging tendency for Roman magistrates to employ courtesans as models for official Roman artwork suggests a deliberate imitation of what appear to have been long-established patterns of Greek leisure behavior.⁵¹ These and other indications, including the promulgation of laws such as the Lex Scantinia in 149 B.C. outlawing the prostitution of freeborn Roman males,⁵² point to a developing sexually oriented leisure culture at Rome. These cultural and political developments thus legitimize the evaluation of contemporary source materials for their treatment of the subject.

The comedies of Plautus and Terence furnish another important signpost for the existence of this culture at the time of the Delian emporium. As is well known, these playwrights adapted their comedies from works of Hellenistic Middle and New Comedy originally composed in Greek. In these comedies courtesan-mistresses, young aristocratic lovers, and lecherous married fathers serve as stock characters, with little to connect them or their settings to any particular time or place. In these plays the juxtaposition of brothels and/or residences of courtesans with the homes of respectable families was sufficiently commonplace to serve as a function of plot.⁵³ Two questions immediately arise, however. To what degree were these stereotypes based on Roman models, that is, original compositions by Plautus or Terence? In addition, how reliable are these comedies as source material for the existence of the leisure culture in Roman communities?

Most specialists would agree that Plautus and Terence bore their intended Roman audiences in mind when they translated this material, and hence that they did not copy slavishly from Greek

⁵⁰ The temple was reportedly founded at the base of the Aventine near the Circus Maximus ca. 438 B.C. (Vell. Pat. 1.14.8); however, the sources for the festival's association with prostitution are all late: Schol. Iuven. 2.49; Plut. *Pomp.* 2, 53; Mart. 1.praef.; 1.35.8; Philodem. *Anth. Pal.* 5.11.7; and later Christian sources such as Lact. *Inst.* 1.20.6–10. For its theatrical games: Juv. 14.267; Ov. *Fast.* 4.946; 5.183, 327–329, 355f.; Sen. *Ep.* 97.8; Val. Max. 2.10.8; Auson. *Ecl. (de fer. Rom.)* 14.16.25; Wissowa 1909; Scullard 1981, 110–111. By the late Republic the festival came to incorporate public displays of sexual license. According to eyewitness accounts, Roman courtesans and prostitutes actively participated in an opening parade into the circus, and from their assigned seats they would disrobe and pose suggestively. Many would then join the mimes in the arena, engaging in choreographed displays of lewdness and pantomime sex acts. Tradition held that either or both Cato the Elder and Cato Uticensis were compelled to avert their eyes at the sight of this spectacle: Val. Max. 2.10.8; Sen. *Ep.* 97.8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.355; Petron. 132; Juv. 6.249f.; Tert. *De spect.* 178; Beloch 1912, 556.

⁵¹ Beloch 1912, 531; including the portrait of Flora noted above and the prostitute employed as a model by the Ro-

man sculptor Arellius (first century B.C.: Plin. *HN* 35.119; 35.125). Apelles and Pausias used the celebrated fourth-century B.C. courtesans Lais and Glycera as the models for religious statuary, particularly Pausias's Stephanopolis (Ath. 13.590f.; Plin. *HN* 35.125). Roman awareness of this tradition is demonstrated by Cicero's contemporary, L. Licinius Lucullus, who purchased a copy of the Stephanopolis from Dionysus of Athens for two talents (Plin. *HN* 35.125), and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, curule aedile in 88 B.C., who commissioned Pompey's mistress, a *meretrix* named Flora, to pose for a portrait to adorn the Temple of Castor and Pollux (Plut. *Pomp.* 2).

⁵² Rotondi 1962, 293; Beloch 1912, 453; McGinn 1998, 140.

⁵³ Plaut. *Poen.* 302f.; *Men.* 354f.; *Mil.* 789; Ter. *Eun.* 1039; cf. Catull. 32; Prop. 2.6.27; Phor. *Car.* 3.7.9–22; Lucian *Dial. meret.* 9.5; 10.2; Aristaen. *Ep.* 1.2; 2.4; Plut. *Ant.* 9.8; *Amat.* 16; Beloch 1912, 329. According to Beloch (1912, 325) and McGinn (2004, 80, 83, 234), the best brothels appear to have been indistinguishable from other houses, apart from the presence of signs and/or lanterns above the door.

originals.⁵⁴ In other respects, Plautus and Terence went to considerable lengths to render their “translations” agreeable to Roman audiences, particularly by incorporating details regarding the sights, sounds, and places of their audiences’ immediate urban horizon. These include accurate descriptions of urban districts such as the Roman Forum, the Vicus Tuscus, the Via Sacra, and the Forum Piscatorum. In addition, scholars recognize that Plautus and Terence incorporated into their dramatic compositions material derived from Latin sources, including Saturan and Atellan farces and the dramatic works of earlier Latin playwrights such as Naevius.⁵⁵ These sources likewise contained ribald materials regarding love affairs with prostitutes. Thus it is simply not accurate to argue that Plautus or Terence remained faithful to original Greek dramas or mechanically adapted into Latin Greek characters and plots concerned with a courtesan-based leisure culture wholly unaccustomed at Rome. Such an assumption implies that the Roman audiences altogether lacked an awareness of their own leisure traditions. The excessive degree to which Plautus and Terence developed themes of prostitution in their dramas—some eleven plays concerned themselves with courtesans—argues to the contrary.⁵⁶

At the same time we need to recognize that the plays depicted an illusory world in which what might best be described as extreme examples of social behavior were concocted, distorted, and exaggerated for purposes of popular amusement. To assume on the basis of the formulaic reliance on stock characters, such as young aristocratic lovers, adulterous fathers, and courtesan mistresses, that triangular relationships involving the three were commonplace in middle Republican society is hazardous. The most one can assume is that Plautus and Terence’s audiences were sufficiently familiar with this sort of behavior to appreciate the humor and, therefore, that the plots projected some recognizable semblance of reality.

Evidence for a prostitute-based leisure culture derived from Latin elegiac poetry and satirical writing imposes entirely separate requirements. Assuming that one can accept the authenticity of the evidence contained in their literature, the various poets of this era—Catullus (ca. 85–54 B.C.), Virgil (70–19 B.C.), Tibullus (ca. 55–19 B.C.), Propertius (ca. 50–16 B.C.), Horace (65–8 B.C.), Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17)—as well as the satirists, Lucilius (ca. 180–103 B.C.), Varro (116–27 B.C.), Petronius (mid-first century A.D.), Juvenal (ca. A.D. 47–127), and Martial (ca. A.D. 40–102)—were, like many aristocrats, active participants in the prostitute-based leisure culture at Rome. This evidence remains problematic for obvious reasons. First, there is a very real likelihood that the poets’ obsessive allusions to mistress-courtesans and libertine aristocratic females formed literary conventions directly imitating those of Alexandrian love poetry, with no basis whatsoever in reality. The “inside jokes” and literary artifices of the *novi poetae* of the late Republic may easily have evolved into a tradition by which each new generation of Latin poets tried to upstage the poetic fabrications of the last. This, in turn, raises important questions regarding their accompanying descriptions of social behavior. In response one could argue that Roman poets maintained a consistent pretense of discussing in their verse personal relationships and dealings with female courtesans and prostitutes (not to mention those of acquaintances), and that they did so with awareness far too intimate and knowledgeable for the poets themselves to have lacked firsthand experience.⁵⁷ Moreover, Roman poets were perhaps

⁵⁴ Useful discussion in Andreau 1968; Ludwig 2001.

⁵⁵ Beloch 1912, 486–488.

⁵⁶ Beloch 1912, 484–486.

⁵⁷ Beloch 1912, 309f.; Catullus describes several promiscuous women who may be prostitutes, including Ipsitilla and

Aufilena; Propertius details his Cynthia, her *saga* Acanthis, her friends Petalis and Lalage, and rival Nomias; Tibullus his beloved Delia, followed by Nemesis and Neaera. Horace mentions at least fifteen courtesans, including Canidia, Lyce, Barine, Folia, and Catia; Ovid his Corinna with her procuress Dipsas and eunuch Bagoas; Martial his despised Philaenis, the elderly Phyllis, Fabulla, and Vetustilla, and other “libertine females” including Laevia, Justina, Lycas, Lyda, Ida, and Thais.

more likely to have immersed themselves in the leisure culture than other men if only because they, like other artists and entertainers, depended on the financial support of Roman aristocratic patrons, both male and female. By necessity they mixed with the same social circles as mimes, musicians, courtesans, and other entertainers.⁵⁸ While in most instances the genuineness of the literary portrait of a Roman courtesan is difficult to ascertain, the ancient source tradition firmly maintained that many of the courtesans thus portrayed were, in fact, real people.⁵⁹

Accordingly, separating fact from fiction among Latin poets and novelists remains an arduous task. In many cases, such as in Roman elegies, a highly stylized tradition of stock situations (e.g., the “excluded lover” who warms the threshold of his beloved’s home while a rival warms her bed) militates against interpreting the events related in a given poem as “real”; the entire affair might be made up from whole cloth or reflect a Greek literary milieu as much as Roman experience. Such sources may often be useful only for background, without pressing the details. An apparent exception may be the poet Catullus, whose highly personal and direct style certainly gives the impression of verisimilitude. Though it is beset with difficulties at every turn, there is good reason to value the evidence of his poetry as an accurate portrayal of an aristocratic leisure culture devoted to pleasure, both aesthetic and physical, yet familiar with the denizens of the demimonde. His world of casual sex, genteel poverty, and violent passion is peopled with historical personages famous and infamous, including Julius Caesar,⁶⁰ Cicero, and the corrupt politician Gaius Memmius. These unchallenged connections make it likely that many of the other individuals known only by name do in fact refer to real people. Most tantalizing is the identity of the woman known as Lesbia in several of the poems, since we are tempted to identify her with the same Clodia who is vilified by Cicero in his *Pro Caelio*.⁶¹ The identification is asserted by Apuleius (*Apol.* 10) in a passage that purportedly reveals the real women behind the pseudonyms of other poets as well and accords with the tradition of choosing a false name metrically equivalent to the real one. Unfortunately, not one but three Clodias are known to us from this time, and each one presents difficulties with the identification. In any event, there seems little doubt that one of them must be Lesbia, and this is enough to create a link between the poet and a branch of an aristocratic family that otherwise carried favor with the plebs.⁶²

Ultimately, the legitimacy of identifications such as Lesbia/Clodia is of little consequence; what matters is that the ancients themselves believed in them and sustained them for centuries. This suggests that the behavioral patterns thus portrayed and the courtesan-based leisure culture thus described were sufficiently compelling to the Roman reading audience. As J. P. Sullivan has observed with respect to Martial’s epigrams, “if many of the epigrams refer to specific social or sexual behavior on the part of Martial himself, of his subjects, or of his audience, it is reasonable

⁵⁸ The poetry implies, moreover, that courtesans yearned to be memorialized by these poets and that the poets’ ready compliance formed a significant part of their attraction.

⁵⁹ Propertius’s mistress, Cynthia, was identified as a certain Hostia, mistress as well to the Augustan senator Statilius Taurus (*Apul. Apol.* 10). According to Apuleius (*Apol.* 10) as well, Tibullus’s Delia was identical with a freedwoman named Plania. Horace’s scholia assert that Catia was a notorious libertine of Roman patrician origin, publicly stoned for engaging in sexual intercourse simultaneously with a plebeian tribune and a Sicilian farmer. Horace’s Canidia, meanwhile, was equated with an actual courtesan named Gratidia: Porph. *Ad Hor. Epod.* 3.7.5, 43; *Sat.* 1.8.23; Münzer 1912.

⁶⁰ Who felt that Catullus’s satires made a permanent blot on his reputation; Suet. *Iul.* 73.

⁶¹ *Cic. Cael.* 15–16, 20–21, 26; cf. *Plut. Cic.* 29; *Quint. Inst.* 8.6.

⁶² Consider as evidence the vulgar spelling Clodia instead of the standard Claudia, an affectation adopted also by her brother Publius Clodius, who went so far as to undergo an arcane ritual changing his patrician status to plebeian in order to assume the popular office of tribune. For details on the Lesbia/Clodia identification, see Wiseman 1969, 50–60.

to assume that such behavior was common, or at least not rare, even though the particular events and personages were invented for the sake of the poem.”⁶³

With respect to contemporary “prose writers” such as Cicero (106–43 B.C.) and Sallust (86–35 B.C.), both of whom were politicians and active participants in the controversies of their day, the information they convey regarding the leisure culture, particularly accusations by rival politicians of indulgence therein, is almost certainly exaggerated, distorted, and/or deliberately fabricated. In the rhetorically charged environment of the late Republic, politicians such as Cicero undeniably resorted to modes of rhetorical slander, including accusations of sexual depravity and/or criminality, to blacken the reputations of adversaries, such as Q. Verres, L. Sergius Catilina, P. Clodius, and M. Antonius. It seems equally clear that the vehemence of this rhetoric accelerated as the public grew increasingly desensitized to its inflammatory character. The likelihood that these erudite politicians culled material from the available pornographic literature of the times therefore seems very great. As a result, later historical writers who discuss the sexual escapades of these and other figures, including Livy (63/59 B.C.–A.D. 14/17), Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), Plutarch (A.D. 50–120), Appian (mid-second century A.D.), Suetonius (A.D. 70–ca. 130), Aulus Gellius (ca. A.D. 130–170), and Dio Cassius (A.D. 155–ca. 230s), conceivably incorporated strains of political invective into their writings in an uncritical manner, thereby sustaining and embellishing blatant slander and exaggerated half-truths for centuries to follow. As Amy Richlin comments, the resulting cocktail amounts potentially to “fossilized political invective, kept alive by political motives that have long outlived the protagonists of the stories.”⁶⁴ Since modern scholars have little means by which to verify these traditions, the credibility of this source material remains difficult to evaluate and, quite obviously, subject to dispute.

In response to this very real concern, there is the stock argument that “for mud to stick,” there needs to have been some basis for suspicion. Otherwise, Cicero and Sallust’s own audiences would have found the accusations hurled against their political rivals implausible. Given the level of skepticism in play here, this argument will not suffice. More substantial proof of aristocratic involvement in a prostitute-based leisure culture seems required if testimony indicating such a thing is to be taken seriously. The fact remains that the surviving source tradition does indeed confirm a consistent and widespread pattern of indulgence in prostitute-based leisure culture by the Greek as well as Roman aristocracy (see below). This pattern arises as frequently in sources from politically less charged eras, such as the dramatist Plautus (246–184/3 B.C.), the satirist Juvenal (A.D. 60–100), and the novelist Apuleius (second century A.D.), as it does with the political “moralists” of the late Republican era, Cicero and Sallust (see below). Although Juvenal appears like Cicero to have had an axe to grind (and thus may have singled out specific Roman aristocrats for abuse, all safely dead by his day), it is difficult to see what non-aristocratic, apolitical sources such as Plautus and Apuleius had to gain by accusing imaginary aristocrats of participating in the leisure culture. Naturally, one could insist that the accusations persisted in a circular manner. In other words, the playwrights Plautus and Terence possibly drew their depictions of aristocratic behavior directly from Hellenistic

⁶³ Sullivan 1979, 292. A second question regarding the descriptions of “prostitutes” in Roman elegiac poetry concerns whether or not the women portrayed technically were “prostitutes,” particularly since the poets tend to describe them more often than not as married, financially secure, and circulating at the highest levels of society. In most cases, however, the husbands of these women are characterized as freedman, thus raising the distinct possibility that they functioned as “straw men,” pimps, or *lenones mariti*, in an

effort to disguise the women’s business. This form of business arrangement was sufficiently commonplace to elicit detailed discussion in Roman legal sources: see Tracy 1977; McGinn 1998, 91f. Many of the women in question, therefore, are perhaps more appropriately described as female “libertines,” since they appear to have been freeborn Roman women who pursued their lifestyles voluntarily.

⁶⁴ Richlin 1983, 86; cf. Gruen 1974, 428.

Greek dramatic works.⁶⁵ Historical writers such as Cicero and Sallust then relied on material in Plautus and Terence to concoct their political slander, and literary sources such as Apuleius and Juvenal followed through from the materials of the political invective to create their fiction. It also stands to reason, however, that at some point in the process many, if not all, of these sources relied on real-life personages, known experiences, and recognizable patterns of social behavior to inspire this tradition. So many writers are unlikely to have devised what amounts to a literary obsession with the prostitute-based leisure culture from thin air.

The fact warrants reiteration that courtesan-based leisure cultures at the highest levels of society in the cultural capitals of the Mediterranean were unlikely to resemble those in backwater harbors across the seas. Evidence demonstrating the existence of a courtesan-based leisure culture in fifth-century B.C. Athens, second-century B.C. Alexandria, or first-century A.D. Rome holds potentially limited value for underclass social formations in smaller maritime communities. Obviously, large urban centers such as Athens, Alexandria, and Rome were cultural magnets that drew from their peripheries numerous immigrants of every sort, many eager to try their fortunes in these famous communities, others arriving as slave prisoners consequent to warfare and force of trade. To some degree the rise of prostitution at these centers reflected the inability of these urban centers adequately to sustain their burgeoning populations, a problem that would obviously have been less acute in smaller coastal communities. The degree to which prostitute-based leisure culture was a unique offshoot of demographic forces in larger communities needs to be entertained, accordingly.

Literary evidence indicating the existence of tavern women in harbor towns throughout the Mediterranean, not to mention the evidence of physical remains at places such as Delos, points, however, to the existence of a more widespread leisure culture based on prostitution. The scale of prostitution was, of course, likely to be greater in capital cities. For example, by the third century A.D. Roman authorities acknowledged 46 officially sanctioned brothels in the capital as well as some 850 large and small bathing establishments. Friedländer estimated that by the fourth century A.D. perhaps as many as 1,790 palaestrae and 46,602 lodging establishments (*Miethäuser*) existed at Rome.⁶⁶ At the harbor town of Pompeii, on the other hand, there were by the latest estimate some 41 inns and brothels and 13 prostitute “cribs.”⁶⁷ Consequently, it seems inappropriate to compare the seemingly brilliant and certainly expensive business of courtesan-based leisure culture in Athens and Rome with the impoverished versions likely to have existed in maritime harbors. In the same vein, one hesitates to refer to the women employed in more peripheral localities as “courtesans.” The role they played in local leisure society may nonetheless have differed merely in terms of scale. The evidence for famous Athenian courtesans indicates, for example, that most of these women migrated to that city from without—Aspasia from Miletos, Theoris from Lemnos, Neïara from Corinth, Lais from Hiccará in Sicily, Pythionike from Aegina, Niko from Samos, Kallistrate from Lesbos, in part because of the more abundant opportunities Athens had to offer. Since core communities generally attracted top elements of their leisure culture from peripheral localities, it stands to reason that the leisure culture of the periphery functioned to some degree as a recruiting ground. The likelihood

⁶⁵ Plautus’s characters occasionally refer to their scurrilous activity as typically Greek in passages that cannot have stood in the original; cf. the coinage *pergraecamini* (“we’re acting like Greeks”; i.e., “whooping it up”) at *Mostell.* 22 and “Don’t be amazed that measly slaves like us can drink, love and have dinner parties. You can get away with this in Athens” (*Stich.* 446ff.). But such phrases are probably rightly interpreted as ironic by Segal 1987, 31–35.

⁶⁶ Based on the plan of Publius Victor (fourth century A.D.); Friedländer 1965, 9–12; Beloch 1912, 242, 321. Ammianus Marcellinus 14.6.20 insisted there were 3,000 professional dance prostitutes in Rome at his time—an accusation seconded by Augustine, Isodorus, and Salvian (Beloch 1912, 137; cf. McGinn 2004, 167f.).

⁶⁷ McGinn 2004, 198, 204f.

that the character of the prostitute-based leisure culture varied from core to periphery remains great, therefore, but so does the possibility of interaction between the two.

Having surveyed the likely pitfalls of the literary evidence for a leisure culture based on prostitution, we may now turn our attention to an analysis of the social hierarchy of maritime leisure culture itself. To reconstruct the constituent elements of a maritime subculture based on prostitution requires that we map the available testimony for the characteristics and behavioral patterns of each underclass social stratum participating in this culture over time, taking care in each instance to identify the origin and era of the testimony. To pursue this inquiry by discriminating selectively among literary testimony or by assigning greater historical validity to one than to another simply will not suffice. All are equally suspect for their biases and motives. Instead, we will exploit the literary testimony generally to determine whether or not it demonstrates the existence of an underclass maritime subculture based on prostitution in harbor communities. If the same patterns can be demonstrated time after time, this would seem to indicate not only that there was something universal about the involvement of particular social formations in prostitute-based leisure culture but that the culture also managed to sustain itself across the Mediterranean landscape, potentially finding as much resonance in backwater harbors such as late Hellenistic Delos as it did in the inland communities of Athens or Rome.

3. The Social Formations of Graeco-Roman Tavern Culture

INNS, TAVERNS, AND BROTHELS

Before we review the literary evidence for the existence of a Roman maritime leisure culture, we must precisely define the evidence for tavern environments themselves. The diverse vocabulary for underclass leisure establishments in Roman source literature suggests that their character varied significantly. There were *thermopolia* (generally street-level hot wine or hot soup kitchens), *stabula* (inns furnished with animal stables), *cauponae* (taverns or inns where evening entertainment was common), *tabernae* (a term with many shades of meaning, to be discussed below), *popinae* (cook shops or restaurants commonly associated with prostitution), *ganae* (houses of prostitution thinly veiled as restaurants), and *lupanaria* (public houses of prostitution, in most cases officially recognized and sanctioned). Of all these terms *taberna* poses the greatest difficulty for understanding the maritime subculture.

Spatially, a *taberna* was a ground-floor shop to a Roman tenement building, or *insula*. According to Ulpian, the word stems from the *taberna*'s construction with stone slabs and timber (*tabulae*, *trabs*).⁶⁸ From a legal standpoint a *taberna* was a place where goods were bought and sold (*Dig.* 14.4: *locus emendi vendendive*). The open, simple architectural form and ease with which *tabernae* were accessible from the street enabled these structures to accommodate a wide range of work and commercially related activities. Urban craftwork with linens, textiles, leather, metal wares, ceram-

⁶⁸ Ulp. *Dig.* 50.16.183.28: *Tabernae appellatio declarat omne aedificium <non> utile ad habitandum [non] ex eo quod tabulis cluditur*, as corrected by Mommsen. ("The name of *taberna* denotes any building not used as a dwelling, from the fact that it is shut by wooden panels.") Given the nature of the business, legal writers allowed for the inclusion of all equipment and people required by the firm's operation (Ulp. *Dig.* 30.16.185, 28 ad ed.). Cf. Ulp. *Dig.* 14.3.3: *institor appel-*

latus est ex eo, quod negotio gerendo instet: nec multum facit, tabernae sit praepositus an cuilibet alii negotiationi. ("He is called an 'institor' from the fact that he 'insists' on conducting business: nor does it make much difference whether he is in charge of a *tabernae* or any other commercial enterprise.") Cf. Aubert 1994, 98, 370–373; Wagner 1982, 391–422; Gasner 1984, 108–115.

ics, wood, and glass was largely conducted in *tabernae*, as were an array of activities associated with food processing and sales (butcheries, bakeries, wine and oil sales and distribution), not to mention the activities of other professionals whose livelihoods depended on direct access to the daily public. These last included barbers, shopkeepers of any sort, fullers, and various others. The enterprise of a *taberna* need not always have been menial: Archagathus, the first Greek doctor to set up practice in Rome (219 B.C.), worked from a *taberna* in the *compitum Acili*, a setting awarded him by the Roman people as a mark of distinction.⁶⁹ The *tabernae veteres* and *novae*, leased or owned by bankers beneath the stoas that bordered the Forum Romanum, likewise housed extremely lucrative businesses frequented by the city's urban elite.⁷⁰ Accordingly, *taberna* served as a catchall term for an urban shop; its use could refer as readily to an artisan-craft shop as it could to a barbershop, bakery, hot-wine kitchen, downtown financial office, or restaurant. Particularly when expressed with its modifier, *taberna deversoria* or *meritoria*, Roman sources employed the word to mean a genuine establishment for dining, lodging, and recreation. In this instance *taberna* most closely approximated the modern concept of "tavern."⁷¹ Roman Imperial sources indicate that *tabernae* were a commonplace feature of the city, jammed with curb displays during the day and brightly lit at night.⁷² *Tabernae* appear to have been commonplace in rural contexts as well, often attached to agricultural estates that bordered roads and highways.⁷³ Cicero's inheritance of *tabernae deversoriae* in Puteoli indicates that they were commonplace in harbor towns as well.⁷⁴

We must recognize at the outset, therefore, that the term *taberna* was multifaceted. *Taberna* need not refer to an actual tavern nor even exclusively to taverns as such. When used in the plural, the term could allude simultaneously to a wide range of urban work spaces. This suggests potentially that work spaces and taverns enjoyed common traits, at least from the perspective of literary sources.

One such trait was the tendency for *tabernae* to be populated by underclass elements. According to recent scholarship, many menial laborers at Rome were homeless, unable to afford even the cheapest rental accommodations.⁷⁵ A vast poverty-stricken mass of Romans depended on leisure establishments such as bars, inns, and taverns as their principal means of lodging. Kleberg explains that the capacity of these establishments to produce hot drinks and food furnished an essential resource to destitute Romans who enjoyed no alternative means of cooking.⁷⁶ Roman underclass society was essentially a street population, with large numbers of people milling about shops and taverns day and night. Quite likely, numerous underclass laborers worked in one *taberna* and dined and slept in another. In the mind of the Roman public, therefore, the distinctions among workspaces, commercial shops, and leisure establishments were quite possibly blurred.⁷⁷ The literary testimony

⁶⁹ Plin. *HN* 29.12; Colini 1961–1962.

⁷⁰ For the *tabernae argentariae*, Plaut. *Truc.* 67; *Curc.* 495; Andreau 1968, 480; Coarelli 1986, 1:52; Beloch 1912, 363; Morel 1987, 134, 153f., who stresses that the designers of Roman public fora included ordered rows of *tabernae* to control the otherwise anarchic tendency to invade the city center.

⁷¹ Plaut. *Men.* 436; *Truc.* 698; Val. Max. 1.7.10; Varro *Rust.* 1.2; McGinn 2004, 16–19.

⁷² Mart. 7.61: *nunc Roma est, nuper magna taberna fuit* ("now it's Rome but recently it was one big *taberna*"), alluding apparently to Domitian's reform of *tabernae* that encroached on streets and sidewalks. Amm. Marc. 14.1.9 for lit streets at night.

⁷³ Scaevola *Dig.* 32.35.2(17); 32.38.5(19); Varro *Rust.* 1.2.23; Suet. *Claud.* 38; Cic. *Fam.* 7.18.3; 12.20; *Att.* 14.8.1; Aubert 1994, 205. Again, the term allows for varied function.

⁷⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 7.18.3; 12.20; *Att.* 14.8.1.

⁷⁵ Amm. Marc. 14.1.9; Kleberg 1957, 53, 104, 120; Frier 1980, 27; cf. Yavetz 1958; Scobie 1986.

⁷⁶ Kleberg 1957, 104.

⁷⁷ *Taberna* as a term became interchangeable with tavern: Cic. *Clu.* 163: *Ambivium quendam, coponem de via Latina, subornatis, qui sibi a Cluentio servisque eius in taberna sua manus adlatas esse dicat.* ("You instigate a certain Ambivium, an innkeeper on the Via Latina, to say that hands were laid

tends to have viewed *tabernae* as public venues of underclass activity in general. At Mediterranean emporia such as Delos, the situation is likely to have been similar, particularly for destitute, transient, temporarily grounded sailors. In essence, at the lowest levels of society shops, warehouses, inns, and taverns furnished primary places of shelter.

When Roman sources do specifically refer to *tabernae* as taverns, there is a fairly consistent assumption that these establishments offered prostitution as one of their services, especially in maritime communities. The transient nature of maritime populations and the prevailing gender imbalance in favor of males reduced the likelihood of effective security in waterfront communities.⁷⁸ As a result, maritime taverns bore rather hard-boiled reputations as locations for any number of illicit activities, prostitution being perhaps the least ominous.⁷⁹ Roman legal writers such as Paulus and Ulpian repeatedly insist on the exemption of tavern women from the Roman laws of adultery due to their tendency to engage in sex for hire.⁸⁰ So long as we recognize the inherent difficulty of distinguishing among literary references to shops, taverns, and actual brothels, we may proceed.

Specifically with respect to taverns and brothels, the urban topography of Pompeii indicates that leisure establishments were commonly placed along points of entry to Roman cities or otherwise located near places of assembly—market squares, temple complexes, circuses, and amphitheaters. Recent excavation outside the walls of Athens has led archaeologists to believe, for example, that Building Z, situated outside the Dipylon and Sacred Gates and directly bordering the Sacred Way in the Kerameikos, functioned as a tavern or brothel.⁸¹ A similar structure has been identified preliminarily in recent excavations at Ascalon.⁸² In 89 B.C., a *popina* adjoining the Roman Forum marked the location where angry Roman moneylenders conceived a plot to murder the Roman praetor A. Sempronius Asellio.⁸³

Physically, the character of ancient leisure establishments could vary widely, from large utilitarian complexes to virtual holes in the wall. In the *Poenulus* Plautus indicates that the fictional brothel of the pimp Lycus in Calydon accommodated a variety of customer services, including drinking, dining,

on him in his own *taberna* by Cluentius and his slaves.”) Suet. *Claud.* 40.1: *Quis potest sine offula vivere? Descripsitque abundantiam veterum tabernarum, unde solitus esset vinum olim et ipse petere.* (“Who can live without a snack? And he [Claudius] described the abundance of old *tabernae* where he himself used to go for wine.”)

⁷⁸ McGinn 2004, 175.

⁷⁹ Gardner (1986, 249) describes *tabernae* as “in the eyes of the authorities, potentially dangerous as meeting places for disruptive social elements.” Cf. Hermansen 1981 for a similar view of *tabernae* in Ostia, as well as McGinn 2004, 16f.

⁸⁰ Roman legal sources draw an additional distinction between the “legitimate” activity of prostitutes active in state-regulated brothels and the surreptitious prostitution that occurred in the taverns: Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43.1–3: *palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua, ut assolet, in taberna cauponia, qua alia pudori suo non parcat.* (“We will say that this occupation is pursued openly not only by a woman who prostitutes herself in a brothel, but also if she does so in a ‘taberna cauponia’, as is customary, or wherever else she does not spare her shame.”) *Dig.* 23.2.43.9: *qua cauponam*

exercens in ea corpora quaestuarium habeat, ut multae assolent sub praetextu instrumenti cauponii prostitutas mulieres habere, dicendum, hanc quoque lenae appellatione contineri. (“Where one who runs a shop has profitable bodies in it, as many women are accustomed to have women prostitutes under the pretext of the shop’s stock, it should be stated that this woman is also designated by the term *lena* [female brothel keeper]”). Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43.1–9; 3.2.4.2; *Cod. Theod.* 15.13; *Cod. Iust.* 5.3.27.1; cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.5.30; *CIL* 4.8442; 13.10018.92–95; Kleberg 1957, 82; Gardner 1986, 251; Fleming 1999; McGinn 1998, 127f.

⁸¹ Davidson 1998, xii–xiii, 85. The Kerameikos was a notorious haunt of prostitutes: Lucian *Dial. meret.* 4; Legrand 1908, 40, 50. See Keuls 1993, 154, 196, citing Theophr. *Char.* 6.5 and Isae. *On the Estate of Philoktemon* 6 for the well-to-do brothel owner, Euktemon, and his former prostitute, Alke, who managed one of his brothels in the Kerameikos.

⁸² Dauphin 1996, 47–72; questioned by McGinn 2004, 209, 221. For a survey of identifiable brothels of the Roman world, see McGinn 2004, 220f.

⁸³ Val. Max. 9.7.4; App. *B Civ.* 1.54; Kleberg 1957, 59.

bathing, and perfume anointing.⁸⁴ Large brothel staffs sometimes attended to a number of concerns, including the personal hygiene of prostitutes and their clients.⁸⁵ The range of services available in a Roman brothel, combined with a rather extensive vocabulary for staff employees, suggests that some brothels assumed the appearance of sizeable establishments.⁸⁶ However, as the sources repeatedly note, apart from the presence of a sign or a bright lantern above the door, the best brothels were conceivably indistinguishable from ordinary houses, in part because they functioned as the actual dwelling places of the women concerned.⁸⁷ As noted above, in Graeco-Roman New Comedy the houses of courtesans tended to blend in with neighboring structures in residential districts. By their size, their utilitarian design, and their multiple entrances, the appearance of public brothels would seemingly, but not necessarily, have stood out more. The outbuildings on the east side of the Agora of the Italians serve hypothetically as a case in point.

Bearing in mind the varied character of underclass work spaces, one needs to recognize that prostitution could occur at any number of locales. In this regard the broader meaning of the word *taberna* comes to the fore. According to Roman literary testimony, the commercial shops of bankers, butchers, bakers, barbers, perfume dealers, and bath tenders frequently substituted as venues of cheap prostitution.⁸⁸ As with tavern women, the low social status and ready accessibility of women laboring at these locales appears to have tarnished their reputations, if they did not expose them to actual sexual abuse. In addition, several nondescript cubicles attached directly to private houses at Pompeii are presumed to have functioned as venues of cheap prostitution. As contemporary discussion makes clear, the utilitarian design of these “cribs” makes them easy to confuse with nondescript artisan shops.⁸⁹ Since pimps and prostitutes were likely to have furnished commercial sex services to all strata of society, a broad range of venues was probably involved—from large

⁸⁴ *Poen.* 701f.; cf. *Curc.* 577; *Sen. Ep.* 56. In Plaut. *Truc.* the courtesan Phronesium takes a languid bath at her residence (322–323), described as a *taberna deversoria* (697). She refers to its manager as her *mater* (401), and her *tonstrix* (405), Sura, is bilingual (781).

⁸⁵ Most brothels furnished running water, for example, and servants named *baccariones* to wash the genitalia of prostitutes: Plaut. *Poen.* 1.2; Frontin. *Aq.* 76, *inriguos, agros, tabernas, cenacula etiam, corruptelas denique omnes perpetuis salientibus instructas invenimus*. (“We find well-watered fields, *tabernas*, even second stories, and also all the brothels equipped with constant running water.”) Paul Deac. (Festus) 20 Lindsay; 22 Muller: *aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudocarum sordidi asseculae, baccariones, meretricibus aquam infudens*. (“They used the term ‘aquarioli’ [little water boys] for the squalid attendants of unchaste women, and ‘baccariones’ for one who poured water on prostitutes.”) Beloch (1912, 427–433) cites evidence to show that ancient notions of public contagion were clearly evident, however little ancient doctors understood the true character of sexually transmitted disease. Medical and other writers record an array of techniques for personal and public hygiene designed to minimize risks: Gell. *NA* 4.2; *Dig.* 21.1.6–7; 21.1.12, 14, 15. Beloch 1912, 432.

⁸⁶ Kleberg 1957, 87; Herter 1960, 84. McGinn 2004, 206 argues that the brothels at Pompeii were relatively small.

⁸⁷ According to Beloch (1912, 325–330), the best brothels

were indistinguishable from other houses, apart from the presence of a lantern above the door. Usually they had multiple entrances and exits, bolted doors, and elderly door persons. Cf. McGinn 2004, 234.

⁸⁸ For prostitutes lingering around the bankers’ stalls, see Plaut. *Curc.* 495. Mart. 2.48 draws a connection among tavern keepers, butchers, barbers, and prostitutes. For butchers: Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.18; Kleberg 1957, 80. For *alicariae* (bakers’ girls), see Paul. Deac. (Festus 7 L.): *alicariae meretricis appellabantur in Campania solitae ante pistrina alicariorum versari quaestus gratia, sicut hae, quae ante stabula sedebant, dicebantur prostibulae*; Plaut. *Poen.* 266 (*pistorum amicae*); cf. *CIL* 4.4001: in Pompeii a relief above the door of a bakery exhibits a large phallus and the inscription (noted in n. 20 above) *hic habitat felicitas*; cf. Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.18; Artem. *Oneirocrit.* 78; Beloch 1912, 277–278; McGinn 2004, 28. For prostitution promoted by barbers and unguent merchants: *Poen.* 266f.; Mart. 2.17; *Sen. Dial.* 7.7.3; *Hor. Sat.* 2.3.228; *Cic. Off.* 1.150; *Arn.* 5.176; Beloch 1912, 171. For prostitutes at baths, see Mart. 3.93.15; *Dig.* 3.2.4.2; *SHA* Lamprid. *Hellogab.* 26; *Anth. Pal.* 9.62; *Amm. Marc.* 28.4; Herter 1960, 91, n. 403; Beloch 1912, 172f., 278; McGinn 2004, 23. For the range of female occupations at Rome, see Treggiari 1976; 1979; Le Gall 1969; Kampen 1981.

⁸⁹ Kleberg 1957, 80; Wallace Hadrill 1995, 53f.; McGinn 2004, 202f., 291f. For the widespread modification of residential quarters at Delos, see Trümper 1998.

establishments specifically designed (and publicly monitored) as brothels, to bars and taverns, to residential structures modified to some degree for commercial traffic (perhaps like the *Maison du Lac*), to ordinary workplaces, outbuildings, and attached cubicles where the cheapest sexual services were provided. As with the meaning of the term *taberna* itself, the result was to blur distinctions between underclass workplaces and underclass leisure establishments.

The same is likely to have been true in Roman maritime communities. As with the Delian landscape, the transient nature of the predominantly male populations that congregated in maritime communities made tavern establishments extremely commonplace in these locales.⁹⁰ Beloch's pioneering work demonstrates their existence in numerous maritime cities throughout antiquity, from Naukratis and Corinth in the Archaic period, to the Piraeus and Byzantium in the Classical period, to Alexandria and Syracuse in the Hellenistic era to Puteoli, Pompeii, and Ostia in Roman times.⁹¹ In the surreal depiction of Petronius (6–8, 79, 98), the Italian port of Puteoli confronted visitors with a maze of grimy porticoed streets, strewn with potsherds and leading confusingly but inevitably to taverns, inns, and brothels. The location of establishments such as the *Maison du Lac* and *Maison Gamma* in the vicinity of palaestrae and “men's houses” seems to conform, therefore, to descriptions of Mediterranean harbors generally, based on the available literary testimony. On this point we would appear to stand on solid ground.

UNDERCLASS LEISURE CULTURE

Having identified at least minimally the literary testimony for the physical setting of the maritime leisure culture, we may now consider its constituent social elements. Discussion in this section by necessity must proceed from the general to the specific. A few examples over time serve to demonstrate the perceptions of ancient writers regarding the social complexion of this culture. According to Plutarch, when the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse was expelled from that city in 344 B.C., he fled to Corinth, where he took up residence as a schoolmaster. Plutarch reports that in his final years Dionysius could be seen languishing at the food markets of Corinth, sitting in a perfumer's shop, drinking diluted wine in the taverns, bandying jokes in public with prostitutes, correcting music girls in their singing or earnestly arguing with them about songs of the theaters or the melodies of hymns.⁹² Corinth was, of course, a unique city; not only did it benefit from a rich agricultural hinterland, but its *diolkos* and its two harbors (Kenchriai and Lechaion) enabled it to straddle one of the most important sea lanes of the Mediterranean. It was at the same time a major metropolis and a strategic maritime center. During the Archaic period Corinth was celebrated in aristocratic male literature for its reported 1,000 prostitutes, who performed their services for the Temple of Aphrodite Pandemos.⁹³ Reportedly, Corinth was a favorite port of call for merchants, sailors, and slaves, who frequented the temple whenever their ships were in port. At least one famous courtesan, Neaira, a contemporary of Dionysius II, migrated from Corinth to Athens.⁹⁴ Plutarch, and ultimately Plutarch's source, clearly expected his readers to believe that a leisure culture based on prostitution persisted at Corinth in the fourth century B.C. The city's close proximity to the sea and its bustling population of underclass artisans and laborers appear to have enabled it to sustain such a culture

⁹⁰ For brothels in harbors generally: Poll. 9.31; Schol. Aris-
toph. *Pax* 165; Rufin. *Anth. Pal.* 5.43; Petron. 6–8, 79, 98;
Plaut. *Epid.* 213f.; Lucian *Dial. meret.* 11.2; cf. Beloch 1912,
242f., 316, 350; Velissaropoulos 1977; Herter 1960, 85.

⁹¹ Beloch 1912, 242f.

⁹² Plut. *Tim.* 14.3–4 (drinking in a *kapeleion*); cf. Diod. Sic.
16.70; Cic. *Tusc.* 3.27; Justin 21.5.

⁹³ Strabo 8.6.20 (378); Athen. 13.573c, 573e; Beloch 1912,
85–86.

⁹⁴ Ath. 13.593f.; Dem. 59 passim; Hamel 2002.

for centuries. Although the purpose of Plutarch's anecdote was to demonstrate that Dionysius squandered his final years in degeneracy (or pretended to in order to evade assassination), it raises important questions about the leveling effect of the maritime leisure culture.

Plutarch's description compares well with more fictional testimony furnished by Plautus at the turn of the third and second centuries B.C.⁹⁵ According to the latter writer, the cash-driven business of a brothel at Calydon, noted above, integrated knights and hoplites (*equitem, peditem*) into an underclass world of pimps, prostitutes, criminals, convicts, debtors, and runaway slaves (*Poen.* 829f.).

How men are corrupted there! God help us! You can see men of all kinds, just as if you went to Hades: knights, soldiers, freedmen, thieves and runaway slaves, thrashed, bound or indentured—whoever's got the goods, whatever sort he is—they take all kinds.⁹⁶

Plautus repeats this assertion in the *Pseudolus* (170–227), where Ballio the pimp instructs his prostitutes to elicit exorbitant gifts from butchers (*lanii*), grain traders (*frumentarii*), oil dealers, and the town's *summata viri*, that is, men of the highest class. Like Plutarch, therefore, Plautus believed in the ability of tavern culture to entice more respectable elements of society into its unsavory mix.

The accusation that aristocrats tended to consort with underclass elements in leisure establishments finds resonance three centuries later in the satire of Juvenal. Addressing himself to the emperor Nero, Juvenal rails against the inclination of Nero's consul, Lateranus, to waste his days amid sailors, criminals, and runaway slaves in the maritime taverns at Ostia (8.171–178):⁹⁷

Send your legate to Ostia, Caesar, but look for him in a large tavern (*popina*). You'll find him lying next to some thug, mixed up with sailors, thieves and runaways, amongst murderers, coffin makers and the quiet drums of a eunuch priest flat on his back. Here is complete freedom and equality—all drink from the same cups, sleep in the same beds, sit at the same tables.

Similarly, in poem 37 the late Republican poet Catullus asserts that the lascivious tavern (*salax taberna*) where he "left" his mistress Lesbia was typically frequented by well-groomed gentlemen (*boni beatique*), punks, and back-alley lechers (*pusilli et semitarii moechi*).⁹⁸ In the *Metamorphosis* (8.1) Apuleius (mid-second century A.D.) portrays a wealthy young aristocrat named Thrasylus as "born of good parentage, valiant in prowess, and rich in substance, but very much given to the enticements of tavern culture (*luxuriae popinalis*), prostitutes, and daily drinking parties." Thrasylus inevitably fell into association with gangs of thieves (*factiones latronum*) and "so acquired a bad reputation." The salient feature to all these reports is the apparent social leveling that occurred between high-born aristocrats and underclass sailors, runaway slaves, prostitutes, and criminals in tavern environments. The credibility of two of these sources, Plutarch and Juvenal, may be tainted by their attempt to disparage known autocrats (Dionysius and Nero) with moral turpitude. However, this caveat fails to account for the detailed descriptions of aristocratic behavior furnished by

⁹⁵ Plaut. *Men.* 255f.; *Trin.* 1019f.; *Pseud.* 193f.

⁹⁶ *Quae illic hominum corruptelae fiunt! Di vostram fidem. Quodvis genus ibi hominum videas, quasi Acheruntem veneris, equitem peditem, libertinum, furem an fugitivum velis, verberatum, vinctum, addictum: qui habet quod det, utut homo est, omnia genera recipiuntur.*

⁹⁷ Indirectly, Juvenal is castigating Nero himself in this poem, since the emperor stands accused of conducting his

own orgies in Ostia: Suet. *Ner.* 27; Tac. *Ann.* 13.25; Beloch 1912, 164.

⁹⁸ The establishment is the scene of exaggerated acts of sexuality, most notably the long line waiting to get at Catullus's Lesbia, here equated with a common whore. It may also be significant that the poet apparently threatens to scribble penises (accepting the usual meaning for the rare word *sopionibus*) all over the entrance to the shop.

Plautus, Catullus, and Apuleius over a span of five centuries. The degree to which these descriptions conform to one another suggests that a pattern of social-class leveling, however much deplored by aristocratic writers, was somehow viewed as “typical” of leisure establishments, particularly maritime leisure establishments.

Our purpose for the moment is not so much to examine the reasons for aristocratic involvement in prostitute-based leisure culture as it is to analyze the social fabric of the leisure culture itself, particularly as it pertains to maritime society. Obviously, these passages identify a useful list of social strata that appear to have congregated in establishments such as the *Maison du Lac* on ancient Delos. The list can be further distilled according to those elements that tended to reside locally in maritime taverns—prostitutes, tavern keepers, pimps, and laborers—and transients passing through. In maritime taverns and brothels the most likely visitors were those who traveled long distances by sea. Accordingly, it is best to begin our analysis of these social strata with merchants, sailors, pirates, and other transient, destitute fugitives.

MERCHANTS

Our chief sources for ancient prostitution, Menander, Plautus, Terence, Alciphron, Lucian (*Dialogues of the Courtesans*), and Athenaeus (book 13), assert, while attempting to convey verisimilitude to readers undoubtedly familiar with the subject, that harbor-town prostitutes regularly dispatched slaves to the docks, when they did not venture forth themselves, to inquire into the arrival of well-laden cargo ships and equally rich merchants to be wooed as prospective customers.⁹⁹ The sources allude repeatedly, if offhandedly, to the association of Graeco-Roman prostitutes with rich, middle-aged merchants, more so perhaps than with any other professional type except soldiers. Evidence at Delos and elsewhere indicates that the majority of businessmen who traveled with their cargoes at sea tended to hail from eastern Mediterranean origins, as did tavern women themselves.¹⁰⁰ Traveling merchants tended to be laden with cash and prepared to remain abroad for long periods of time. These professionals stand as the most obvious clients of maritime leisure establishments and seemingly exploited inns and brothels as forms of hotels. Their presence in maritime inns and brothels requires little explanation.

SAILORS

Sailors were likewise common visitors of maritime inns and brothels.¹⁰¹ Less is known about the experiences of common seamen during antiquity than those of merchants.¹⁰² Sailors emerged from a stratum of society that generally leaves little record of itself, forcing us to compensate for this meagerness through ethnographic means. What little evidence survives indicates that ancient sailors were the castoffs of Mediterranean society, freeborn as often as they were slave. Speaking generally, ancient sailors arose from the displacement of rural subsistence laborers by a number of forces, such as the relentless violence and warfare of the late Hellenistic era. While more fortunate

⁹⁹ Plaut. *Men.* 255f., 338–345; *Poen.* 649–683; *Epid.* 213f.; *Merc.* passim; Alciphron. 11.5; Ath. 13.558c, 580f, 581a, 582b, 584c; Simon. *Epigr.* 157; *Anth. Pal.* 5.159; Metag. fr. 4; Anaxil. fr. 22.19; Strabo 8.6.20 (378); 12.3.36; Hor. *Carm.* 2.5.20; 3.7.5; Lucian *Dial. meret.* 2, 4, 7, 9, 12, 14; Ach. Tat. 8.16.1–2; Beloch 1912, 349–350; Herter 1960, 84–88.

¹⁰¹ Plaut. *Poen.* 831–835; Hor. *Epod.* 17.20; Prop. 4.5.49–52; Sen. *Controv.* 1.2.8–10; Col. 1.8.2; Plut. *De tuenda sanitate praecepta* 16 (*Mor.* 130 E); Petron. 99; Ach. Tat. 8.16; Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.3f.; Ulp. *Dig.* 4.9.1.1; Alciphron. 1.6; Philostr. *Epist.* 438. For Classical Athenian parallels, see Keuls 1993, 165.

¹⁰² Rauh 2003, 146f.

¹⁰⁰ Most “Italian” merchants at Delos were, in fact, freedmen and slaves: Rauh 1993, 33, 232f.

workers found employment as agricultural day laborers, artisans, and dockyard stevedores, the truly destitute, used-up, and socially discarded elements were pushed out onto the sea.

Ancient sources insist, however minimally, that young boys, slaves, and convicted criminals found work as sailors in lieu of more desirable opportunities on land.¹⁰³ As the trade routes of the Hellenistic East and Roman West expanded and merged during this era, the Mediterranean maritime population absorbed an increasing array of antisocial laboring elements, compelled to sell their minds and muscles for money. The fourth-century A.D. bishop Synesius (*Epist.* 4) complained that the crew of his passenger ship consisted of Jews, “a graceless race and fully convinced of the piety of sending to Hades as many Greeks as possible,” and “farm boys who up to last year had never gripped an oar.” Alongside these labored branded and whip-scarred criminals incapable of finding honest work elsewhere and therefore, like the others, ejected onto the sea. As noted above, sources such as Plautus allude repeatedly to the habitation of maritime bars and taverns by elements such as sailors, runaway slaves, and criminals. The last mentioned include a broad array of gamblers, muggers, gangs of hoodlums, and murderers.¹⁰⁴ Sailors and criminals were regularly associated with *tabernarii* and *caupones* and commonly listed among the followings of Greek and Roman courtesans.¹⁰⁵ Given their low origins and equally low social status, these elements helped to lend maritime inns and brothels their unsavory character. Since such underclass groups were the ones most likely to be homeless, their reliance on inns and brothels as temporary lodgings becomes entirely logical. Like merchants, the presence of sailors in maritime leisure establishments requires little explanation.

In addition to seeking shelter in inns and brothels, “criminal types” such as muggers and runaway slaves reportedly exploited taverns as places of hiding and illicit opportunity, blending in with milling crowds of underclass laborers and travelers while profiting from their proximity. Mention of fugitive slaves seems particularly commonplace in maritime establishments.¹⁰⁶ The abundance of runaways in maritime centers most probably reflects the severity of labor conditions at sea and the natural tendency of sailors of slave origin to flee these conditions by jumping ship or by converting to piracy or urban crime in maritime communities. Once a runaway slave escaped into the subterranean world of maritime taverns, it was nearly impossible for his owner to find him, particularly in ports such as Alexandria or Puteoli, where slaves could count on the support of maritime sympathizers.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ Our information about slave labor at sea is extremely limited; see Caes. *B Civ.* 3.14; Dem. 33.8–10; 34.10; *Dig.* 4.9.7.praef.; 9.4.19.2; 14.1.1.16, 21, 22; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 72.1; cf. App. *B Civ.* 2.103; Dio 49.1.5; Suet. *Aug.* 16; Casson 1971, 322–328; Marasco 1987, 129–130, 137.

¹⁰⁴ For tavern-keep collusion with thieves and muggers: Plaut. *Trin.* 1019f.; *Poen.* 831f.; *Men.* 255f.; Juv. 8.171–178; Tib. 1.2.25f.; Juv. 3.278f.; Prop. 4.8.1–2, 19–20; *Dig.* 1.15; Herter 1960, 84; Kleberg 1957, 82f. For collusion with gangs of thieves: Apul. *Met.* 8.1; Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.43; App. *B Civ.* 4.30; Xen. Eph. 1.13. Cf. Cod. 5.3.27.1; 5.5.7; SHA Lamprid. *Heliogab.* 30.1; Sall. *Hist.* 1.63 M.; Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 33.6; Cic. *Mil.* 65; Mart. 3.59; SHA Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 49.6; Firm. *Math.* 4.11.2; Kleberg 1957, 80f. For collusion with gamblers, Cod. *Theod.* 15.13; Mart. 5.84.3; Juv. 9.108; Auson. 398, 45; for fights in bars, Prop. 4.8.19; for lower-class elements in bars generally, Plaut. *Trin.* 1019f.; Prop. 4.8.62; Petron. 140; Plin. *HN* 9.154; Sen. *Dial.* 1.5.4; Capit. *Ver.* 4.6; Cic. *Pis.* 8.18; *Phil.*

13.24; Amm. Marc. 14.1.9; Kleberg 1957, 92–93. Cf. reports of Nero’s nightly sprees and street battles in the back streets of Rome: Tac. *Ann.* 13.25; Suet. *Ner.* 26; Dio 61.8.

¹⁰⁵ See the passages quoted in the text above. Sexual partnerships between prostitutes and convicts and/or runaways crop up repeatedly in Athenaeus: 13.580a, 58e, 585a–c, 585f.

¹⁰⁶ Ath. 13.566f.; for runaway slaves: Plaut. *Trin.* 1022–1027; *Poen.* 831–835; Caes. *B Civ.* 3.110; Petron. 97; Juv. 8.173–176; cf. Bellen 1971; Rivière 2002. For slaves frequenting brothels generally: Plaut. *Poen.* 270 (referring to a prostitute as *servolorum sordidulorum scorta diobolaria*); Cic. *Mil.* 65; Asc. 37 C.; *Dig.* 23.5.43.1; Hor. *Epist.* 1.14.21–26; Ath. 13.566f.

¹⁰⁷ According to Caesar (*B Civ.* 3.110), the tendency at Alexandria was to recruit such runaways into the army (*B Civ.* 3.110), “There was a sure refuge for all our runaway slaves at Alexandria, and their lives were safe on the condition that

Although Roman legal sources insist that the threat of criminal violence in leisure establishments was genuine, the unreliable character of the source tradition makes it virtually impossible to evaluate the gravity of the situation.¹⁰⁸ Public perceptions conceivably exaggerated the extent of the danger. Even if one allows for an ample degree of distortion, the consistency with which the sources combine gamblers, criminals, and fugitive slaves with tavern professionals forms a pattern in Roman leisure establishments. Literary and legal sources betray a further anxiety that tavern keepers colluded with criminal elements such as bandits, gangs, and pirates to obtain kidnapped laborers, particularly prostitutes.¹⁰⁹ Violent and surreptitious though this commerce no doubt was, trade and economic interdependency among the denizens of taverns and brothels affirm the importance of these places as communications centers for various sorts of renegades.

PIRATES AND RENEGADES

Pirates likewise present themselves as visitors of maritime taverns and brothels, at least in Roman popular consciousness.¹¹⁰ Assuming the source tradition to be reliable, pirates, such as the so-called Cilician pirates (139–67 B.C.) who reportedly frequented Delos, were able to penetrate legal “boundaries” of Mediterranean maritime communities to mix with ordinary sailors. Fear of pirate infiltration appears to have been fairly common in Mediterranean harbors. According to Strabo (14.1.32), even in areas where local authorities were aggressive, pirates posed as ordinary seamen:

They say that the whole area around Mt. Corycus was a haven for the so-called Corycean pirates, who found a new way of plotting against ships at sea. They would scatter among the harbors and approach the merchants docked there, to overhear what they were carrying and where they were sailing. Then they would assemble and attack the merchants when they put to sea and plunder them.

As recent studies have indicated, piracy arose from complex origins that varied in time and place. In one respect, piracy existed as a local form of maritime criminal behavior.¹¹¹ Harsh treatment, scant livelihoods, and rebellious attitudes in maritime centers throughout the Mediterranean invariably pushed some portion of the sailing population across the line into overt acts of crime. Once a seaman’s instincts toward desertion or mutiny gave way to piracy, such behavior ceased to be a redressive or defensive posture and assumed a far more aggressive stance. Beyond its status as a local form of maritime crime, Mediterranean piracy sometimes assumed a larger pattern of warfare and naval hegemony, particularly when conducted by less advantaged populations that inhabited barren coastlands along crucial sea lanes. With its mountains, its jagged shores and inlets, its numerous islands, and its inordinate dependence on maritime commerce, the Mediterranean basin fostered several regional populations—the Ligurians, the Illyrians, the Aetolians, the Black Sea Thracians, the Cretans, and the Cilicians—that were notorious for their tendencies

they enrolled in the army; if any one of them was caught by his master, he was taken back by the agreement of the soldiers, who defended violence against their number as though it were a danger to themselves, since they were guilty in a similar way.” Cf. Aug. *Res Gest.* 25; Vell. Pat. 2.73.3; Rivière 2002, 172; Rauh 2003, 75f.

1960, 107; McGinn 2004, 90.

¹⁰⁹ Note Apuleius, cited above. For pirates, Char. *Chær. and Call.* 1.7–8; Xen. *Eph.* 1.13; Strabo 14.1.32 (644); Plut. *Pomp.* 24.3–4.

¹¹⁰ See sources listed in previous note.

¹⁰⁸ For prosecuting theft in brothels: *Dig.* 47.2.39; Paulus *Sent.* 2.31.12; Cod. 5.3.27.1; 5.5.7; Kleberg 1957, 84; Herter

¹¹¹ Ormerod 1987; De Souza 1999; Rauh 2003.

toward piracy.¹¹² Ruling elements of these regions tended to employ piracy as a means to intimidate distant, more prosperous commercial powers, causing the function of piracy in these instances to assume larger, geopolitical significance. Finally, during the period in question the Cilician pirates combined locally and regionally situated outlaw behavior with Mediterranean-wide maritime discontent to form a more serious, complex menace. Exploiting the sailor's advantages of maritime expertise, experience, and mobility, the Cilician pirates mounted a full-fledged maritime rebellion, thus posing a genuine threat to cities, empires, and the international mercantile order.¹¹³

Regardless of these roots, the underclass status of pirates meant that they too gravitated toward maritime inns and brothels, however surreptitiously, as landward places of refuge. In Chariton's *Chaereas and Callirhoe* (1.7–8), for example, a pirate chief named Theron, residing in Syracuse, composed his pirate crews from “thugs handily stationed with boats in harbors posing as ferrymen.” Determined to rob the tomb of the aristocratic maiden Callirhoe, Theron hurried one morning to the harbor to assemble his band: “Some of them he found in brothels (*en porneois*) others in taverns (*en kapeleiois*)—an army fit for such a commander. Saying he had something important to discuss with them he took them ‘behind the harbor’ to explain his plan.” As Chariton indicates, it is easy to see how innkeepers and brothel keepers in harbors infested with maritime criminals such as these could come to rely on pirates as sources for kidnapped women.

THE MARITIME MOB

As noted above, maritime travelers of higher orders also passed through maritime inns and brothels, probably less frequently than merchants, sailors, fugitive slaves, or pirates. We shall consider the possible fusion of these social elements below. For the moment the idea that maritime taverns were populated at any given time by a mobile crowd of merchants, sailors, fugitives, and renegades seems viable. Although their transience seemingly kept these social elements in the background of the leisure culture, recent studies of early modern maritime culture raise useful parallels for their importance to the formation of underclass social consciousness. According to Marcus Rediker, trans-Atlantic sailors served as vital catalysts to labor unrest by carrying ashore a source of oppositional culture.¹¹⁴ Because of their work experience, their sense of collectivism, their experience with coordinated work effort, and their ability to withstand the dangers of the sea, harsh physical conditions, and physical abuse, seamen brought to port a militant attitude toward arbitrary and excessive authority. They tended to empathize with the grievances of others, to cooperate for the sake of self-defense, and to use purposeful violence and direct action to accomplish collectively defined goals. As a result, seamen contributed to the processes of cultural standardization and communication among laboring elements generally.¹¹⁵

Since Rediker's model for early modern maritime society is better informed by source material, it offers a useful model for the behavior of sailors during antiquity. A possible analogy to this model emerged at the Ptolemaic port of Alexandria. According to Caesar, the Alexandrian population he confronted in 48 B.C. consisted of a diverse array of renegades and runaway slaves—men, according to Caesar (*B Civ.* 3.110), “assembled from the remains of the pirates and brigands of Syria, Cilicia, and the neighboring regions, as well as a multitude of condemned criminals and exiles.” The ready

¹¹² In most cases piratical endeavors were supplemented by shipbuilding capacities made available by abundant forestry resources in their home regions. See, most recently, De Souza 1999, 70f.; Rauh 2003, 189f.

¹¹³ Rauh 1997; 2003, 169f.

¹¹⁴ Rediker 1987, 250.

¹¹⁵ Rediker 1987, 294.

mobility of ancient sailors and their tendency toward desertion appear to have converted Alexandria into a maritime refuge, particularly for fugitive slaves. Caesar's complaint in this regard has already been noted above.¹¹⁶ The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, who served with Caesar in Alexandria and was an eyewitness to the events of that year, describes the Alexandrians similarly as "a clever and quick witted people," whose inhabitants were natural "seafarers trained from childhood by daily practice" (*B Alex.* 12, cf. 16). Like Caesar he viewed the maritime laboring element as the dominant one in this community. In other respects, he dismisses the Alexandrians as "deceitful, always keeping one aim in view and pretending to another" (*B Alex.* 24). "If I had to defend the Alexandrians against the charges of deception and opportunism, I could speak for a long time to no purpose; for no sooner does one encounter this population than one recognizes its character. No one can doubt that this is a people abundantly skilled at treachery" (*B Alex.* 7).

Given the evidence, albeit meager, for youths, slaves, and criminals finding work in maritime environments, these descriptions seem to indict the Alexandrian population as an ancient maritime mob, that is, an *ochlos nautikos*. Many of the behavioral traits described by Rediker for sailors—the militant attitude toward arbitrary and excessive authority, the empathy with grievances of others, the ability to cooperate for the sake of self-defense, and the tendency to use purposeful violence and direct action to accomplish collectively defined goals—are clearly visible in the descriptions of the resistance mounted by the inhabitants against Caesar. The writer of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* notes, for example, that Alexandrian leaders harangued their followers "in their councils and assemblies" with daily anti-Roman rhetoric (*B Alex.* 3). According to Caesar (*B Civ.* 3.106), elements within this mob "republic" demonstrated the capacity to articulate their sentiments in a spontaneous manner and to formulate collective behavior, with the actions of one urban element finding resonance in distant neighborhoods of the city:

As soon as [Caesar] disembarked from the ship, he heard the shouts of the soldiers whom the king had left as a garrison in the town and saw that a group was forming around him because the fasces were carried in front. Then the whole crowd declared that the royal authority was deteriorating. After this disturbance was settled, frequent protests continued to occur on successive days as the mobs gathered and very many [Roman] soldiers were killed throughout the whole city.

Although the third-century A.D. historian and Roman senator Dio Cassius does not specifically single out underclass maritime laborers as the instigators of Alexandrian riots, he corroborates the propensity of this population to engage in public protest, to provoke riots, and to display an inordinate zeal for blood (Dio 39.58.1–2, 55 B.C.):

For the Alexandrians are the most ready to act brazenly in all situations and the most rash to blurt out whatever occurs to them. . . . Even in civil disturbances, which are very frequent and very sizeable among them, they always proceed to murder and consider life as nothing compared to the animosity of the moment, and pursue destruction in these riots as if it were the best and most essential thing of all.

Alexandria, to be sure, hosted a large and diverse population, part Greek, part Macedonian, part Egyptian, and part Jewish. However, if the descriptions of Caesar and his supporter are correct, the community fostered a significant maritime population, as is only to be expected of the greatest

¹¹⁶Caes. *B Civ.* 3.110; cf. Aug. *Res Gest.* 25; Vell. Pat. 2.73.3; Rauh 2003, 88f.

port of the Mediterranean world. The Alexandrian example is, of course, the one most visible. To a lesser degree evidence of mob disturbances is available at other maritime centers of this era, including Puteoli, the Piraeus, and Delos.¹¹⁷ The likelihood that sailors, runaways, and renegades loomed at the center of these uprisings remains uncertain, but their tendency to gather with other elements in maritime brothels and taverns certainly points to these locations as potential flashpoints of underclass dissent. Precisely how these elements combined with others to generate so volatile a cocktail remains to be examined. Apart from Alexandria the evidence for social formations at maritime centers lacks sufficient detail with which to reconstruct the mechanics of mob organization. For greater clarity one must rely on material furnished by the evidence at the capital city of Rome. Our description of maritime unrest in Alexandria furnishes, nonetheless, a useful signpost for this discussion. For the moment we must ponder the idea that underclass elements loitering in maritime leisure establishments helped to instigate social unrest.

PROSTITUTES

As we turn to more permanent residents of inns and brothels, an assessment of the women residing at these establishments becomes particularly essential since, together with drinking and gambling, they appear to have constituted a main attraction. According to the literary testimony, eastern Mediterranean slave women tended to staff bars and brothels along the coast of Italy and to share important cultural affinities (origins, language, and religion) with similarly eastern merchants, sailors, and pirates. The names *Syra* and *Suriska* for female tavern keepers and waitresses commonly occur in Latin comedy and appear as well in Italian tavern inscriptions.¹¹⁸ This would indicate that maritime tavern women commonly immigrated to Italian tavern centers, probably by force of enslavement, and that they were kept confined and isolated in specific work localities. Ulpian reports that innkeepers typically registered their female employees as *instrumentum cauponium*.¹¹⁹ Unlike their clients, therefore, these women enjoyed little if any mobility.

To generalize otherwise about the condition of female prostitutes in the Roman era remains hazardous. One can at least distinguish a higher set of professionals—courtesans (*meretrices*), freeborn mistresses (*amicae*), and entertainers such as mimes and actresses, who because of their beauty, status, and/or creative talents enjoyed greater autonomy in Roman society—from a lower set that worked the urban streets and brothels.¹²⁰ However, the richness of the Roman vocabulary

¹¹⁷ In 58 B.C. King Ptolemy Auletes, having fled Alexandria for Rome, dispatched droves of hired assassins to disrupt the mission of Alexandrian emissaries sent by the populace to oppose his restoration. From the moment they arrived at Puteoli, they were met by rioting and fatalities. Most of the initial party died at Puteoli, and those who managed to survive continued to be hunted down in Rome. The embassy's leading dignitary, the celebrated philosopher Dion of Alexandria, was actually poisoned at the house of his Roman host: Cass. Dio 39.13–14; Strabo 17.1.11 (796); Cic. *Cael.* 23; Höbl 2001, 228. Cf. the disturbances provoked at Puteoli slightly earlier by the proquaestor A. Vatinius: Cic. *Vat.* 12. For the resistance of the Piraeus vs. Sulla: Habicht 1997, 304f.; Rauh 2003, 44f. For the slave rebellion at Delos: Diod. Sic. 34.2.19; Habicht 1997, 262. The general assumption is that the Delian rebellion involved prisoners being sold on the island; this need not have been the case. For the presence of artisan laborers at Delos: Rauh 1993, 58f.

¹¹⁸ In the late second century B.C., the poet Lucilius (128 M) describes an inn he visited in Lucania as being managed by a Syrian female; cf. IG 14.24, *Dekomiia Suriska pandokia chrēsta chaire*. A Syrian female tavern keeper is the subject of the poem by an unknown author, the *Copa*: (1) *Copa Syrisca caput graeca redimita mitella, crispum sub crotalo docta movere latus, ebria fumosa saltat lasciva taberna, ad cubitum raucos excutiens calamos*. Cf. Juv. 3.62–65; 8.158–162, 171–178; Prop. 2.23.21f.; Philostr. *Ep.* 47; Plaut. *Merc.* 670; *Truc.* 530f.; Suet. *Ner.* 27.2; Plut. *Crass.* 32.3; Herod. 2.18; Kleberg 1957, 70–77, 89; Herter 1960, 71.

¹¹⁹ Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43.9; cf. Pompon. *Dig.* 33.7.15.pr.; Paul. *Dig.* 33.7.13.praef.

¹²⁰ Beloch 1912, 275. The source literature draws the further distinction between the nighttime activity of the higher set and the degrading tendency of the lower set to ply the streets in

of prostitution testifies to a wide array of origins, venues, and working conditions for participating women. The vulgarity of the terminology also demonstrates the low regard they endured among elements of Roman male society.¹²¹

In the midst of a commercialized recreational industry, the life of a Roman prostitute was inevitably harsh and brief. Disturbingly, there is considerable evidence for the practice of child prostitution.¹²² Women employed in the cubicles of the more common brothels were generally worked like machines, though the most attractive ones possibly enjoyed greater autonomy. Dominated as they generally were by male proprietors and by their need to reap early profit from fleeting physical attractions, even the most attractive, personable, and sophisticated courtesans tended to acquire mercenary reputations.¹²³ Successful hard-nosed prostitutes sometimes rose to become managers and even proprietors of their own establishments, as indicated by the surviving names of establishments such as Ad Sorores IIII at Rome.¹²⁴ Dozens of recorded innkeepers were female,¹²⁵ and Roman legal sources fasten on female proprietorship of *tabernae*, *cauponae*, and *lupanaria* as prima facie evidence of their involvement in prostitution.¹²⁶

Older, “used-up” prostitutes took on secondary roles as gatekeepers, messengers, caretakers, and sources of cosmetics and potions.¹²⁷ These were the notorious *sagae* of Hellenistic-Roman New Comedy.¹²⁸ In Rome *sagae* acquired dangerous reputations for their abilities as conjurers and

open daylight hours: Beloch 1912, 11; Non. Marc. *Comp. Doct.* 2.4–5: *inter meretricem et prostibulum hoc interest, meretrix honestioris loci est et quaestus; nam meretrices a manendo dictae sunt, quod copiam sui tantum modo noctu facerent; prostibula, quod ante stabulum starent quaestus diurni et conturni causa.* Likewise, Plaut. *Cist.* 330; Plaut. *Aul.* 285. Roman legal sources draw an additional distinction between the “legitimate” activity of prostitutes active in state-regulated brothels and the surreptitious prostitution that occurred in the taverns: Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43.1–3; 23.2.43.9; McGinn 1998, 343f.

¹²¹ See Beloch 1912, 277–278.

¹²² See Catul. 106; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 1.18.45f.; Synes. *Ep.* 3; Plaut. *Asin.* passim; *Epid.* 555f.; Tib. 1.6.5f.; *Anth. Pal.* 5.127; Plut. *Cleom.* 33.1; Petron. 25; Quint. *Inst.* 7.1.55; Sen. *Ep.* 101.15; Beloch 1912, 345–346, 373–374, 407, 437, 446, 452, 453, 458; Herter 1960, 75, 101; Keuls 1993, 157, 169, 196.

¹²³ E.g., Plaut. *Pseud.* 172–229. For their dangerous reputations: Plaut. *Asin.* 177f.; *Poen.* 212–213; Ter. *Heaut.* 443f.; Ov. *Am.* 2.7; 3.661–665; Lucian *Dial. meret.* 10; Alciph. 4.3; 4.6; 4.8; 4.9; 4.13; 11.4; Herter 1960, 83.

¹²⁴ *CIL* 6.10036; cf. *CIL* 6.9824, *Critonia Q.l. popa de insula*; Kleberg 1957, 63. In the third century B.C. Ennius entitled one of his plays the *Caupuncula* (female tavern proprietor) (Non. 155.30; Kleberg 1957, 84). In the late second century B.C., the poet Lucilius describes an inn he visited in Lucania as being managed by a Syrian female (Lucil. 127f.); cf. *IG* 14.24, cited above. For the *Copa*, see above; Kleberg 1957, 70, 117. Cf. *Dig.* 23.2.43.9; 23.2.43.praef.; 3.2.4.2; Cod. 4.56.3; Kleberg 1957, 57; Herter 1960, 84; Frier 1980, 25; Fantham et al. 1994, 336.

¹²⁵ Outside Rome, female innkeepers are recorded epigraphically at Syracuse, Tibur, and Pompeii: *IG* 14.24; *CIL* 14.3709;

4.8442; Kleberg 1957, 68, 72, 90. The female proprietor of a *popina* at Tibur was acclaimed by her clients for operating the most famous establishment throughout the land: [*fama ultra fines p*]atriae *popinaria nota [quam propter mul]ti Tibur celebrare solebant.* Moine 1975, 353 lists epigraphical references for female *cauponae*. Cf. Beloch 1912, 361, who observes that many words for pimps were female in gender, including *saga* (Lucil. fr. 7.12 M), and *conciliatrix* (Cic. *Nat. D.* 4). In Beloch’s opinion (1912, 362), Roman brothels generally had male pimps, but finer establishments sometimes had female pimps, including Nicaete in Isaeus; Dindyma in Martial; Cleaereta in Plautus’s *Asinaria* and another in the *Cistellaria*; cf. Lucian *Dial. meret.* 3, 7, 12; Petron. *Sat.* 140. Martial (11.61) mockingly mourns the decision of a madam named Leda to close her brothel.

¹²⁶ *CIC* s.v. *dominae cauponae*: Cod. 9.9.29; Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43; Cod. 4.56.2; Paulus *Sent.* 2.26.11; *ministrae cauponiae*. For the legal definition of madams: Ulp. *Dig.* 23.2.43.8–9: *lenam accipiemus et eam, quae alterius nomine hoc vitae genus exercet. Si qua cauponam exercens in ea corpora quaesturaria habeat (ut multae adsolent) sub praetextu instrumenti cauponii prostitutas mulieres habere dicendum hanc quoque lenae appellatione contineri. Dig. 23.2.43.praef: palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcuat.* Cf. 3.2.4.2; Cod. 4.56.3; Beloch 1912, 451; McGinn 1998, 198.

¹²⁷ Isae. 6.21; Liv. 39.11.2; Quint. *Decl.* 14.15; Mart. 9.29.9f.; Plut. *Mor.* 752C; Lucian *Am.* 43; *Dial. meret.* 1.2; 4.8, 3; Alciph. 4; 10.4f.; Herter 1960, 105 and n. 671; Beloch 1912, 385.

¹²⁸ For the stereotype of the drunken elderly prostitute: Cratin. fr. 273; Pherecr. fr. 70; Epicrat. fr. 2/3; Alexis fr. 223;

poisoners.¹²⁹ The poets indicate that even the most elegant *meretrices* were never far removed from these elderly figures, relying on them as personal advisors.¹³⁰ Anyone who frequented the leisure culture, therefore, came potentially within the reach of women such as these.

Resort towns such as Baiae, Gabii, and Capua were equally notorious for their inns and prostitutes.¹³¹ Away from Rome, prostitutes in underclass inns and taverns generally bore the lowest reputations. In Aesernia the price of their services was recorded in wall graffiti, alongside bread, meat, and fodder.¹³² In Pompeian wall graffiti clients inscribed numerous scurrilous epigrams about these women (CIL 4.2169–2294). Along the coastline and highways of Italy literary sources expressed repeated concerns about poisonings, thefts, muggings, and murders instigated by local rings of prostitutes, innkeepers, and mobsters. To be sure, not all maritime barmaids were sociopaths. The good nature and popularity of a few prostitutes in Pompeii and Tibur were preserved in local graffiti.¹³³ The tradition of the faithful *meretrix* Hispalla Fecena, who protected her equestrian lover, L. Aebutius, against his stepmother's murderous plot during the Bacchanalian conspiracy of 186 B.C., was celebrated by Livy.¹³⁴ Again, the controversy surrounding these women makes it difficult to separate fact from fiction, practice from prejudice. For the most part they appear to have been victims of circumstance, confined to specific establishments, subject to physical and sexual abuse,

Axonionic. fr. 1; Men. *Sam.* 175–182; Plaut. *Cist.* 149; Plaut. *Pseud.* 659; Ter. *Heaut.* 457–459; Thyill. *Anth. Pal.* 7.223; Hor. *Carm.* 3.15.16; 4.13.4f.; Philostr. *Ep.* 60; Sen. *Dial.* 7.7.3; Nicarch. *Anth. Pal.* 11.73; Ath. 13.587b; Aristaen. 1.18; *Anth. Lat.* 363; Herter 1960, n. 604.

¹²⁹ Non. Marc. s.v. *sagae*: *sagae mulieres dicuntur feminae ad libidinem virorum indagatrices*, cf. Plin. HN 28.70 (*sagae* used hegammen, semen, and menstrual blood to devise abortive medicines for women in labor); Tib. 1.2.44; Stat. *Theb.* 4.445; cf. Artem. *Oneirocrit.* 1.78; Plaut. *Truc.* 762; Am. 1043; *Cist.* 20f.; Apul. *Met.* 1.8; Aug. *Civ. Dei.* 18.18; Juv. 6.610; Procop. *Anek.* 1.11–14; Liv. 39.11.2; Quint. *Decl.* 14, 15; Mart. 9.29.9f.; Plut. *Mor.* 752c, 759e–f, 1039a; *Anth. Pal.* 6.1; 6.18–20; Moine 1975; Kleberg 1957, 85; Herter 1960, 90f., and nn. 382–388 and 671; Beloch 1912, 344–345; Richlin 1983, 109f. Ancient male fear of poisonings by prostitutes appears to have been longstanding. A phobia of this kind persisted earlier in Athens, where similar rumors survived. A fifth-century B.C. Athenian courtesan named Nais acquired the moniker Anticyra, or “hellebore,” allegedly for acquiring an alarmingly large quantity of this particular poison: Ath. 13.586f. Similarly, the elderly Lais and Phryne were highly adept at cosmetics, drugs, and potions: Ath. 13.587e–f; 13.570b–c; Beloch 1912, 348; Keuls 1993, 322. In perhaps the most extreme instance, a fourth-century B.C. battery of lawyers that included Demosthenes prosecuted and successfully sentenced to death an Athenian “sorceress” or “druggist” named Theoris of Lemnos, allegedly for having instructed slaves to poison their masters: *In Aristogeiton* 1.79f.; Harp. s.v. “Theoris”; Plut. *Dem.* 14; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 5.5–6; Ziehen 1934. According to literary tradition, L. Licinius Lucullus and the poet Lucretius both died from abuse of *pocula desiderii*: Plin. HN 25.25; Plut. *Luc.* 43; *Vir. ill.* 74.8; Lucretius: Euseb. *Chron.* 149 Helm; Herter 1960, 105; Moine 1975. Admittedly, in these instances the evidence does not reveal a link to prostitutes. The poet Horace long persisted in the belief

that he was poisoned by his aging mistress Canidia (*Epod.* 3, 5, 17; *Sat.* 1.8.19–50). Propertius insisted (3.7.24; 4.5.5–20) that a street-walking prostitute named Nomias poisoned his mistress, Cynthia, having possibly been suborned by a rival aristocrat (4.7.35f.). According to Propertius's verse Cynthia's friends Petalas and Lalage likewise died mysteriously (4.7.43f.).

¹³⁰ Ovid's Corinna had her Dipsas (*Ov. Am.* 1.8); Horace's Canidia had her Acanthis and her perfume-dealing Folia (*Epod.* 5.42). Fabulla's cronies, according to Martial (8.79), included degraded and much-abused *fellatrices*. Despite the opprobrium they encountered, it seems clear that *sagae* exploited their friendships with popular courtesans to gain access to a wider public, perhaps by dispensing cosmetics, medicine, unguents, lotions, love potions, abortive drugs, and poisons to interested parties.

¹³¹ Baiae: Beloch 1912, 177–178; Capua: Beloch 1912, 522; Gabii: Dion. Hal. 4.53; Kleberg 1957, 67.

¹³² CIL 9.2689; Kleberg 1957, 119; McGinn 2004, 41f., 199f.

¹³³ See CIL 14.3709 for the epitaph of Amemone of Tibur, [*fama ultra fines patriae popinaria nota [quam propter mul]ti Tibur celebrare solebant*]. Cf. CIL 4.4884; Kleberg 1957, 68.

¹³⁴ Liv. 39.9.5f.; 39.19. According to Livy, this professional resided comfortably on the Aventine Hill and was well known to her neighbors (*non ignotum viciniae*). At her own expense she had for some time boarded her lover. When summoned to the house of the Roman consul's mother, Hispala went respectfully to meet with this authority and divulged her knowledge of the conspiracy. When the consul later presented the details of her story to the Roman senate, its members agreed to allow Hispala to marry any freeborn man she pleased, with no loss of status on the part of the man.

and dominated by an underclass element that was controlled to a considerable degree by tavern keepers.¹³⁵ Male or female, this second professional element appears to exhibit greater clues to the formation of maritime leisure culture.

PIMPS AND INNKEEPERS

Much like tavern women, innkeepers and *tabernarii*, that is, managers and proprietors of *tabernae*, tended to exhibit eastern Mediterranean slave origins and unsavory reputations.¹³⁶ As noted earlier, Roman Imperial sources indicate that tavern keepers (*tabernarii*) commonly associated with thieves, sailors, kidnappers, and pimps, when they were not identified as pimps themselves.¹³⁷ Owing to the transient nature of their clientele, tavern keepers tended to charge exorbitant prices for their goods and services. Their inclination toward fraud was so problematic that Roman legal authorities had little choice but to restrict means of legal redress in all dealings with these professionals.¹³⁸

As noted earlier, Roman sources tended to regard inns generally as unsafe places; travelers at inns were warned to take precautions against theft or violence from anyone there encountered—innkeepers, guests, and outsiders alike.¹³⁹ Hellenistic Greek and Roman comedies and novels demonstrate a prevailing assumption that pimps and tavern keepers acquired slave women from bandits and pirates, something that readily springs to mind at the international emporium at Delos.¹⁴⁰ By the end of the second century B.C., the potential for Roman establishments such as brothels, baths, and taverns to pose significant dangers to public safety, and at the same time to offer important revenues through the taxation of prostitutes, culminated in the decision to entrust their security to the authority of the Roman aediles.¹⁴¹

The negative record for tavern keepers preserved by Roman legal and literary testimony is offset to some degree by epigraphical evidence indicating the high visibility they enjoyed as collectives.

¹³⁵ See Herter 1960, 104, n. 441 for evidence of physical abuse and murder of prostitutes. For an important discussion of why women became prostitutes, see McGinn 2004, 55–71.

¹³⁶ Cic. *Mil.* 65; Mart. 3.59; Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.29; Sall. *Hist.* 1.63; Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 33.6; SHA Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 49.6; Firm. *Math.* 4.11.2; Paulus *Sent.* 2.26.11; Ulp. *Dig.* 4.9.1.1, 5; Lucil. above; Juv. 8.160f. Constantine prohibited senators from marrying a *scaenica*, *scaenicae filia*, *tabernaria*, *tabernarii filia*, or *lenonis filia*: Cod. 5.27.1; 5.7.7.1; Cod. *Theod.* 4.6.3; 7.13.8; 9.7.1; Tert. *Fug.* 13; Kleberg 1957, 77, 82; Herter 1960, 108; Aubert 1994, 372.

¹³⁷ See references in previous note. According to the *Cod. Theod.* 15.13, *tabernarii* were associated with gamblers and criminals: *exceptis plebeis scaenicis et qui spectaculo sui praebeuit populo materiam voluptatis et tabernariis, ceteris omnibus usum sellarum et sedendi et conveniendi in publicum triubuimus facultatem*. Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.4, *differtum nautis cauponibus atque malignis*. Tert. *Fug.* 13: *nescio dolendum an erubescendum sit, cum in tatricibus beneficiariorum et curiosorum inter tabernarios et ianeos et fures balnearum et aleones et lenones Christiani quoque vectigales continentur*. For tavern keepers colluding with kidnappers: Apul. *Met.* 7.9; Socrates *Hist. eccl.* 5.18; Kleberg 1957, 67.

¹³⁸ Ulp. *Dig.* 4.8.21.11; 4.9.1.1: cf. Mart. 13.11; Varro *Sat. Men.* 329; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.10.1, 7; Kleberg 1957, 83–85, 96–97. On his epitaph the sixteen-year-old manager of a roadhouse near Philippi in Macedonia, Vitalis, son and slave of C. Lavius Faustus, asks forgiveness from all travelers that he cheated during his lifetime: *CIL* 3.14206 no. 21 = *ILS* 7479 = *AE* 1896 no. 148; Aubert 1994, 372.

¹³⁹ Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.14f.; *Div.* 1.57; Val. Max. 1.7.ext.10; Petron. *passim*; Juv. 8.171f.; Apul. *Met.* 1.8; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 18.18; Galen 6.663; 12.254; Kleberg 1957, 82–85.

¹⁴⁰ Plaut. *Pers.* 47f.; *Rud.* 39f., 56, 339, 584, 746, 894, 1105; *Men.* 29; *Curc.* 620, 642f.; *Poen.* 84, 339, 894; *Capt.* 7, 971f.; *Ter. Eun.* 107–138; Sen. *Controv.* 1.2; *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33; Char. *Chaer. and Call.* 12; Xen. *Eph.* 5; *Cod. Iust.* 5.3.27.1; 5.5.7; SHA Lamprid. *Heliogab.* 30.1; Sall. *Hist.* 1.63 M.; Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 33.6; Cic. *Mil.* 65; Mart. 3.59; SHA Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 49.6; App. *B Civ.* 4.30; Kleberg 1957, 80f.; Herter 1960, 79.

¹⁴¹ Roman aediles were responsible for monitoring the safety of prostitutes and regularly inspected public baths and shops: Gell. *NA* 4.14.2–6; Sen. *Dial.* 7.7.3; Kleberg 1957, 122. They also collected the tax: Tac. *Ann.* 2.85; *Nov. Iust.* 51; Mommsen 1899, 159; Fantham 1991, 267–291; McGinn 1989; McGinn 1998, 201–202; Gardner 1986, 132f., 250f.

Tabernarii organized themselves into guildlike organizations in Rome and elsewhere in Italy.¹⁴² As a *collegium*, the *caupones* of Pompeii publicly canvassed on behalf of one Sallustius Capito for the local post of duumvir (CIL 4.336, 1838); the *tabernarii Salinienses* at Cimella honored their patron and town magistrate, Flavius Savinus (CIL 5.7907, A.D. 181); and in A.D. 169 the *tabernarii intramurum negotiantes* at Gabii not only honored their patron A. Plutius Epaphroditus, but they joined with local dignitaries, the *decuriones* and *seviri augustales*, to inaugurate a temple to Venus.¹⁴³ As organized entities, therefore, these professional groups demonstrated an ability to exert themselves politically in ways that seemingly transcend their poor reputation in literary and legal sources.

The reason these professionals enjoyed such influence appears to lie once again with the broader sense of their work in the *tabernae*. Just as not every *taberna* was a tavern, most *tabernarii* were not so much innkeepers as they were slave or freedman managers, or *institores*, of various types of commercial property. Their duties probably included those performed by modern-day concierges, rent collectors, and building managers.¹⁴⁴ As such they worked as agents for the actual proprietors of the assets in question, and a significant quantity of evidence demonstrates that urban properties such as these were owned by landholding aristocrats. Aristocratic ownership of commercial property is particularly demonstrable at Rome,¹⁴⁵ but it would have been equally likely in Mediterranean maritime communities. This relationship offers one example, therefore, of the likely connection that existed between *tabernarii* and local landholding nobilities. Another seems to arise from the tendency of tavern culture to attract renegade aristocrats into their midst, as we shall see.

Bearing in mind the widest possible sense of the terms *tabernae* and *tabernarii* makes the influence of *tabernarii* over the underclass elements that worked and leisured in *tabernae* all the more apparent, particularly in view of the maritime unrest that has been demonstrated above in places such as Alexandria. At Rome the control of *tabernarii* over underclass social settings appears to have enabled them to mobilize populations for political purposes, particularly urban protests. References to the influence of innkeepers during the politically charged years of the late Republic

¹⁴² At the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the Roman *corpus tabernariorum* had its schola in the center of the city, near the Pantheon: CIL 6.9920; Waltzing 1895, 1:217. According to Kleberg 1957, 67, 87 the *caupones* of Rome were organized into *collegia* by the Flavian era and continued to the end of the fourth century A.D.

¹⁴³ CIL 14.2793; Kleberg 1957, 86.

¹⁴⁴ Citing Gaius 2.73, McGinn 2004, 238 observes that the owner of a ground-floor *taberna* legally owned what lay above.

¹⁴⁵ Dionysus of Halicarnassus (4.24.4) insists that brothels were a profitable investment; Varro (*Rust.* 1.23.23) recommended to any of his property-holding readers with estates alongside roads and highways to develop *tabernae*, managed by their slaves, facing these roads. Ulpian (*Dig.* 5.3.27.1) asserts that many of the most upstanding citizens (*multi honesti viri*) operated brothels, *lupanaria*, on their properties (*praedia*). Festus (39 L) informed us of one proprietor named Caedicius who operated multiple brothels near Rome. In the first century B.C. the commercial property holdings of a senator no less upstanding than M. Tullius Cicero included numerous *tabernae*. In addition to owning *insulae* near the temple of Strenia and on the Argiletum and Aventine Hills of Rome, Cicero inherited several dilapidated *tabernae* at

Puteoli and a number of additional *tabernae deversoriae* along the route of the Via Appia toward his Campanian country estate: Cic. *Att.* 14.9.1; 14.11.2; 16.8.1; 12.44.3; 14.8.1; 11.4.1; 11.5.2; *Fam.* 12.20; D'Arms 1970, 49, 53; 1981, 66; Rawson 1976, 97f.; Frier 1978–1979; Boren 1961; Sirago 1977; 1979. During Cicero's exile in 58 B.C., his wife, Terentia, was forced to consider selling her *vicus* after being submitted to various financial humiliations: Cic. *Att.* 7.3.6; 14.9.1; *Fam.* 14.1.5; 14.2.3. For the Roman *insulae*, possibly from Terentia's dowry: Cic. *Att.* 12.32.2; 15.17.1; 15.20.4; 16.1.5. Cicero's brother Quintus and his friends Atticus and Caelius Rufus likewise owned urban properties. Frier 1980, 24: "Other casual references in Cicero (*Verr.* 3.199; *Fin.* 2.83; *Off.* 2.88) suggest that urban investment was entirely normal." The property holdings of large urban magnates such as M. Licinius Crassus were undoubtedly similar: Plut. *Crass.* 2.4–5; *Cat. Min.* 19.5; cf. Ward 1977, 66–82. P. Clodius likewise possessed *insulae*: Cic. *Cael.* 17. More generally, Garnsey 1976; Rawson 1976; Frier 1980, 23f.; D'Arms 1981, 71; Schatzman 1975, 50. Equestrian land developers of the Imperial era pursued similar interests: Pliny the Elder reports that when the aediles in A.D. 22 attempted to assess fines against Roman tavern keepers (*institores popinarum*), the proprietors of these establishments evaded punishment by displaying their equestrian rings: Plin. *HN* 33.32; cf. Aubert 1994, 25–26.

are, to be sure, laced with invective and need to be considered with caution. Having said this, they do seem to conform to the emerging pattern of social stratification that existed in Roman underclass leisure establishments. According to Sallust, for example, pimps, wine dealers, butchers, and muggers (*lenones, vinarii, lanii, sicarii*) supported the uprising of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the renegade consul of 78 B.C.¹⁴⁶ Sallust also insists that by the mid-60s B.C. L. Sergius Catiline had forged a similar conspiracy from *tabernarii* and elderly indebted prostitutes.¹⁴⁷ In connection with Catiline's conspiracy, Cicero concurs with Sallust regarding the involvement of underclass elements situated in the *tabernae*. Although many of Cicero's accusations are exceedingly inflammatory, in a rare instance of understatement, he asserts (*Cat.* 4.17) that Catiline recruited his conspirators from the ranks of those generally *qui in tabernis sunt*. As we have seen, this expression appears to refer broadly to anyone "residing in," "deriving profit from," or "earning livings" in Roman shops and taverns. This indicates once again that the work spaces and leisure establishments of the Roman underclasses formed an important recruiting ground for political unrest. When Catiline's conspiracy began to unravel, Cicero states (*Cat.* 4.17) that its sole remaining at-large member, P. Cornelius Lentulus, attempted to incite mob violence by dispatching a pimp (*leno*) throughout the *tabernae*. Incendiary as this may sound, the possibility that Catiline relied on pimps to mobilize elements in Roman taverns conforms very well to the emerging stratification of underclass social formations that resided in *tabernae*.

Cicero and his literary successors accused P. Clodius and his political allies of similar manipulation of mob elements in the *tabernae*. His gangs reportedly comprised whole swaths of the Roman underclass laboring population—*opifices, operarii, egentis*, gladiators, prostitutes, slaves, thieves, beggars, and fugitives.¹⁴⁸ In the *De domo* (13), Cicero hurls a number of derogatory epithets, including *concitator tabernariorum*, that is, rabble rouser of the *tabernae*, at one of Clodius's ringleaders, a man named only as Sergius. Even if we allow for the necessary degree of exaggeration and distortion, the consistency with which the sources itemize these elements in Clodius's following indicates that he too buttressed his following with muscle recruited from elements in leisure establishments. According to Cicero and Asconius, Clodius's mastery over Roman workshops and taverns was so complete that in 58 B.C. he was able to compel huge demonstrations in the Roman Forum by summarily closing *tabernae* throughout the city. After Clodius's death in 52, his followers reportedly repeated this performance during the trial of T. Annius Milo.¹⁴⁹ If true, these mass mobilizations of

¹⁴⁶ Sall. *Hist.* 3.63 M.; cf. 1.77.7 M., for his characterization of Lepidus as a bandit commanding a small band of *calones* and *sicarii*. For Sulla's own sexual liaisons with a wealthy libertine named Nicopolis, the actor Sex. Roscius, Sorex the ballet dancer, and Metrobius the female impersonator, see Plut. *Sull.* 2, 35–36; Macrob. 3.14.11–13.

¹⁴⁷ Sall. *Cat.* 24 and 13. According to the politically charged rhetoric of Catiline's principal adversary, M. Tullius Cicero (*Cat.* 2.22), Catiline's following included "parricides, assassins, gamblers, impure and unclean rascals, and all sorts of criminals."

¹⁴⁸ For Clodius's escort of prostitutes, Cic. *Mil.* 55. Gladiators, tradesmen (*opifices, operarii*), and homeless urbanites (*egentes*) appear to have composed a significant part of his urban gangs. For his gladiators, see Cic. *Sest.* 77–78; *Att.* 1.16.4; 4.3; *Mil.* 53; *Red. sen.* 18, 81; *Dom.* 6, 48, 81; Asc. 31 C. A gladiator trainer was included among the "bribed" ju-

rors during Clodius's trial for sacrilege (Cic. *Att.* 1.16.4), and his *fundus* near the Alban Mount was reportedly equipped with a cellar large enough, *facile*, to house the 1,000 gladiators who composed his bodyguard (Cic. *Mil.* 53). For his *Graeci comites*, see Cic. *Att.* 1.14.5; 4.3; *Q Fr.* 2.1.3; *Sest.* 34, 55, 59, 77–78, 85, 134–135; *Mil.* 28, 55; *Red. sen.* 33; Asc. 7–8, 31 C.; Dio 38.13.2. For his support from *infimaeque plebis et servorum maxima multitudo*: Asc. 32 C.; cf. 8 C. For his thieves, beggars, and runaways, Cic. *Att.* 4.3.3–5. *Mil.* 36–37; *Dom.* 6, 25, 45, 58, 79, 89, 116; Asc. 8, 32 C.; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.56, 58, 77, 105; 3.35; 5.12; 6.4; 8.26; 10.22; 13.3, 24. Further literature on slave and underclass support of Roman politicians: Zeller 1962; Brunt 1966; Annequin 1972; Hahn 1975; Flambar 1977; Bradley 1978; Vonderbroek 1987; Kühnert 1991.

¹⁴⁹ Cic. *Dom.* 54: *cum edictis tuis tabernas clausas iubebas, non vim imperitae multitudinis, sed hominum honestiorum modestiam prudentiamque quaerebas?* ("When you ordered

the urban underclass point once again to the powerful influence of *tabernarii*, *lenones*, and associated *concitatores tabernariorum* within Roman underclass leisure culture. Protests of this magnitude seem to have all but required their involvement.

Given Sallust's reference to prostitutes among the followers of Catiline and Clodius, the role of these female professionals in mob organization needs also to be considered at this time. In fact, during the late Republican era a good number of references demonstrate the participation of courtesans and prostitutes in the political followings of renegades such as Catiline, Clodius, and M. Antonius.¹⁵⁰ Since the bulk of this tradition can be traced directly to the political invective of Cicero, it can reasonably be called into question. One particular example does stand apart. During the political unrest of 75 B.C., a *desultor belli civilis* and renegade senator named P. Cornelius Cethegus acquired considerable, albeit brief, influence with the Roman mob through his close association with a certain Praecia, a *meretrix* "whose wit and beauty were celebrated throughout the city."¹⁵¹ According to Plutarch (*Luc.* 6.2–4), Praecia "was nothing better than a courtesan, but from her using her encounters and conversations to advance the political causes of her friends, and adding to her other charms the appearance of being an influential friend, she acquired the greatest power." Although Plutarch offers the only mention of this woman, her influence with the Roman renegade elements was allegedly so great that the consul of 74 B.C., L. Licinius Lucullus, was forced to offer bribes to her as well as to Cethegus in order to obtain his military command against King Mithradates VI of Pontus.¹⁵² In this instance the tradition for this woman does not appear to arise from Ciceronian invective.¹⁵³ When combined with Cicero's allusion to prostitutes in Catiline and Clodius's following, Praecia's example suggests that in Rome at least courtesans and prostitutes enjoyed a central position in the leisure culture much like tavern keepers and that they conceivably

the *tabernae* closed by your edicts, were you seeking not the violence of the ignorant mob, but the temperance and discretion of more honorable men?"; 89: *Quem tu tamen populum nisi tabernis clausis frequentare non poteras, cui populo duces Lentidios, Lollios, Plaguleios, Sergios praefecerat.* ("People whom you were not able to assemble except by closing the taverns, over whom you set as leaders men like Lollius, Lentidius, Plaguleius, and Sergius."); 90: *cum denique homines in campum non tabernis, sed municipiis clausis venerunt.* ("Finally, when men came to the campus with all the towns shut down, not the taverns."); Asc. 41 C.: *Postero die, qui fuit iudicii summus a.d. VII Idus Aprilis, clausae fuerunt tota urbe tabernae; praesidia in foro et circa omnis fori aditus Pompeius deposuit.* ("On the next day, 9 April, the last of the trial, the taverns had been shut throughout the whole city; Pompey set guards in the forum and by all the entrances to the forum."); Asc. 52 C.: *Idem T. Munatius Plancus, ut saepe diximus, post audita et obsignata testium verba dimissosque interim iudices vocata contione cohortatus erat populum ut clausis tabernis postero die ad iudicium adesset nec pateretur elabi Milonem.* ("The same T. Munatius Plancus, as we have often said, after the witnesses' words had been heard and sealed, and the jurors dismissed in the meanwhile, he had exhorted the people to be present on the next day, when the taverns would be closed, and not to let Milo slip away.") Cf. Kleberg 1957, 122.

¹⁵⁰ For Antony's mistress, a notorious *meretrix* (courtesan) named Cytheris, Cic. *Att.* 9.26; 15.22; *Phil.* 2.77; Plut. *Ant.* 9; *Vir. ill.* 82.2; Serv. *Ecl.* 10.1, 22, 42. According to Cicero,

the following of M. Antonius also included the mimes Sergius and Cytheris (Plut. *Ant.* 9), a "convicted gambler" (Licinius Denticulus), a poisoner (Domitius the Apulian, uncle of T. Annius Lysidici f. Cimber), a "bathkeeper" (Insteius of Pisaurum), a former "gladiator" (Mustela), and a "wagon load of pimps": Dio 45.28.1; 45.47.4; Cic. *Phil.* 2.56f.; 11.13f.; 13.26. Cicero's invective is patent throughout: (Seius) Mustela probably belonged to a prominent Italian business family: Cic. *Phil.* 2.8, 106; 5.18; 8.26; and esp. 12.14; 13.3; *Att.* 16.11.3; Münzer 1935; Insteius of Pisaurum later served as Antony's admiral at Actium (Plut. *Ant.* 65.1).

¹⁵¹ Originally a Marian sympathizer, Cethegus had managed to elude Sulla's proscriptions and to remain mysteriously active in Rome during the 70s, his following being referred to as a *factio*: Cic. *Parad. Stoic.* 5.40; *Brut.* 178; *Clu.* 84–85; Plut. *Luc.* 5–6; ps. Asc. 259 St.; Gruen 1974, 39–40. He was also credited with arranging M. Antonius Creticus's extraordinary command against the pirates and played a murky, behind-the-scenes role in a jury-tampering scandal.

¹⁵² Plut. *Luc.* 6.2: "For at that time Cethegus through his popularity controlled the city. When he joined Praecia's following and became her lover, political power passed entirely into her hands. No public measure passed unless Cethegus favored it, and Cethegus did nothing without Praecia's approval."

¹⁵³ Cic. *Parad. Stoic.* 5.3.40 corroborates the general lines of Lucullus's bribery without specific reference to Praecia.

helped to foment underclass discontent. To what degree, if any, comparisons can be made with peripheral maritime communities remains to be seen.¹⁵⁴ In any event, the dangers posed to Roman public safety by mob elements mobilized in the *tabernae* remained a cause for concern well into the Imperial era.¹⁵⁵

RENEGADE ARISTOCRATS

The last social element to be accused repeatedly of having frequented the taverns and brothels of the Roman world is also the most problematic, namely, members of the aristocratic elite. The examples of Dionysius II, Lateranus, and Thrasyllus have already been noted above. During the late Republic and the early Empire, a long list of Roman aristocratic figures was indicted for having frequented the taverns and brothels of the capital city. L. Quinctius Flamininus, the dictator L. Cornelius Sulla, the notorious Q. Verres, Pompey the Great, Catiline, Clodius, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, A. Gabinius, C. Scribonius Curio the Younger, M. Antonius, M. Caelius Rufus, and the emperors Claudius, Nero, Vitellius, Otho, and others allegedly patronized Roman bars and nightclubs and/or fraternized with leisure professionals.¹⁵⁶ Admittedly, the establishments thus mentioned existed in the great city of Rome, and not in some backwater harbor. Equally evident is the fact that most of these accusations originate from highly unreliable sources, most particularly the political invective of Cicero. The fact that the majority of people named above were contemporaries as well as adversaries of the late Republican orator is hardly a coincidence. As noted earlier, however, the behavior thus described is corroborated by fictional sources separated by hundreds of years and seemingly devoid of any underlying political motive. Regardless of the veracity of any specific charge, therefore, the pattern of behavior thus described finds resonance in wider literature.

SEXUAL DEMOCRACY

Timothy J. Gilfoyle's recent study of the rise of prostitution in nineteenth-century New York City—*City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920*—furnishes a useful model for the involvement of upper-class elements in underclass leisure culture. Crucial to Gilfoyle's model is the sociological assumption that men and women who experience the economic transitions of societies shifting from agro-pastoral systems to wage-labor-based, urban commercialism inevitably adapt their lives to meet the challenges and needs created by evolving economic realities. According to Gilfoyle, gender- and age-based social dislocations in rapidly emerging wage-labor societies give rise

¹⁵⁴ See, however, the riots provoked against L. Valerius Flaccus in Pergamum in 66 B.C. (Cic. *Flac.* 18): *opifices et tabernarios atque illam omnem faecem civitatum quid est negotii concitare, in eum praesertim qui nuper summo cum imperio fuerit, summo autem in amore esse propter nomen ipsum imperii non potuerit?* (“What trouble is it to stir up workmen and innkeepers and all the dregs of the towns, especially against one who recently had been extremely powerful, but was not able to be extremely popular, on account of that very power?”)

¹⁵⁵ To quell public disorder the emperors Tiberius and Claudius were both compelled to close the city's *tabernae* and *cauponae* or otherwise to restrict their access. According to Kleberg (1957, 101–103), Roman bars generally remained loci of urban discontent and conspiracy.

¹⁵⁶ Republican figures associating with bars and prostitutes include L. Quinctius Flamininus: Cic. *Sen.* 42; Liv. 39.42–43; Sen. *Controv.* 9.2; Val. Max. 2.9.2; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 17; Hier. in Mt. 2.14.11; Sulla: Plut. *Sull.* 2, 35–36; Macrob. 3.14.11–13; Cn. Pompey: Plut. *Pomp.* 2.2–5; Q. Verres: Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.83; the Younger Curio and Antony: Plut. *Ant.* 2, 9; Dio 45.26.2, 28.2; Cic. *Phil.* 2.31, 77; Caelius: Cic. *Cael.* 10–14, 48f.; L. Caesoninus: Cic. *Pis.* 13, 18, 42; 67, 70, 89; A. Gabinius: Cic. *Pis.* 18, 20, 22; *Red. sen.* 13, 16. For the Imperial figures, Claudius: Suet. *Claud.* 40.1; Nero: Tac. *Ann.* 13.25; Suet. *Ner.* 26; Dio 61.8; Otho: Suet. *Otho* 3.1–2; Vitellius: Dio 64.2; Verus: *SHA Iul. Capit.* 4.6; Commodus: *SHA Lampr. Comm.* 3.7; Heliogabalus: Dio 80.11; Gallienus: *SHA Treb. Pollio* (Gall.) 21.6; cf. Richlin 1983, 86f.

to a tavern-driven subculture that he describes as nascent “sexual democracy.” This phenomenon had the capacity to integrate tavern elements from all levels of the social hierarchy.¹⁵⁷ Naturally, analogies formed on the basis of comparisons between prostitution in modern New York City and ancient Rome have limited historical value. Nevertheless, Gilfoyle’s model for what he defines as the “sporting male culture” of New York offers insight that is potentially useful to this discussion.

To summarize Gilfoyle’s thesis, “sporting male culture” in New York City emerged with the transition from rural, subsistence agricultural society to one that was urban, commercial, and wage-labor driven. The increased personal autonomy of those who engaged in this economy created a new culture dedicated to the consumption of leisure time by workers who were now freed from the constant responsibilities of agricultural life. The predominance of masses of poor, young, undereducated male laborers in the emerging urban center dictated that this industry acquired a reputation for alcoholic, sexual, and gambling indulgence situated in the bars, taverns, dance halls, saloons, gambling halls, and brothels of the urban center. In one respect, a lowest common denominator of social behavior—the pursuit of stereotypically masculine pleasures—prevailed by virtue of the extreme numbers of its practitioners. For our purposes, the most interesting feature to Gilfoyle’s reconstruction lies in its ability to explain how wealthy upper-class males were lured into the confines of underclass establishments. While Gilfoyle demonstrates this transformation dramatically in nineteenth-century New York City, similar transitions can be posited for Rome during the second/first centuries B.C.

What emerged in nineteenth-century New York was a culture focused on male recreational satisfaction: gambling in every form, including rat and dog baiting and horse racing, pleasure establishments, such as nightclubs, concert halls, cabarets, saloons, and dance halls, which offered dining, drink, music, vaudeville, dancing, comic entertainment, and prostitution. In response to the lucrative character of this industry, property holders responsible for the development of New York City actually promoted its commercialization. Since bars and brothels brought in a greater rate of return than ordinary residential properties (not to mention tax revenues), developers included the construction of these establishments in each and every tenement block. In New York City the very best families, such as the Livingstons, participated in this development openly and to the same degree as some of the more upwardly mobile elements of the urban underclass.¹⁵⁸ Brothels emerged as an integrated component of the urban landscape; many were incorporated into the typical New York City street plan alongside residential housing. As in Rome, therefore, the lucrative nature of such establishments led respectable property-holding elements of New York to promote, or at least to condone, prostitution for their own financial profit, just as it led the municipal government to support and to supervise it since the government derived greater tax revenues when properties included brothels. Several of the most powerful figures of Tammany Hall, the corrupt political organization that dominated New York municipal politics during the late nineteenth century, were proprietors of bars, saloons, and brothels and actually achieved financial success through these investments, prior to the significantly higher profits they accrued from political graft and corruption.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Gilfoyle 1994, 250.

¹⁵⁸ John R. Livingston owned thirty brothels: Gilfoyle 1994, 43.

¹⁵⁹ See Sante 1991, 56, 268; Gilfoyle 1994, 44, 256–257, including Matthew Davis, the “founder of Tammany Hall,” Isaiah Rhynders, Big Tim Sullivan (who owned six brothels),

Charles Kramer, Jim Kelly, Hugo Langerfeld, Sam Paul, Archibald Hadden, Ernest Thurow, Frederick F. Fleck, city marshal Robert Hill, and several members of Tammany Hall’s important general committee. At least one pair of Tammany Hall-aligned brothel proprietors, Henry and Emma Jones, placed election polls in the basements of all their brothels on Bayard St.

According to Gilfoyle, apart from gambling, drinking, and entertainment, prostitutes presented a major attraction in this culture, ultimately forming the lynchpins to sporting male culture in New York. One of the remarkable characteristics of the prostitute's role in the pleasure-oriented culture was her potential through sexual and social interchanges to bridge hierarchical boundaries between the rich married New York industrialists and politicians and the actors, dancers, pimps, and gangsters who presided over the taverns. Through their ability to entice aristocratic and middle-class citizens into their otherwise predominantly working-class followings, tavern women constructed potentially important lines of communication vertically through the social orders. In this manner underclass prostitutes helped to foster the rise of a "sexual democracy" in New York City with the capacity to influence political authority at the highest levels.¹⁶⁰ More importantly, through no fault of their own, these women became permanent fixtures in a criminal underclass otherwise dominated by bartenders, pimps, gangsters, thieves, gamblers, and thugs. In fact, they provided the glue that held this society together, not to mention the allure that enticed wealthy young aristocrats into association with social inferiors. Such vertical connections enabled participants across the socioeconomic spectrum to forge political associations of an otherwise highly improbable sort.

Many of the points raised and documented by Gilfoyle for nineteenth-century New York City find resonance in our current discussion, from the social strata identified in underclass leisure establishments, to the tendency of Roman aristocrats to invest in commercial properties such as *tabernae*, to the reliance of Roman municipalities on tax revenues derived from brothels, to the equally striking tendency for renegade aristocrats to frequent establishments populated by elements seemingly below their station. The widespread reliance on slave labor and the highly nonmonetarized component to economic activity in ancient Rome obviously complicate comparisons in one regard. However, the likelihood that the labor environment in Mediterranean maritime communities was wage based and highly monetarized remains great, in part because their populations depended for their subsistence on a circulating flow of goods and services from without rather than on surpluses derived from surrounding agricultural hinterlands.¹⁶¹ The greater circulation of currency in trading communities most probably heightened the wage-labor quality of economic activities in these locales, generating both a laboring population with money to purchase leisure services as well as destitute, unemployed laborers who lingered in the same locations.

Most importantly, evidence for the centrality of prostitutes in ancient leisure cultures appears to exist for cities such as fifth-century B.C. Athens and first-century B.C./A.D. Rome. Obviously, the record for ancient prostitutes, like other underclass laborers, is hopelessly tainted by the biases and inaccuracies of our source literature. One can hardly expect to reconstruct any legitimate picture from the recorded lives of these female professionals, no matter how notorious and influential they allegedly became. It is not so much the record of these women, however, as it is the perceptions about them that point to the existence of sexual democracies in these cities. One way to gauge this is by assembling the available evidence for the range of their sexual liaisons, despite the likelihood that much of these data arise from "urban legend." According to Athenaeus (13.579e–585a), for example, during the course of Gnathaena's career, this fourth-century B.C. Athenian *hetaira* engaged in social (if not sexual) intercourse with an array of male companions, including the comic playwright Diphilus, the comic actor Andronicus, an alcoholic gambler named Pausanias, an unnamed Syrian who plied her with small compliments, a parasite (or freeloader) named Chaerophon, a coppersmith (who was not required to pay, much to her live-in lover's dismay), several rich foreign merchants

¹⁶⁰ See Gilfoyle 1994, 224–250.

¹⁶¹ See McGinn 2004, 40 for the importance of cash to the business of Roman prostitution.

in the Piraeus, a wrestler, several young boys (*meirakullion*), including a butcher's apprentice in the marketplace, a soldier, and numerous whip-scarred criminals, or *mastigias*, an illuminating term alluding both to corporally punished convicts and runaway slaves. The literary tradition for Gnathaena insists that she ran her brothel as an open house, offering access to any male able to pay in advance and willing to abide by her published *nomos sussitikos* (rule for dining in company), inscribed in marble and posted at the entrance to her house. Its first line allegedly proclaimed Gnathaena's commitment to the prevailing culture: "This law, equal and the same for all, has been written in 323 verses."¹⁶² This suggests at least tentatively that Gnathaena understood the power she wielded in Athenian underclass leisure society and exploited it for ideological purposes. Assuming that any of this tradition is reliable, Gnathaena appears to have set a standard in this regard, a standard sustained by her contemporaries, Lais, Pythionike, and Leme.¹⁶³ Perhaps in deliberate imitation of these courtesans of Classical Athens, some Roman courtesans appear to have imposed similarly egalitarian standards on their followings, forcing Roman aristocrats to compete for their affections against underclass suitors from the taverns. The courtesan Praecia's influence stands out in this regard, as noted above. Cytheris, the mistress of Mark Antony, enjoyed sexual liaisons with C. Cornelius Gallus the elegist, as well as the notorious Volumnius Eutrapelus, a wealthy Roman knight of slave origin.¹⁶⁴ Much like the rule posted at Gnathaena's brothel, the correspondence compiled for an imaginary courtesan by the Roman-era sophist Philostratos (*Epist.* 38) articulates the egalitarian instincts of a prostitute intent on promoting sexual democracy:

For what seems infamous and blameworthy to others, that you are shameless and brazen and easy-going, this I love most about you. . . . You take payments; Danae too took gold. You accept garlands, so also does Artemis the virgin. And you offer yourself to farmers—Helen did the same to shepherds and lyre players. You scorn neither slaves, so that they may seem free because of you, nor even sailors. Perhaps they leave quickly, but Jason, who first braved the sea, was an honorable man.

Again, one hesitates to accept these descriptions at face value, given the hopeless task of assigning historicity to any facet of the tradition for these professionals. That our source tradition tends to preserve a pattern of behavior in this regard, with prostitutes deliberately maintaining a diverse clientele including aristocrats, sailors, musicians, farmers, soldiers, slaves, boys, and impoverished criminals and that they used their attraction as a means to impose some semblance of equality on their followings demonstrates, at any rate, a firm belief on the part of the source tradition that these women used their popularity in the underclass leisure culture to infuse it with an ideological consciousness. This seemingly conforms to the requirements of Gilfoyle's model for sexual democracy. From here it is a small step to argue that the ancient leisure culture, suitably mobilized and organized by pimps, madams, tavern keepers, and *tabernarii*, fomented urban unrest in cities such as Rome and Alexandria. Although a tradition for courtesans per se may be lacking for maritime

¹⁶² Ath. 13.579e–585b; Herter 1960, 102. She either wrote the rule herself or had it put into verse by her lover Diphilus, in deliberate imitation of the rules enforced by peripatetic philosophers.

¹⁶³ Though reputedly originally from Hiccaro in Sicily, Lais became the mistress of Apelles the painter, Aristipus, Demosthenes, Xenocrates, Myron, and Diogenes the cynic (Ath. 13.588–589), an affianced Cyrenian noble named Eubates, and a Thessalian named Pausanias. In her rivalry

with Phryne, Lais took on a large crowd of lovers, allegedly making no distinction between rich and poor, treating them equally (Ath. 13.589). The Athenian courtesan Pythionike, originally from Aigina, "had been shared by all who desired her at the same price for all" (Ath. 13.595c). The courtesan Leme of Athens "visited anyone who desired her for two drachmae" (Ath. 13.596f).

¹⁶⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 2.56; *Att.* 10.10; Plut. *Ant.* 9; Beloch 1912, 309.

backwaters, the repeated allusions to the presence of prostitutes, sailors, fugitive slaves, and criminals in maritime taverns and brothels and their interaction with *tabernarii* sufficiently demonstrate the likelihood of sexual democracies in these localities as well. Gilfoyle's model, thus, enables us to come full circle in this discussion. Careful analysis of the social strata contained within underclass leisure culture allows us to restore verisimilitude to the physical landscape of maritime communities such as late Hellenistic Delos that would otherwise remain terribly obscure. Phallus reliefs at street corners and houses surrounded by men's clubs at Delos furnish physical testimony that conforms to the descriptions of our texts.

4. Conclusion

As Thomas McGinn has argued, scholars need to invest more time in investigating the material remains of underclass venues of prostitution in the Roman Mediterranean world, particularly since the relation between social history and archaeology is "neither easy nor straightforward."¹⁶⁵ As McGinn notes, the building design of many of these venues tends to be indistinguishable from those of typical residential structures. Once suitably investigated, neighborhood concentrations of wine shops, taverns, palaestrae, and men's clubs such as those visible near the Sacred Lake at Delos form a compelling picture. When analyzed against the literary evidence for underclass maritime social formations, this maritime topography tends not only to confirm the appropriateness of the investigatory process but to reveal as well crucial details about the cultural importance of maritime social formations. The shifting status of prostitutes in these social groupings offers a crucial bellwether for the relative health of societies undergoing economic transition from subsistence to commercialized development. Mediterranean pimps, prostitutes, and *tabernarii* formed the axes to social formations that vertically connected merchants, sailors, and criminals at the bottom of society to renegade aristocrats at the top. If little else, the prevalence of the maritime leisure culture demonstrates the degree to which underclass elements in Roman maritime communities organized themselves into a rationally stratified, economically self-sustaining subculture. In addition, we have attempted to illustrate that ancient maritime taverns and brothels furnished important flashpoints for the relay of information from one working-class element to another. To some degree our argument is vitiated by the limited character of the source material and by our inordinate reliance on evidence drawn from nonmaritime centers such as Rome and Athens. However, we believe that we have also demonstrated a sufficient number of parallels, such as the recruitment of underclass "talent" from maritime peripheries to core urban centers, to suggest that the available examples were symptomatic of broader Mediterranean patterns of behavior. In short, the emergence of maritime leisure culture as a breeding ground for political dissidence and urban social rebellion furnishes a powerful example of the evolving social forces that challenged Mediterranean social hierarchy at the end of the Hellenistic/Roman Republican era. In many ways the social formations of the *ochlos nautikos* helped to define and to extend the community and culture of working people throughout the Roman world.

¹⁶⁵ McGinn 2004, 257.

Works Cited

- Andreau, J., "Banque grecque et banque romaine dans le théâtre du Plaute et de Terence," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 80 (1968) 461–526.
- Annequin, J., "Esclaves et affranchis dans la conjuration de Catalina," in *Actes de Colloque 1971 sur l'Esclavage* (Paris 1972) 193–238. *Annales littéraires de l'université de Besançon* 140, Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne 6.
- Aubert, J. J., *Business Managers in Ancient Rome: A Social and Economic Study of Institores, 200 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Leiden 1994).
- Barton, C. A., *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton 1993).
- Bellen, H., *Studien zur Sklavenflucht im römischen Kaiserreich* (Weisbaden 1971).
- Beloch, I., *Die Prostitution* (Berlin 1912).
- Boren, H. C., "The Sources of Cicero's Wealth: Some Suggestions," *Classical Journal* 57 (1961) 16–24.
- Boussac, M. F., and J. C. Moretti, Review of Rauh 1993, *Topoi orient-occident* (Lyon) 5.2 (1995) 561–572.
- Bradley, K., "Slaves and the Conspiracy of Catiline," *Classical Philology* 73 (1978) 329–336.
- Brown, P., "Love and Marriage in Greek New Comedy," *Classical Quarterly* 43 (1993) 184–205.
- Bruneau, P., "Apotropaia déliens. La massu d'Héraclès," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 88 (1964) 159–168.
- , *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris 1970).
- , "Deliaca III," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 103 (1979) 83–107.
- , *Guide de Délos* (Paris 1983).
- , "Deliaca X, no. 71: L'Agora des Italiens était-elle un établissement de sport?," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 119 (1995) 45–54.
- Brunt, P. A., "The Roman Mob," *Past and Present* 35 (1966) 3–27.
- Bruun, C., "Water for Roman Brothels: Cicero *Cael.* 34," *Phoenix* 51 (1997) 364–373.
- Butrica, J. L., "Using Water 'Unchastely': Cicero *Pro Caelio* 34 Again," *Phoenix* 53 (1999a) 136–139.
- , "Using Water 'Unchastely': Cicero *Pro Caelio* 34 Again—Addendum," *Phoenix* 53 (1999b) 336.
- Casson, L., *Ships and Seaman'ship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971).
- Chamonard, J., *Le quartier du théâtre* (Paris 1922). Exploration archéologique de Delos 8.
- Chandezon, C., Review of Rauh 1993, *Revue des études grecques* 110.2 (1997) 663.
- Clarke, J., *Roman Sex, 100 B.C.–A.D. 250* (New York 2003).
- Coarelli, F., *Il Foro Romano, Periodo Arcaico* (Rome 1986).
- Colini, A. M., "Compitum Acili," *Buletino della Commissione archeologica Comunale di Roma* 78 (1961–1962) 147–157.
- Couve, L., "Fouilles de Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 19 (1895) 460–516.
- D'Arms, J. H., *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, MA 1970).
- , *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, MA 1981).
- Dauphin, C., "Brothels, Baths and Babes: Prostitution in the Byzantine Holy Land," *Classics Ireland* 3 (1996) 47–72.
- Davidson, J., *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens* (New York 1998).
- Delorme, J., *Gymnasion. Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce (des origines à l'Empire romain)* (Paris 1960).
- De Souza, P., *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1999).
- Duchêne, H., and P. Fraisse, *Le paysage portuaire de la Délos antique* (Paris 2001). Exploration archéologique de Delos 39.
- Empereur, J.-Y., "Travaux de l'École française à Délos, 1982. Un cour remplie d'amphores à l'Est du Lac Sacré," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 107 (1983) 882–886.
- Étienne, R., "La naissance de l'amphitéâtre: le mot et la chose," *Revue des études latines* 43 (1965) 213–220.

- Fantham, E., "Sex, Status, and Survival in Hellenistic Athens: A Study of Women in New Comedy," *Phoenix* 29 (1975) 44–74.
- , "Stuprum: Public Attitudes and Penalties for Sexual Offences in Republican Rome," *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views* 35, n.s. 10 (1991) 267–291.
- Fantham, E., H. P. Foley, N. B. Kampen, S. B. Pomeroy, and H. A. Shapiro, *Women in the Classical World* (Oxford 1994).
- Flambard, J. M., "Clodius, les collègues, la plèbe et les esclaves. Recherches sur la politique populaire au milieu du Ier siècle," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité* 89 (1977) 115–156.
- Fleming, R., "Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999) 38–61.
- Friedländer, L., *Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, trans. L. A. Magnus, 7th ed. (London 1965).
- Frier, B. W., "Cicero's Management of His Urban Properties," *Classical Journal* 74 (1978–1979) 1–6.
- , *Landlords and Tenants in Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1980).
- Gardner, J. F., *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington, IN 1986).
- Garnsey, P., "Urban Property Investment," in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley (Cambridge 1976) 123–136.
- Gassner, V., "Zur Terminologieder Kaufläden im Lateinischen," *Munstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 3 (1984) 108–115.
- Gilfoyle, T. J., *City of Eros: New York City, Prostitution, and the Commercialization of Sex, 1790–1920* (New York 1994).
- Golvin, J.-C., *L'Amphithéâtre romain—Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions* (Paris 1988).
- Grant, M., *Eros in Pompeii* (New York 1982).
- Gruen, E. S., *Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley 1974).
- Guzzo, P. G., and V. Scarano Ussani, *Veneris figurae: Immagini di prostituzione e sfruttamento a Pompei* (Naples 2000).
- Habicht, C., *Athens from Alexander to Antony* (Cambridge, MA 1997).
- Hadjidakis, P. J., "Ktīrio notia tou 'Ierou tou Promachōnos'. Mīa tabernai vinaria stē Dēlo," in *D' Epistēmōnikē synantēsē gia tēn ellēnistikē keramikē. Mutilēnē, Martios 1994*. Upourgeio politismou K' ephoreia proistorikōn kai klasikōn archaiotētōn. (Athens 1994) 291–307. (Building South of the Sanctuary of the Bastion. A Taberna vinaria in Delos. Proceedings of the 4th Conference on Hellenistic Ceramics.)
- , "Ē Oikia tou Diadoumenou," *Ē Mukoniatikē*, September 1997, Athens. (The House of the Diadoumenos. Insert in the newspaper H Mykoniatiki.)
- , *Delos* (Athens 2003).
- Hahn, I., "Der Kassenkampf der Plebs urbana in den letzten Jahrzehnten der römischen Republik," in *Die Rolle der Volksmassen in der Geschichte der vorkapitalistischen Gesellschaftformationen* (Berlin 1975) 121–146.
- Hamel, D., *Trying Neaira: The True Story of a Courtesan's Scandalous Life in Ancient Greece* (New Haven 2002).
- Henry, M. M., *Prisoner of History: Aspasia of Miletus and Her Biographical Tradition* (New York and Oxford 1995).
- Hermansen, G., *Ostia: Aspects of Roman City Life* (Edmonton 1981).
- Herter, H., "Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 3 (1960) 70–111.
- Höbl, G., *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire* (London and New York 2001).
- Housman, A. E., "Praefanda," *Hermes* 66 (1931) 402–412.
- Jashemski, W. F., *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, NY 1979).
- Jeffreys, S., *The Idea of Prostitution* (North Melbourne 1997).
- Kampen, N., *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin 1981).

- Keuls, E., *Reign of the Phallus: Sexual Politics in Ancient Athens* (Berkeley 1993).
- Kleberg, T., *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine. Études historiques et philologiques* (Uppsala 1957).
- Kreeb, M., *Untersuchungen zur figürlichen Ausstattung Delischer Privathäuser* (Chicago 1988).
- Kühnert, B., *Die Plebs Urbana der späten römischen Republik* (Berlin 1991).
- Lapalus, E., *L'Agora des Italiens* (Paris 1939). Exploration archéologique de Delos 19.
- Le Gall, J., "Métiers des femmes au Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," *Revue des études latines* 47 (1969) 123–130.
- Legrand, P. E., "Les 'Dialogues des courtisanes' comparés avec la comédie," *Revue des études grecques* 21 (1908) 39–79.
- Ludwig, W., "The Original of Terence and His Greek Models," in *Oxford Readings in Menander, Plautus and Terence*, ed. E. Segal (Oxford 2001) 205–216.
- McGinn, T. A. J., "The Taxation of Roman Prostitutes," *Helios* n.s. 16 (1989) 79–111.
- , *Prostitution, Sexuality, and the Law in Ancient Rome* (New York and Oxford 1998).
- , *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History and the Brothel* (Ann Arbor 2004).
- Marasco, G., "Roma e la pirateria cilicia," *Rivista storica italiana* 99 (1987) 122–146.
- Marcadé, J., *Au Musée de Délos. Étude de la sculpture hellénistique en ronde bosse découverte dans l'île* (Paris 1969).
- Meyer-Swiffelhoffer, E., *Im Zeichen des Phallus. Die Ordnung des Geschlechtslebens im antiken Rom* (Frankfurt 1995).
- Moine, N., "Augustin et Apulée sur la magie des femmes d'auberge," *Latomus* 34 (1975) 350–361.
- Mommsen, T., *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899).
- Montserrat, D., *Sex and Society in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (London 1996).
- Morel, J.-P., "La topographie de l'artisanat et du commerce dans la Rome antique," in *L'Urbs—espace urbain et histoire (Ier s. av. J.-C.—III s. ap. J.C.)*. Actes du colloque international organisé par le centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome, 8–12 mai 1985) (Rome 1987) 127–155.
- Münzer, F., "Gratidia no. 6," in *RE*, vol. 7 (1912) 1840–1841.
- , "Mustela no. 3," in *RE*, vol. 16 (1935) 909.
- Murray, G. M., Review of Rauh 1993, *Journal of Roman Studies* 85 (1995) 278–279.
- Ormerod, H. A., *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1928; repr. New York 1987).
- Picard, G., *The Ancient Civilization of Rome* (Geneva 1969).
- Rauh, N. K., "Was the Agora of the Italians an *Établissement du Sport?*," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 116 (1992) 293–333.
- , *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy, and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos, 166–87 B.C.* (Amsterdam 1993).
- , "Who Were the Cilician Pirates?," in *Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Pre-history to Late Antiquity*, ed. S. Swiny, R. L. Hohlfelder, and H. Wylde Swiny (Atlanta 1997) 263–283.
- , *Merchants, Sailors, and Pirates in the Roman World* (Stroud 2003).
- Rawson, E., "The Ciceronian Aristocracy and Its Properties," in *Studies in Roman Property*, ed. M. I. Finley (Cambridge 1976) 97–107.
- Rediker, M., *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchants, Seamen, Pirates, and the Anglo-American Maritime World 1700–1750* (Cambridge 1987).
- Richlin, A., *The Garden of Priapus: Sexuality and Aggression in Roman Humor* (New Haven 1983).
- Rivière, Y., "Recherche et identification des esclaves fugitifs dans l'empire romain," in *L'Information et la mer dans le monde antique*, ed. J. Andraeu and C. Virlouvet (Rome 2002) 115–196.
- Roes, A., "Chronique des Fouilles," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 59 (1935) 299–300.
- Rotondi, G., *Leges Publicae Populi Romani* (Hildesheim 1962).
- Sante, L., *Low Life: Lures and Snares of Old New York* (New York 1991).

- Shatzman, I., *Senatorial Wealth and Roman Politics* (Brussels 1975).
- Scobie, A., "Slums, Sanitation, and Morality in the Roman World," *Klio* 68 (1986) 399–433.
- Scullard, H. H., *Festivals and Ceremonies of the Roman Republic* (Ithaca, NY 1981).
- Segal, E., *Roman Laughter* (Oxford 1987).
- Severyns, A., "Deux 'Graffiti' de Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 51 (1927) 234–243.
- Sirago, V. A., "La Banca di Cluvio Puteolano," *Puteoli* 1 (1977) 50–61.
- , "La personalita di C. Vestorio," *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 3–16.
- Sullivan, J. P., "Martial's Sexual Attitudes," *Philologus* 123 (1979) 288–302.
- Tracy, V. A., "The Leno-Maritus," *Classical Journal* 22 (1977) 62–64.
- Treggiari, S., "Jobs for Women," *American Journal of Ancient History* 1 (1976) 76–104.
- , "Lower Class Women in the Roman Economy," *Florilegium* 1 (1979) 65–86.
- Trümper, M., *Wohnen in Delos: Eine baugeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Wandel der Wohnkultur in hellenistischer Zeit* (Leidorf 1998).
- Vanderbroek, P. J. J., *Popular Leadership and Collective Behavior in the Late Roman Republic (ca. 80 B.C.)* (Amsterdam 1987).
- Velissaropoulos, J., "Le monde de l'emporion," *Dialogues d'histoire ancien* 3 (1977) 61–85.
- Wagner, H., "Zur Wirtschaftlichen und rechtlichen Bedeutung der Tabernen," in *Studi A. Biscardi* 3 (Milan 1982) 391–422.
- Wallace Hadrill, A., "Public Honour and Private Shame: The Urban Texture of Pompeii," in *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. T. J. Cornell and K. Lomas (New York 1995) 39–63.
- Waltzing, J. P., *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* (Louvain 1895).
- Ward, M., *Marcus Crassus and the Late Republic* (Columbia, MO 1997).
- Welch, K. E., *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (New York 2003).
- Wiseman, T. P., *Catullan Questions* (Leicester 1969).
- Wissowa, G., "Flora," in *RE*, vol. 10 (1909) 2749f.
- Yavetz, Z., "The Living Conditions of the Urban Plebs in Republican Rome," *Latomus* 17 (1958) 500–517.
- Zeller, M., "Die Rolle der unfreien Bevölkerung roms in den politischen Kämpfen der Bürgerkriege" (Ph.D. diss., Tübingen 1962).
- Ziehen, L., "Theoris," in *RE*, vol. 5a (1934) 2237–2238.