

## WORDS FOR 'PROSTITUTE' IN LATIN

Few objects attract as many names as the prostitute. In the following pages I have discussed well over 50 genuine, partial or alleged synonyms of *meretrix*, and there is no reason to assume that my list is exhaustive for recorded Latin, or that there were not other words in use which have not survived. The gloss *CGL* V.636.17 ('ouariolus puer lenonis sic dicitur', cf. IV.135.7) provides a hint of the gaps in our evidence. That the slave of a *leno* should be called 'keeper, attendant of the eggs' does not of course mean that *lenones* spoke of their girls as *oua*<sup>1</sup>), but the term does suggest that in the slang of brothels colourful and humorous expressions might have been heard.

The reasons for the richness of the vocabulary applied to whores in Latin (and any language) are various. Sexual behaviour, like the sexual organs, generally inspires euphemisms. Since euphemisms tend to become offensive themselves, they are often replaced. Secondly, whores are not a homogeneous class. They differ in social class, in their methods of soliciting, and in the services which they offer, and these differences may be reflected lexically. The numerous methods of soliciting adopted by ancient prostitutes furnish many of the terms in Latin. Thirdly, prostitutes provoke diverse reactions. The moralist who is outraged by prostitution is unlikely to use the same terminology as the *scortator* who feels affection for some members of the profession. Some words and expressions of moral condemnation will be discussed below.

### I

#### *Meretrix* and *Scortum*

The two most common words for 'prostitute' in Latin were *scortum* and *meretrix*. In this section I discuss the use and distribution of the pair.

1) One of the functions of such slaves in brothels is indicated at Fest. p. 20 'aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudicarum sordidi adseculae'. The water was for washing after intercourse (see Cic. *Cael.* 34). Perhaps *ouariolus* is merely a corruption of *aquariolus* (see *TLL* IX.2.1187, 52 ff.).

*Scortum* originally meant 'leather, hide' (Varro *Ling.* 7.84; for a word play see Apul. *Met.* 1.8 'qui uoluptatem ueneriam et scortum scorteum Lari et liberis praetulisti'). According to Donatus (on Ter. *Eun.* 424: 'abdomen in corpore feminarum patiens iniuriæ coitus scortum dicitur') the word was used of the female pudenda; if this were true it would thence have been transferred *pars pro toto* to loose women. So *cunnus* was sometimes used *pars pro toto* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.36, 1.2.70, 1.3.107), as indeed various words for 'penis' (e.g. *uerpa*, *CIL* IV.1655, *mentula*, *CIL* IV.7089) and 'anus' (*fossa*, Juv. 2.10) were used of disreputable men. For the application of a word of this semantic field to the female parts one might compare *bulga*, 'leather bag' (Fest. p. 31 'bulgas Galli sacculos scorteos appellant') at Lucil. 73 ('in bulgam penetrare pilosam'), but it was probably the shape rather than the material of the object which was primarily in Lucilius' mind. For an implied use of a word meaning 'skin' in reference to a bodily orifice with sexual significance, cf. Cato *Orat.* frg. 60 '<inter-> cutibus stupris obstinatus', Gell. 13.8.5 'intercutibus . . . uitiiis madentes', Fest. p. 98 'inter cutem flagitatos dicebant antiqui marres, qui stuprum passi essent'. *Inter cutem* and *intercus* literally mean 'under the skin' (> 'internal'?), but used of a *stuprum* 'under the skin' (*pedicatio*) it would have been the anus which was suggested, at least to some hearers.

However *scortum* was from the time of Plautus the standard word for 'male prostitute' as well<sup>2</sup>). To explain this usage one would have to suppose that, if *scortum* had once been an anatomical term, it had been applied to a part of the male as well as a part of the female. An alternative hypothesis would be that once *scortum* had lost its association with the female pudenda, it came to be used of male whores. On balance it seems advisable to reject Donatus' explanation, especially since *scortum* is never attested elsewhere as an anatomical term.

It seems more likely that whores were called 'hides, leather' partly because of the character of the material<sup>3</sup>), and more particularly because an association was felt between the working of

2) Plaut. *Curc.* 473, *Poen.* 17, Cic. *Dom.* 49, *Sest.* 39, *Phil.* 2.44, Justin 30.2.2, Petron 9.6, 119 line 25, Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 28.6

3) See M. Hammarström, 'De uocibus scorti, scrattæ, strittabillæ', *Eranos* 23 (1925), pp. 104 ff., and especially p. 108: 'in *scorti* . . . uocabulo ad mutationem significationis efficiendam non materia superficiesque pellis ualuit, sed detracta pellis per se, ut erat laxa, mobilis, incompressa'. Hammarström quotes parallel usages from other languages (see further below).

leather and sexual intercourse. For such a metaphor, cf. *depso* 'knead' = *futuo*, Cic. *Fam.* 9.22.4; and for an explicit connection of leather working with intercourse, note the joke quoted by Macrobian *Sat.* 2.2.6 'Plancus in iudicio forte amici, cum molestum testem destruere uellet, interrogauit, quia sutorem sciebat, quo artificio se tueretur. ille urbane respondit: "gallam subigo". sutorium hoc habetur instrumentum, quod non infacete in adulterii exprobrationem ambiguitate conuertit. nam Plancus in Maeuia Galla nupta male audiebat'). Hence a phrase such as *scortum subigo* might originally have been ambiguous ('work leather', and 'work over a whore'). This is roughly the view of Festus, p. 443 'scorta appellantur meretrices, quia ut pelliculae subiguntur'.

The use of *pellicula* = 'whore' in farce (Varro *Ling.* 7.84 'in Atellanis licet animaduvertere rusticos dicere se adduxisse pro scorto pelliculam') reflects the same semantic development as that of *scortum* (cf. Fr. *peau*, *peau de chien*)<sup>4</sup>). *Pellis* (and hence *pellicula*), like *scortum*, originally of course indicated animal hide rather than human skin. *Pellicula* 'whore' survives in Spanish (*pelleja*). Jerome uses it at *Epist.* 130.19.1 ('peregrini muris olentes pelliculas'), either as a current vulgarity or perhaps as a *recherché* term taken from Varro.

Though *subigo* to Festus, p. 443, quoted above, implied sexual intercourse (for *subigo* and its derivatives used of copulation, see Suet. *Iul.* 49.4, *H.A.*, *Hel.* 5.4, Aug. *Cin.* 6.9, and Macrobian *Sat.* 2.2.6, quoted above), to Plautus the corresponding verb *subigito*, which he sometimes uses in a sexual sense, was a much milder word. The phrase *scortum subigito* at *Mil.* 652 ('neque ego umquam alienum scortum subigito in conuiuio') is unlikely to be a relic in which *scortum* both meant 'whore' and also retained something of its original sense 'leather'. *Subigito* in Plautus suggests no more than 'make advances to, lay hands on'. This is obvious at *Merc.* 203 'sed scelestus subigitare occepit', where a *senex*, on seeing a young girl for the first time, immediately makes advances to her. Intercourse could not have taken place: the girl

4) *κασαλβάς*, 'whore' (Aristoph. *Ec.* 1106, Frg. 478, Hesych.), and various related words in Hesychius given the same meaning (*κασαύρα*, *κασωρίδες*; cf. *κασανυγείους οἴκοις ἐφ' ὧν αἱ ἐταῖραι ἐκαθέζοντο ὅθεν καὶ τὴν πόρνην κασανυγάδα ἔλεγον*), may be based on *κασᾶς*, 'skin, felt', used particularly as a covering for a horse (cf. the alternative forms in Hesychius, *κάς* ... *δέγμα*, and *κᾶσσον ἱμάτιον, παχὺ καὶ τραχὺ περιβάλαιον*). If so the semantic development is parallel to that of *scortum*: see P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1965–80) s.v. *κασᾶς*. See further below, p. 356 on *scordiscum*, allegedly = *scortum*.

has merely been fondled. So at *Pers.* 227 the *ancilla* Sophoclidisca, who lays hands on the slave Paegnium to remove something from him (*ib.* 'habes nescioquid'), is told 'ne me attrecta, subigitatrix'. She takes the words in a sexual sense ('sin te amo?'). Clearly one who *subigitat* does no more than touch. The metaphorical use of *subigito* in Plautus is likely to have been based on the sense 'master, force to one's will' which *subigo* (and presumably *subigito*) possessed (at Suet. *Iul.* 49.4 it is clear from the context that *subigo* = *pedico* is a metaphor of mastering). It does not seem plausible that the act of fondling gently should have been likened to the working of leather.

If *scortum* = 'prostitute' derived from a metaphorical application to sexual behaviour of the phrase *scortum subigo* (*subigito*), then *subigo* (*subigito*) 'knead, work' in that phrase would certainly once have had to imply the act of sexual intercourse: the distinctive act which is committed with a whore is not fondling but intercourse. It is therefore curious that in extant old Latin metaphorical *subigito* suggested mere touching. Unless *subigito* in its sexual application had undergone an amelioration of sense, the phrase *scortum subigito* (*subigo*) could have played no part in the semantic change of *scortum*. The second explanation given above of the change of meaning is plausible enough, but Plaut. *Mil.* 652 should not be cited along with Fest. p. 443 as if both display the same use of the verb.

*Meretrix* ('woman who earns, paid woman', < *mereo*; cf. *mereo* at Gell. 2.18.3) can be compared with *quaestuarina* (Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.1 'ex adultera in quaestuariam uersa'), *mulier quaestuarina* (Dig. 23.2.43.7 'lenas autem eas dicimus, quae mulieres quaesturias prostituunt'), *corpora quaestuarina* (Dig. 23.2.43.9 'si qua cauponam exercens in ea corpora quaestuarina habeat'<sup>5</sup>), and also *meritorius*, which at Cic. *Phil.* 2.105 ('ingenui pueri cum meritoriis, scorta inter matres familias uersabantur') serves as a masculine correspondent to *meretrix* (cf. Serv. Virg. *Ecl.* 8.29 'meritorii pueri, id est catamiti'), but is usually adjectival and applied superfluously to *scortum* (Suet. *Claud.* 15.4, Tert. *Nat.* 2.10.1, p. 113.10, Arnob. *Nat.* 1.28, p. 18. 26).

The difference of tone between *scortum* and *meretrix* can be

5) This use of *corpus* (cf. Ovid *Tristia* 2.311 'corpora Vestales oculi meretricia cernunt') is of course based on turns of phrase such as 'to earn a living by one's body'; e.g. Plaut. *Poen.* 1140 'facientque indignum genere quaestum corpore', *Bacch.* 863 'illam, quae corpus publicat uolgo suum', Dig. 38.1.38 'quamuis adhuc corpore quaestum faciat'.

seen in Plautus. *Scortum* was the more pejorative word, as can be deduced from the collocations in which the two terms were used. Both are common (*scortum* 44 times, *meretrix* 63). *Scorta* are often not the named characters in the plays, but the undifferentiated harlots who might participate in a temporary liaison at dinners, or be taken off somewhere for sexual purposes. *Scortum* is often translatable with an indefinite article in English, or else it is in the plural. A distinction can be made between whoring as a practice pursued by men with no lasting interest in the object of their attention, and the association, often prolonged, with an individual prostitute with whom the man might be in love. The object of the first relationship was a *scortum* (hence the general verb *scortari*, 'to chase after harlots'), and of the second a *meretrix* (*meretricor* is scarcely attested<sup>6</sup>). Hence *scortum ducere* is a common phrase in Plautus (9 times) in the sense 'take a whore' (temporarily for sexual purposes; the name of the woman is usually not specified<sup>7</sup>), but *meretricem duco* does not occur. 'Taking a whore' was a relaxation particularly associated with eating and drinking. In the context of symposia *scortum* (unlike *meretrix*) is frequent, often juxtaposed with references to eating and drinking<sup>8</sup>). The word is also commonly found in such contexts in other writers<sup>9</sup>).

*Meretrix* on the other hand is found 6 times<sup>10</sup>) as the object of verbs such as *amo* (cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.252), whereas *scortum* is not used in such collocations by Plautus. It is obvious that *meretrix* was more neutral and unemotive in tone, and that *scortum* was the 'marked' term of the pair. Although the etymology of *meretrix* was transparent, and although it was the *vox propria* in contexts dealing with the earning of money by means of sex<sup>11</sup>), it is frequently (unlike *scortum*) used of the named prostitutes of such

6) Not that *meretrix* could not be used of a low whore (e.g. Suet. *Dom.* 22 *uulgatissimas meretrices*). If so one would usually expect its tone to be specified by an adjective, or by some indication in the context.

7) The implication of *ducere* in this expression is illuminated by *CIL* IV.2450, quoted below p. 347.

8) E.g. *Men.* 170, 476, 1142, *Mil.* 652, *Most.* 36; at *Men.* 476 and 1142 (cf. *Bacch.* 1189, *Pseud.* 1271) it is in the phrase *scortum accumbere*; *meretricem accumbere* does not occur.

9) E.g. Cic. *Cat.* 2.10, Sall. *Cat.* 7.4, Livy 23.18.12, 23.45.2, Suet. *Nero* 27.2, Apul. *Met.* 8.1, *Apol.* 98.

10) See G. Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig, 1924–33), II, p. 45 a. 4

11) E.g. Caecil. 214, Turpil. 42, Plaut. *Truc.* 228 ff., 568, 572 f., *Rud.* 56, 541.

importance in New Comedy, who of course were often 'good' and the object of romantic attachments<sup>12</sup>).

Various other passages illustrate the tone of *scortum*. The difference, for example, between 'taking a whore' and 'having a girl friend', *amica* (a more permanent relationship) is particularly clear at *Merc.* 923-5 ('mater irata est patri uehementer, quia scortum sibi / ob oculos adduxerit in aedis, dum ruri ipsa abest: / suspicatur illam amicam esse illi'). Note too the contrast at *Truc.* 678 ('uel amare possum uel iam scortum ducere').

Much the same distinction of tone between *scortum* and *meretrix* can be observed in the speeches of Cicero. *Scortum* is used only 3 times in the singular, always with the sense 'male whore' in passages of vilification (*Dom.* 49, *Sest.* 39, *Phil.* 2.44); its pejorative quality is clear from the adjectives *populare* and *uolgare* which are applied to it at *Dom.* 49 and *Phil.* 2.44. The 5 plural examples are in uniformly abusive contexts; they refer usually to undifferentiated harlots who are in the company of Cicero's opponents (*Cat.* 2.10, 2.24, *Har. Resp.* 59, *Mil.* 55, *Phil.* 2.105). *Meretrix* on the other hand is usually in the singular, referring to specific prostitutes. Such *meretrices* are for the most part the regular purveyors of sex, who inhabit ordinary brothels and associate with *lenones* (e.g. *Verr.* 1.101, 4.83, 5.38). Since prostitution is often a cause of moral indignation, *meretrix* can take on a pejorative tone from the context (e.g. *Verr.* 1.138, 3.83); but it is sometimes used quite neutrally (note *Dom.* 111, 112 twice). The *meretrix* Chelidon who appears often in the *Verrines* (e.g. 1.137f.) was obviously no low whore but a woman of some sophistication.

*Scortum* was not a vulgarism. The difference between *scortum* and *meretrix* was one of emotive content; both had a place in educated Latin. Although Terence almost restricts himself to *meretrix* (24:2; the examples of *scortum*, at *Adelph.* 965 and *Eun.* 424, are in the phrases 'have, take a whore'), in various historians it is *scortum* which is preferred (by 2:0 in Sallust, 11:0 in Livy, 6:2 in Justin, 6:1 in Curtius Rufus, 4:0 in Tacitus, and 2:0 in Florus). The frequency of *scortum* in these writers must reflect the moralising tone of Roman historiography; historians, unlike writers of New Comedy, had occasion to speak of whores mainly in contexts of condemnation.

Neither word is common in poetry. Horace preferred *meretrix* (10:2), but he did admit *scortum* once in the *Odes* (2.11.21;

12) On 'good' prostitutes, see H. Herter, 'Dirne', *RAC* III.1173 ff.



*meretrix* is also found once in the *Odes*). Ovid has only *meretrix* (7 times, but not in the *Metamorphoses*). *Scortum* is found once in Lucilius (1271), Lucretius (4.1274), Tibullus (3.16.4) and Juvenal (3.135). Catullus has *scortum* and *scortillum* in the polymetrics (6.5, 10.3), and *meretrix* once in the elegiacs (110.7). The evidence of poetry does not allow one to make a distinction between the two words; it would seem that both were unpoetic, and largely avoided in all genres. Neither word is found in epic (if one excludes Lucretius).

*Meretrix* (but not *scortum*) survived in the Romance languages (e.g. OFr. *meautris*, Prov. *meltritz*; it is the dissimilated form *meletrix* which provided the Romance reflexes)<sup>13</sup>. By the time of the Latin Bible translations one can see signs of the disappearance of *scortum*, although it is not only to *meretrix* that it gives place. It is found only 8 times in the Vulgate, always in the O.T. This distribution suggests that it would not have been common in the Old Latin versions<sup>14</sup>. *Meretrix* is found 39 times, 9 times in the N.T. The glossing of *scor[p]tum* by *lupanar* at CGL II.592.34 suggests that the original meaning of the word tended to be forgotten (unless of course *lupanar* is a mistake for *lupana*<sup>15</sup>); cf. however *prostibulum* = 'brothel', below, p. 331, and the semantic development of Eng. *brothel*, 'prostitute' > 'brothel'. *Meretrix*, not *scortum*, is the word regularly used in glosses for 'prostitute'<sup>16</sup>; this can only be because the one word was current in the late period, the other not.

## II

### Euphemisms

It is possible that most words for 'prostitute' begin as euphemisms, in that they have a literal meaning which does not explicitly refer to any of the sexual acts in which whores might

13) See W. von Wartburg, *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* VI.2 (Basel, 1967), 29f.

14) But for *scortum* in a version of Gen. 38:21 see the edition of B. Fischer (*Vetus Latina, Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel*, II, *Genesis*, Freiburg, 1951-54).

15) See E. Wölfflin, *ALL* 8 (1893), p. 9, J. v. d. Vliet, *ALL* 9 (1896), p. 303.

16) E.g. CGL II. p. XII, 577.28, 586.10, IV.256.7, 362.22, 535.29, 30, V.219.26, 308.43, 496.68, 502.38, 528.7, 552.10, 599.14, etc.

engage, or to the body parts which they employ<sup>17</sup>). Nevertheless most languages develop one or more 'basic' words for 'whore', which in the minds of most speakers have lost any innocent sense which they might once have possessed: they imply 'woman who sells sexual intercourse', and have no other semantic associations to soften their impact. *Meretrix*, for example, originally contained no reference to sexual intercourse, since it meant only 'woman who earns'. But in the historical period there is attested no general use of the word: it had become inextricably associated with earning by means of intercourse. In Vulgar Latin, where the dissimilated forms *meletrix* and *menetrix* (see *TLL* VIII.827.41 ff.) became established, it lost its connection with *mereo*<sup>18</sup>). Hence Nonius, who at p. 684 L. writes the form *menetrix*, derives the word from *maneo* (he presumably had in mind μένω): 'nam menetrices a manendo dictae sunt'.

Basic words for 'whore' vary in tone, even though they share the characteristic of having (to most speakers) no other meaning. *Harlot* and *whore*, for example, are pejorative, whereas *prostitute* is legalistic and unemotive. *Courtesan* on the other hand suggests a grand and sophisticated associate of the wealthy. In Latin, as we have seen, *meretrix* was less pejorative than *scortum*.

Alongside such basic terms, most languages possess a rich supply of euphemisms, some with a limited currency, others adopted off-the-cuff by individual speakers in appropriate circumstances. Once a euphemism becomes widely current in common parlance it is of course in danger of degenerating into a basic term: it will become so firmly associated with the object to which it alludes that it ceases to be euphemistic. The fate of a euphemism depends partly on how transparent its original meaning is. If that original sense becomes obliterated by (e.g.) phonetic developments (such as *meretrix* > *meletrix*) or changes in the lexicon of a language (e.g. the disappearance of the original meanings of *harlot*, '(male) vagabond', *et. sim.*), then the euphemism may become a basic term.

17) Exceptions can of course be found. Note χαμαιτύπη (Sud. ἀπὸ τοῦ χαμαὶ κειμένην ὀχεύεσθαι), and various loan-words based on Lat. *stuprum* (which, though euphemistic, nevertheless referred to sexual intercourse): Ir. *striopach*, NIr. *striopach*, OFr. *strupe* (> Eng. *strumpet*?): see C. D. Buck, *A Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages* (Chicago-London, 1949), p. 1368.

18) Similarly πόρνη, which began as a euphemism, developed a pejorative tone (unlike ἑταίρα): see Chantraine, (see above, n. 4), III. p. 888.



Euphemisms too have differing tones. Some words for 'prostitute', although they can be described as euphemistic in that they carry no explicit reference to sexual behaviour, nevertheless express moral disapproval or indignation (e.g. *woman of shame*). Others allude to an activity, itself not inherently sexual, which may still be considered degrading (e.g. *street walker*); hence they may be strongly pejorative. Others may be absolutely non-condemnatory, at least in origin.

In a sense then the distinction between 'basic term' (word with no other meaning) and 'euphemism' (a word which strictly could be taken in another sense) is unsatisfactory, since the basic term may be less offensive in tone than the euphemism (*prostitute*, though unambiguous, is less emotive than *street walker*, which is ambiguous).

In this section I discuss the main types of euphemism for 'prostitute' in Latin, as well as a few words which have been thought to have that meaning.

i

A word for 'whore' may often refer to an associated activity or attribute of the woman, itself non-sexual. Many of the Latin words fall into this category. It is particularly the method of soliciting<sup>19</sup>) which is mentioned in euphemisms of this type.

A common method of soliciting was to sit in front of the brothel or *cella* in a chair, *sella*<sup>20</sup>). For 'sitting' used of whores, see, e.g. Ovid *Pont.* 2.3.20 'in quaestu pro meretrice sedet', Mart. 2.17.1 'tonstrix Suburae faucibus sedet primis', 6.66.2 'famae non nimium bonae puellam, / quales in media sedent Subura', Tert. *Cult. Fem.* 2.12 'uisa est quaestui sedere'. For the *sella* of a prostitute, see Plaut. *Poen.* 268 'quae tibi olant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum', Juv. 3.136 'et dubitas alta Chionen deducere sella'.

On this method of soliciting is based the Plautine *proседа*, which occurs at *Poen.* 266 in a catalogue of low whores: 'an te ibi uis inter istas uorsarier / proседas' (for the status of these whores,

19) On methods and places of soliciting, see Herter, 'Die Soziologie der antiken Prostitution im Lichte des heidnischen und christlichen Schrifttums', *JbAC* 3 (1960), pp. 85 ff.

20) For 'standing' and 'sitting', see Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 87, especially nn. 320-4.

see 267 'miseras schoeno delibutas seruicolas sordidas' and 269 'quas adeo hau quisquam umquam liber tetigit neque duxit domum')<sup>21</sup>). Cf. Fest. p. 252 'prosedas meretrices Plautus appellat, quae ante stabula sedeant. eadem et prostibula'. *Prose*da was not current after the time of Plautus, as can be deduced from Festus' remark. Another euphemism of the same type is *sellaria*: *Schol. Juv.* 3.136 'inde sellariae dicuntur'.

The implication of the prefix of *prose*da can be seen from Petron. 8.4 'iam pro cella meretrix assem exegerat', *Isid. Etym.* 10.229 'prostitutae, meretrices a prosedendo in meritoriis uel fornicibus', and from Fest. p. 252 above (cf. p. 7 'sicut hae, quae ante stabula sedebant, dicebantur prostibula').

The same prefix is found in *prostibulum*, lit. 'one who is in front of the *stabulum*, inn'<sup>22</sup>). The expression with a genitive complement at Plaut. *Aul.* 285 'bellum et pudicum uero prostibulum popli' suggests that *prostibulum* was well established at the time of Plautus. If its etymological sense were still strongly felt one would not expect it to be complemented thus. A *prostibulum* was obviously a low class prostitute: note *popli* in the passage above<sup>23</sup>) and also *Cist.* 331 'nam meretricem astare in uia solam prostibuli sanest', where *prostibulum*, in contrast to the general term *meretrix*, indicates a whore who hangs about on the streets alone. So too at Lucil. 334 *prostibulum* is juxtaposed with *lupa*, which was also used of the lowest type of prostitute (see below, p. 334). Nonius (p. 684 L.) describes the low status of *prostibula* in

21) See further Herter, *RAC* III.1155, C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, 'Meretrices', *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (Paris, 1877-1916), III.2.1835 n. 4, 1836 n.11.

22) It is possible that *prostibulum* is a derivative of *prosto*. Just as *stabulum* literally means 'place where one stops' (< *sto*), so *prostibulum* might originally have meant 'place where one *prostat*, stands in front, prostitutes oneself', i.e. 'brothel'. But the meaning 'prostitute' is attested earlier than 'brothel' (see below, p. 331), and it is therefore preferable to take the word as a derivative of *stabulum*. For the senses of *stabulum* (not 'brothel', but 'inn' or 'stable') see T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets dans l'antiquité romaine* (Uppsala, 1957), pp. 18 f. Inns were a notorious haunt of prostitutes: note Dig. 23.2.43 'palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, uerum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia uel qua alia pudori suo non parcit'. Hence the Pompeian graffito *CIL* IV. 8442 'futui coponam' almost certainly refers to intercourse with a whore, and it is even possible that *copona* (which had previously been used = *copa* only at Lucil. 128; its usual sense was 'inn': on the semantics, see below, p. 339) would have been taken, at least by implication, as an equivalent of *meretrix*. See further Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), pp. 73 f. Daremberg-Saglio (III.2.1836) take *stabula* in the sense 'maisons de prostitution'.

23) On the implication of this word, see below, p. 343.

these terms: 'inter menetricem et prostibulum hoc interest. menetrix honestioris loci est et quaestus; nam menetrices a manendo dictae sunt, quod copiam sui tantummodo noctu facerent; prostibula, quod ante stabulum stent quaestus diurni et nocturni causa'. *Prostibulum*, like *proседа* above, transparently indicates a whore who engages in open soliciting. In most cultures a distinction is made between high class prostitutes, whose services have to be obtained by devious methods (e.g. Eng. *call-girl*), and low whores who display themselves in public. *Prostibulum* must soon have fallen out of use, since it is restricted later to artificial writers and grammarians (e.g. Amm. 28.4.9, Festus). Because of its obsolescence, its gender and association with *stabulum*, it later acquired the sense 'brothel': e.g. Isid. *Etym.* 18.42.2 'idem et prostibulum, eo quod post ludos exactos meretrices ibi prostrarentur'; *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33 'cum ille eam in prostibulo posuerit'; cf. Vulg. *Ezech.* 16:24.

Various words of the same root as *prostibulum* are worth mentioning: *prostibula* (Tert. *Apol.* 6.3 'inter matronas atque prostibulas'), which is marked for gender, *prostibilis* (Plaut. *Pers.* 837 'hic faceret te prostibilem propediem'), *prostibulata* (CGL IV.149.34, V.138.22, 476.59 (*prostribulata*)), *prostibulatrix* (*prostr-*) (CGL V.511.42), and (probably) *prostibulus* (adj.) (*H.A., Comm.* 2.8 'mulierculas formae scitioris et prostibula mancipia . . . contraxit', *Opell. Macr.* 4.3 'Macrinum libertinum, hominem prostibulum'), although in these two passages it is just possible that the noun *prostibulum* has been used in apposition to another noun. With the possible exception of the Plautine *prostibilis*, all of the above words were undoubtedly learned and artificial.

At CGL IV.148.10 *proposita* is given as a word for 'prostitute' (*prostituta proposita*). There appears to be no other example of this substantival participle, but at Cic. *Verr.* 5.34 the verb (= 'put out for sale') is applied to a prostitute's services ('mulierem nuptam uni, propositam omnibus'). A glossator may artificially have brought the substantive into existence on the basis of such a verbal usage.

For whores 'standing' to solicit, see Plaut. *Cist.* 331, Cic. *Verr.* 2.154, Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.30, Juv. 11.172.

The above uses of *pro-* and *sto* can be seen in *prosto*, lit. 'stand in front' > 'be a prostitute' (e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.1., 1.2.3, Petron. 55.6, line 16, Juv. 1.47, 3.65, 9.24, Suet. *Tib.* 43.2). Indeed the circumlocution *quae prostitit* at Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.11 is equivalent to 'whore': 'ea imperat praetori quae prostitit'.

Corresponding to *prosto* is the causative *prostituo*, 'to prostitute' (lit. 'make stand in front') (e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 178 'cras poplo prostitutam uos'), from which was derived an imperial word for 'whore', *prostituta* (e.g. Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.2, 5, 6, 2.7.8, Sen. *Ben.* 7.4.7, Plin. *Nat.* 10.172, 30.15, Suet. *Cal.* 36.1, 40, *Dig.* 23.2.43.1). Although *prostituta* was obviously acceptable in educated speech, it seems to have taken over from *prostibulum* as the term for a whore who was openly displayed (note *Dig.* 23.2.43-43.1); hence it contrasts with the more neutral *meretrix*, which reveals nothing about the method of soliciting employed by the referent.

Another method of soliciting was street walking<sup>24</sup>). Relevant to this is the use of *circulatrix* in the *Priapea* (19.1) of a whore Telethusa. In 19 her sexual behaviour is described (note 4 'crisabit tibi fluctuante lumbo'), but the author is more explicit about her profession in 40 ('nota Suburanas inter Telethusa puellas, / quae, puto, de quaestu libera facta suo est'). The feminine *circulatrix* is scarcely attested, but the force of the masculine *circulator* is easy to establish. A *circulator* was a low class wandering buffoon (cf. *circulor*, 'wander about') who might either perform (sword swallowers and snake charmers, for example, are mentioned with this designation: Apul. *Met.* 1.4, *Dig.* 47.11.11) or peddle something. The performance or activity of *circulatores* was incidental; it was their habit of wandering around which is expressed in the word. *Circulatrix* in the *Priapea* clearly indicates a whore who paraded the streets soliciting; her trade (note 40.2 *quaestu*) involved the use of her body.

Various designations of whores in Latin refer to the aggressive soliciting of the class. According to Servius, on Virg. *Georg.* 4.10 (= Isid. *Etym.* 10.231, *CGL* V.132.28), *petulca* could mean 'prostitute': '(haedi) petulci dicti ab appetendo, unde et meretrices petulcas uocamus'. *Petulus*, a derivative of *peto* ('attack'), is used of aggressive, frisky animals (Lucr. 2.368, Virg. *Georg.* 4.10, Col. 7.3.5). In application to whores the word would clearly have suggested soliciting. According to a gloss (*CGL* V.555.45) *petulcae* meant *meretrices*<sup>25</sup>). One might compare the adjectival use of

24) For whores on the streets, see Plaut. *Cist.* 331, Catull. 58.4, Prop. 2.22.3, 2.23.13 ff., 4.7.19, Hor. *Carm.* 1.25.10, Mart. 2.63.2. Note that both at Prop. 2.23.15 and Mart. 2.63.2 it is the *Via Sacra* which is mentioned. For the areas of Rome (the Subura, the *uicus Tuscus* and the *Caelius mons*) which were particularly frequented by whores, see Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 86 nn. 307-9.

25) *Petulus*, which occurs a number of times in glosses, may have been a late remodelling of *petulans*, which was also applicable to whores (see below).

another derivative of *peto*, *petulans*, at Pers. 1.133 'si cynico barbam petulans nonaria uellat' and Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 23.2 'hoc impurius ne improbae quidem aut petulantes mulieres fuere' (cf. Fest. p. 226 'petulantes, et petulci etiam appellantur, qui proteruo impetu, et crebro petunt laedendi alterius gratia'). The same idea would lie behind the application of *procax* to prostitutes: Fest. p. 251 'procare poscere. unde procaces meretrices ab assidue poscendo, et proci uxorem poscentes in matrimonium'. But it is not absolutely certain in any of the above cases that the grammarians or glossators had in mind substantival, as distinct from attributival, uses of the various adjectives.

*Lupa* can be dealt with here, although it differs from the above words in that it is figurative. It was surely the rapacity of the shewolf which inspired the image (note Isid. *Etym.* 10.163 'lupa, meretrix, a rapacitate uocata, quod ad se rapiat miseros et adprehendat'; cf. however Serv. on Virg. *Aen.* 3.647 'lupae, id est meretrices, dictae ab obscenitatis et odoris similitudine', who derives the image rather from the obscenity of the she-wolf<sup>26</sup>). If so, like the words discussed immediately above, *lupa* would have stressed the predatory character of prostitutes.

A 'she-wolf' in the literal sense was originally called a *lupus femina* (in Fabius Pictor and Ennius: see Quint. 1.6.12; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 70). The feminine *lupa* is attested first of whores (Plautus, Lucilius: see below) rather than of the female wolf itself. Similarly the first example of the feminine of *miluus*, *milua*, is a term of abuse directed at a woman (Petron. 75.6); previously *miluus* had been used both of the male and female bird<sup>27</sup>). In popular identifications of this sort the need was felt to mark the gender morphologically<sup>28</sup>). Certainly there can be no doubt that *lupa* was conceived as the feminine of *lupus*: the imagery is explicit in the double entendre at Plaut. *Truc.* 657 ('nam oues illius hau longe apsumt a lupis'), at Novius 7 ('cum ad lupam nostram tam multi crebro conmetant lupi') and at Laber. 56 ('catulientem lupam'). It

26) The same metaphor was found in Greek: note Messalina's *nom de guerre Lycisca* (Juv. 6.123). Daremberg-Saglio (III.2.1835 n. 2), supporting the view that the term *lupa* was based on the rapacity of whores, point out that *Lycos* is the name of a usurer in Plautus' *Curculio*, and *Lycus* of a *leno* in the *Poenulus*. On the other hand for the promiscuity of wild animals, see A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 450.

27) See A. Stefenelli, *Die Volkssprache im Werk des Petron im Hinblick auf die romanischen Sprachen* (Vienna, 1962), p. 139.

28) See Stefenelli, *loc. cit.* for further examples. Cf. *TLL* VIII. 986.75 ff.

was of course not unusual to apply animal names abusively to humans, including women (cf. *milua* above). Whores are called *limaces liuidae* at Plaut. *Cist.* 405. The *leno* Ballio calls one of his whores *excetra* at *Pseud.* 218 (denoting duplicity: cf. *Pers.* 299, *Poen.* 1034, *Truc.* 780). Cf. *Truc.* 269 *clurinum pecus* (of prostitutes).

*Lupa* must have had a long currency in speech, since it survives in the Romance languages (OFr. *louve*, Sp. *loba*, It. *lupa*). Augustine curiously implies that the usage was archaic by his time (*Ciu.* 18.21 'meretrices autem lupas uocabant, unde etiam nunc turpia loca earum lupanaria nuncupantur'), but he must be wrong. *Lupa* may have been current in social circles with which Augustine was not familiar. The word was presumably well established by the time of Plautus. Although he uses it only once (*Epid.* 403 'diuortunt mores uirgini longe ac lupae'; cf. 404 f. 'num<quam> nimis potest / pudicitiam quisquam suae seruare filiae'; note that it is the character of the whore that is at issue here; as we have seen, it was an aspect of the character of the class that inspired the image), the derivative *lupanar* is found at *Bacch* 454<sup>29</sup>).

*Lupa* indicated a particularly low whore<sup>30</sup>). At Mart. 1.34.8 ('abscondunt spurcas et monumenta lupas') it refers to the prostitutes who plied their trade in graveyards<sup>31</sup>). The adjective *spurcas* leaves no doubt as to the status of the referents, and indeed there is a contrast implied with the ordinary *meretrix* whose province is the brothel (cf. 5 'at meretrix abigit testem ueloque seraque'). At Juv. 6.016 ('flaua ruinosi lupa degustare sepulchri') *lupa* is used of the same type of *meretrix bustuaria*. The tone of Martial's example should be compared with that of Catull. 99.10 'commictae *spurca* salua lupae'. It is also worth recalling that Lucilius (334) juxtaposes *lupa* with *prostibulum*.

Although *lupa* is used once by Cicero (apparently as the climax in a series of words indicating increasingly squalid purveyors of sex: *Mil.* 55 'ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas duceret'), the distribution of the word in

29) *Lupanar* may however have been a fairly recent coinage, since it is not the standard word for 'brothel' in Republican Latin. *Lustrum* is common in Plautus and Cicero, and found also in Turpilus (149), Afranius (242) and Lucilius (1034). *Lupanar* becomes more common during the first century A.D. (for *lustrum* see TLL VII.2.1885.64 ff.; for *lupanar*, TLL VII.2.1846.25 ff.).

30) Cf. Herter, RAC III.1155, TLL VII.2.1859.23.

31) On this form of prostitution, see Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 86; cf. M. Citroni, *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Liber Primus* (Florence, 1975), p. 114.



the Republic and early Empire (and indeed its survival in Roman-  
ce) suggests that it belonged mainly to low speech. Most exam-  
ples are in mime and farce (Novius 7, Laber. 56), satire (Lucil. 334,  
Juv. 3.66, 6.016) and epigram (Catull. 99.10, Mart. 1.34.8). A  
freedman's derivative *lupatria* in Petronius (37.6), with its Greek  
suffix (cf. *πορνεύτρια*, *ἐταιρίστρια*), suggests that *lupa* was cur-  
rent in the low social circles in which hybrid words were form-  
ed<sup>32</sup>).

Two other poorly attested derivatives of *lupa* should be  
mentioned here: (1) *lupana*, a back formation from *lupanar* (e.g.  
CGL IV.362.22; cf. TLL VII.2.1845.76 ff.; however all examples  
of this word are attested only as textual variants, and it is possible  
that it is only a ghost formation); (2) *lupanaria*, based on *lupanar*  
(CGL V.308.53 (*lupiraria* cod.), Euseb. Emes. *Serm.* 7.15, p.  
186.10). Both words, if genuine, were undoubtedly artificial.

Petronius' phrase *mulier secutuleia* at 81.5 is generally taken  
to mean 'prostitute'<sup>33</sup>). If this were the true meaning, it too, like  
some of the words above, would be a euphemism based on solici-  
ting in the streets. However the sense 'prostitute' seems ill-suited  
to the context: 'tamquam mulier secutuleia unius noctis tactu om-  
nia uendidit', = 'he sold all he had for a one night stand like a  
*mulier secutuleia*'. A whore does not pay for intercourse. A *mulier  
secutuleia* must be a woman (such as a *uetula*) so desperate for  
intercourse that she is willing to buy it (she 'chases' men). For this  
type of woman, see Juv. 6.355 ff., 10.319.

Festus gives the meaning 'prostitute' to *alicaria*: p. 7 'alicariae  
meretrices appellabantur in Campania solitae ante pistrina alica-  
riorum uersari quaestus gratia, sicut hae, quae ante stabula sede-

32) *Lupatria* is not used literally by the freedman, but is a generalised abus-  
ive term: TLL VII.2.1848.26 f. 'significari uidetur mulier ad omnia attendens,  
quam nihil fugit'. So Apuleius' *lupula* (*Met.* 3.22, 5.11) does not specifically indi-  
cate a whore, but an excessively lustful woman. For doubts about the usual inter-  
pretation of *lupatria*, see now G. Neumann, 'lupatria in Petron. c. 37,6 und das  
Problem der hybriden Bildungen', *Würz. Jahrb.* 6 a (1980), pp. 173 ff. (suggesting  
*lupatrix* (-tris)).

33) So C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), s.v.  
For the suffix, cf. *sterteia* at Petron. 75.9 and various other words collected by W.  
Heraeus, *Die Sprache des Petronius und die Glossen* (Offenbach a. M., 1899), p. 24  
= J. B. Hofmann (ed.), *Kleine Schriften von Wilhelm Heraeus* (Heidelberg, 1937),  
pp. 94 f. For the sexual use of *sequor* and derivatives, cf. Plaut. *Mil.* 91 'ait sese  
ultra omnis mulieres sectarier' (cf. 778), Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.113 'ne sequerer moechas',  
1.2.78 'desine matronas sectarier'. Note too the sexual (?) use of *secutulus* at CGL  
II.593.10 *secutulus qui maiores (= mares?) sequitur*.

bant, dicebantur prostibula'. If he were correct *alicaria* would be another euphemism based on a type of soliciting<sup>34</sup>). Festus' assertion, however, looks like an interpretation of Plaut. *Poen.* 266 ('ante ibi uis inter istas uorsarier / prosedas, pistorum amicas, reliquias alicarias'). The reading of the *Codex Turnebi*, *reginas alicarias*, which is printed by Lindsay and accepted by the OLD, is to be rejected<sup>35</sup>). At *TLL* I.1557.30 the phrase *reliquias alicarias* would appear to be taken in the sense 'left overs of the *alicarii*' ('i. operariorum qui alicam tractant'), i.e. 'those who deal in, or manufacture, *alica*', a type of grain defined by the OLD as 'emmer groats'<sup>36</sup>). Maurach (p. 196) takes the expression in the sense 'die Weiber, die sogar die Müllersknechte bleiben lassen'. These interpretations are semantically implausible. *Alicarius* must mean 'related to *alica*', not 'related to *alicarii*', just as (e.g.) *frumentarius* means 'related to *frumentum*' rather than 'related to *frumentarii*'. A *praedo frumentarius* (Cic. *Verr.* 3.76) was a plunderer of *frumentum*, not of those who dealt in *frumentum*; so *reliquias alicarias* must mean 'left overs of *alica*' (sc. 'after it has been ground, milled')<sup>37</sup>). For the grinding of *alica*, see Plin. *Nat.* 18.112 '*alica fit e zea, quam semen appellauimus. tunditur granum eius in pila lignea. . .*'. The metaphors of grinding, milling, crushing etc. applied to sexual intercourse were commonplace, and indeed various derivatives of *tundo*, and perhaps *tundo* itself, had a sexual sense<sup>38</sup>). Hence the implication is 'you are (like) the remnants of *alica* after it has been ground', i.e. 'you have suffered *fututio* in the manner that *alica* is ground'. There is implied here a graphic image for intercourse, but *alicaria* does not mean 'prostitute'. The

34) The authenticity of *alicaria* as a designation of prostitutes has been generally accepted: see Daremberg-Saglio, III.2.1835, 1837, K. Schneider, 'Mere-trix', *PW* XV.1.1019, Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), pp. 74 f.

35) See E. Fraenkel, *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence, 1960), p. 186 n. 4, G. Maurach, *Plauti Poenulus* (Heidelberg, 1975), p. 195.

36) See Olck, *PW* I.2.1478, Plin. *Nat.* 18.109 ff.

37) Cf. J. L. Ussing, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* IV.2 (Copenhagen, 1883), p. 307 'Verum non simpliciter alicariae dicuntur, sed *reliquiae alicariae*, i.e. reliquiae siue *residuum alicae* [my italics], quod restat, ubi sucus inde extractus est, ut fiebat ad sorbitionis usum. Cum tali residuo comparantur meretrices, quarum flos iam dudum decerptus est'. Ussing grasped the force of *alicaria* (= *alicae*), but he misunderstood the metaphor.

38) See *tundo* at Catull. 59.5 (?), *Pertunda* at Arnob. *Nat.* 4.7, Tert. *Nat.* 2.11, Aug. *Ciu.* 6.9, *pertunitorium* at CGL IV.295.34, V.488.58, *molo* at Lucil. 278, Pompon. 100, Varro *Men.* 331, Petron. 23.5, Auson. *Epigr.* 79.7, p. 341, P., 82.2, p. 343, *permolo* at Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.35, *depso* at Cic. *Fam.* 9.22.4, *perdepso* at Catull. 74.3.

view that *halicaria* means 'prostitute' at *CIL* IV.4001 (*Glyco halicaria*)<sup>39</sup>) is also groundless. There is no context, and it is far more likely that the sense is 'female dealer in *alica*'<sup>40</sup>). There is another misinterpretation of Plautus at *Fest.* p. 442 'schoeniculas app(ellauit mere)trices Plautus propter usum ung(uenti schoeni)'; cf. *Cist.* 407 'non quasi nunc haec sunt hic, limaces liuidae, / febri-cul(osae, mi)serae amicae, osseae, / diobolares, schoeniculae, miracul(ae)'. *Schoeniculae* is merely an adjective applied to the prostitutes (for *schoenum* used by whores, see *Poen.* 267), like (e.g.) *osseae*; it does not itself mean 'prostitute'<sup>41</sup>).

*Solitaria* at Salvian *Gub. Dei* 7.99 ('ut Romana illa decreta, quae scortatores quidem ab alienis uxoribus remouerunt, ad omnes autem solitarias passim admiserunt, adulteria uetantes, lupanaria aedificantes') is an interesting euphemism based on an aspect of soliciting. Unlike decent women, low prostitutes might be found standing alone in the streets: note Plaut. *Cist.* 331 'nam meretricem astare in uia *solam* prostibuli sanest'<sup>42</sup>).

Mention was made above (p. 335) of a euphemism which strictly referred to the scene of the whore's sexual activities (*lupanaria*; cf. *στεγίτης* in Poll. 7.201, Hesych. *s.v.* *στεγίτην*). *Fornicaria* is of the same type (*fornix* + *aria*), but it is a special case. The word is found only in Christian Latin. Although it is a normal formation (see below p. 340 on *-aria* formations referring to prostitutes), it is possible that it was based ultimately on the chance

39) See V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*<sup>3</sup> (Berlin, 1966), p. 91.

40) On such feminines, see G. N. Olcott, *Studies in the Word Formation of the Latin Inscriptions* (Rome, 1898), pp. 173 ff.

41) Although it is given this meaning by Daremberg-Saglio, III.2.1835, and Schneider, *PW* XV.1.1019. In the same passage *miraculae* too (for *miracula*, fem. see *TLL* VIII.1503.73 ff.) is an epithet applied to whores, not a designation of them (despite Daremberg-Saglio and Schneider, *loc. cit.*). It is also worth noting here that the obscure words *scrattae*, *scruppedae* and *strittabillae* (the spellings are doubtful) found in a fragment (97 Lindsay) of Plautus' *Neruolaria* (see Varro *Ling.* 7.65, Gell. 3.3.6, Nonius p. 248 L.) were undoubtedly epithets of whores, not nouns equivalent to *meretrix*: note Gell. *loc. cit.* 'delectatus faceta uerborum antiquitate *meretricum uitia atque deformitates significantium*', and cf. Nonius *loc. cit.* Daremberg-Saglio and Schneider, *loc. cit.* equate the words with *meretrix* (note *Fest.* p. 448 L. 'scrattae dicebantur nugatoriae ac despiciendae mulieres'), and Hammarström (see above, n. 3), on *scratta* and *strittabilla*, makes the same mistake.

42) Some prostitutes also lived and worked alone in their own *cellae*; for such simple *cellae* at Pompeii, see Daremberg-Saglio, III.2.1836. On the scandal caused by a woman unescorted, see Men. *Dysc.* 223 ff.; and for *matronae* (in contrast to *meretrices*) escorted in the streets, see Daremberg-Saglio, III.2.1837.

phonetic similarity between Lat. *fornix* 'brothel' and the standard word for 'whore' in Biblical Greek, πόρνη: the translators used *fornix* as a base in order to produce a Latin word as similar as possible to the Greek. Similarly the phonetic similarity of *poto* to ποτίζω led translators to use it transitively as an equivalent of the Greek word (e.g. Matth. 25: 37, *codd.* *r*, *d*, *f*, *h*, *q*; cf., e.g. *Per. Aeth.* 44.4, 65.18, 67.12). With *fornicaria* can be compared *fornicatrix* (*Vet. Lat.*, Matth. 21:31 (Sangall.), translating πόρνη; *Vulg. meretrices*, which is also found in other codices of the *Vet. Lat.*)<sup>43</sup>). *Fornicatrix*, like *fornicatoria* (*Hil. Coll. Antiar.* A IV.1.9) is based on another Christian coinage, *fornicator* = *scortator*<sup>44</sup>). One cannot as yet determine whether *fornicaria* or *meretrix* was more favoured by the early translators. Both are found in the various versions of Gen. 38:15 (note also *performicaria* in one version here), 38:21 and Luke 15:30. Jerome had no liking for *fornicaria* (-us): it is found only 11 times in the Vulgate, sometimes in the masculine. It is not impossible that in this respect Jerome had sought to modify the practice of earlier translators.

A gloss gives the sense *meretrix* to *popina* (*CGL* V.510.48 'popina meretrix uel coquina'), and another (*CGL* V.576.35) glosses it with *nomen meretricis*. There is no evidence that the word genuinely acquired the meaning 'prostitute', or indeed that it served as a proper name<sup>45</sup>), but an explanation of the glosses can be suggested. Words for 'brothel' or, by a slight extension, 'inn' (serving as a brothel)<sup>46</sup>), could be applied to a person (male or female) as a term of abuse: Catull. 42.13 'o lutum, *lupanar*, / aut si perditius potest quid esse', Suet. *Iul.* 49.1 'in quibus eum Dolabella . . . Curio *stabulum* Nicomedis et Bithynicum *fornicem* dicunt', Apul. *Apol.* 74 'est . . . libidinum ganeorumque locus, *lustrum*, *lupanar*'. The glossators above may have had before them an example of *popina* directed at a whore. By one of them the word was interpreted as a proper name, by the other as a common noun which had taken on the sense 'prostitute'.

43) See the edition of A. Jülicher, *Itala, das neue Testament in altlateinischer Überlieferung*, I (Berlin, 1938), *ad loc.*

44) Certain derivatives of *fornix*, which no doubt sprang from the Christian community, found their way into Romance: *fornicare* (see W. Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*<sup>3</sup> (Heidelberg, 1935), 3452), and *\*fornicium* (*REW* 3453).

45) The glosses are quoted uncritically by Kleberg, p. 16 (see above, n. 22; cf. Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 74 n. 64.

46) For the association of *popinae* with prostitution, see Sen. *Dial.* 7.7.3, *Dig.* 4.8.21.11. See above, n. 22.

An example of *fornix* at Aug. *c. Faust.* 32.4 ('soceros dormire cum nurbis tamquam Iudas, patres cum filiabus tamquam Loth, prophetas cum fornicibus tamquam Osee . . .') is similar, but not identical, to that at Suet. *Iul.* 49.1 above. In the above passages the word for 'brothel' or the like is a vocative, or else the referent is equated with a 'brothel' (and hence the word stands in the predicate following the verb 'to be'). Augustine, however, has used *fornix* as a full equivalent of *meretrix* in an oblique case. There are two possible explanations of the usage: (a) Augustine may have observed a usage such as that at Suet. *Iul.* 49.1 and deliberately extended it; (b) *fornix* = *meretrix* may be a malapropism (the word does not survive in the Romance languages, and if it had fallen out of use by Augustine's time its original sense may have been forgotten) inspired by the phonetically similar *πόρνῃ*. Since Augustine is unlikely to have committed such a malapropism, the first explanation is the more likely. The use of *copona* = 'prostitute', discussed above, n. 22, is perhaps a parallel to Augustine's *fornix*, but it is impossible to be certain.

*Ganea*, which occurs in the sense 'prostitute' in glosses (Gloss. Papiæ Hildebrand p. 152 'ganea: taberna popina meretrix. ganeae: meretrices quae morantur in occultis') and in medieval texts<sup>47</sup>), and survives as Ital. *ganza*<sup>48</sup>), also shows a superficially similar development to that of *fornix*. *Ganea* means 'brothel' or 'inn' in Classical Latin, and it might once have been applied to whores in the manner of some of the words above. But the view that *ganea* is a feminine derivative of masc. *ganeo* ('habitué of a *ganeum*')<sup>49</sup>) is preferable (cf. *copo/copa*, *leno/lena*).

We have now seen numerous euphemisms which allude to methods, aspects or places of soliciting or sexual activity. I mention finally in this category various circumlocutions in which a suggestive place name (or adjective based on a place name) is attached to an inherently innocent feminine noun. The adjective *summemmianae* applied to *uxores* at Mart. 3.82.2 and 12.32.22 (cf. 11.61.2 *summemmianis buccis*) obviously indicated a place notorious for the activities of whores. The precise form of the adjective and the allusion which it contains are not clear<sup>50</sup>). Cf.

47) See J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden, 1976), s. v.

48) For the etymology of *ganza*, see C. Battisti and G. Alessio, *Dizionario etimologico italiano* (Florence, 1950-7), III, p. 1761.

49) For this view see Battisti-Alessio, *loc. cit.*, TLL VI.2.1690.1.

50) See Citroni, p. 113 (see above, n. 31).

*Suburbanas* . . . *puellas* (Priap. 40.1), *Suburbanas* . . . *magistrae* (Mart. 11.78.11)<sup>51</sup>).

It is not the place or manner of soliciting which is alluded to in *nonaria*, but another matter incidental to the distinctive sexual act of whores, namely the hour from which it took place: Pers. 1.133 'si cynico barbam petulans nonaria uellat', *Schol. Juv.* 6.117 'quoniam antea meretrices propter sacrorum celebrationem ab hora nona totam noctem prostabant, inde etiam "nonariae" dictae sunt'<sup>52</sup>).

It is worthwhile to point out here that adjectives of the *-arius* suffix, whether substantivised or adjectival, are commonly used in reference to prostitutes. The suffix typically indicated persons who were concerned professionally with the thing described by the noun: the great majority of such words have to do with trade and production<sup>53</sup>). The use of the formation in application to prostitutes had the effect of placing their *quaestus* on the same footing as other trades and lower-class activities. The words of this type applied to whores which I have noted are *lupanaria*, *formicaria*, *nonaria*, *sellaria*, *solitaria*, *quaestuarium*, *alicaria*, *quadrantaria* (Cic. *Cael.* 62, Quint. 8.6.53)<sup>54</sup>), *bustuarium* (*moechae*) (Mart. 3.93.15)<sup>55</sup>), (*scorta*) *diobolaria* (Plaut. *Poen.* 270; cf. *Cist.* 407 *diobolares*, Fest. p. 65)<sup>56</sup>), (*elecebrae*) *argentariae* (Plaut. *Men.* 377; cf. Fest. p. 66).

A euphemism may allude to any other incidental attribute of prostitutes. Since prostitutes wore a *toga* without the *instita*<sup>57</sup>), it is not surprising to find them called *togatae* (Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.82, Mart. 6.64.4; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.63 *ancilla* . . . *togata*). Similarly at [Tibull.] 4.10.3 *toga* is by metonymy used in the sense 'whore': 'sit tibi cura togae potior pressumque quasillo / scortum quam. . .'<sup>58</sup>).

Whores were often slaves<sup>59</sup>). Hence in an appropriate context

51) On the Subura as a haunt of whores, see above, n. 24.

52) See further Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 87 n. 319.

53) See Olcott, p. 138 (see above, n. 40), Väänänen, p. 91 (see above, n. 39), M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>6</sup> (Munich, 1977), pp. 297 ff.

54) See Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 81 n. 178.

55) For whores in graveyards, see above, p. 334.

56) For the designating of a whore by means of the fee she receives, cf. Hesych. *τριάντος πόρνη λαμβάνουσα τριάκοιντα, ὃ ἐστὶ λεπτὰ εἴκοσι*.

57) See Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 94.

58) So at Ovid *Ars* 2.600 *instita* = *matrona*.

59) See Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 77.



it is not unusual to find them called 'slaves'; usually the noun will be complemented in a suggestive way: Jerome *Epist.* 77.3.1 'ut ne scortum quidem et uile mancipium ea sustinere posset', 77.3.3 'solo stupro atque adulterio condemnato passim per lupanaria et ancillulas libido permittitur', Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.63 'ancilla . . . togata', Juv. 6.320 'lenonum ancillas', 11.173 'nudum olido stans / fornice mancipium' (cf. *H.A., Comm.* 2.8 'prostibula mancipia').

Prostitutes were frequently foreigners. Hence Donatus' assertion that *peregrina* once meant 'prostitute' is at first sight plausible: *ad Ter. Andr.* 146 'peregrinam . . . nam hoc nomine etiam meretrices nominabantur', 469 'ex peregrina id est ex meretrice; mulieres enim peregrinae inhonestae ac meretrices habebantur'<sup>60</sup>). Nevertheless Donatus was wrong. Terence (*Andr.* 145 f. 'indignum facinus; comperisse Pamphilum / pro uxore habere hanc peregrinam') had in mind the veto under Attic law of marriage between an Athenian and a foreign woman, and Donatus has missed the point<sup>61</sup>).

I mention finally *ambubaia*, which is sometimes ascribed the sense 'prostitute'<sup>62</sup>). The word is Syrian (cf. *abbub*, 'flute'), and it must have denoted a Syrian flute girl. This is undoubtedly the sense at Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.1 ('ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolae, / mendici, mima, balatrones, hoc genus omne / maestum ac sollicitum est cantoris morte Tigelli')<sup>63</sup>), and it is consistent with the context at Suet. *Nero* 27.2 ('cenitabatque nonnunquam et in publico, naumachia praeclusa uel Martio campo uel circo maximo, inter scortorum totius urbis et ambubaiarum ministeria'). *Ambubaia* is a term of abuse at Petron. 74.13, but the context is not sexual ('ambubaia non meminit se de machina? in (de) illam sustuli, hominem inter homines feci'); Trimalchio is suggesting that his wife has forgotten her lowly origins, and hence the sense 'flute girl' would be appropriate. The only slight evidence for the meaning 'prostitute' comes from the first clause of Porph. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.1 ('ambubaiae . . . sunt mulieres uagae et uiles, quibus nomen hoc causa uanorum et ebrietate balbutientium uerborum uidetur esse inditum. nonnulli tamen ambubaias tibicines Syra lingua pu-

60) Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 71, n. 6 refers to Donatus' note without comment.

61) See G. P. Shipp, *P. Terenti Afri Andria*<sup>2</sup> (Melbourne, 1960), on 146.

62) See, e.g. Schneider, *PW* XV.1.1019, A. Ernout and A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*<sup>4</sup> (Paris, 1959), s.v..

63) For *collegia* of low performers, A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, *Q. Horatius Flaccus, zweiter Teil: Satiren* (Berlin, 1957), *ad loc.* (p. 25) cite *CIL* VI.10109.

tant dici'), but a sexual implication would appear to be ruled out by the next clause. Moreover the second sentence suggests that Porphyrio did not know the word from current usage, and was merely speculating about its meaning. I conclude that there is no evidence that the word meant 'whore', either at the time of Horace or of Porphyrio<sup>64</sup>).

ii

Another method of referring to prostitutes was by means of adjectives (sometimes substantivised) of moral disapproval. Such words need not of course specifically indicate prostitutes; they can refer to other classes of disreputable women (notably adulteresses), sometimes excluding whores, sometimes including them. But there is no doubt that often when a writer employs such a euphemism he has prostitutes above all in mind. Though it might seem paradoxical, it is reasonable in most cases to use the term 'euphemism' of pejorative language of this type. Phrases such as 'woman of ill fame, woman of shame' do not specify the cause of the referent's notoriety or shame, although admittedly some adjectives imply a sexual misdemeanour more strongly than others.

A clear case of *famosae* ('women of notoriety') used of prostitutes is found at Cic. *De orat.* 2.277 'me ad famosas uetuit mater accedere'; cf. Livy 39.43.2, where *famosam mulierem* is taken up by *scorto* (cf. Vulg. Ezech. 23:10 *famosae mulieres*). On the other hand at Suet. *Tib.* 35.2 *feminae famosae* are adulteresses (who register as whores with the aediles to escape a loss of privileges<sup>65</sup>); cf., e.g. *H.A., Sen.* 18.8 'famosam adulteriis'.

For *impudica* applied to prostitutes, see Sen. *Contr.* 2.7.5 'si stuprum tantum negaueris, quod plerumque etiam impudicissima, spe uberioris praemi de industria simulat?'; Tac. *Ann.* 2.85 'ueteres . . . qui satis poenarum aduersum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant'. For the same word of an adulteress, see Tac. *Ann.* 13.21.

A gloss appears to equate *propudiosae* with *meretrices* (CGL IV. *praef.* XVIII 'propudia quasi porro pudenda uel a quibus pudor et pudicitia procul absint: propudiosae meretrices'; cf. Fest. p.

64) Nevertheless popular performers were often prostitutes: see Herter, *JbAC* 3 (1960), pp. 97 ff.

65) *Feminae* here is semantically marked: it suggests 'ladies' of ill-repute, i.e. *matronae* who practised adultery. Cf. *Dom.* 8.3 'probrosis feminis lecticae usum ademit iusque capiendi legata hereditatesque'.

253), but it is always possible that such an assertion is based on adjectival uses of the word applied to *meretrices* et sim. (as at Min. Fel. Oct. 25.8 'sane et Acca Larentia et Flora, meretrices propudiosae . . .'). Nevertheless any regular epithet of whores is likely to be substantivised occasionally.

There follows a brief selection of other such words and expressions: Cic. *Cat.* 2.7 'quis adulter, quae mulier infamis . . . qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime uixisse fateatur?'<sup>66</sup>); Prop. 2.24.9 'quare ne tibi sit mirum me quaerere *uilis*' (for the adjective, cf. Jerome, *Epist.* 77.3.1)<sup>67</sup>); Mart. 6.66.1 'famae non nimium bonae puellam, / quales in media sedent Subura'; Aurel. Vict. *Caes.* 23.2 *improbae . . . mulieres*.

### iii

Whores are sometimes called 'women of the people, public, common' for the obvious reason that in a sense they belong to everyone. Such adjectives are applied to prostitutes pejoratively, but they can still be classed as euphemistic because nothing is revealed about the sense in which the referent is a public possession.

*Publica* is substantivised with the meaning 'prostitute' (cf. Fr. (*femme*) *publique*) at Sen. *Epist.* 88.37: 'in his an Sappho *publica* fuerit'. Seneca is referring to a question posed by the grammarian Didymus, and he almost certainly had a Greek word in mind (see below), but the usage is not implausible for Latin also (cf. *publicanae mulieres* at Zeno, I *Tract.* 15.6, Migne 11, p. 368). Whores are often spoken of in Latin as belonging to the *populus* or *uulgus*. Those women who are prostituted to the 'people' are generally looked upon as the lowest of whores; sophisticated *meretrices* had a more restricted clientele. The following selection of passages of diverse kinds illustrates the applicability of *publica* to a type of whore: Plaut. *Aul.* 285 'prostibulum populi', *Pseud.* 178 'cras poplo prostituam uos' (a threat to downgrade some high-class prostitutes), Lucr. 4.1071 'uulgiuaga . . . Venus' (= 'Ἀφροδίτη πάνδημος'; cf. Plat. *Symp.* 181 A), Catull. 72.3 'dilexi tum te

66) *Mulier infamis* is admittedly ambiguous here. Nevertheless whores were technically *infames*: see Herter, *RAC* III.1170, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 108.

67) On Propertius' avoidance of the usual words for 'prostitute', see H. Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Propertius und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache* (*Hermes Einzelschriften*, Heft 15, Wiesbaden, 1960), p. 120.

non tantum ut uolus amicum', Cic. *Dom.* 49 'per medium forum scortum popolare uoluitares', Sen. *Contr.* 1.2.12 'quam prostitutus erat in libidinem populi', Mart. 2.53.7 'si plebeia Venus gemino tibi uincitur asse'<sup>68</sup>), Suet. *Vit.* 2.1 'ex muliere uulgari', Amm. 28.4.9 'oppidanæ quondam prostibulum plebis', *CIL* IV.1860, Add. p. 464 (= *Eph. Epigr.* I, p. 53, *CE* 942) 'quæ pretium dixit, non mea (puella) sed populi est', *Eph. Epigr.* I, p. 54 'sed mihi de populo nulla puella placet', Isid. *Etym.* 10.110 'fornicatrix est cuius corpus publicum et uulgare est'. Similarly a whore might be the possession of 'everyone' (*omnes*): Cic. *Cael.* 49 'si quæ non nupta mulier domum suam patefecerit omnium cupiditati' (cf. *Cael.* 32, below p. 349). Comparable with the above usages are various verbs (*publico*, *peruolgo* = 'prostitute'): Plaut. *Bacch.* 863 'illam, quæ corpus publicat uolgo suom' (note also *uolgo*), Tac. *Germ.* 19.1 'publicatae enim pudicitiae nulla uenia', *H.A.*, *Seu. Alex.* 34.4 'mulieres infames . . . publicari iussit', Cic. *Cael.* 38 'quæ se omnibus peruolgaret' (note here *omnibus*).

In Greek κοινός is sometimes used of prostitutes (e.g. Argentarius, *A.P.* 7.403.7<sup>69</sup>). Cf. πολιτική = πόρνη at *POxy.* 903.37 καὶ ἔμεινεν λέγων ὅτι μετὰ μὴναν / λαμβάνω πολιτικὴν ἑμαυτῷ (cf. *PGrenf.* II. 73.9), and δημίην Κύπριν πόρνην (Hesych.; H. has Κυπρ( ) after πόρνην; L-S-J interpret the word as referring to the *Cypria*, in which case δημίην and πόρνην would be equated, but Schmidt transposed).

### III

#### Miscellaneous

##### *Puella*

Words for 'girl' often deteriorate in meaning and acquire the sense 'whore, lewd woman' (Fr. *fille*, Germ. *Dirne*, VL *putta* > Prov. *puta*, Fr. *putain*). In some languages there is a constant process of replacement; as a word deteriorates, it is replaced, but in due course its replacement may suffer the same fate. In Latin *puella* tended to degenerate, but its history is not exactly the same

68) For the use of a mythological proper name to indicate a whore, see Mart. 2.63.2 '(sestertia) quæ tulit e sacra Leda redempta uia', 4.4.9 'spurcae . . . Ledaæ'.

69) See Herter, *RAC* IV.1154 f.

as that of the above words. It does not survive in the Romance languages.

In Plautus the predominating use of *puella* is in reference to small (female) children. It is used thus 11 times in the *Cistellaria*, twice in the *Casina* (41, 79), and at *Curc.* 528 and *Truc.* 404. In a few other places it is used of innocent young girls who have just reached nubile age; their youth is usually stressed. So at *Cas.* 48 the *puella* loved by the *senex* had just reached the age at which she could please men ('postquam ea adoleuit ad eam aetatem ut uiris / placere posset, eam puellam hic senex / amat ecclitum'); cf. *Pers.* 592, *Poen.* 1094, 1301. Terence uses *puella* in the same way as Plautus: most of his 6 examples of the word refer to children.

A *leno* in Plautus is as a rule spoken of as possessing *mulieres*<sup>70</sup>), not *puellae* (e.g. *Merc.* 44, *Pseud.* 172, 617, 754, 1015, 1053, 1055, 1071, *saep.*). So a whore could be called a *mulier meretrix* (*Men.* 261, 335, *Merc.* 685, *Stich.* 746), but *puella meretrix* does not occur.

The one play in which this pattern might seem to be violated is the *Rudens*, in which Palaestra and Ampelisca, who are in the possession of the *leno* Labrax, are 7 times called *puellae* (45, 59, 264, 282, 567, 1148, 1153). But the freeborn girl is a virgin, not a whore (41, 51, 67, 74, 81), and the innocence and youth of the pair are stressed: note 567 'nempe puellae?', where the sense must be 'surely they were young (girls)?': *puella* is technical (for this use of the word, see Mart. 1.64.1, 2.41.5, 9.66.1).

There are some curiosities in the use and distribution of *puella* from the late Republic onwards. The rarity of the word in epic has been pointed out by Axelson<sup>71</sup>), but it is also infrequent in educated prose. *Puella* is not found at all in the speeches or rhetorica of Cicero, and it is used only 3 times in the letters and twice in the philosophica. Neither Sallust nor Caesar uses it. Celsus has it twice, Seneca 9 times, Curtius Rufus twice, Tacitus 5 times, Pliny the Younger 4 times, Fronto once and Florus 3 times. Those educated writers who do use the word tend to restrict it to the early sense 'female child'. All of the examples in Cicero fall into this class, as do 4 of the 5 in Tacitus and most of the 20 in Suetonius. Livy, who uses *puella* 22 times, has it sometimes in the

70) Nevertheless it is appropriate to point out here that the view that *mulier* necessarily indicates a sexually experienced woman is a misconception. The word indicates a female who has reached maturity; it may be used of virgins (e.g. Plaut. *Rud.* 641, 1079; see further J. N. Adams, *Glotta* 50 (1972), pp. 247 ff.).

71) B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund, 1945), p. 58.

sense 'young woman', but for the most part in the account of Appius Claudius' debauching of the *uirgo* Verginia (3.44 ff.); here *puella* alternates with *uirgo* (it is used 14 times in this section), perhaps for variation only.

The preferred word in educated prose was *uirgo*. It is true that *uirgo* almost invariably has its technical nuance 'virgin'<sup>72</sup>) and that it can indicate a mature woman who is a virgin, but it is nevertheless frequently used in contexts in which it might have been replaced by *puella*. *Puella*, for example, is often juxtaposed with *puer* as a collective term = 'children'<sup>73</sup>), but some writers preferred *uirgo* to *puella* in this antithesis<sup>74</sup>). And whereas *puella* could be opposed to *mulier*, at least in later Latin<sup>75</sup>), in educated classical prose it is *uirgo* which appears in such juxtapositions (e.g. Cic. *Verr.* 1.63, 107, 4.99). Almost all of the prose writers referred to above used *uirgo* more often than *puella*, although, given the technical nuance of *uirgo*, the statistics in themselves are not revealing.

There can be little doubt about the reason for the rarity of *puella* in some writers. By the late Republic the word is frequently applied euphemistically to women past puberty, who in the context may be treated as of easy virtue. Indeed it approaches the meaning 'whore' often, or at least is used of women who are whores: e.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.82 'hic ego mendacem stultissimus usque puellam / ad mediam noctem exspecto', Mart. 6.66.1 'fa-mae non nimium bonae puellam, / quales in media sedent Subura' (cf. *Priap.* 40.1 'nota Suburanas inter Telethusa puellas'), 12.43.3 'quales nec Didymi sciunt puellae' (the 'girls' of Didymus, a *leno*; in Plautus, as we have seen, such girls were called *mulieres*), Stat. *Silu.* 1.6.67 'faciles emi puellae', Juv. 6.127 'mox lenone suas iam dimittente puellas' (*Schol.* 'de meritoriis recedentibus puellis. . .'), 14.45 'procul, a procul inde puellae / lenonum' (*Schol. meretrices*) (cf. Mart. 12.43.3 above), 3.65 'ad circum iussas prostare puellas', *CIL* IV.1860, Add. p. 464 (= *Eph. Epigr.* I, p. 53 CE 942) 'quae

72) See R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace Odes Book II* (Oxford, 1978), p. 133. In comedy *uirgo* is sometimes used of girls who have been raped (Ter. *Eun.* 891, *Adelph.* 474, 478), but these examples scarcely display a generalisation of meaning. In the phrase 'to rape a virgin', *virgin* stresses the status of the girl before the act. In comedy the other characters have in mind the innocence of such girls.

73) E.g. Plaut. *Cist.* 135, *Truc.* 404, Catull. 34.2, 62.42, 44, Petron. 53.2, 134.8, Suet. *Cal.* 16.4, *Claud.* 32, 35.2.

74) Cic. *Cat.* 4.12, *Phil.* 3.31, Sall. *Cat.* 51.9, Livy 26.13.5, 31.17.5.

75) See Adams, *Glotta* 50 (1972), p. 248.



pretium dixit, non mea (puella) sed populi est', *Eph. Epigr.* I, p. 54 'sed mihi de populo nulla puella placet', *Hist. Apoll. Tyr.* 33 'uocauit ad se uillicum puellarum'.

The force which *puella* had acquired is particularly obvious in the Pompeian graffiti. The word is often used in obscene inscriptions, applied to women who were no doubt thought of as disreputable: e.g. *CIL* IV.1516 'hic ego nunc futue formosa puella laudata a multis . . .', 2175 'hic ego puellas multas futui', 10197 'elige [= elinge], puella'. Nevertheless in a few places the referent is no worse than someone's girl friend or mistress (1645 'si quis forte meam cupiet uio[lare] puelam . . .'). The word takes its tone from the context<sup>76</sup>). Colloquial usage had changed since the time of Plautus. Plautine characters fall in love, or engage in amatory activities with *mulieres*, not *puellae* (see further above)<sup>77</sup>). *Mulier*, as the *vox propria* for an adult woman, continued to be employed in sexual contexts in the late Republic and Empire (e.g. *CIL* IV.2450 'a.d. XI K. Decembr. Epapra, Acutus, Auctus ad locum duxerunt mulierem Tychen; pretium in singulos a. V f(uit?). . .'; cf. 1883, 5213), but in the colloquial language it was rivalled by *puella*, which is perhaps the preferred term of disreputable women.

Clearly *puella* was by no means a perfect synonym of *meretrix*. But it was an established euphemism in erotic language, and in appropriate contexts could refer to whores<sup>78</sup>). 'Correct' prose writers tended to avoid the use of the word in reference to mature young women, and they also showed some reluctance to use it of children. The semantic 'degeneration' of *puella* clearly did not

76) So in Catullus *puella* is used partly of Lesbia (e.g. 3.3, 3.4, 3.17, 5.4, 8.7, etc.), and partly of low women of mature age (e.g. 10.16, 41.1, 3, 5, 7). In elegy it is the standard word for the mistress of the poet, often in the phrase *mea puella*.

77) For this use of *mulier*, see Lodge, (see above, n. 10), II, p. 96 b.

78) Hammarström, *Eranos* 23 (1925), p. 109 points out that *meretrix* and *scortum* are rare in Martial, (*scortum*-, *meretrix* 2), and suggests that their function had been taken over by *puella*. But the use of *puella* applied to whores is by no means the predominating use of the word in Martial. The word usually refers to young women. Sometimes the referent is sexually experienced, or at least the context is sexual (e.g. in the passages quoted above; cf. 4.71.2, 7.30.7, 11.16.8, 11.81.2, 12.55.1), but in other places the noun has a favourable sense (e.g. 1.115.2, 3.65.1, 4.25.4, 5.2.8, 5.37.1, 7.88.4, 9.39.4, 9.90.8). It can be used of a virgin (5.2.8) or a model of chastity (7.88.4, 9.90.8). Sometimes the emphasis is on the youth of the referent (1.64.1, 2.41.5, 9.66.1). Or it may mean nothing more offensive than 'girl friend' (3.11.1). It is only in certain contexts that it refers to whores.

consist in its wholesale acquisition of an unfavourable meaning. It became no more than suggestive, and it could still, even at a late date, be used neutrally. In Christian Latin, for example, it is sometimes applied to nuns (e.g. Ambr. *Virg.* 26 'consecratas integritati puellas', Vict. Vit. 1.32).

The deterioration of *puella* is paralleled by that of *put(t)a* ('girl'), which is used of a prostitute at Greg. Tur. Vit. Patr. 19.3.

### *Amica*

*Amica* usually has a favourable sense in Plautus ('girl friend'). This can be seen most clearly in the *Miles Gloriosus*, where the same girl is spoken of either as *amica* or *concubina* depending on whose possession she is in the context. Her status in relation to the *adulescens*, with whom she is in love, is that of *amica* (105, 114, 122, 263, 507), but in relation to the *miles*, from whom she wishes to escape, she is a *concubina* (140, 146, 337, 362, 416, 458, 470, 508, 549, 814, 937, 973, 1095, 1145)<sup>79</sup>. *Amica*, at least in this play, implied a romantic attachment, *concubina* merely a sexual liaison. The force of *concubina* is clear at *Merc.* 757, where the cook affects to believe that an old woman is the *amica* of Lysimachus, and adds 'scitam hercle opinor concubinam hanc'. He must be referring (ironically) to the capabilities of the old woman as a bed companion (cf. *concubitus* at *Amph.* 1136, 'concubitu grauidam feci filio'). The word obviously had a sexual, and potentially pejorative flavour. *Amica* on the other hand is constantly used by young men of their girl friends (sometimes with possessive adjectives, e.g. *mea amica*, *Rud.* 839). Such relationships were usually savoury and romantic, and they culminated in marriage. If *amica* is used of an illicit relationship, as for example in the *Mercator*, where a married *senex* seeks to acquire a young girl (see *amica* at 545, 688, 794, 813), the *amator* will usually see himself as genuinely in love. The contrast between *scortum* and *amica* at *Merc.* 923–5 ('mater irata est patri uehementer, quia scortum sibi / ob oculos adduxerit in aedis, dum ruri ipsa abest: / suspicatur illam amicam esse illi') has been mentioned above, p. 326. The *matrona* is angry that her husband has brought a whore (*scortum*) into the house, and she is also afraid that the girl may be his *amica*. *Amica* obviously implied a more permanent connection than *scortum*. The favourable tone of *amica* is also apparent at *Truc.* 917ff.

79) An exception is at 274, where Sceledrus, the slave of the *miles*, calls Philocomasium *erilem amicam*.

There (917, 920) the soldier addresses Phronesium as his *amica*, but at 926, when he becomes angry, she is called a *mulier* instead.

On the other hand even in Plautus a whore could be spoken of as the 'friend' of her clients, even when there is no evidence in the context of a romantic attachment to a particular individual. The *leno* in the *Pseudolus*, Ballio, addresses one of his whores as the 'friend' of *frumentarii* (188 'Hedylum, tecum ago, quae amica es frumentariis'). His whores *en masse* are "'friends" with a reputation' (174 *includae amicae*; for the amatory use of *includus*, cf. *Mil.* 1227 'ut tu includu's apud mulieres', 'what a reputation you have with the ladies'). Cf. *Poen.* 266 'prosedas, pistorum amicas'. Ballio's girls are of course not common whores. Their clients are not of the lowest class, and their life is one of ease (173 f. 'quae in munditiis, mollitiis deliciisque aetatulam agitis, / uiris cum summis. . .'); hence the force of the threat to prostitute them to the people (178 'nam nisi mihi penus annuos hodie conuenit, cras populo prostituam uos'). It may be for that reason that they are dignified by euphemism. In any case the start of the word's degeneration lies in this euphemistic usage. Cic. *Cael.* 32 ('cum ea quam omnes semper amicam omnium potius quam cuiusquam inimicam putauerunt', 'she whom everyone regarded as everyone's friend rather than anyone's enemy') also illustrates how the unfavourable sense of *amica* would have arisen from (ironical) euphemism. Cicero means that Clodia was no better than a common whore. The semantic deterioration of the word is not much in evidence in Plautus.

One must draw attention to another feature of the use of *amica* at *Pseud.* 174. Usually in Plautus *amica* is accompanied by a genitive or some sort of possessive: a girl is the friend of *someone*. But at *Pseud.* 174 there is no such possessive complement; 'friend' is fully equivalent to 'prostitute'. There may be another such example at *Cist.* 406, although the text is doubtful: 'febricul(osae, mi)serae amicae, osseae, / diobolares, schoeniculae, miraculae'. Cf. *Asin.* 863 'qui quidem cum filio / potest una atque una amicam ducet, decrepitu senex', *Stich.* 426 'ducam hodie amicam'. The usual phrase was of course *scortum ducere*. *Amica* here must be translated along with an indefinite article, = 'to take a "friend"'. It is not unlikely that this usage is based on Gk. *ἑταῖρα*.

There is little sign of *amica* = *meretrix* later (possible examples are at Catull. 72.3 'dilexi tum te non tantum ut uolguis amicam' and Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.21 'generosum et lene requiro, . . . quod me Lucanae iuuenem commendet amicae'). From the late

Republic *amica* is predominantly used in an unfavourable sense, but it is usually accompanied by a possessive, expressed or implied. Hence it corresponds to English *mistress* rather than *whore*<sup>80</sup>). There is no need to illustrate this usage extensively. Note, however, Cic. *Att.* 10.10.5 'septem praeterea coniunctae lecticae amicarum; et sunt amicorum' (the mistresses of Antony), Sen. *Contr.* 7.5.9 'riualet, inquit, occidit, amicam sauciauit'; cf. *ibid.* 'maritum occidit, adulteram strinxit' (the murderer of the husband is allegedly the lover of the wife, who is not a whore, nor indeed (in a favourable sense) a girl friend, but a mistress). For the act of 'having a mistress' (*amicam habere*) as (by implication) morally blameworthy, if not punishable, see *Contr.* 9.2.13f. 'puta, amicam habet proconsul: ideo maiestatis damnabitur? . . . si tantum amicam habuisset, numquid accusares?'. *Amica* was clearly as vague as Eng. *mistress*. At 7.5.9 it indicates the married woman in an adulterous liaison, but at 9.2.13 'having a mistress' is contrasted with seducing a married woman; by implication the *amica* is not a *matrona*. Cf., e.g. Mart. 1.71.3, 2.34.5, 4.29.5, 5.42.5, 10.68.8, 11.23.7 for more unfavourable examples. The unfavourable associations of *amica* may account for its absence from Tibullus<sup>81</sup>). Similarly, although the word is common enough in Propertius, it is rarely applied to the poet's mistress (but see 2.6.42, where it is in antithesis with *uxor*, and 2.29 a.31, where Cynthia herself is imagined as speaking). Horace restricts it to the *Satires* and *Epistles*<sup>82</sup>).

The deterioration of *amica* is well illustrated by a passage from the *Digest*: 50.16.144 'Massurius scribit "pellicem . . .", quam nunc uero nomine amicam, paulo honestiore concubinam appellari'. *Concubina* had become more euphemistic than *amica*, whereas in Plautus the relative status of the two words had been the reverse.

### *Moecha*

There is often no distinction made in a language between adultery (illicit intercourse which necessarily violates a marriage

80) It should however be pointed out that *amica* is the neutral word for the female friend of another woman: *TLL* I.1913.33 ff.

81) See U. Knoche, 'Tibulls erste Liebeselegie? (III, 19)', in *Nauicula Chiloniensis. Studia Philologica Felici Jacoby Professore Chiloniensi Emerito Octogenario Oblata* (Leiden, 1956), p. 180.

82) Where its sense is 'mulier impudice amata': see Dominicus Bo, *Lexicon Horatianum* I (Hildesheim, 1965), s.v.

bond) and fornication (illicit intercourse which does not necessarily violate a marriage, and in which the female participant takes money), and also between adulterers and fornicators on the one hand, and adulteresses and whores on the other<sup>83</sup>). Although in extant Greek *μοιχός* has the specialised sense 'adulterer', its etymology (it is a derivative of *ομείχω* 'urinate') suggests that it once must have been less specific ('debaucher')<sup>84</sup>). In Latin too *adultero* was originally more general (= 'corrupt, counterfeit, alter', < *alter*; cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* 268 and elsewhere). It may have become specialised as a result of its use in collocations such as *adulterare matronas* (Suet. *Aug.* 67.2). The absence of any real need for a distinction between adultery and fornication in ordinary speech is demonstrated by Plaut. *Amph.* 811 ff., where Alcumena is accused of what technically is adultery. Technical terms are not used; instead she is spoken of as 'shameless', guilty of 'shamelessness' and of a 'misdemeanour' (821 *impudicitia*, 834, 905, 913 *impudica*, 926 *factis* . . . *impudicis*, frg. XVI *impudicitia*; cf. *probrum* at 869, 882 and *stuprum* at 898). Indeed in Latin of all periods there was a tendency for whores and adulteresses to be lumped together into a single class of the 'ill famed' or 'shameless', as has already been seen (p. 342)<sup>85</sup>.

In Latin *moecha*, 'adulteress', came to be used of whores as well (note, for example, Phaedr., App. 4.10 *moecha*, of a woman to whom 'quaestus placebat . . . meretricius' (4); she is called *meretrix* at 1.13), just as *moechus* was used of fornicators in general. Both usages are found for the first time in Catullus<sup>86</sup>). Before this development is discussed, it will be worthwhile to comment on the early use of *moecha* / -us in Latin.

*Moechus* is attested earlier; *moecha* is not found until Catullus. *Moechus* was undoubtedly a popular borrowing (< *μοιχός*).

83) See Buck, (see above, n. 17), p. 1456.

84) Words meaning 'urinate' used in the sense 'ejaculate' (e.g. Lat. *meio*, *inmeio*, *mingo*: see Catull. 67.30, Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.52, Pers. 6.73) presumably reflect, not a primitive failure to distinguish between urine and semen, but a vulgar tendency to view illicit intercourse as a coarse physical degradation of the woman. It is worth stressing that in the historical period *μοιχός* did not simply indicate an 'adulterer' in the technical sense of the English word, but also one 'who raped or seduced . . . free inmates of a man's house, his mother, sisters, daughters, or concubine' (A. W. Gomme and F. H. Sandbach, *Menander, a Commentary* (Oxford, 1973), p. 612, on Men. *Sam.* 591; cf. *Sam.* 717).

85) On the vagueness of the distinction between adultery and fornication, see Herter, *RAC* III.1156.

86) For *moechus* in the new sense see *TLL* VIII.1324.82 ff.; and for *moecha*, *TLL* VIII.1325.54 ff.



Latin, like Greek, would originally have possessed no words referring specifically to the legalistic notion of adultery. *Moechus* is freely used by Plautus, as for example at *Amph.* 135, where it is applied to Jupiter in reference to his liaison with Alcmena. It is obvious from Plautus' use of the word that it was well established in colloquial Latin by his time. Though it might sometimes have been taken directly from a Greek original, it also occurs in 'Plautine' passages, as for example at *Mil.* 1398 ('gestit moechno hoc abdomen adimere'), where a threat is made to castrate the *miles* and hang his genitalia around his neck like the *fascinum* of a Roman boy (various Latin puns on the double sense of *testis* are found in the passage), and at *Poen.* 862 ('facio quod manifesti moechi huius ferme solent'), a passage in which another Plautine pun is made, on the double sense of *uasa*. Words of the same root as *adulter* may only recently have undergone specialisation in Latin; certainly they are rare in Plautus (*adulter* once, *adulterium* 3 times, *adultero* once). Moreover *adultero*, as we have seen, still has its earlier meaning, and the only example of *adulter* is juxtaposed with *uxor* (*Amph.* 1049 'ubi quemque hominem aspexero, . . . siue uxorem siue adulterum, . . . uidebo, . . . obtruncabo'); it is in such a context that a general word 'corrupter' might have taken on the sense 'corrupter of a married woman'. Terence uses *moechus* but never *adulter*; one may doubt whether the latter was fully established in the specialised meaning at the time of extant early Latin.

In the educated language it was eventually *adulter* which triumphed, = 'adulterer'; *moechus* continued as a colloquial or vulgar equivalent. In prose of the late Republic and first century there is only one example of *moechus* (-a), in Caelius, *ap. Cic. Fam.* 8.7.2. *Adulter*, as the educated and indeed legalistic term, does not seem to have acquired the same more general meaning as *moechus*<sup>87</sup>). *Moechus* had obviously been downgraded, since it could not have been a vulgarism when Terence used it.

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87) One should probably ignore glosses such as *CGL* V.222.17 *meretrix fornicatrix adultera aut libidinosa*, and IV.116.6 *meritoria loca tabernarum ubi adulteria committuntur*. Glossators sometimes seem to neglect the distinctions between whores, adulteresses and concubines: note *CGL* V.503.45 *impellicatus in domum concubinarum*, where *concubinarum* must be equivalent to *meretricum* (for *domus* used of a brothel, see, e.g. *CGL* V.366.19, 381.35, 621.32). A gloss in which *lena* appears to be equated with words for 'prostitute' (*CGL* IV.364.54 *meretrix, lupa, len[i]a, scortum*, codd. *abde*), if it is not corrupt, may also be put down to the glossators' indifference to the technicalities of illicit sex.



By undergoing generalisation *moechus* (-a) came full circle to the (hypothetical) early sense of *μοιχός* in Greek, but the indeterminacy of the distinction between fornication and adultery in popular thought is no more than a general background to the semantic development; it does not explain it. In English it is unthinkable that *adulteress* could be used of a whore, unless the whore was married and there was a special reason for using the technical term. On the other hand an adulteress might be referred to abusively as a 'whore', as a form of hyperbole: by such a usage it is suggested that a woman who might be guilty of only a passing indiscretion has the professional's addiction to illicit intercourse<sup>88</sup>). The origin of the semantic transfer of *moecha* (-us) must lie in a comparable hyperbole. The stigma associated with adultery, both for the violator of the *matrona* and for the *matrona* herself, was great in Roman eyes, whereas that associated with whoring was less (Ter. *Adelph.* 101, Cic. *Cael.* 48, Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31 ff., Sen. *Contr.* 9.2.13 f., Schol. *ad* Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.31). To call someone an 'adulteress', even if the charge was false, was no doubt a particularly strong form of abuse<sup>89</sup>). Used as a generalised hyperbolic term of condemnation, a word meaning 'adulteress' would come to mean little more than 'shameless'; hence it could readily be applied to a whore. The first example of *moecha* which does not seem to have its technical sense is in Catull. 42, where the woman who has kept the poet's *pugillaria* is a number of times called a *moecha putida*.

### *Diminutives*

There is a strong tendency for diminutives to be used of prostitutes (cf. Gk. *ἑταιρίδιον*, *πορνίδιον*). This is not surprising, given the tone both of affection and contempt that diminutives could convey in the appropriate context. A good example of an affectionate diminutive is at Catull. 10.3 ('scortillum, ut mihi tum repente uisumst, / non sane inlepidum neque inuenustum'). The woman had wit and sophistication, and the diminutive was 'weniger derb als *scortum*' (Kroll). It does not occur elsewhere (cf. CGL II.532.18 *scortulum idem* (17 *scortum pornia*)).

88) *Meretrix* is sometimes used loosely in this way (Quint. 8.4.2 'nam et inpuicam meretricem uocauit (Cicero)'; cf. Prop. 3.11.39, Hor. *Epist.* 1.2.25, Plin. *Nat.* 9.119; TLL VIII.827.56 ff.). Cf. n. 32 on *lupula*, and see also Herter, RAC III.1156.

89) It is of note that Dio Chrysostom, in order to stigmatise brothels, pimps and whoring, hyperbolically refers to *πορνεία* as *μοιχεία* at 7.139. See Herter, RAC III.1156, *JbAC* 3 (1960), p. 106.

*Meretricula* is probably used in a favourable (pathetic) sense at Plaut. *Rud.* 63 ('conscendit nauem, auehit meretriculas'), in reference to Ampelisca and Palaestra. These girls, as has been mentioned, were youthful and innocent. Similarly at Livy 39.9.6 *meretricula* is used of a freedwoman not suited to her *quaestus*, whose generosity is stressed in the context. On the other hand at Plin. *Nat.* 36.82 ('supremumque illud, ne quis regum opes miretur, minimam ex iis, sed laudatissimam, a Rhodopide meretricula factam') the word is pejorative. There is a contrast here: the most wondrous of the pyramids was built by a mere whore. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3.30, 5.34. Diminutives of course often lost their marked quality: note Quint. 11.3.74 'in comoediis . . . meretriculae, ancillae, . . . matronae, puellae inter se discernuntur', where *meretricula* is indistinguishable from *meretrix*.

There can be little doubt that *femella* at Catull. 55.7 has a contemptuous sense; it is applied to *pessimae puellae* (cf. 10) who are parading in the colonnade of Pompey, a place where girls could be picked up<sup>90</sup>). The reflexes of *femella* in Gallo-romance retain the pejorative sense 'woman of low life'<sup>91</sup>).

*Muliercula* is used 14 times in Plautus, 10 times in the *Rudens* where it is usually applied to Palaestra and Ampelisca. In this play the force of the diminutive is either to stress the youth of the girls, or their vulnerability (e.g. 162 'mulierculas uideo sedentes in scapha solas duas; ut adflctantur miserae'). But *muliercula* is often used of low women, whores and the like: e.g. Plaut. *Pseud.* 675 'ut lenoni surruperem mulierculam', Cic. *Verr.* 3.31 'de commissatione loquerentur inter se ac de mulierculis, si quas a praetore abeuntis possent deprehendere', *Cluent.* 37, *Cat.* 2.23. For the non-pejorative use, see also *H.A.*, *Comm.* 2.8<sup>92</sup>).

The diminutive of *lupa*, *lupula*, found in Apuleius (*Met.* 3.22, 5.11), does not, as we have seen, indicate a whore in the technical sense, but a woman obsessed by the desire for intercourse (see above, n. 32).

*Amicula*, like *amica* in later Latin, undoubtedly had a pejorative sense, but it probably means 'mistress' rather than 'prostitute': e.g. Suet. *Cal.* 33 'quotiens uxoris uel amiculae collum exoscularetur', Arnob. *Nat.* 4.22 'concubinis, pelicibus atque ami-

90) See C. J. Fordyce, *Catullus, a Commentary* (Oxford, 1961), p. 227, Daremborg-Saglio, III.2.1837.

91) *FEW* III.448 (see above, n. 13).

92) See further *TLL* VIII.1575.41 ff.

culis delectatus', 4.34 'quas amículas coniugi, quas uxori anteposuerit pelices'.

### *Anxicia*

At CGL II.566.34 *anxicia* is glossed by *meretrix*. The authenticity of the word is accepted by Schneider, PW XV.1.1019 (= 'Würgerin', 'strangler'), but it cannot be genuine. It does not fit into any of the categories of *-icius* formations<sup>93</sup>), and its meaning and semantic development would be inexplicable. G. Schepss (*ALL* VIII (1893), p. 500) plausibly suggests *Angitia*, a proper name. *Angitia* was allegedly a name of Medea: Serv. *ad* Virg. *Aen.* 7.750 'hi ergo populi Medeam Angitiam nominauerunt ab eo quod eius carminibus serpentes angerent', CGL II.370.43 *Μήδεια Anguitia*.

### *Paelex*

*Paelex* in origin had a highly specialised sense. A *paelex* was not simply a concubine, but 'a mistress installed as a rival or in addition to a wife' (*OLD*). Dependent on *paelex* may be the genitive of a word indicating the lawful wife (e.g. Cic. *Cluent.* 199): hence it is the status of the mistress in relation to the wife, not to the husband/lover, which is stressed. But in ordinary usage of the Empire the word came to indicate no more than a woman (or even male) who had intercourse with a married man: *Dig.* 50.16.144 'Granius Flaccus in libro de iure Papiriano scribit pellicem nunc uulgo uocari, quae cum eo, cui uxor sit, corpus miscet', Fest. p. 248 'pelices nunc quidem appellantur alienis succumbentes non solum feminae, sed etiam mares. antiqui proprie eam pellicem nominabant, quae uxorem habenti nubebat'. Later it is possible that no distinction was made between a *paelex* and a *meretrix*: note Isid. *Etym.* 10.228 'peccator a pelice, id est meretrice uocatus', and CGL III.272.8 *ἐταῖρα, πόρνη, scortum, meretrix, amica, pellex*. *Paelex* (note the form *pellex* above) seems to have been popularly associated with *pellicio*, 'entice, seduce': note CGL II, *praef.* p. XIII 'pellicio blanditus decipio: unde et pelices concubinae uocantur, quae blanditus fallunt', CGL V. 509.48 *pellicientes meretricantes*<sup>94</sup>). Its loss of semantic precision would no doubt have accompanied its progressive obsolescence.

<sup>93</sup>) For which see Leumann, pp. 301 f. (see above, n. 53).

<sup>94</sup>) The obscure gloss CGL *Scal.* V.611.31 *scrutitum pellica* (*scrutitum* = *scortum, scortillum, scortulum*?) may contain a remodelling of *paelex* (marked for gender) perpetrated by someone who associated the noun with *pellicio*. Or did the gloss originally contain *pellicula*? For various conjectures, see G. Goetz, *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum* II (Leipzig, 1901) (= CGL VII), p. 246.

*Scordiscum*

The glosses CGL IV.423.3, V. 610.63 (*scordiscum scortum*) and V.482.63 (*scortum sordiscum, id est meretrix*; here *sordiscum* is obviously a popular etymology, < *sordes*) are difficult to interpret. *Scordiscus* (a late word, which does not survive in Romance) meant 'saddle' (see CGL II.180. 20, III.327.4)<sup>95</sup>, and *scordiscum* is equated with *corium crudum* at CGL IV.168.31, 569.37 *al.* There is no other evidence for the sexual use of *scordiscum*. The possibility cannot be ruled out that glossators familiar with the literal sense of *scortum* artificially imposed the same derived sense on the similar form *scordiscum*.

*Culiola*

CGL II.164.9 (*publica culiola τριβάς*) contains a unique derivative of *culus*. *Publica* shows that the reference is to a woman who sold some form of sex (see above, p. 343 on the implication of the adjective). A *τριβάς* was an active lesbian, not one who made use of her *culus*; the gloss must be inaccurate. A *culiola* (if the word is genuine) could only be a woman who offered anal intercourse (for money). One might compare the Pompeian *culibonia* (CIL IV.8473), on which F. Munari remarks 'puella *culibonia* est sine dubio meretrix «quae bonum culum habet»'<sup>96</sup>. For such a woman, see, for example, Auson. *Epigr.* 79.7, p. 341 P.<sup>97</sup>; and cf. the use of *cunnus, pars pro toto*, referred to above, p. 322,

*Diabolaris*

This spelling, attested in medieval Latin with the meaning 'prostitute'<sup>98</sup>, is not to be regarded as a current term at any time. Nor is the usage based directly on the literal meaning 'devilish one, she-devil'<sup>99</sup>. It is a malapropism due to a misunderstanding of the long glossators' tradition of equating *diobolares* at Plaut. *Cist.* 407 with *meretrices* (whereas Plautus had really used the adjective as an epithet of whores): note Fest. p. 65 'diobolares

95) See further A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford, 1949), s.v.

96) 'De inscriptione Pompeiana, CIL IV, Suppl. Pars III, Nr. 8473', *RCCM* 3 (1961), p. 105.

97) See further Munari, *op. cit.*, pp. 105 f.

98) See C. Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, s.v.

99) H. E. Wedeck, 'Synonyms for Meretrix', *Class. Weekly* 37 (1943-4), p. 117 asserts that *diabola*, 'she-devil', could be used of a whore. I have not been able to trace this alleged usage. Since Wedeck's article contains a number of gross errors and spurious items, I assume that he had *diabolaris* in mind.

meretrices dicuntur, quae duobus obolis ducuntur', *CGL* V. 496.68 *dionolares uilissime meretrices*. For this type of epithet, cf. *quadrantaria*, above, p. 340.

### *Lodix*

A gloss (*CGL* V.602.49) gives *lodix* (lit. 'covering, counterpane') the meaning *meretrix* (*ludices meretrices*: note the form *ludix*). It is difficult to see how the word could have acquired such a sense (although *torus* 'bed' is close to the sense 'mistress' at *Plin. Nat.* 35.87). The gloss may be based on a misunderstanding of an anecdote such as that told at *Isid. Etym.* 19.26.2: 'ludices a ludis, id est theatris, uocatos quidam existimant: quum enim egrediebantur de ludi prostibulo iuuenes, horum uelamento tegebant caput et faciem; quia solet erubescere qui lupanar intrauerit'. A glossator may have taken *ludix* in the sense 'whore at the ludi'.

## IV

### Conclusion

Different methods of soliciting lie behind most of the genuine terms for 'prostitute' discussed above. Very few words contained in origin any allusion to sexual acts or body parts. *Scortum* and *culiola* are exceptions<sup>100</sup>, but the origin of *scortum* had probably been forgotten by the historical period. It has been suggested that *Sp. ramera* and *Pg. rameira* ('prostitute') reflect an adjective \**ramaria*, = 'related to the *ramus*, i. e. penis'<sup>101</sup>, but this theory is fanciful; the most likely source of the usage is that certain whores discreetly advertised their profession by hanging a branch on their door<sup>102</sup>).

100) The gloss *curua graece scorta* (*CGL* VII.pp.243 f.) and *NGK. κοῦρβα* have nothing to do with a *schema ueneris*. *Curua* is not a Latin word, but a Slavonic term for 'whore' (Serbo-Croat, Ch.-Sl. *kuriva*, *SCR.*, Boh. *kurva*, Pol. *kurwa*) which was borrowed by various neighbouring languages (see H. Schuchardt, 'Curua = meretrix', *ALL* 13 (1904), p. 406; cf. W. Heraeus, *op. cit.*, p. 58).

101) See W. Goldberger, 'Kraftausdrücke im Vulgärlatein', *Glotta* 18 (1930), p. 62. For *ramus* = 'penis' (a usage which did not survive in Romance), see *Novius* 21, *Diomedes*, *GL* I.451.7, *Auson. Cent. Nupt.* 105, p. 216 P., *Prudent. adu. Symm.* 1.115.

102) See J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana* (Madrid, 1954), III, p. 987. For another explanation, see Buck (see above, n. 17), p. 1368.

Most of the words seen above were admissible in the educated language, although a number denoted lower-class prostitutes (e.g. *proседа*, *prostibulum*, *sellaria*). The only terms which there is any reason to regard as vulgar, regional or substandard are *pellicula* (rustic), *lupa*, *lupatria*, *culiola*, *putta*, and perhaps *moecha*.

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