

**THE ‘SORDID’ OCCUPATIONS AND ATTITUDES
TOWARDS THEM IN THE LATE ROMAN
REPUBLIC: SOME STUDIES IN THE LITERARY
EVIDENCE**

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For my parents

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SUMMARY

Despite the wealth of information available in Cicero's corpus on occupations in Rome, the research undertaken in the early 20th century by Marion Park and Mima Maxey has received insufficient re-examination commensurate with the advances of modern social analysis. With special reference to the Ciceronian corpus, drawing also on the contemporary evidence of Varro, Caesar and Sallust, together with the data provided by Cato (given his abiding iconic status) and the rich evidence of Plautine comedy (also on the presumption of its currency in Ciceronian Rome), the study aims to highlight the important contributions that slaves and 'lower class' individuals made to society and the economy, contributions the Roman elite deemed too 'sordid' to merit considered observation. Those elite attitudes are themselves a focus of the study. Through an investigation into the nature and variety of occupations in Ciceronian Rome, this study will shed light both on common practices and elitist ideals prevalent during this period.

DECLARATION

I, Laura Hickey, certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Date: 12/01/2016

Signature:

Laura Hickey

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Literature Review

The slaves and lower class individuals of Ciceronian Rome¹ made important contributions to Roman society and the economy yet due to the nature of their social status and often their occupation, these individuals were commonly overlooked by the ancient source tradition. All the same, the current project seeks to analyse a selection of literary texts of the Ciceronian period, namely the works of Marcus Tullius Cicero himself, Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 BC), Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BC) and Gaius Sallustius Crispus (86-35 BC). The project will also utilise the plays of Titus Maccius Plautus because of their ongoing currency in the Late Republic and the works of the iconic Marcus Porcius Cato (the Elder) (234-149 BC) (see further below).² Unfortunately, time constraints do not permit the inclusion of epigraphical data pertaining to this period. Through the evaluation of these literary texts the project will illuminate the role played by slaves and lower class individuals in Roman society and elite attitudes with regards to those engaged in the ‘lowly’ occupations. First of all, I present the basic literary data from the selected literary texts that is extant and relevant to some of the trades concerned (time and space preclude a comprehensive treatment of all crafts, which I would like to conduct in the future). A sample treatment of various occupations is therefore provided here and my strategy for inclusion and exclusion is explained below.³

¹ I am using the term ‘Ciceronian Rome’ to denote roughly the period of the life of M. Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC). The works of Sallust and Varro, of course, postdate the death of Cicero.

² Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 50 and *Phil.* 2.15 show how the plays of Plautus were current in Cicero’s era from the beginning through to the end of his career. All translations are from the Loeb edition unless otherwise stated.

³ Time and word limit constraints prevented an exhaustive study of all lower-class occupations therefore a sample has been provided. All occupations concerning entertainment (with the exception prostitutes) and agriculture have been excluded from this study since the number of occupations and physical result lists were too extensive. Soldiers have also been purposely excluded in accordance with one of the aims of this thesis, namely to contribute to research

The last twenty-five years have witnessed a substantial increase in scholarship investigating Rome from a sociological viewpoint.⁴ Traditionally the study of Rome and in particular the tumultuous period of the Roman Republic involved the investigation of political history and military events. This shift in scholarship is particularly evident in the abundance of modern social studies on the Roman Empire, likely due to its greater abundance of ancient source material. Despite the emphasis on the political ferment of the Roman Republic, it is still, of course, a significant period socially and needs to be further studied from a sociological viewpoint.

Studies on servile and lower class occupations in Ciceronian Rome

This thesis was built upon the foundations established by Marion Park (1875–1960).⁵ Her dissertation from 1918 concerning the *plebs* of Ciceronian Rome⁶ recognised the value of certain incidental information found within Cicero's works. Park utilised this information to produce a snapshot of the provenance and employment of the *plebes* in Rome in this period. Her study was innovative for its time since the research concerned social history within the Republican period but it was also limited in scope. This is understandable considering extensive databanks such as the Library of Latin Texts (LLT, Series A and B)⁷ and even the vast capacity of the Internet

on lower-class Romans outside the well-studied areas of politics and warfare. The working database on which this exercise is based and upon which I hope to base future research is provided in an appendix below.

⁴ Parkin, T.G. and A.J. Pomeroy (2007), *Roman Social History: A Sourcebook*, Oxford and New York, p. 1.

⁵ Park was President of Bryn Mawr College from 1922 to 1942; Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries (PACSCL), Philadelphia (2014), *PACSCL Finding Aids: Marion Edwards Park papers*, viewed 27 June 2015,

<http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/pacscl/ead.html?start=50&fq=top_repository_facet%3A%22Bryn%20Mawr%20College%22&id=PACSCL_BMC_BMC19702USPBm&>.

⁶ Park, M.E. (1918), "The Plebs in Cicero's Day: A Study of their Provenance and of their employment", PhD Thesis, Bryn Mawr College, Massachusetts.

⁷ The Cross Database Searchtool is used to search both Series A and B of the Library of Latin Texts database (LLT). The LLT is the main tool being utilised for the current research project as a means of locating material on the occupations of slaves and the lower socio-economic classes. The LLT Database provides electronic access to the Corpus Christianorum series and other leading editions such as the Biblioteca Teubneriana Latina. Brepols, Cross

would not have been available to her. Therefore Park's access to source material and the extent of her research was limited. All the same, the fundamental data collection within her thesis has been utilised to produce a rudimentary list of lower class and servile occupations. From this list of occupations a sample has been chosen and a more thorough and extensive investigation into Cicero's references has been conducted.

The deeper investigation into the sample of occupations selected is partly possible due to Shackleton Bailey's invaluable commentaries on Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, *Epistulae ad familiares* (2 vols) and *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum*.⁸ These commentaries are incredibly helpful in providing invaluable leads to follow up as well as elucidating difficult passages and locating elusive items. Shackleton Bailey's work is particularly useful to consult on linguistic points (i.e. passages that present problems of interpretation) and for any material relating to the socio-historical background.

Whilst Mima Maxey's 1938 dissertation on the occupations of the lower classes in Roman society⁹ is based on material found in *The Digest*, her classification of occupations has influenced the nature of my analysis in this thesis. She classified groups based on food, clothing, household labour, transportation, agriculture, and specialised external work. These categorisations are reflected to an extent in this thesis; for example, Chapter Two concerns the occupations serving

Database Searchtool, Turnhout, viewed 28 September 2015,

<<http://clt.brepolis.net.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/cds/pages/Search.aspx> >.

⁸ Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) (1965–70), *Cicero's Letters to Atticus* 7 vols, Cambridge, UK; Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) (1977), *Cicero: Epistulae Ad Familiares*, 2 vols, Cambridge, UK; Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) (1980), *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum*, New York and Cambridge, UK.

⁹ Maxey, M. (1938), "Occupations of the Lower Classes in Roman Society", PhD Thesis, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Cicero and his *familia domestica*, especially the ‘lettered slaves’, while Chapter 3 purely concerns trades related to sustenance.

Susan Treggiari’s work on Roman freedmen during the late Republican period has made substantial contributions to the field of Roman social history. Her work would have acted as a solid foundation for this thesis if Park’s own dissertation had not existed. In particular, Treggiari produced a list of *opifices* and *tabernarii* represented in Latin inscriptions from Rome in the late Republic to c. AD 235, providing both the Latin terminology and a brief English translation of known occupations.¹⁰ In her study, Treggiari noticed a proliferation of ‘luxury trades’ and a shortage of ‘industry.’¹¹ This list was later utilised by Sandra Joshel in her study of the Roman occupational inscriptions from the first and second centuries AD.¹² Through her research Joshel added to Treggiari’s list of Latin occupations, focusing upon occupational inscriptions associated with specific individuals.¹³ While Joshel’s study sits outside the scope of the current thesis, her work provides useful insights into life in Rome. Treggiari recognised the need for further research on the nature and variety of occupations in Rome.¹⁴ This serves to underscore the significance of my current research on some of the occupations of the lower socio-economic classes during the period of the late Roman Republic.

¹⁰ Treggiari, S. M. (1980), ‘Appendix: *Opifices* and *Tabernarii* represented in Latin Inscriptions From Rome’, in “Urban Labour in Rome: *Mercennarii* and *Tabernarii*”, *Papers of the Seventh International Economic History Conference, Edinburgh, 13-19 August, 1978*, Cambridge, UK, pp. 61-64. See Appendices.

¹¹ Treggiari (1980: 56).

¹² Joshel, S. R. (1992), *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: a study of the occupational inscriptions*, Oklahoma.

¹³ Joshel, S. R. (1992), ‘Appendix II: Occupational Titles in Roman Inscriptions,’ in *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: a study of the occupational inscriptions*, Oklahoma, pp. 176-182.

¹⁴ Treggiari (1980: 56) suggested an investigation of these jobs would be a productive field of research.

In her study on Roman social history, Treggiari suggested that Roman society was complex since the classification of being Roman was not related to ethnicity but rather to an individual's legal status.¹⁵ She also proposed that once slaves had obtained manumission and citizenship, they were unable to further improve their legal position but did hold opportunities to improve their financial situation.¹⁶ These opportunities however largely depended upon their relationship with their patrons.¹⁷ Treggiari's study of Cicero's freedmen recognised the contributions these servants made towards Cicero's public and private life.¹⁸ Treggiari discovered that Cicero's slaves and freedmen generally consisted of administrative staff including secretaries, literary assistants and letter carriers.¹⁹ In respect to Cicero's attitude towards his freedmen, Treggiari concluded that Cicero expected intense loyalty and service but in return, his patronage meant greater opportunities and the right to live as free individuals.²⁰ This study highlighted the wealth of information available through Cicero's corpus and helps to highlight the potential and significance of the current research into the lower socio-economic classes.

Approaches to the Study of Roman Occupations

Keith Hopkins undertook a sociological approach in his study on social change in the late Roman Republic with a focus on the development of slave agriculture. Hopkins utilised a 'compatible theory of historical truth' to reach many of his conclusions whereby he weighed alternate possibilities and assumed the scenario most likely to be correct.²¹ Hopkins proposed that the

¹⁵ Treggiari, S. M. (2002), *Roman Social History*, London, p. 7.

¹⁶ Treggiari, S. M. (1969a), *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic*, Oxford, pp. 19, 36, 87, 91.

¹⁷ Treggiari (1969a: 19, 36, 87, 91).

¹⁸ Treggiari, S. M. (1969b), "The Freedmen of Cicero", *Greece and Rome*, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 195.

¹⁹ Treggiari (1969b: 196-197).

²⁰ Cicero's patronage allowed freedmen access to Romans in cultured and political circles as friends or clients though not as equals. Treggiari (1969b: 202, 204).

²¹ Hopkins, K. (1978), *Sociological Studies in Roman History*, vol. 1: *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge, UK, p. 3.

prominence of agricultural investment was because land presented the only “safe and prestigious large-scale investment available.”²² Despite agriculture being liable to the risk of a bad harvest, land-ownership was still the logical choice since it provided a relatively stable income compared to that gained through the exploitation of the provinces.²³

Sir Moses Finley’s seminal study on the ancient economy undertook a theoretical approach utilising economic theory. Although this meant his economic model was far-reaching and at times lacked historical context, his conclusions were still significant and influential.²⁴ Finley considered economic behaviour as governed by society’s value systems rather than economic rationalism.²⁵ In particular, he proposed the idea that Romans in Cicero’s time would have experienced pressure to partake in certain occupations over others due to status concerns stemming either from the society’s laws or social conventions.²⁶ The stigma attached to certain occupations is certainly evident in Cicero’s works, particularly wage labour which Cicero equated almost to slavery.²⁷ However the actual cause and even the existence of this stigma is controversial. Treggiari argued that these cultural ideals regarding wage labour originated from Greek philosophical doctrines. She proposed that if Cicero’s works were ignored, only a few

²² Hopkins (1978: 13); The benefit of agricultural land being a safer long-term investment compared to trading and other options is supported by Willem Jongman. See Jongman, W. (1988), *Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology*, Vol. 4, *The Economy and Society of Pompeii*, Amsterdam, p. 262.

²³ Hopkins (1978: 14).

²⁴ For example, Finley often uses the term ‘ancient city’ instead of differentiating between Greek and Roman cities. To justify this Finley argues that ‘Greek’ and ‘Roman’ cities held similar cultural attitudes to urbanism and as such a common relationship between the cities and the urban areas existed. Morley, N. (2004), *Theories, Models and Concepts in Ancient History*, Approaching the Ancient World series, New York, p. 13.

²⁵ Jongman (1988: 28-29).

²⁶ Finley, M. (1985), *The Ancient Economy*, 2nd edition, London, p. 52.

²⁷ “Acting as a hired workman is a vulgar means of livelihood ... least respectable of all would be a trade that caters for sensual pleasures.” (Cic. *Off.* 1.150) Cicero considered that the wage ensured that the employee was dependent upon an employer and therefore by accepting wage-labour the employee’s freedom was reduced. In the context of this period, the reduction of a man’s freedom could be considered akin to reducing his social status. (Cic. *Off.* 1.150).

ambiguous passages are left to support the Romans' consideration of wage earning as akin to slavery.²⁸ Furthermore, even if the evidence suggests that hired men were considered to be reducing their dignity and freedom by taking a wage this does not mean that they were considered on a par with slaves.²⁹ Joshel explained that Cicero deemed a trade sordid when it generally involved characteristics considered base, such as being deceptive, the requirement to please another or being dependent upon another (i.e. wage labour).³⁰ According to Joshel's argument, Cicero deemed something honourable or dishonourable based upon the "polarity between slave and free."³¹

A welcome contribution to this thesis came from my reading of Paul Erdkamp's article on underemployment and the cost of rural labour in the Roman world.³² Erdkamp proposed that scholars such as Garnsey commonly promoted the idea that poor peasants required income external to their farms to survive and argued that these scholars were being too superficial in their analysis.³³ Erdkamp stated that ancient historians often make the mistake of treating various sectors of the economy as separate from each other.³⁴ This underestimates, he argues, the importance of cross-sector employment, particularly in relation to farmers who choose to subsidise their income.³⁵ Erdkamp goes further by stating that non-agricultural labour would not be in existence if it were not for its connection to agriculture.³⁶ Since a major proportion of the

²⁸ Treggiari (1980: 49, 52).

²⁹ Treggiari (1980: 50).

³⁰ Joshel (1992: 68).

³¹ Joshel (1992: 68).

³² Erdkamp, P. (1999), "Underemployment, and the Cost of Rural Labour in the Roman World", *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 2, pp. 556-572.

³³ Erdkamp (1999: 572).

³⁴ These sectors include those of commercial farming, subsistence farming, industries and services such as transport. Erdkamp (1999: 556).

³⁵ Erdkamp (1999: 556).

³⁶ Erdkamp (1999: 572).

population in the ancient Roman world was involved in agriculture and subsistence farming,³⁷ this statement should be contemplated before being dismissed and will therefore be revisited later. Notably, Erdkamp provides no definitive evidence for his bold statement, rather relying upon theoretical reasoning.

Similar to Finley, Erdkamp also utilises economic theory to explain the proliferation of labourers in agriculture by using the concept of ‘minimisation of risk.’³⁸ By incorporating Erdkamp’s views, it can be proposed that society’s core need to minimise risk at least partially resulted in the significant attraction and esteem for agriculture. Land and agricultural labour were incredibly important sources of wealth in Ciceronian Rome surpassing trade, manufacturing and urban rents.³⁹ Erdkamp’s explanation for this phenomenon was the concept of ‘minimisation of risk’, which dictated that peasants and farmers recognised the greater stability in income available through agriculture and sought to “keep their involvement in food production as direct as possible.”⁴⁰ However this concept does not apply as well to occupations such as those of butchers and cooks, which Cicero states are ‘sordid.’⁴¹ The occupation considered most respectable for a freeman was agriculture.⁴² Utilising Cicero’s own stated classification system it can be proposed that agriculture was considered respectable because it was unlikely to cause ill will and generally did not involve receiving a wage. Conversely, Erdkamp’s suggestion of ‘minimisation of risk’ means the esteem for agriculture could actually stem from the elite’s ability to recognise the most risk-averse lucrative investment.⁴³ Garnsey suggests the reason behind Cicero’s admiration for

³⁷ Garnsey, P. (1980), “Non-slave Labour in the Roman World”, *Papers of the Seventh International Economic History Conference, Edinburgh, 13-19 August, 1978*, Cambridge, UK, pp. 34-35.

³⁸ Erdkamp (1999: 564).

³⁹ Hopkins (1978: 6).

⁴⁰ Erdkamp (1999: 564).

⁴¹ Cic., *Off.* 1.150.

⁴² Cic., *Off.* 1.151.

⁴³ I recognize that this is a bold claim and almost impossible to prove but in theory it is a possibility.

agriculture over other trades is because slaves were dominant in the crafts industry whereas farmers were traditionally free men.⁴⁴ This statement however ignores the slaves that worked the land on the larger estates (*latifundia*).

Notably, Erdkamp utilised a comparative analysis approach in order to draw his conclusions: he compared the factors determining economic activity in the ancient world with the economic factors influencing early modern Europe in an attempt to fill the gaps created by scarce ancient source material.⁴⁵ Erdkamp recognised the limitations of his approach but argued that his revelations on obscure aspects of the Roman economy justified his predominantly speculative approach.⁴⁶ One rather prominent flaw with his methodology is that Erdkamp does not anchor his analysis in a specific ancient historical temporal context,⁴⁷ which means his study is contaminated by other historical insights. For instance, his analogy does not take into account the fact that ancient Rome was a slave-based society, which is not sufficiently considered in his comparison to the economy of early modern Europe.

This comparative methodology is commonly utilized among sociologists and economists studying the ancient world but less so amongst ancient historians, likely because historians are typically trained to have a greater understanding of the influence of historical context. For instance, Max Weber compared ancient economic activity with that of the Middle Ages in an

⁴⁴ Erdkamp explains the dominance of slaves in the crafts industry as the result of slave-estate owners choosing to exploit other resources from their land external to agriculture while ensuring work for the slaves outside of peak seasons. For example, slaves were known to have produced amphorae, bricks and tiles; Erdkamp (1999: 570) and Garnsey (1980: 35).

⁴⁵ Erdkamp (1999: 572).

⁴⁶ Erdkamp (1999: 572).

⁴⁷ In particular, he refers to the “Roman world” rather than focusing on a specific period. This is interesting given that he accuses ancient historians of imposing naïve simplicity in their analysis of sectors within the ancient economy; Erdkamp (1999: 556).

attempt to understand why ancient economies did not evolve into capitalist economies.⁴⁸ Like Finley, Weber also considered an individual's choices as influenced by social concerns and common ideals.⁴⁹

Further controversy within this field is focussed on the nature of labour on slave-estates. Garnsey separated the free rural labour force into several fluid categories: free-men employees, owner-cultivators, tenant-farmers, and hired labourers.⁵⁰ The category of free men could, of course, include previous slaves who had been manumitted (i.e., freedmen). Owner-cultivators were individuals who owned the land they were cultivating and their subgroup (entitled 'smallholders') consisted of the poorest and most vulnerable of the 'owner-cultivators' as their personal households were their only source of labour.⁵¹ Tenant-farmers included both poor and wealthy individuals since they leased land in order to cultivate it themselves or through hired labour.⁵²

According to Garnsey, free day labourers were required to supplement the permanent servile labour force on slave estates in particular during peak periods such as the harvest season.⁵³

⁴⁸ Morley (2004: 39).

⁴⁹ Weber, M. 'The Social Psychology of the World Religions' in Gerth, H. and C. Mills (eds), *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, London, p. 280. Marx's proposed methodological approach of historical materialism is less relevant for this study because the time period is too short. Ciceronian Rome would, of course, not adequately cover the 'ancient epoch' stage of Marx's proposed five stages of history. However, Marxist 'philosophy' alerts historical examiners to the question of exploitation along class lines. Class can be defined as: "the collective social expression of the fact of exploitation, the way in which exploitation is embodied in a social structure. By *exploitation* I mean the appropriation of part of the product of the labour of others ...", de Ste Croix, G. E. M. (1981), *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World*, London, p. 43. Cf. Marx, K. and Engels, F. 'The German Ideology,' in Marx, K. (1976), *Collected Works*, vol. 6, New York, pp. 41-42 and Morley (2004: 36).

⁵⁰ Hired labourers were generally temporary workers (employment was often seasonal) and usually sourced from the region via an informal arrangement with neighbouring estates or farmers; Garnsey (1980: 34, 38, 43).

⁵¹ Garnsey (1980: 37).

⁵² Garnsey (1980: 38-39).

⁵³ Garnsey (1980: 36).

Erdkamp, however, disputes this, suggesting that estate owners would have benefited less from cheap labour during harvest time since demand for labour was at its peak and also required on the smaller farms.⁵⁴ This theoretical calculation of cost, purely based upon free labour supply and demand cycles, ignores the value of the slaves themselves to their masters. For instance, Varro in the mid-first century BC, promoted the use of hired labourers for the more important and physically demanding tasks such as the vintage or haymaking.⁵⁵ While theoretical approaches help to produce original conclusions, they sometimes lack the substance provided by the citation of supporting evidence.

Conclusion

The main gap evident in the scholarship is the significant need for a deeper investigation into the nature and variety of occupations in Ciceronian Rome. Controversies exist concerning the nature of rural labour on slave estates and the exact origin of Cicero's elitist attitudes towards lower-class occupations. Through a more comprehensive investigation into a sample of the lower-class occupations in Rome, and by attempting to reconcile the clashing methodologies emerging from economics, ancient history and social history, it is possible to bring a new perspective to these debates.

Method

Introduction

The current study systematically examines key passages concerning slaves and lower class individuals of Ciceronian Rome (106 to 43 BC) from Cicero's corpus, utilising other ancient sources where appropriate for comparative purposes. The evidence is analysed according to

⁵⁴ Erdkamp (1999: 569).

⁵⁵ Varro *RR* 1.17.2. See Treggiari's statement that *mercennarii* often completed the work that was considered too dangerous for slaves; Treggiari (1980: 52).

the standards of hermeneutical rigour in an attempt to illuminate the contributions that the lower socio-economic classes made to society and to the economy while also investigating the possible causes underlying the stigma attached to these individuals and their occupations. In order to add to knowledge already in the field, the project aims to re-assess the nature of a selection of occupations in Ciceronian Rome using a more comprehensive approach.

Information about data collection and LLT database

The current project's method unapologetically involves data collection within the empirical school of thought. Empiricism, the methodological philosophy behind the data collection, is defined as “an approach that holds that true knowledge of the world ultimately stems from experience or observation⁵⁶ as opposed to speculation or theory.”⁵⁷ This approach is said to have “informed the practice of most historians for about the last 200 years.”⁵⁸ Notably, however, my research approach does not adhere strictly to that of the original empiricists who held that “all knowledge is derived from experience through the five senses” and is “associated with a neutral and dispassionate observation of the world” such that empiricism is commonly associated with a common sense attitude towards facts with its proponents cynical of speculation.⁵⁹

Selecting and Sorting Data

Data has been collected from the Library of Latin Texts databases (Series A and B) through word searches conducted on Cross Database Searchtool. This impressive tool provides online access to all editions of Latin texts published in the Corpus Christianorum and Teubner series.⁶⁰ The LLT

⁵⁶ In this case this refers to the data collection.

⁵⁷ MacRaid, D. M. and Taylor, A. (2004), *Social Theory and Social History*, Basingstoke and New York, p. 154.

⁵⁸ MacRaid and Taylor (2004: 154).

⁵⁹ Macey, D. (2000), *The Penguin Dictionary of Critical Theory*, London, pp. 108-109.

⁶⁰ Brepols, Cross Database Searchtool, Turnhout, viewed 28 September 2015, <<http://clt.brepols.net.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/cds/pages/Search.aspx> >.

database is the world's premier database for Latin literature; it comprises the entire corpus of Latin texts from Antiquity to the second century AD.⁶¹

The following steps were taken within the Cross Database Searchtool to locate relevant source material within the LLT databases:

1. A Latin occupation was chosen from the terminology list (drawn up from the works of Marion Park and Susan Treggiari—see further below), for example, the singular, nominative, masculine nouns *cocus* and *coquus* (Latin for 'cook').
2. The identification of the Latin stem of the chosen occupation ensures the capture of all passages containing any variant of this word. In this instance, *cocus* has a stem *coc** whereas the *coquus* version has *coq**. The user interface allows for copious types of searches. Therefore in order to capture all possible references to cooks in Rome, two separate word searches (using the 'regular search' option) were conducted, the first using *coc** and the second utilising *coq**. In order to filter the possible results, the 'author' criteria was selected and all texts by Titus Maccius Plautus, Marcus Porcius Cato (the Elder), Marcus Terentius Varro, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Gaius Julius Caesar and Gaius Sallustius Crispus were captured. (On the reasons for the selection of these particular sources, see below.) The 'regular search' option scanned full texts found within both the Series A and Series B Library of Latin Texts databases and therefore was the most efficient option for this type of research.⁶²
3. These searches produced a result list recording the exact location of the searched term within the Latin texts. Each entry was then located in the digital Loeb Classical Library

⁶¹ Brepols, (date unknown), *Library of Latin Texts*, brochure, Turnhout, viewed 26 October 2015, <http://www.brepols.net/publishers/pdf/Brepolis_Library_of_latin_Texts_EN.pdf>.

⁶² Brepols, Cross Database Searchtool, Turnhout, viewed 28 September 2015, <<http://clt.brepolis.net.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/cds/pages/Search.aspx>>.

Database⁶³ in order to see a preliminary translation of the Latin text and therefore determine its relevance to the context of the thesis. Since words often have multiple meanings this process dramatically reduced the search results sometimes from hundreds of entries to only a handful, which were then inserted into the thesis database and collated ready for analysis.

Marion Park's dissertation from 1918 concerning the *plebs* of Ciceronian Rome provides the initial evidential base of lower class and servile occupations for the current project.⁶⁴ This evidential base is in the form of a list of occupations prevalent amongst slaves and those of lower socio-economic status within Ciceronian Rome. The occupations lexicon was further expanded through the work of Susan Treggiari. In 1980 Treggiari utilised Latin inscriptions to produce a list of *opifices* and *tabernarii* from Rome. Notably, Treggiari provided the Latin words but also a very brief English translation or description of the occupations.⁶⁵ Although Treggiari did not investigate much further into these occupations, she recognised the need for further research on the nature of occupations in Rome.

Through word searches based upon the aforementioned terminology list, all references to the chosen sample of occupations found within the Ciceronian corpus were isolated. As mentioned above, comparative references were simultaneously found in the texts of Cato the Elder, Plautus, Varro, Sallust and Caesar. Varro, Sallust and Caesar were selected because they give contemporary comparative perspectives; Cato the Elder because he was iconic in Roman thought and his own judgements were considered authoritative in sectors of Roman

⁶³ Harvard College, *The Digital Loeb Classical Library*, Cambridge, MA, viewed 8 July 2015, <<http://www.loebclassics.com.simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au>>.

⁶⁴ Park (1918).

⁶⁵ Treggiari was focusing upon Rome from the late Republic to c. AD 235. Treggiari (1980: 61-64).

aristocratic society. Furthermore, Cicero's respect for the man is confirmed by his choice of Cato as an interlocutor in his *de Senectute*. Plautus was chosen because for all the fact that he uses Greek models in his plays (and this is a problematic aspect of using his evidence which is consciously addressed), he offers vivid images of Latin society and the fact that his plays were constantly revived during the late Republican period, indicates that those images and the humour that he applied to them remained current.⁶⁶ Analysis of Plautus' evidence is difficult since audience response must have been variable. For instance, Plautus' play, *Poenulus* (16-35), details injunctions towards various members of the audience and therefore provides insights into the range of audience members Plautus' plays entertained:

*“bonum factum est, edicta ut seruetis mea.”
scortum exoletum ne quis in proscaenio
sedeat, neu lictor uerbum aut uirgae muttiant ...*

*serui ne opsideant, liberis ut sit locus,
uel aes pro capite dent ...*

*nutrices pueros infantis minutulos
domi ut procurent neue spectatum afferent ...*

*matronae tacitae spectent, tacitae rideant,
canora hic uoce sua tinnire temperent,
domum sermones fabulandi conferant,
ne et hic uiris sint et domi molestiae.*

““It is proper for you to observe my edicts.” No male prostitute is to sit in the space in front of the stage; neither lictor nor rods are to utter a single word ...

Let no slaves occupy seats so that the free may have a place, or let them pay money for their freedom ...

Let the nurses attend to tiny babies at home and not bring them to watch the play ...

Let the married women watch quietly and laugh quietly, let them refrain from tinkling with their ringing voices, and let them take their chattering conversations home, so that they won't be a nuisance to their husbands here as well as at home.”⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 50 and *Phil.* 2.15 show how the plays of Plautus were still being performed in Ciceronian Rome.

⁶⁷ The text and translation is that of de Melo, W. (ed.) (2012), *Plautus. The Little Carthaginian. Pseudolus. The Rope*, Loeb Classical Library 260, Cambridge, MA.

Since the composition of the audience comprises all the social classes from freeborn elite men and women to craftsmen and slaves, it is difficult to gauge audience reactions.⁶⁸

A word must be said about the inclusion of Plautine evidence and the exclusion of Terence's. John Barsby (see below on my discussion of the material in Terence's *Eunuchus*) is adamant that Terence avoids 'Romanisms'.⁶⁹ Caesar thought Terence a 'half-Menander' (*dimidiatus Menander*), a "lover of language undefiled", and Cicero spoke of the way in which Terence re-clothed the voice of Menander in Latin (Suet. *Vit. Ter.* 5), both of them thus underlining Terence's very direct debt to his Greek originals and thus the fact that his work is less relevant as an illustration of Roman social life. On these grounds I have given more consideration to Plautus, who was famously proud of 'barbarizing' his Greek originals (i.e., Latinizing/Romanizing them), than Terence.⁷⁰ I have, however, where it seems less contentious to do so, included the odd passage from Terence. Such an example will be found in my discussion of Ter. *Eun.* 257, where Donatus' comment establishes the 'Roman-ness' of the material. A wider range of comparative material could not be utilized because of time and word limit constraints. Through the word searches conducted, a far more thorough and extensive investigation into Cicero's references to the selected occupations was instigated.

⁶⁸ Christenson, D. M. (2014), 'A Roman Treasure: Religion, Marriage, Metatheatre, and Concord in *Aulularia*', in Perysinakis, I. N. and Karakasis, E. (eds), *Plautine Trends: Studies in Plautine Comedy and its Reception*, Germany, p. 29.

⁶⁹ Barsby, J. (1991), *Terence. The Eunuch, Phormio, The Brothers. A Companion to the Penguin Translation*, Bristol, p. 34.

⁷⁰ On Plautus' instincts here, see the classic study of Eduard Fraenkel, *Plautinisches im Plautus*, recently translated into English by Tomas Drevikovsky and Frances Muecke as *Plautine Elements in Plautus* (2007, Oxford).

Hermeneutical analysis of the collated dataset

The dataset for the current study does not lend itself to statistical analysis due to the very restricted numerical data available. The extrapolated references will be analysed using the exercise of *Quellenforschung*. Hermeneutics is defined as the “theory of interpretation, i.e. the theory of achieving an understanding of texts, utterances, and so on.”⁷¹ Another definition of modern hermeneutics is that it is the “art of understanding and interpreting discourse through systematic procedures.”⁷²

My understanding of hermeneutics is informed by the contributions of Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834)⁷³ to Protestant theology and also through the contributions of Philip August Boeckh (1785-1867)⁷⁴ to classical philology. Schleiermacher is commonly credited with introducing hermeneutics to the question of human understanding and promoting the importance of language in textual interpretation.⁷⁵ Philosophical advances and elaborations after the 19th century are also taken into account in the analysis. For example, Hans-Georg Gadamer’s proposition that a contemporary observer’s perception is always ‘prejudiced’ by vantage point. This means that a reader of an ancient text will bring his or her own prejudices and preconceptions forward (possibly without realising) when interpreting their source, such that this issue must be taken into account in the interpreter’s analysis.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Forster, M. N. (2009), ‘Hermeneutics’, in Rosen, M. and Leiter, B. (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Continental Philosophy*, viewed 7 July 2015,

<<http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199234097.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199234097-e-3>>.

⁷² Leitch, V. B. (general ed.) (2010), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, New York, p. 520.

⁷³ Schleiermacher, F. D. E. (1998), *Hermeneutics and Criticism*, Cambridge, UK; Schleiermacher, F.D.E. (1986), *Hermeneutics: The Handwritten Manuscripts*, Atlanta.

⁷⁴ Boeckh, A. (1877), *Encyclopedia and Methodology of the Philological Sciences*, Leipzig.

⁷⁵ ‘Friedrich Schleiermacher’, in Leitch, V.B. (general ed.) (2010), *The Norton Anthology of Theory and Criticism*, New York, p. 522.

⁷⁶ Wamke, G. (2013), *Gadamer: Hermeneutics, Tradition and Reason*, UK, p. 76.

Assumptions and practices involved in employing the hermeneutical approach

Schleiermacher proposes that grammatical interpretation (comprehending the literal meaning of the words)⁷⁷ and psychological/technical interpretation (consideration of an author's purpose) are the two key tasks of textual interpretation.⁷⁸ Together these tasks seek to identify the text's central message, process, or motivating principle, which would influence how the text is analysed.⁷⁹ August Boeckh, a pupil of Schleiermacher's, identified four factors of interpretation: historical, linguistic, individual (which Schleiermacher defined as psychological) and generic.⁸⁰

My analysis will incorporate the following considerations:

- The text as a type or historical genre⁸¹ and therefore the elements such as the constraints of genre⁸² e.g. the expectations of the intended and current audience (researcher), the expectations of the genre.
- The idiosyncrasies of the author e.g. are the texts biased in any way?
- The idiosyncrasies of the language used, in particular considering the historical context and the vocabulary of the language.⁸³
- The purpose of the text
- The possibility of interference with the text (since composition).
- The prejudice brought to the analysis by the current reader.

⁷⁷ Mueller-Vollmer, K. (1985), *Hermeneutics Reader: Texts of the German Tradition from the Enlightenment to the Present*, New York, p. 136.

⁷⁸ Leitch (2010: 521).

⁷⁹ Leitch (2010: 521).

⁸⁰ Forster (2009).

⁸¹ Leitch (2010: 521).

⁸² Cicero's corpus includes texts ranging from speeches, rhetorical treatises, philosophical works, personal correspondence and even poetry. Steel, C. (2005), *Reading Cicero*, London, p. 16.

⁸³ Leitch (2010: 522).

Works such as the commentaries by Shackleton Bailey on Cicero's *Epistulae ad Atticum*, *Epistulae ad familiares* (2 vols) and *Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem et M. Brutum*⁸⁴ provide important information, assisting with linguistic issues while also providing key socio-historical background to enable contextual analysis.

Ethnohistory

This research project goes beyond just empirical analysis because of its usage of some of the methods employed by Ethnohistory, which is a form of cultural history. Ethnohistory involves the decoding of signs and symbols from past societies for the purpose of “getting ‘inside’ the mental space of the people studied.”⁸⁵ The current research project involves analysing the language and culture of Cicero (and other relevant Latin authors/texts) in order to decipher the attitudes of the Roman elite towards the less privileged of their society. Ethnohistory tends to involve research which focuses on one society or culture.⁸⁶ The current research project adheres to this approach through its focus upon the society of Ciceronian Rome. However unlike Ethnohistory, the current project places less emphasis on socio-cultural change over time and instead investigates the predominantly stable socio-cultural position of the Roman elite within a distinct time period.⁸⁷ Ethnohistorians also predominantly rely on the written record, which necessitates rigorous criticism, in particular the analysis of possible linguistic insights and the understanding of cultural phenomena (which is observed in the current project through the hermeneutical process).⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Shackleton Bailey (1965–70); Shackleton Bailey (1977); Shackleton Bailey (1980).

⁸⁵ MacRaid and Taylor (2004: 154).

⁸⁶ Axtell, J. (1979), “Ethnohistory: An Historian’s Viewpoint”, *Ethnohistory*, vol. 26, no. 1, p. 2.

⁸⁷ Axtell (1979: 3).

⁸⁸ Axtell (1979: 4).

Conclusion

This chapter has set out the methodological process involved in the current project. In particular the project embraces an empiricist approach through the data collection utilising the Library of Latin Texts database and digital Loeb Classical Library databases. The source material will be analysed with hermeneutical rigour. However in conjunction with this, an ethnohistorical approach will be undertaken to enable the data analysis to extend beyond the restrictions of empirical thought. My methodology will therefore provide greater insight into the nature of stigmas against certain occupations amongst the Roman elite in Ciceronian Rome. The period of Ciceronian Rome has been chosen as the temporal parameter for the study due to the substantial source material provided by Cicero.

CHAPTER TWO: Cicero's *Familia Domestica* And The Lettered Slaves Of Ciceronian Rome

This chapter concerns Cicero's own household, his *familia domestica*, and the lettered slaves of Ciceronian Rome. Cicero's corpus, particularly the evidence of his letters to Atticus, provides insight into his personal household and employees. Since only servants undertaking important work and those mentioned purely incidentally are found within his correspondence it would be foolish to consider the list below as capturing his entire household.⁸⁹ It is likely that the slaves and freedmen, which Cicero does mention, are only a small number of his actual household staff. All the same, Richard Saller proposed that it is possible to ascertain insights into social hierarchies through examining a particular household since children within that household are reared to accept certain social categories as natural.⁹⁰

Cicero's *Familia Domestica*

Cicero's *familia domestica* existed both in Rome and at his country estates and was composed of servants who carried out household and secretarial roles but did not include skilled artisans.⁹¹ According to Garland, Cicero must have had a relatively modest number of slaves working in his household considering few of them were 'specialised' with job titles.⁹² This conclusion is inherently flawed since only the servants completing particularly important jobs and those incidentally referred to would be found within Cicero's corpus therefore Cicero's other servants who are not mentioned could be numerous.⁹³ The few slaves that held titles still completed other

⁸⁹ Treggiari (1969a: 255).

⁹⁰ Saller, R. (1998), 'Symbols of Gender and Status Hierarchies in the Roman Household', in Joshel, S. and Murnaghan, S. (eds), *Women and Slaves in Greco-Roman Culture: Differential Equations*, London and New York, p. 85; see Finley (1985: 82).

⁹¹ Park (1918: 60-61).

⁹² He argued that wealthier households contained a higher number of specialists. Garland, A. (1992), "Cicero's *Familia Urbana*", *Greece and Rome*, vol. 39, no. 2, p. 163.

⁹³ Treggiari (1969a: 255).

tasks outside of their nominal role in the household.⁹⁴ This situation is also seen in the house of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58) whereby the roles of *cocus* and *atriensis* are performed by the same slave.⁹⁵

Cicero's General Household Staff

Anagnostes/lector

The *anagnostes* or *lector* was in charge of entertaining his master's family and guests by reading aloud.⁹⁶ In a significant passage Cicero is in distress when he mentions his *lecteur* Sositheus to Atticus in a letter dated 1 January 61 BC.⁹⁷ Sositheus, 'a charming lad ... has died, and it has affected me more than the death of a slave perhaps ought to do.'⁹⁸ This passage is significant because it at once demonstrates the strong connection masters were able to have with their slaves and the special place they took in the household while also emphasising a member of the elite's view that he should not have this degree of feeling for a slave. The slave Dionysius was another of Cicero's *anagnostes*, he was in charge of Cicero's library and allegedly stole a large number of books before fleeing in 46 BC. Cicero attempted to locate him commenting that a missing slave was "no great matter" but he was "intensely vexed."⁹⁹ Dionysius was noted as still missing in 44 BC.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁴ Garland (1992: 163).

⁹⁵ Cic. *Pis.* 67.

⁹⁶ Cic. *Att.* 1.12; Garland (1992: 164).

⁹⁷ Cic. *Att.* 1.12.4.

⁹⁸ Cic. *Att.* 1.12.4. Translation is that of Shackleton Bailey (1965: 133).

⁹⁹ *Fam.* 13.77.3: Translation is that of Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) (2001), *Cicero. Letters to Friends*, Volume II: *Letters 114-280*, Loeb Classical Library 216. Cambridge, MA.

¹⁰⁰ Cic. *Fam.* 5.9.2; 5.10A.1; 5.11.3. Not to be confused with Atticus' *libertus* Dionysius. Treggiari (1969a: 253).

The occupation of *atriensis* ('the overseer of the *atrium*') is only found in two passages of Cicero's works.¹⁰¹ Garland proposed that Cicero had an *atriensis* who acted as the hall-porter for his household and was responsible for not only ushering guests into the house but also for keeping the hall clean.¹⁰² Garland's evidence¹⁰³ for this however is a passage that mentions slaves and stewards in general:

Atque ut in magna familia servorum sunt alii lautiores ut sibi videntur servi sed tamen servi, atrienses ac topiarii, pari stultitia sunt quos signa quos tabulae quos caelatum argentum quos Corinthia opera quos aedificia magnifica nimio opere delectant. Et 'sumus,' inquit, 'civitatis principes.' Vos vero ne conservorum quidem vestrorum principes estis; sed ut in familia qui tractant ista, qui tergunt qui ungunt qui verrunt qui spargunt, non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent, sic in civitate qui se istarum rerum cupiditatibus dediderunt ipsius servitutis locum paene infimum obtinent.

“And as in a great family other slaves are (as they fancy themselves) of a higher class, but all the same they are slaves,—the major-domo, the landscape-gardener,—equally foolish are the people who take excessive delight in statues and pictures and chased silver and Corinthian works of art and magnificent buildings. And they say, ‘It is we who are the chief people in the state.’ On the contrary, you are not actually even the chief among your fellow-slaves; but as in the household those who handle articles of that sort or dust or oil or sweep or sprinkle them do not hold the most honourable rank of slavery, so in the state

¹⁰¹ Cic. *Pis.* 27; *Parad.* 5.37-38; Simpson, D. P. (1977), *Cassell's Latin Dictionary: Latin-English, English-Latin*, New York, p. 64, 195. The term *dispensator* can also translate as ‘steward’ and is discussed later.

¹⁰² Garland (1992: 167).

¹⁰³ *Parad.* 5.36-37; Garland (1992: 167).

those who have given themselves up to coveting that sort of thing occupy almost the lowest place in the slave-order itself.”¹⁰⁴

The passage certainly does not identify Cicero’s personal hall-porter or his tasks; instead it implies that the tasks of any general steward could have included cleaning.¹⁰⁵ Within this passage Cicero is saying that there are ranks of slaves within a household; each slave occupies a *locus servitutis*, the ‘highest’ of which might be labelled the most honourable (*honestissimus*) — and this emerges almost despite Cicero’s intention here which is to say that “a slave is a slave is a slave”, that is to say that all slaves are demeaned by their situation. The theme of *Paradox* 5 is the importance of self-knowledge—‘every fool is a slave’ (by virtue of the his ignorance) thus the evidence on slavery here is almost tangential.¹⁰⁶ Since metaphors rely on common attitudes resonating with an audience or readership, the extrapolated evidence is more reliable. Cicero’s main aim is to say that so many people who consider themselves the *civitatis principes* (leaders of the state) are just fooling themselves.¹⁰⁷ By way of expressing this more forcefully he alludes to certain slaves as having tickets on themselves because their positions seem more ‘honourable’ (and the household to which they belong is greater than other households) — and, in this, they delude themselves (they are still slaves).¹⁰⁸ Since the *Paradoxa* are markedly rhetorical in character; this is sometimes taken as an indication that this discourse was a less weighty one than many of Cicero’s other philosophical works; but it is dedicated to M. Brutus, indicating a certain gravity.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁴ *Parad.* 5.36-37; Text and translation from Rackham, H. (trans.) (1942), *Cicero. On the Orator: Book 3. On Fate. Stoic Paradoxes. Divisions of Oratory*, Loeb Classical Library 349, Cambridge, MA.

¹⁰⁵ *Parad.* 5.37; Garland (1992: 167).

¹⁰⁶ MacKendrick, P. (1989), *The Philosophical Books of Cicero*, London, pp. 89-90.

¹⁰⁷ *Parad.* 5.36-37.

¹⁰⁸ *Parad.* 5.36-37; MacKendrick (1989: 90); The *atriensis* are discussion along with the cleaners, “who did not have any economic competence or influence.” Carlsen, J. (1995), *Vilici and Estate Managers until AD 284*, Rome, p. 144.

¹⁰⁹ MacKendrick (1989: 87, 91).

In the second passage containing a reference to the occupation of *atriensis* (Cic. *Pis.* 67), Cicero is making a speech against Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58). Within the speech Cicero is portraying Piso as “an Epicurean voluptuary”—but one who is crude and unsophisticated.¹¹⁰ Nisbet suggests that Piso was attempting to “combine Epicurean geniality with senatorial dignity” but Cicero equated “the one as a taste for low company, and the other as stand-offishness.”¹¹¹ Cicero characterises him, as a drinker and indulger in excess in terms of food and sex yet at the same time not especially extravagant, a quality that purports to reflect Cicero’s views of a gentleman and freeman.¹¹² Cicero’s evidence for Piso’s notable lack of extravagance includes, alongside rank meat¹¹³, a lack of embossed ware, old slatternly slaves waiting the tables, no breadmaker¹¹⁴ or wine-cellar¹¹⁵, and the fact that his household only had one slave acting as both *cocus* and *atriensis*.¹¹⁶ The specific mention of the *servi sordidati* (‘dirty/shabby slaves’), some of which are even old men, waiting on Piso’s dinner guests suggests that young good-looking male/female slaves ideally waited on the dinner table in sophisticated elite households.¹¹⁷ This passage also suggests that a slave performing both roles of *cocus* and

¹¹⁰ MacKendrick, P. (1995), *The Speeches of Cicero: Context, Law, Rhetoric*, London, p. 320.

¹¹¹ Nisbet, R. G. M. (ed.) (1961), *Cicero: In L. Calpurnium Pisonem Oratio*, Oxford, p. 132.

¹¹² Cic. *Pis.* 67; MacKendrick (1995: 320).

¹¹³ *Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant* (‘Our fathers used to praise a boar when high’), according to Horace rancid meat was kept in case a guest should arrive. Horace, *Satires* 2.2.89. Text and translation from Fairclough, H. R. (trans.) (1926), *Horace. Satires. Epistles. The Art of Poetry*, Loeb Classical Library 194, Cambridge, MA.

¹¹⁴ “Wealthy Roman houses baked their own bread ... it was a matter of pride in the ancient world to provide one’s own supplies,” Nisbet (1961: 132).

¹¹⁵ Therefore Piso purchases inferior wine in large quantities rather than maturing a better quality blend in his own cellar. Nisbet (1961: 132).

¹¹⁶ Cic. *Pis.* 67.

¹¹⁷ Lewis, C. T. and Short, C. (1879), *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford (s.v. ‘sordidati’) in Crane, G. R. (ed.) (2007), *Perseus Digital Library: Latin Word Study Tool*, Tufts University, viewed 6 January 2015, <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=sordidati+&la=la#Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=sordidatus-contents>>.

atriensis was unusual in a sophisticated elite household or at least the ideal was for different individuals to perform those roles.¹¹⁸ This allusion to the cook being the *atriensis* is interesting since the *atriensis* was a step up from the ‘ostiarus’ (doorkeeper). The doorkeepers sometimes served “in chains”, “according to the ancient custom” (*vetere more in catina*) (Suet. *On Rhetoricians* 3).¹¹⁹ Carlsen argues that by mentioning *atriensis* together with cooks, bakers and other slaves, Cicero is essentially equating their role to those of “menial functions.”¹²⁰

Interestingly, Plautus’ plays contain a few references to *atrienses*. In particular, a part of the plot from his play *Asinaria* (‘Comedy of Asses’) revolves around the steward Saurea and a slave impersonating him.¹²¹ Within the play, the steward is depicted as having sold his master’s donkeys from Arcadia to a merchant from Pella and is entrusted to collect the master’s earnings while two other slaves of Demaenetus’ (the master) connive to steal the twenty minas.¹²² A later reference to a false *atriensis* is found in the same play (*Asinaria* 459): *quod omnium rerum ipsus semper credit* (‘he himself always trusts him in everything’).¹²³ From Plautus’ references it appears that the *atriensis* distributed work among other slaves in their household, assisted by the *vicarius*.¹²⁴ The *atriensis* also managed their “master’s business with outsiders, including

¹¹⁸ Cicero, *Pis.* 27.

¹¹⁹ Nisbet’s commentary on *In Pisonem* doesn’t have anything to say on this point. Nisbet (1961: 132).

¹²⁰ Cic. *Pis.* 67; see Cic. *Parad.* 5.38; Carlsen (1995: 144).

¹²¹ Pl. *As.* 333-335, 345-368. The slave Libanus laments that bad omens will mean ‘the rod’ (a belting with elm rods) for him or the steward Saurea, promoting the idea that the chief steward and other slaves may have been treated equally when it came to punishments: Pl. *As.* 2, 261-264.

For a reference of a slave becoming a steward due to performing sexual favours for his master, see Plutarch, *Cas.* 460-462.

¹²² Pl. *As.* 333-335, 345-368.

¹²³ Text and translation is from de Melo, W. (ed.) (2011), *Plautus. Amphitryon. The Comedy of Asses. The Pot of Gold. The Two Bacchises. The Captives*, Loeb Classical Library 60, Cambridge, MA.

¹²⁴ Carlsen (1995: 143).

receiving payments and borrowing money.”¹²⁵ In another of Plautus’ plays, the *Pseudolus*, he has the *atriensis* being ranked higher than other slaves within the slave social hierarchy itself.¹²⁶

The evidence suggests that *atrienses* held a significant role in Roman elite households in Plautus’ time with power over other slaves and proximity to their masters. However by the first century BC, the *atriensis* seems to have lost its rank in the hierarchy with the *dispensator* taking on the role of the most honourable (*honestissimus*), trusted and vital slave in the household.¹²⁷ From the little evidence available, Cicero’s attitude towards *atrienses* seems to be one of condescension, he recognised there was a ranking system among household slaves and that to have an *atriensis* separate to other roles such as cooks was customary but he also insinuated that the position is equally ‘lowly’ since he discusses it in the same breath as cooks and other slaves.

Ianitor

Cicero had a door-keeper (or porter) in Rome in charge of choosing which individuals received an audience with Cicero.¹²⁸ In his list of grievances against Verres, Cicero ‘observes’ (i.e., alleges) that Verres has the run of Quintus Hortensius Hortalus’ household to which he has been given free access by Hortensius’ *ianitores* and *cubicularii*. Verres is indeed, Cicero claims, ‘beloved’ by Hortensius’ freedmen, slaves and slave-girls: *hunc* [sc. *Verrem*] *vestri ianitores, hunc cubicularii diligunt; hunc liberti vestri, hunc servi ancillaeque amant.*¹²⁹ (It is unclear whether this range of servants is given in apposition to the two functionaries previously named, or is—in some way—an addition to them.) On the face of it the *ianitores* and *cubicularii* seem to

¹²⁵ Pl. *Asin.* 333-334; 347-349; 431-362; *Poen.* 1283; Carlsen (1995: 143).

¹²⁶ Pl. *Ps.* 605-612; Notably, there are no relevant references to the occupation of an *atriensis* in the works of Sallust, Cato, Caesar and Varro.

¹²⁷ Carlsen (1995: 144-145).

¹²⁸ *Planc.* 66; Plut. *Cic.* 15; see Park (1918: 59).

¹²⁹ Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.8.

be exercising a great deal of power, influence and agency, though the context makes clear that Hortensius has empowered them to greet Verres in this acquiescent mode. Cicero's passage here can be seen in context to be an attack on Hortensius for having issued these implicit instructions to his staff, whilst 'decent people' [like himself, sc. Cicero] are *not* given such access.¹³⁰ All the same, these servile functionaries are seen to exercise a good deal of authority, even if delegated.¹³¹

Cubicularius

Freedmen and slaves are believed to have served as *cubicularii* ('chamber-servants').¹³² Cicero only mentions this occupation twice within his corpus (*Att.* 6.2.6 and *Verr.* 2.3.8 which was discussed above).¹³³ According to Maxey, the *cubicularius* seems to have been highly trusted and, as previously mentioned, in charge of deciding which individuals received a meeting with the master.¹³⁴ There is not enough evidence to make a conclusion about the social position of a *cubicularius* although it is likely that their masters generally trusted them.

¹³⁰ Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.7.

¹³¹ I have already discussed above door-keepers whose lowly position was signalled by the fact that they were literally chained to their posts; cf. the discussion of *ostiarius* in the household of the Pompeii (Suet. *Rhet.* 3). Yet Columella (*RR, pref.* 9-10), to step momentarily outside the era under the microscope of this particular study, has a reference to someone being repulsed (*a catenato ... ianitore*) with the implication that the disdain with which the individual seeking admission is treated is a matter of the slaves' initiative: *neque enim roganti, quid agatur intus, respondere servi dignantur* ("For the servants do not deign to reply to his questions as to what is going on indoors" [trans. Ash]). There is a reference to a porter in Plautus' play *Asinaria* (389-390) however it is merely incidental and does not contain meaningful information. Varro (*LL* 7.27) mentions the term *ianitor* in the context of a list of antiquated word forms found in the *Hymn of the Salii*. No references to the term were found in Cato, Sallust or Caesar.

¹³² *CIL* 6.8777-8; 8782-3; 8789; 8794: see Maxey (1938: 45). Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cubicularii').

¹³³ Plautus, Cato, Varro, Caesar and Sallust never mention the term *cubicularius* within their texts. The miniscule search results is strange considering this servant was believed to be one of the most trusted of the household and supposedly close to their masters. Maxey (1938: 45).

¹³⁴ Maxey (1938: 45-46); Cic. *Att.* 6.2.5.

Cocus

Cicero mentions ‘cooks’ only five times within his corpus.¹³⁵ The most well known reference is in *de Officiis* 1.150 where Cicero classifies the occupation of a cook as one of the “least respectable trades” since it “caters for sensual pleasures” and is therefore completely unbecoming to a gentleman.¹³⁶ Within this passage, Cicero is citing a list by the playwright Terence (*Eunuchus* 257) and adding his own occupations, that of the “perfumers, dancers and vaudevillians (*totum ludum talarium*).”¹³⁷ Cooks and butchers were categorised by Cicero as among the least respectable members of free society:

Minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum:

Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores,

ut ait Terentius; adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium.

“Least respectable of all are those trades which cater for sensual pleasures:

“Fishmongers, butchers, cooks, and poulterers, and fishermen,”

as Terence says. Add to these, if you please, the perfumers, dancers, and the whole *corps de ballet*.”¹³⁸

I have discussed the occasional use of Terence above. Donatus says that there is a comic intention here in that a Roman market is being described whilst the context of the play is Greek.¹³⁹ John Barsby, however, disagrees, saying “[it] is true that the terminology here is thoroughly Roman, but the incongruity, if perceived at all, is not a glaring one. Plautus’ parasites by contrast refer

¹³⁵ Cic. *ad Fam.* 9.20.2; *ad Fam.* 16.15.2; *Off.* 1.150; *Fin.* 2.8; *S. Rosc.* 46.

¹³⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; Agriculture was considered the most appropriate occupation for a gentleman. War and politics were also respectable avenues, see Treggiari (1969a: 88).

¹³⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; MacKendrick (1989: 364 note 30).

¹³⁸ Cic. *Off.* 1.150. The text and translation is that of Miller, W., trans. (1913), *Cicero. On Duties*, Loeb Classical Library 30, Cambridge, MA.

¹³⁹ Donatus, *Commentary on Terence Eun.* 257 in Paul Wessner (ed.) (1902), *Aeli Donati Quod Fertur Commentum Terenti*, Leipzig, Teubner, p. 323 (26, 1).

quite specifically to Roman locations (Ergasilus in *Capt.* mentions both the Triple Gate of Rome and the oil market in the Velabrum). In general “Plautus delights in incongruous Romanisms, Terence avoids them.”¹⁴⁰ I defer to the authority of Barsby in this regard, but Donatus’ comments confirm the fact that, in this passage Terence is projecting a Roman image. Whether Cicero’s two passages (*Off.* 1.150-1.151) are inherently Roman or predominantly Greek attitudes (from Panaetius) is also heavily debated.¹⁴¹ Cicero states himself that his first two books of *de officiis* followed Panaetius (*Att.* 16.11.4) though he made occasional changes (*Att.* 3.7).¹⁴² Finley concluded that the passages are predominantly Roman views with some Greek influence.¹⁴³ Conversely Brunt argues that *Off.* 1.150 corresponds closely to “the views of earlier Greek philosophers, Cynics and probably some Stoics excepted.”¹⁴⁴ Panaetius was a Rhodian aristocrat whose views Cicero may have found to agree with those of the Roman aristocracy.¹⁴⁵ Since the treatise is addressed to Cicero’s son and intended as a guide for him, Cicero had little need to add to Panaetius’ work especially in relation to the liberal arts which had “little relevance for Cicero’s circle”.¹⁴⁶

Treggiari argued that Cicero’s views did not represent reality rather “aristocratic prejudice” stemming from “snobbery and nostalgia for an agricultural past.”¹⁴⁷ For instance, Cicero’s good friend Titus Pomponius Atticus is known to have been involved in “publishing, banking, and agricultural production”¹⁴⁸ and Brutus whom Cicero esteemed was known to openly practice

¹⁴⁰ Barsby (1991: 34).

¹⁴¹ Walsh, P. G. (ed.) (2000), *Cicero: On Obligations*, Oxford, p. 154.

¹⁴² Brunt, P. A. (1973), “Aspects of the Social Thought of Dio Chrysostom and of the Stoics, *PCPS*, vol. 19, pp. 26ff.

¹⁴³ Finley (1985: 50ff.); Walsh (2000: 154).

¹⁴⁴ Brunt (1973: 29).

¹⁴⁵ Brunt (1973: 27).

¹⁴⁶ For more information on Brunt’s argument, see Brunt (1973: 26-34).

¹⁴⁷ Treggiari (1969a: 88-89).

¹⁴⁸ Treggiari (1969a: 88).

usury.¹⁴⁹ Finley criticises Treggiari's use of the terms "prejudice" and "snobbery" arguing instead that the nature of agricultural production is landowning and therefore this shouldn't be used to degrade Cicero's views.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore Finley points out that in any "complex society" not all men will follow the "accepted canons" suggesting Treggiari's case against Cicero using evidence of elite men still working in 'unsuitable occupations' is flawed.¹⁵¹ Treggiari further proposed that the stigma attached to certain occupations such as that of a shopkeeper, craftsmen or cook sourced from the large influx of foreign slaves (from the Punic Wars) and their impact upon the Roman labour supply.¹⁵² As slaves began to take over the jobs previously undertaken by freemen, those occupations themselves began to be associated with slavery and became tainted as a position for the 'lowly'.¹⁵³ Finley supports Cicero as a sufficient "guide to prevailing values" of the elite with Cicero's *De. Off.* 1.150-1.151 passages considered indicative of the views of his class. This would mean that cooks were considered 'sordid' by the elite class in Ciceronian Rome.

The other four references to cooks unfortunately are only incidental and contain less insight into the position of cooks in Rome. In his speech for Sextus Roscius of Ameria, Cicero highlights Chrysogonus' lavish lifestyle, describing his grand house on the Palatine, Delian and Corinthian

¹⁴⁹ Moneylending was on the list of 'inappropriate' occupations see, Cic. *Off.* 1.150; Treggiari (1969a: 88); Finley (1985: 54); cf. Brunt (1973: 30).

¹⁵⁰ Finley (1985: 52).

¹⁵¹ Cf. Finley (1985: 52); Treggiari (1969a: 88-89).

¹⁵² "It is impossible to believe that in early times a freeborn Roman was despised for being a shopkeeper or a craftsman rather than a farmer. But with the influx of foreign slaves after the Punic Wars, new standards of living became established, slaves began to steal employment hitherto performed by *ingenui* and to create work for themselves and their successors. Gradually, they seem to have edged out the native Romans, leaving them two occupations only, farming and war. ... certain jobs became tainted with slavery, *ingenui* tended to despise them, and prejudice gave slaves their opportunity." Treggiari (1969a: 90).

¹⁵³ Treggiari (1969a: 90).

vessels, statues, ornaments, and “large household of domestic servants and slaves”.¹⁵⁴ Tellingly, Cicero adds that he will pass over cooks, bakers and litter-bearers, the representatives of *artes vulgares* (‘common trades’).¹⁵⁵ In Cicero’s letter to his freedman Tiro, dated 12th April 54 or 53 BC, he mentions sending a cook from Cumae to Formiae in order to offer assistance for Tiro, showing his compassion for his ex-slave but providing little or no information on who was sent.¹⁵⁶

In a later letter to Papirius Paetus dated early August 46 BC, Cicero boasts of having acquired expertise in refined dining.¹⁵⁷ Possibly in accordance with his boasting, Cicero presents his own cook in a positive light as competent though not completely without flaws since Cicero concedes the ‘hot sauce’ wasn’t perfect.¹⁵⁸ This passage highlights the significance of the cook in the context of Cicero’s household since his skill and expertise could impact upon the ability of his master to host meals and socialise/entertain his social equals. This is shown through Cicero’s light-hearted statement that he is now able to invite more refined guests.¹⁵⁹ According to ‘Cicero’ in the *de Finibus* men of refinement would have ‘first-rate’ chefs if they were to follow the Epicurean pleasure principle.¹⁶⁰ Within this passage Cicero is refuting the pleasure principle on

¹⁵⁴ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 133; Freese, J. H. trans. (1930), *Cicero. Pro Quintio. Pro Roscio Amerino. Pro Roscio Comoedo. On the Agrarian Law*, Loeb Classical Library 240. Cambridge, MA, p. 241 note c.

¹⁵⁵ Cic. *S. Rosc.* 134; see Dyck, A. R. (2010), *Cicero. Pro Sexto Roscio*, New York and Cambridge, UK, p. 190 (observing that the ‘vulgar arts’ are loosely placed in apposition to the arts themselves, the *musici* being set apart for more lengthy treatment).

¹⁵⁶ Cic. *ad Fam.* 16.15.2; Park (1918: 59); the cook was likely one of Cicero’s slaves who was competent at producing food required for someone who was very sick; see Watson, A. (1891), *Cicero: Select Letters*, 4th edition, London, p. 323.

¹⁵⁷ Cic. *ad Fam.* 9.20.2; see Shackleton Bailey (1977: 346).

¹⁵⁸ Cic. *ad Fam.* 9.20.2; see Shackleton Bailey (1977: 346).

¹⁵⁹ Cic. *ad Fam.* 9.20.2.

¹⁶⁰ Cic. *Fin.* 2.23.

the basis that it is “illogical and inconsistent” for a man who follows it would be left destitute.¹⁶¹ Therefore suggesting that not all elite households would have had ‘first-rate’ chefs since the expense to maintain them was so high.

Plautus provides further insight into the reputation of cooks in an earlier period within his play the *Aulularia* (‘Pot of Gold’). As I have argued in Chapter One, all of Plautus’ plays were based on Greek originals adapted for his Roman audience. An example of Plautus’ adaptations is the scene in the *Curculio* where Plautus describes precise locations in the forum and the consumers and retailers found there.¹⁶² His comedic play, *The Pot of Gold*, is assumed to have been based on an original by Menander.¹⁶³ Plautus utilises cooks as a source of low comic relief in an otherwise serious play.¹⁶⁴ The cooks are comically named Congrio (*gongros*, “eel”) and Anthrax (“a coal”).¹⁶⁵ Repeated references are made within the play to the notorious pilfering of cooks. In the case of this play, such thievery involves freedmen who are employed from the market and not just slaves already employed within the household.¹⁶⁶ The slave Strobilus has an entire monologue where he is depicted worrying over how to handle the cooks to ensure dinner is served at no extra cost to the household.¹⁶⁷ The characterization of the cooks as uninhibited thieves is almost certainly an exaggeration on the part of Plautus intended for comic relief. Perhaps, however, Plautus is tapping into some real social concerns here for the audience to be

¹⁶¹ Cic. *Fin.* 2.23; MacKendrick (1989: 132).

¹⁶² Pl. *Curc.* 470-486.

¹⁶³ Harsh, P. (1944), *A Handbook of Classical Drama*, California, p. 342.

¹⁶⁴ Harsh (1944: 344).

¹⁶⁵ Harsh (1944: 343).

¹⁶⁶ For the hiring of cooks from the markets, see Pl. *Aul.* 280-282. References to cooks as supposed thieves: Pl. *Aul.* 320-325, 339, 341-349, 363-370, 432-433, 460-470, 552-556. See Harsh (1944: 344).

¹⁶⁷ Pl. *Aul.* 363-370; see Harsh (1944: 344).

able to relate to Strobilus' anxieties.¹⁶⁸ Wagner states that "cooks used to have a bad reputation at Rome" supporting the existence of a stigma against them.¹⁶⁹ Therefore it is possible that cooks were widely suspected of engaging in thievery if not to the extent that Plautus portrays. This image of cooks in society would support Cicero's view that the occupation was suitable for the 'lowly' and considered disreputable in the eyes of a gentleman.¹⁷⁰

Cicero's Administrators

Actuarius

The freedman Eros acted as Cicero's *actuarius* ('shorthand writer, keeper of records or accounts')¹⁷¹ and steward at Rome in June 44 BC.¹⁷² Eros also collected loans on Cicero's behalf and delivered messages.¹⁷³ In 44 BC Eros handled Cicero's financial concerns and apparently not very well since Cicero's travel abroad was delayed in order to borrow funds, which Cicero states

¹⁶⁸ A passage containing obvious hyperbole is Euclio's exclamation that with so many cooks in his home, even if the many-eyed Argus was appointed to watch over them, they would still succeed in thievery; Pl. *Aul.* 552-556. A passage in the comedic play *Trinummus* ('Three-Dollar Day') provides a neutral image of cooks as simply individuals providing a service for which they are paid: Pl. *Trin.* 406-410.

¹⁶⁹ Wagner, W. (1866), *T. Macci Plauti Aulularia: with Notes, Critical and Exegetical, and an Introduction*, Cambridge, UK, p. 115 note 320. See Pl. *Pseud.* Act 3, Scene 2.

¹⁷⁰ Cic. *Off.* 1.150.

¹⁷¹ Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (1982, repr. 2010), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford (s.v. 'actuarius'), p. 30. The term *actuarii* might also refer to 'shorthand notetakers.' Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 55.3. Although Suetonius is a late source, this passage refers to people employed by Caesar and that makes it relevant for this thesis; Plutarch also mentions *actuarii* in relation to shorthand writers being used for the first time by Cicero, with regard to senatorial discussions/debates in 63 BC. Plutarch does not give any indication of the social status of these clerical assistants: Plut. *Cat. Min.* 23.3.

¹⁷² Cic. *Att.* 15.15; Garland (1992: 163, 166); His manumission is mentioned by Plutarch, *Apophth. Cic.* 21; Park (1918: 64).

¹⁷³ Cic. *Att.* 14.18; *Att.* 13.50; Garland (1992: 167).

he believed he should have had already.¹⁷⁴ Cicero sent Tiro, his *ad manum*, to Rome to ensure the matter was resolved.¹⁷⁵

ad manum

Tiro, Cicero's *ad manum*, was his slave until his manumission in 53 or 54 BC when he was about twenty years old.¹⁷⁶ Tiro was Cicero's most trusted freedman and completed administrative work as Cicero's confidential secretary.¹⁷⁷ Tiro took dictation of Cicero's letters except for the most confidential ones.¹⁷⁸ Tiro also held numerous roles including entertaining Cicero's guests¹⁷⁹, cooking¹⁸⁰, overseeing the *tabellarii* and copiers¹⁸¹, collecting debts¹⁸² and assisting Cicero in his literary work by proof-reading, checking facts and inspiring him.¹⁸³ Tiro catalogued the books in the library at Tusculum.¹⁸⁴ He also oversaw the gardeners at Tusculum¹⁸⁵ and kept copies of Cicero's letters for publication.¹⁸⁶ Cicero's affection for his ex-slave is seen through his letters for instance Cicero is documented sending a cook from Cumae to Formiae in 54 or 53 BC to assist Tiro when he took ill.¹⁸⁷ Within this letter Cicero expresses his fondness for Tiro:

¹⁷⁴ Cic. *Att.* 15.15.

¹⁷⁵ Cic. *Att.* 15.15; Garland (1992: 163). The actual term '*actuarius*' is omitted completely from the texts of Plautus, Cato, Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust.

¹⁷⁶ If manumission did not occur on the 28 April then it occurred soon after. Park (1918: 63); Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1977: 344).

¹⁷⁷ See Garland (1992: 163); Shackleton Bailey (1977: 344); Treggiari (1969a: 259).

¹⁷⁸ Cic. *Q. Fr.* 3.1.19; *Att.* 13.9.1; see Treggiari (1969a: 261).

¹⁷⁹ Cic. *Fam.* 16.22; Garland (1992: 166); Park (1918: 63).

¹⁸⁰ Cic. *Fam.* 16.22; Garland (1992: 166).

¹⁸¹ Cic. *Att.* 15.8; *Fam.* 16.22.1; *Att.* 16.18.2; Garland (1992: 166); Park (1918: 63).

¹⁸² Cic. *Fam.* 16.24; Garland (1992: 166).

¹⁸³ Cic. *Fam.* 16.10.2; 16.22; *Att.* 6.2.3; 7.3.10; 12.34.1; Treggiari (1969a: 262). Tiro also assisted Atticus with divorce negotiations (*Att.* 16.15); Garland (1992: 166).

¹⁸⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 16.20.1; Garland (1992: 166); Park (1918: 63).

¹⁸⁵ Cic. *Att.* 16.18.2; Park (1918: 63).

¹⁸⁶ Cic. *Att.* 13.6.3; *Att.* 16.5.5; *Fam.* 16.17.1; see Treggiari (1969a: 261); Park (1918: 63).

¹⁸⁷ Cic. *ad Fam.* 16.15.2; Park (1918: 59); the cook was likely knowledgeable in producing food suitable for the very ill, see Watson (1891: 323).

incredibili sum sollicitudine de tua valetudine; qua si me liberaris, ego te omni cura liberabo. plura scriberem si iam putarem libenter te legere posse. ingenium tuum, quod ego maximi facio, confer ad te mihi tibi que conservandum. cura te etiam atque etiam diligenter ... ego ad te Aegyptam misi, quod nec inhumanus est et te visus est mihi diligere, ut is tecum esset.

“You cannot imagine how anxious I feel about your health. If you relieve my mind on this score, I shall relieve yours of every worry. I should write more if I thought you could read with any pleasure at the present time. Put your clever brain, which I value so highly, to the job of preserving yourself for us both. Look after yourself carefully, I repeat ... I have sent you Aegypta to be with you. He is not uncivilized and I think he is fond of you..”¹⁸⁸

Another example of a slave who served *ad manum* was Licinius who belonged to Gaius Gracchus and was known to have acted as an *amanuensis*.¹⁸⁹

Dispensator

According to ‘Scipio’ in Cicero’s *de Republica* the role of the *dispensator* (‘steward, a treasurer, steward’)¹⁹⁰ of the household would ideally have a “high level of ethical standards” and be

¹⁸⁸ Cic. *ad Fam.* 16.15.2; Text and translation are from Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed.) (2001), *Cicero. Letters to Friends*, Volume II: *Letters 114-280*, Loeb Classical Library 216, Cambridge, MA; Shackleton Bailey does not comment on the relationship between Cicero and Tiro within his commentary, see Shackleton Bailey (1977: 345-346).

¹⁸⁹ Cic. *Orat.* 3.225. On Licinius, see Beness, J. L. and Hillard, T. W. (forthcoming), *Macquarie Dictionary of Roman Social and Political Biography 168–111 BC* s.v. ‘(P.?) Licinius’. Apart from the aforementioned references in Cicero there are no other slaves *ad manum* mentioned in Cicero’s corpus or those of Varro, Cato, Plautus, Sallust and Caesar.

¹⁹⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘dispensator’).

literate.¹⁹¹ Park notes that Cicero never mentions a *dispensator* of his own and used Tiro in this role at certain points.¹⁹² In Cicero's household his wife Terentia was entrusted with the financial matters while Cicero was awaiting permission from Caesar to return to Rome in 59 BC and she in turn entrusted her affairs to her freedman steward, Terentius Philotimus.¹⁹³ Under the title of *dispensator* Philotimus was responsible for Cicero's financial payments¹⁹⁴, the rebuilding of Cicero's and Quintus' houses in 55-4 BC¹⁹⁵, acting as '*socius*' during the purchase of Milo's estate¹⁹⁶, visited and briefed Cicero concerning his private transactions connected to Milo's estate,¹⁹⁷ and was in charge of finances in 49 BC.¹⁹⁸ Philotimus also held the role of treasurer on Cicero's estates, was known to have delivered messages,¹⁹⁹ and even accompanied Cicero on his election campaign.²⁰⁰ Philotimus came to be distrusted by Cicero who suspected him of abusing his position in order to steal.²⁰¹ This is evident as early as 26th June 50 BC when Cicero wrote to Atticus recalling that Philotimus had acted suspiciously in their meetings and asked him (sc. Atticus) to investigate whether Philotimus was underhandedly taking funds from Milo's estate.²⁰² Further evidence of Cicero's suspicion of Philotimus is seen in another letter the same year (*Att.*

¹⁹¹ Cic. *Rep.* 5.5: *Ergo, ut vilicus naturam agri novit, dispensator litteras scit, uterque autem se a scientiae delectatione ad efficiendi utilitatem refert ...* Carlsen (1995: 152).

¹⁹² Park (1918: 69 note 3).

¹⁹³ *Att.* 2.4.7; Treggiari (1969a: 253); note that Terentia's freedman steward Philotimus is a different person to Cicero's librarian Philotimus (*Att.* 10.7.2, 13.33.1). Claassen, J.-M. (1996), "Documents of a Crumbling Marriage: The Case of Cicero and Terentia," *Phoenix* vol. 50, p. 219.

¹⁹⁴ Cic. *Att.* 5.4.3; 5.19.1; 8.7.3; 10.5.3; see Park (1918: 63).

¹⁹⁵ Cic. *Att.* 4.10.2; Q. Fr. 3.1.6, 3.9.7; see Park (1918: 63).

¹⁹⁶ Cic. *Att.* 5.8.2-3; *Fam.* 8.3.2; see Park (1918: 63).

¹⁹⁷ Cic. *Att.* 6.1.19; 6.3.1; see Park (1918: 63-64).

¹⁹⁸ Cic. *Att.* 8.7.3; 10.5.3; 10. 7.3; see Park (1918: 63-64).

¹⁹⁹ Cic. *Att.* 10.8a; Garland (1992: 166).

²⁰⁰ Garland (1992: 166).

²⁰¹ Garland (1992: 166).

²⁰² Notably, Cicero wrote these sentiments to Atticus in carefully worded Greek, possibly concerned that the letter (otherwise in Latin) could be intercepted *Att.* 6.5.1-2; Claassen (1996: 219).

7.1.9) dated 16th October,²⁰³ in which he once again accuses Philotimus of pilfering and labels him as ‘Lartidius’ which Shackleton Bailey suggests could refer to a real or stage villain who was well known during that period.²⁰⁴

Another letter to Atticus from Epirus dated January 48 BC (*Att.* 11.1) details Cicero’s displeasure with his financial situation and how the person in charge of taking care of his concerns, Philotimus, is no longer in Rome and cannot be found.²⁰⁵ This situation emphasises the significant role a steward played in a Roman household (especially in the context of civil war) since Cicero indicates he is in serious trouble because his position in society, his good name and the future of his estates depend upon his good financial position which Philotimus was supposed to be overseeing.²⁰⁶ Cicero’s later laments that he has trusted an individual with his private affairs for too long. The ‘individual’ could either be referring to Philotimus or as Corradus and Shackleton Bailey concede, it could possibly mean Terentia which might help explain why Cicero has not dismissed Philotimus; perhaps he was constrained from doing so by Terentia.²⁰⁷ If Philotimus was stealing from Cicero it is possible that he was still acting in accordance with his mistress’s wishes.²⁰⁸ Philotimus “played truant” in 48 BC²⁰⁹, he was expected by Cicero²¹⁰ but

²⁰³ Cic. *Att.* 7.1.9; Claassen dates this letter to March 49 BC but Shackleton Bailey dates it to 16 October 50 BC. I have followed Shackleton Bailey’s dating here. Claassen (1996: 219).

²⁰⁴ Cic. *Att.* 7.1.9; Shackleton Bailey does not comment on Cicero’s use of Greek here however it is noteworthy that Cicero ‘code-switches’ to Greek when he writes to Atticus about Philotimus’ thieving (see *Att.* 6.4.3; 6.5.1-2). Swain suggests this is because Cicero wished to keep his concerns private incase it reflected poorly on him. Swain, S. (2002), ‘Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching’, in Adams, J. N. and Janse, M. and Swain, S. (eds), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*, Oxford, p. 154; see Shackleton Bailey, D.R., (ed.) (1968, rep. 2004), *Cicero’s Letters to Atticus*, vol. 3, Cambridge, p. 282.

²⁰⁵ Philotimus is not specifically mentioned but it is safe to assume Cicero is referring to the freedman; see Shackleton Bailey, D.R., (ed.) (1966, rep. 2004), *Cicero’s Letters to Atticus*, vol. 5, Cambridge, p. 265.

²⁰⁶ Cic. *Att.* 11.1.

²⁰⁷ Terentia is criticized in *Atticus* 11.2.2 and the term *credens* is argued to more likely apply to Terentia since Cicero already believed Philotimus to be dishonest. See *Att.* 6.5.1; Shackleton Bailey (1966, rep. 2004: 265).

²⁰⁸ Cic. *Att.* 6.4.3; Treggiari (1969a: 264).

instead is believed to have attended court in Ephesus, presumably to deal with his own affairs instead.²¹¹ Either from this point or soon after, Philotimus effectively ceased his role as Cicero's *dispensator*.²¹²

Atticus' slave or freedman Eros is known to have held the title of Cicero's *dispensator* at Rome in June 44 BC, suggesting Philotimus was absent. Eros appears to have struggled with the position at least according to Cicero's complaints, which were mentioned previously.²¹³ Cicero's references to Philotimus and Eros "indicate that *dispensatores* sometimes used, or rather abused, their position to their own advantage."²¹⁴ Cicero expected loyalty and dedication from his freeman. A *dispensator* was held to an even higher level of standard than the rest of the slaves, they were expected to be totally dependable and trustworthy.²¹⁵ Treggiari proposes that "Cicero was too apt to take offence where none was intended or to suspect an injury."²¹⁶

Librarii

The *librarii* of Cicero's household were literate and essentially acted as both clerks and copyists, they also performed a vast range of secretarial duties.²¹⁷ For example, they often doubled as

²⁰⁹ Cic. *Att.* 11.1.1; Treggiari (1969a: 264).

²¹⁰ Cic. *Att.* 11.19; Philotimus was likely expected as he was supposed to assist in the composition of Terentia's will, see Claassen (1996: 221); Shackleton Bailey (1966, rep. 2004: 292).

²¹¹ Cic. *Att.* 11.24; see Claassen (1996: 221).

²¹² Note Philotimus is recorded bringing Caesar's letter in 47 BC. *Att.* 11.23.2; 11.19.2; 11.24.4; *Fam.* 14.24.23; see also Treggiari (1969a: 264).

²¹³ Cic. *Att.* 15.15; see Garland (1992: 163); Park (1918: 59). Despite the significance of the stewards to their masters, there are no references to the occupation *dispensator* in the works of Plautus, Sallust, Cato and Caesar. Varro (*LL* 5.183) makes a reference to the etymology of the term *dispensator* but otherwise does not discuss the occupation.

²¹⁴ Carlsen (1995: 152).

²¹⁵ Carlsen (1995: 152).

²¹⁶ Treggiari (1969a: 264).

²¹⁷ Garland (1992: 163).

tabellarii (messengers).²¹⁸ Other roles involved purchasing books,²¹⁹ escorting Cicero's son Marcus²²⁰ and arranging building projects.²²¹ One of Cicero's prior *librarii* was a freedman called Chrysippus who was entrusted as M. Cicero the younger's tutor-attendant on his journey from Cilicia to Rome in 50 BC but Chrysippus actually abandoned his charge:

Illud tamen de Chrysippo (nam de altero illo minus sum admiratus, operario homine; sed tamen ne illo quidem quicquam improbius)—Chrysippum vero, quem ego propter litterularum nescio quid libenter vidi, in honore habui, discedere a puero insciente me! mitto alia quae audio multa, mitto furta; fugam non fero, qua mihi nihil visum est sceleratius. itaque usurpavi vetus illud Drusi, ut ferunt, praetoris in eo qui eadem liber non iuraret, me istos lib<e>ros non addixisse, praesertim cum adesset nemo a quo recte vindicarentur.

“One thing though about Chrysippus—I am less surprised about the other, a mere mechanic, though he too is a thorough-paced scamp. But Chrysippus, whom for the sake of a smattering of letters he had I liked to have about me and made much of, to leave the boy without my knowledge! His other misdeeds, plenty of which are coming to my ears, his pilferings, I leave; but his absconding I won't stand, it's the most blackguardly thing I ever met with. So I have followed the precedent of Drusus the Praetor, so they say, in the case of the slave who would not retake the oath after manumission, and have denied

²¹⁸ Cic. *Att.* 13.19; see Garland (1992: 167).

²¹⁹ Cic. *Q.Fr.* 3.5-6; see Garland (1992: 163, 167).

²²⁰ Cic. *Att.* 7.2; see Garland (1992: 163, 167).

²²¹ Cic. *Fam.* 14.18; see Garland (1992: 167). Philotimus, the *dispensator*, oversaw the rebuilding of Cicero's and Quintus' houses in 55-4 B.C. *Att.* 4.10.2; *Q. Fr.* 3.1.6, 3.9.7; see Park (1918: 63).

giving them their freedom—all the more easily as no competent Claimant was present on the occasion.”²²²

Chrysippus²²³ and the unnamed man, who together abandoned Cicero’s son, are believed to have been recently manumitted slaves.²²⁴ Treggiari proposes that the abandonment occurred when the young Marcus and Quintus went to Deiotarus.²²⁵ In retribution Cicero began action to have the acts of manumission retracted under the cause of gross misconduct.²²⁶ Cicero describes the disloyalty of the unnamed man as less surprising since he is an *operario homine* (‘mere mechanic’) suggesting that Cicero held these individuals in lesser regard than his *librarii* explaining why Chrysippus’ betrayal of trust was the more devastating. Treggiari supports this stating that for Cicero “this class of slaves (*operarii*)—even though he freed them—interested him little.”²²⁷

The occupational category of *librarii* covers the *anagnostae*, amanuenses, librarians, copyists and *tabellarii*. Occasionally, Cicero’s letters mention his use of a secretary to physically write the letter and this is sometimes accompanied with an excuse, suggesting that it may have been considered impersonal to use a secretary or, more likely, Cicero preferred not to use assistants

²²² Cic. *Att.* 7.2.8; 5.3; see Park (1918: 62).

²²³ See Cic. *Q. Fr.* 3.4.5, 5.6.

²²⁴ Shackleton Bailey (1968, rep. 2004: 288).

²²⁵ Treggiari (1969a: 257).

²²⁶ Freeman swore an oath before the manumission procedure (as a requirement) to perform certain duties for their future *patronus*. This oath was not necessarily legally binding however they were expected to repeat the oath once freed which would have made it legally binding (*Dig.* 40.12.44). Cicero argued that the manumission procedure conducted for both men was informal (omitted the process of *vindicta*) and since they both ‘failed’ in their duty by abandoning their charge, their right to freedom was not legal on technical grounds. It is unknown whether Cicero succeeds in reversing their manumissions. See Shackleton Bailey (1999: 189 note 7, 8) (Loeb trans.); Shackleton Bailey (1968, rep. 2004: 289); Treggiari (1969a: 258).

²²⁷ Treggiari (1969a: 255).

due to privacy concerns.²²⁸ In support of the latter assumption, Cicero's letter dated 1st October 54 BC, informs Atticus of the high possibility that his letters would cause serious repercussions should they be intercepted:

*neque enim <eae> sunt epistulae nostrae quae si perlatae non sint nihil ea res nos
offensura sit; quae tantum habent mysteriorum ut eas ne librariis quidem fere
committamus ne quid quo excidat.*

“Mine are not the sort of letters which can miss their destination and no harm done. They contain so many secrets that I don't usually trust them even to my clerks for fear something might leak out.”²²⁹

In fact, because of the sensitive information they contained, Cicero states he usually chooses not to trust his letters with his own clerks.²³⁰ Whether this distrust was a result of their actions or due to their social station is not explained. Even if the clerk is Tiro, Cicero fears the ears of the household.²³¹ Despite his preoccupation with privacy, there is evidence that Cicero's ophthalmia forced him to occasionally utilise a clerk for his letters to Atticus.²³² When Cicero did choose to dictate his letters, he carefully worded them.²³³ These letters were not as private as they may seem since after dictation the secretary made copies, one to be filed and the others for cases

²²⁸ Cicero's letter to his brother (*Q. Fr.* 2.16.1) also excuses the use of a secretary as he was too busy to write the letter himself. Cicero's letter to Atticus (4.16.1) in 54 BC comments that 'the very fact that this letter is in the hand of a *librarius* will show you how busy I am,' suggesting that Cicero possibly preferred to write his personal letters without assistance and in private.

²²⁹ Cic. *Att.* 4.17.1; Shackleton Bailey (1999: 10-11) (Loeb trans.).

²³⁰ Cic. *Att.* 4.17.1; Shackleton Bailey does not comment on the distrust Cicero feels for his clerks: Shackleton Bailey, D.R., (ed.) (1965, rep. 2004), *Cicero's Letters To Atticus*, vol. 2, Cambridge, pp. 212-213.

²³¹ Cic. *Att.* 13.9.1.

²³² Cic. *Att.* 8.13.1.

²³³ White, P. (2010), *Cicero in Letters. Epistolary Relations of the Late Republic*, Oxford, p. 16.

where the letter was to be forwarded, therefore the letter could be passed on without Cicero's knowledge quite easily.²³⁴

Cicero is often depicted borrowing Atticus' *librarii* to assist with his literary work, in particular with the publication and circulation of his works. Cicero's *Anticato* for instance was circulated through the work of Atticus' *librarii*.²³⁵ The use of Atticus' *librarii* is shown to cause some issues, for instance Cicero asks Atticus to ensure his works are not distributed without his permission after he becomes aware that Caerellia has in her possession texts, which she should not.²³⁶ Further evidence of Cicero utilising Atticus' *librarii* is in a letter dated approximately 20th June 56 BC, in which Cicero asks Atticus to send him a few library clerks along with parchment to assist the good work Tyrannio is doing, namely repairing books and cataloguing.²³⁷ Magistrates are noted to have their own clerks and are observed as generally being ignorant of certain parts of the law since they rely on their clerks for the information. This makes them open to manipulation by their clerks as Cicero observed indirectly.²³⁸

Tabellarii

The *tabellarii* were messengers carrying letters for Cicero and his family not necessarily as part of their usual position. When letters were delivered the *tabellari* often carried oral messages for the recipient.²³⁹ Park lists some of the named *tabellarii*²⁴⁰, some of the more prominent of which included: Acastus²⁴¹; Aegypta; Anteros²⁴²; Hermia²⁴³; Menander²⁴⁴ and Ummius.²⁴⁵ Aegypta was

²³⁴ For example Cicero had some of letters to Caesar forwarded to Atticus (*Att.* 7.23.3; 9.6.6; 10.3a.2; 13.22.5): White (2010: 16).

²³⁵ *Cic. Att.* 12.40.1.

²³⁶ *Cic. Att.* 13.22.3.

²³⁷ *Cic. Att.* 4.4a.1-2.

²³⁸ *Cic. Leg.* 3.46-48.

²³⁹ White (2010: 16).

²⁴⁰ See Park (1918: 60).

²⁴¹ *Cic. Att.* 6.9.1; Treggiari (1969a: 253).

sent to comfort the freedmen Tiro when he was gravely ill (*Fam.* 16.15). He served as *tabellarius* from 53 BC (*Fam.* 16.15.1) to 45 BC (*Att.* 12.37.1) and was manumitted sometime during that period.²⁴⁶ He is described by Cicero as *nec inhumanus* ('not uncivilised') which Shackleton Bailey argues was likely in "reference to culture rather than character, though for Cicero the two were closely linked."²⁴⁷ Shackleton Bailey proposes that Ummius is not in fact Cicero's *dispensator* ('household steward') at Tusculum since the name doesn't suggest this, more likely he was a "banker or agent in the town."²⁴⁸ Treggiari proposes Ummius, who also paid Tiro's doctor in 54 or 53 BC as per Cicero's orders, may have been the freeman of another patron but not Cicero's *dispensator*.²⁴⁹

Conclusion

In Ciceronian Rome, masters were able to develop strong connections with their servants despite the social convention suggesting that they should not hold a high degree of feeling for them.²⁵⁰ As Finley explains, in "Cicero's Rome nor in any other complex society did all men behave according to the accepted canons."²⁵¹ Within an elite Roman household a hierarchy existed among the servants; each slave occupied a *locus servitutis*.²⁵² The master of the household generally considered his *dispensator* (or in Cicero's case also his *ad manum*) as his most trusted

²⁴² Anteros was assigned to Cicero's son M. Cicero. Park (1918: 60).

²⁴³ See Cic. *Fam.* 16.15, this reference to Hermia says little of Cicero's attitude towards him. Hermia is also mentioned in Cic. *Q.Fr.* 1.2.12 (59 BC) but the passage is ambiguous and difficult to draw any conclusions from.

²⁴⁴ Cic. *Fam.* 16.13; Both Treggiari and Shackleton Bailey argue that Menander is in fact the Andricus of the letter *Fam.* 16.14. See Treggiari (1969a: 253); Shackleton Bailey (1977: 345); Park (1918: 60).

²⁴⁵ Cic. *Fam.* 16.14.

²⁴⁶ See Cic. *Fam.* 8.15; Park (1918: 62).

²⁴⁷ Cic. *Fam.* 16.4.3; Shackleton Bailey (1977: 346).

²⁴⁸ Shackleton Bailey (1977: 345).

²⁴⁹ Treggiari (1969a: 253).

²⁵⁰ For example, see Cic. *Att.* 1.12.4, 7.4.1, *Fam.* 16.15.

²⁵¹ Finley (1985: 52).

²⁵² Cic. *Parad.* 5.36-37.

and loyal servant. For Cicero, his *librarii* also played a significant role in his household, acting as copyists, clerks, and messengers to secretaries. Despite Cicero's expectation of utmost trust and loyalty from his *librarii*, he preferred not to dictate his letters to them especially when they contained sensitive material. Cicero wasn't even comfortable dictating sensitive letters to Tiro presumably in the fear that members of his slave household would overhear.²⁵³ Whether such mistrust stemmed from past occurrences or Cicero's general view of freedmen and slaves as 'lowly' is unclear. From the meagre evidence available, Cicero seems to equate the role of *atriensis* with that of cooks and other slaves.²⁵⁴ As mentioned previously, Cicero categorised the occupation of a cook as among the "least respectable trades" since it "catered to sensual pleasures."²⁵⁵ Plautus also portrayed cooks very negatively with a running joke in his *Aulularia* concerning their infamous thievery.²⁵⁶ This image supports Cicero's statement that the occupation of a cook was considered inappropriate for a gentleman.²⁵⁷ Despite the stigma attached to cooks, they played a significant role in their households. Their skills and expertise, for which Cicero praised his own cook, impacted upon their master's ability to host meals and socialise with his equals.²⁵⁸ The lack of evidence regarding *actuarii*, *ianitores* and *cubicularii* precludes any definitive conclusion concerning elitist attitudes towards their station and role in society. In respect of slaves who completed the more menial tasks, such as waiting on the dinner table, the ideal was for them to be young and attractive.²⁵⁹ The existence of hierarchy between masters, freedmen and slaves was a given. Even a freedman such as Tiro (in whom Cicero placed

²⁵³ Cic. *Att.* 13.9.1.

²⁵⁴ Cic. *Pis.* 67.

²⁵⁵ Cic. *Off.* 1.150.

²⁵⁶ Plaut. *Aul.* 320-325, 339, 341-349, 363-370, 432-433, 460-470, 552-556.

²⁵⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; Cic. *S. Rosc.* 134.

²⁵⁸ Cic. *ad Fam.* 9.20.2.

²⁵⁹ Cic. *Pis.* 67.

a great deal of trust), a noted grammarian and literary critic treated “with friendliness by his patron’s friends” could not shake his ‘lowly’ origins.²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Treggiari (1969a: 263). See also the case of Dionysius *Att.* 7.4.1: *quem quidem cognovi cum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sanctum, plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum* (“I have found him not only a good scholar, which I already knew, but upright, serviceable, zealous moreover for my good name, an honest fellow, and in case that sounds too much like commending a freedman, a really fine man.”). Text and translation is from Shackleton Bailey (1999) (Loeb trans.); Shackleton Bailey does not make any relevant comments on this passage. Shackleton Bailey (1968, rep. 2004: 165).

CHAPTER THREE: Roman Retailers

An artisan or ‘craftsman’ in Ciceronian Rome was a manual worker who exploited his skill in the manufacture of objects made from durable materials in order to earn a living.²⁶¹ While the Roman elite admired the goods produced by artisans, they commonly praised the patron of the artwork rather than the skills of the artisan.²⁶² The objects an artisan produced could be admired, useful or even essential to society but the artisans themselves were still not considered admirable.²⁶³ If Cicero’s classification concerning which trades were considered respectable or vulgar is taken as indicative of elite social values more generally then artisans were considered to constitute a group separate to the rest of society because the nature of their work meant they were beyond moral or political virtue.²⁶⁴ According to Cicero, a workshop (*officina*) was an unsuitable place for a respectable freeborn male.²⁶⁵ Artisans working out of workshops were considered to be engaging in ‘vulgar’ activities.²⁶⁶ One might note the disdain with which Sallust describes the artisans and farmers (*opifices agrestesque omnes*) who supported Marius’ candidacy for the consulship of 107 BC.²⁶⁷ According to Cicero, retail merchants were considered ‘vulgar’ because their trade required them to misrepresent the value of their goods in order to make a profit.²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ Burford, A. (1972), *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, London, pp. 12-13.

²⁶² Joshel (1992: 66).

²⁶³ Compare the sentiments of Plutarch at *Life of Pericles* 2.1: ‘For it does not necessarily follow that when a work charms us with its grace, its maker is worth our admiration.’; see Burford (1972: 12-13).

²⁶⁴ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; Burford (1972: 12).

²⁶⁵ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see also Joshel (1992: 66).

²⁶⁶ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see also Joshel (1992: 66).

²⁶⁷ Sallust, *Iug.* 73.5-7: *Praeterea seditiosi magistratus volgum exagitare, Metellum omnibus contionibus capitis arcessere, Marii virtutem in maius celebrare. Denique plebes sic adensa uti opifices agrestesque omnes, quorum res fidesque in manibus sitae erant, relictis operibus frequentarent Marium et sua necessaria post illius honorem ducerent. Ita percussa nobilitate, post multas tempestates novo homini consulatus mandatur.* Cf. the analysis of Yakobson, A., *Elections and Electioneering in Rome. A Study in the Political System of the Late Republic*, Historia Einzelschriften 128, Stuttgart, pp. 13-19, esp. 14-15.

²⁶⁸ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see Joshel (1992: 66).

In *De Officiis* 1.150 Cicero is drawing upon a list provided in Terence's *Eunuchus* 257 and adding his own occupations, those of "perfumers, dancers and vaudevillians (*totum ludum talarium*)".²⁶⁹ Clearly, cooks, butchers, cutlers, entertainers and perfume dealers were considered by Cicero as among the lowest members of free society:

Minimeque artes eae probandae, quae ministrae sunt voluptatum:

Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores,

*ut ait Terentius; adde huc, si placet, unguentarios, saltatores totumque ludum talarium.*²⁷⁰

"Least respectable of all are those trades which cater for sensual pleasures:

"Fishmongers, butchers, cooks, and poulterers, and fishermen,"

as Terence says. Add to these, if you please, the perfumers, dancers, and the whole *corps de ballet*."²⁷¹

Trade could be tolerated if it was on a large scale and did not involve the use of misrepresentation.²⁷² While the occupation of large-scale merchant was still considered by Cicero as inappropriate for a freeman he also recognised that these individuals were assisting society and could invest their profits in more respectable areas, particularly agriculture.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ For a more extensive analysis of Cic. *Off.* 1.150 see Chapter Two; cf. MacKendrick (1989: 364 note 30).

²⁷⁰ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see Joshel (1992: 67).

²⁷¹ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; the text and translation is that of Miller (1913: 152-153) (Loeb trans.).

²⁷² Cic. *Off.* 1.150-151.

²⁷³ Further investigation into the contributions made by large-scale merchants is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis since these individuals were wealthy and would not have been members of the 'lower class.' Cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.150-151; Joshel (1992: 66-67). See Cato, *Agr.* 1.1-4 on the importance of agriculture in the Roman ethos.

The Latin term *tonsor* translates as ‘male barber’ in English with *tonstrina* meaning ‘barbershop’²⁷⁴ and *tonstrix* denoting a ‘female barber.’²⁷⁵ Based upon Cicero’s classification of perfumers, an occupation such as that of barber which involved skill but not a higher level of intelligence would have been considered ‘lowly’ by Cicero and even possibly ‘sordid’ since it catered to profanity and extravagance. Barbers operated out of shops, neighbourhoods, and were generally found throughout the city particularly in commercial districts.²⁷⁶ Popular areas for barbers to trade may have been around the Temple of Flora and the Circus Maximus.²⁷⁷ According to Maxey, itinerant barbers and those working from *tabernae* were likely “freedmen or plebeian freemen”.²⁷⁸ Slave barbers could be found in the households of the wealthy.²⁷⁹ Holleran proposed that it was only barbers with a wealthy clientele and financial backers that were able to operate through *tabernae*.²⁸⁰ The range of services a barber provided varied however

²⁷⁴ Simpson (1977: 607).

²⁷⁵ In Plautus’ play *Truculentus* (405-406, 770-772), a female barber (a slave) assists a prostitute and her slave in committing a scam. Plautus does not make any meaningful references to her occupation as a hairdresser; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.58; Simpson (1977: 607). Please note that there are no references to *tonstrices* (‘female hair-cutters’) in the other sources surveyed for this exercise.

²⁷⁶ Not all barbers had their own barbershops and therefore many operated with only their instruments, a stool and running water at hand. See Toner, J. (2005), “Barbers, Barbershops and Searching for Roman Popular Culture”, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. 83, p. 94.

²⁷⁷ Temple of Flora: *CIL* XV 7172. Circus Maximus: *CIL* VI 31900; see Holleran, C. (2012), *Shopping in Ancient Rome: The Retail Trade in the Late Roman Republic and the Principate*, Oxford Scholarship Online, viewed 4 January 2016, <<http://www.oxfordscholarship.com/simsrad.net.ocs.mq.edu.au/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199698219.001.0001/acprof-9780199698219-chapter-4?rskey=inEPLQ&result=1>>.

²⁷⁸ For freedman barbers, see *CIL* 6.4474; 9940; 37822. For free plebeian barbers, see *CIL* 12.4516. See also Maxey (1938: 94). Notably, Maxey’s research and the *CIL* references concern a much later time period than that covered by this thesis however some of Maxey’s remarks can be applied to Ciceronian Rome and the *CIL* references could conceivably indicate a long-running line of tradesmen in this occupation. Additionally, Maxey’s evidential base covers a long time period including extracts from Plautus’ plays.

²⁷⁹ Maxey (1938: 60); Toner (2005: 100).

²⁸⁰ Holleran (2012); see also Maxey (1938: 94).

such services could include cutting and shaving hair,²⁸¹ trimming nails (fingers and toes), producing wigs, and removing body hair. A character in Plautus' play *Aulularia* (312-313), an old miser, has his nails trimmed by a barber. Considering the character was renowned as being particularly thrifty, the passage suggests that the practice of attending a barber was very common and not considered an extravagance.²⁸² Barbers were also known to have styled longer hair using curling irons.²⁸³ Barbers played a noteworthy role in society due to their part in shaping an individual's public image.²⁸⁴ Short hair was considered a mark of civilisation and long hair was viewed as a mark of squalor since lower class men could not always shave or be shaved daily.²⁸⁵ Long hair could also be indicative of a person in mourning (possibly following a conviction in court) or as reflecting the necessity of defending oneself against a public charge.²⁸⁶ For young men, the first trip to the barber was a significant rite of passage and this occurred when the *toga virilis* was taken up in or around the age of 20—although when this tradition began is uncertain with Kaufman arguing that it was unheard of before the imperial age.²⁸⁷ Toner proposes that due to the population of shaving-age men within the city of Rome, barbers must have been at least a 'moderately important part of the city's service economy.'²⁸⁸ Diocletian's *Edict on Maximum Prices* (whilst well outside the period under scrutiny here) documents a modest two *denarii* fee for either a haircut or shave, suggesting that at 25 customers a day barbers could earn a living

²⁸¹ On cutting hair "over the comb" see Pl. *Capt.* 268: the metaphor of tricking someone is revealed to be 'cutting their hair' similar to the English word 'fleece.' de Melo (2011: 535 note 10) (Loeb trans.). See also Maxey (1938: 95); Fraenkel (2007: 54-55).

²⁸² Toner (2005: 95, 100).

²⁸³ Pl. *Cur.* 577-8; see Toner (2005: 95); Maxey (1938: 95).

²⁸⁴ Toner (2005: 96).

²⁸⁵ Kaufman, D. B. (1932), "Roman Barbers", *The Classical Weekly*, vol. 25, no. 19, p. 145.

²⁸⁶ For an example of growing one's hair and beard as a mark of grief, Suetonius (*Iul.* 67.2) records that Caesar grew his hair and went unshaven after the loss of his lieutenant Titurius in Gaul; see Kaufman (1932: 146).

²⁸⁷ Kaufman (1932: 146); cf. Toner (2005: 97).

²⁸⁸ Toner (2005: 100).

similar to that of the average carpenter or baker.²⁸⁹ Barbershops were places of sociability and according to Toner they are assumed to have been male dominated, however female barbers are known to have existed.²⁹⁰ Plautus often used a barbershop, a place renowned for gossip, as a tool for moving his plots forward.²⁹¹ According to Toner, as a collective group, barbers had the potential to influence elections since they had access to public opinion and gossip through their clientele, which they could choose to circulate.²⁹² Therefore barbers played an important role in everyday life through their services and capacity to spread news. A lot of trust was also required from the barber's clientele since the barber was effectively holding a blade near to the client's throat with minor wounds considered common.²⁹³ Both Plautus and Cicero only mention the occupation of barber twice within their respective corpuses.²⁹⁴ Cicero's two references concern the story of Dionysius, Tyrant of Syracuse (405-367 BC).²⁹⁵ Cicero criticises Dionysius' paranoid choice of having his daughters taught to cut his hair so that he could avoid risking his neck with a barber:

Quin etiam, ne tonsori collum committeret, tondere filias suas docuit: ita sordido atque ancillari artificio regiae virgines ut tonstriculae tondebant barbam et capillum patris; et tamen ab his ipsis, cum iam essent adultae, ferrum removit instituitque ut candentibus iuglandium putaminibus barbam sibi et capillum adurerent.

²⁸⁹ Toner (2005: 101); Maxey (1938: 95).

²⁹⁰ Toner (2005: 102); for references to female hair cutters see Pl. *Truc.* 405-406, 770-772; Cic. *Tusc.* 5.58.

²⁹¹ In Plautus' *Asinaria* (343-358) the barbershop is utilised to introduce a new character and presents a turning point in the plot, see Toner (2005: 102); Pl. *As.* 394 (a reference to an *atriensis* and a trader meeting at the barber's); Holleran (2012).

²⁹² Toner (2005: 103).

²⁹³ See Martial 11.84 in respect to common wounding by barbers; Toner (2005: 95, 104).

²⁹⁴ Plautus' mention of the term *tonsor* in *Asinaria* 394 concerns the *atriensis* Saurea (see p. 25 n. 121). Plautus' only other reference to barbers (*Aulularia* 312) was mentioned previously. A barbershop or '*tenstorina*' is mentioned by Plautus five times (purely incidental references, Pl. *Am.* 1009-1020).

²⁹⁵ Cic. *Tusc.* 5.58; Toner (2005: 104).

“Nay too he went so far as to have his daughters taught the use of a razor that he might not put his neck at the mercy of a barber; accordingly the young princesses, reduced to the mean employment of drudges, shaved their father’s hair and beard like mere barberettes; and all the same, when they were now older, he took the iron utensil out of the hands of these self-same girls and arranged for them to singe his hair and beard with red-hot walnut shells.”²⁹⁶

While Cicero is clearly not referring to the period under survey here, his retailing of the story clearly indicates the attitudes of someone of his station towards the barber’s craft. He regards it as a *sordidum ancillareque artificium*. Barbers were ideally highly skilled but their training did not require an intellectual component making their occupation less respectable for members of the elite like Cicero.²⁹⁷ Varro mentions barbers only in reference to their supposed introduction to Italy by Publius Titinius Mena from around 300 BC.²⁹⁸ Varro’s assertion is likely incorrect since it is based on the fact that statues predating this period depict long hair and lengthy beards whereas it is generally assumed by scholars that the Romans had razors and shears long before 300 BC.²⁹⁹

Plautine Evidence

Most of the extant source material concerning small retail activities comes from imperial epigraphical evidence and therefore not only postdates Ciceronian Rome but also exists outside

²⁹⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 5.58; King, J. E. (ed.) (1971), *Cicero. Tusculan Disputations*, Loeb Classical Library 141, London and Cambridge, MA, pp. 484-485; see also Cic. *Off.* 2.25; Toner (2005: 104).

²⁹⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; Joshel (1992: 174).

²⁹⁸ Varro, *On Agriculture* 2.11.10; Hooper, W. D. (trans.) and Ash, H. B. (revised), (1934), *Cato, Varro. On Agriculture*, Loeb Classical Library 283, Cambridge, MA, p. 419, note 1.

²⁹⁹ Kaufman (1932: 145).

the scope of this thesis which focuses upon a selection of literary evidence. As discussed earlier, the plays of Plautus, of course, belong to an earlier period (the end of the third/early second centuries BC) than that focussed on in this study but all the same provide insights into the Ciceronian period since the plays were still being performed in the first century BC.³⁰⁰ Plautus' comedic plays must have therefore presented a world that was familiar enough to first century audiences despite the fact that the plays themselves were adaptations of Greek originals. Plautus is known to have 'barbarized' his Greek originals by incorporating Roman elements into the plays.³⁰¹ For example, in *Aulularia* ('Pot of Gold', 107), the character Euclio visits a Roman magistrate. Plautus' references to retail professionals are therefore highly relevant for this chapter concerning the retailers of Rome.

One particular passage from Plautus' *Aulularia* 505-522 informs readers of the range of hucksters who circulated on wagons.³⁰² The scene depicts Megadorus (the husband) being beset upon by a group of creditors, who were employed by his dowered wife.³⁰³ The large group of hucksters are presented as "caterers to feminine luxury" and are therefore depicted as representing an avenue for extravagance, a quality that was disparaged by some members of the Roman elite.³⁰⁴ In Holleran's *The Retail Trade and the Economy*, she proposes that "any system of retail is inextricably linked to the wider social and economic environment in which it operates."³⁰⁵ Megadorus' statement in Plautus' *Aulularia* 505-522 bears this out:

³⁰⁰ Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 50 and *Phil.* 2.15 show how the plays of Plautus were current in Cicero's era from the beginning through to the end of his career.

³⁰¹ On Plautus' instincts here, see Fraenkel (2007).

³⁰² *Aulularia* is commonly assumed to be an adaptation from Meander's original concerning an old man with a treasure, see Harsh (1944: 342).

³⁰³ Christenson (2014: 26-27).

³⁰⁴ See, for example, Livy, *Periochae* 48 for the injunction of M. Aemilius Lepidus. The use of long lists as a tool for satire is evocative of Old Comedy. Harsh (1944: 483 note 22).

³⁰⁵ Holleran (2012).

*nunc quoquo uenias plus plaustorum in aedibus
uideas quam ruri, quando ad uillam ueneris.
sed hoc etiam pulchrum est praequam ubi sumptus petunt.
stat fullo, phyrigio, aurufex, lanarius;
caupones patagiarii, indusiarii,
flammarii, uiolarii, carinarii;
aut manulearii, aut †murobatharii†,
propolae linteones, calceolarii;
sedentarii sutores, diabathrarii,
solearii astant, astant molocinarii;
petunt fullones, sarcinatores petunt;
stropharii astant, astant simul zonarii.
iam hosce apsolutos censeas: cedunt, petunt
trecenti, quom stant thylacistae in atriis
textores limbularii, arcularii.
ducuntur, datur aes. iam [hosce] apsolutos censeas,
quom incedunt infectores corcotarii,
aut aliqua mala crux semper est quae aliquid petat.*

“Wherever you go nowadays you can see more wagons in front of a city house than in the countryside when you go to a farmhouse. But this is still pleasant compared with when the women demand that you should pay their bills. There stands the launderer, the embroiderer, the goldsmith, and the woollen worker; the dealers in flounces and tunics; those who dye garments in flaming red, violet, and brown; or those who make garments

with sleeves, or those who sell exotic perfumes; retailers in linen and shoemakers; squatting cobblers and producers of slippers; sandal-makers are standing there, and producers of mallow garments are standing there; the launderers are demanding pay, and the menders of clothes are demanding pay; sellers of women's breast-bands are standing there, and sellers of girdles are also standing there. Now you may think you've paid these off. Again and again hundreds are coming and demanding their pay, while the hem-weavers and the chest-makers with their money-bags are standing in the halls. They're brought in and given money. Now you may think you've paid them off, when in come the saffron-dyers, or there's always some pain in the neck demanding something."

The passage above is a satire on traders coming to the home of a wealthy lady.³⁰⁶ The hucksters within this scene are depicted as demanding 'hangers-on' of matrons.³⁰⁷ Due to the extent of his wife's expenses, Megadorus lacks the funds to fulfil his public duty of compensating a soldier who is demanding his pay.³⁰⁸ This lack of funds threatens the soldier's loyalty to Rome and by extension indirectly threatens the security of the state.³⁰⁹ Megadorus' speech is often interpreted as misogynistic, however a deeper investigation suggests that the character (and possibly Plautus) is criticising the size of dowries among the upper class and warning the audience that the repercussions are far-reaching.³¹⁰ Megadorus' speech proposes that the power wielded by such

³⁰⁶ Nervegna, S. (2014), 'Graphic Comedy: Menandrian Mosaics and Terentian Miniatures', in Fontaine, M. and Scafuro, A. C. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*, Oxford, p. 772.

³⁰⁷ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.98 and Gowers, E. (2012), *Horace. Satires Book 1*, New York and Cambridge, UK, p.111.

³⁰⁸ Pl. *Aul.* 526-528, see Christenson (2014: 27).

³⁰⁹ Christenson (2014: 27).

³¹⁰ Megadorus' speech suggests that a larger dowry provides dowered wives with greater power since dissolution of the marriage could seriously threaten the financial situation of their husbands. This kind of situation had the potential to produce a recurring drain on household finances, as seen in the passage, where the behaviour of the dowered wife has caused an overwhelming number of creditors to be demanding payment from her husband; see Pl. *Aul.* 505-522; Christenson (2014: 27).

wives challenges the traditional family structure.³¹¹ The scene is obviously orchestrated to produce humour and is therefore an exaggeration. However this passage must have some grounding in reality since the audience would have needed to connect to the characters in the scene or been able to recognise themselves in the scene.³¹² Since the composition of the audience comprises all the social classes from freeborn elite men and women to craftsmen and slaves, it is difficult to gauge audience reactions.³¹³ However it is possible to argue that Plautus' audience would have recognised the traders: the launderer (*fullo*); the embroiderer (*phrygio*); the goldsmith (*aurufex*); the woollen worker (*lanarius*); dealers in flounces and tunics (*caupones patagiarri*); those who dye garments in flaming red; violet and brown; those who make garments and so on. It is, moreover, reasonable to assume that the general characteristics of retail trade reflected in Plautus' plays would have resonated in Cicero's time.

A sample of occupations mentioned in Plautus' *Aulularia* (505-522)

Unfortunately, time constraints have precluded a thorough survey of all the occupations mentioned by Plautus. I therefore offer the following selection:

³¹¹ Christenson (2014: 27).

³¹² Christenson (2014: 28); Plautus may have been employing a technique which Alvin Tofler, a modern philosopher, calls the 'the shock of the new.' The theory is that Plautus was creating humour by playing upon the fact that the audience recognised the images of the retailers but gasped at the shocking disjunction with traditional practice whereby these creditors were so numerous and imposing upon the family home. In respect to Plautus' proclivity to use the 'shock of the new', his attitude (or the attitude of one of his character's) to timepieces will be examined. The sundial first made its appearance in Rome, as booty during the First Punic War but the Romans did not have a reliable piece until the middle of the 2nd century BC. Plautus utilises the 'new invention' and the shock value of its supposed impact upon society as a source for humour in his play *The Boeotians* where a 'hungry parasite' says: "The gods confound the man who first found out how to distinguish hours! Confound him, too, who in this place set up a sun-dial to cut and hack my days so wretchedly Into small portions! When I was a boy, my belly was my only sun-dial, one more sure, truer, and more exact than any of them. This dial told me when 'twas proper time to go to dinner, when I had aught to eat; But nowadays, why even when I have, I can't fall to unless the sun gives leave. The town's so full of these confounded dials the greatest part of the inhabitants, shrunk up with hunger, crawl along the streets." (Plaut. Fr. 21 Götz; ii. P. 38 Ribbeck *apud* Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 3.3.4-5; trans. Rolfe, J. C. trans., (1927), *Gellius. Attic Nights, Volume I: Books 1-5*, Loeb Classical Library 195, Cambridge, MA.).

³¹³ Christenson (2014: 29).

Goldsmiths undertook numerous tasks in relation to gold predominantly producing gold vessels. Instances of teeth being joined with gold are known to have occurred in Rome suggesting goldsmiths occasionally worked with teeth.³¹⁵ Gold was highly valued by the Romans to the point that the Senate prohibited the export of gold on several occasions.³¹⁶ A goldsmith is listed in Plautus' play *Aulularia* (505-522) amongst the tradesmen demanding to be paid for their goods or services. The goldsmith is portrayed as demanding but otherwise presented neutrally in the passage.³¹⁷ Another reference to goldsmiths is located within the play *Menaechmi* (524-527). In this scene, a servant girl entrusts her mistresses' gold bracelet to a man who she thinks is Menaechmus³¹⁸ so that he can organise for a goldsmith to recast it (through the addition of an ounce of gold).³¹⁹ Varro, for what it is worth, merely lists the term '*aurifex*' meaning goldsmith.³²⁰

Among other charges, C. Verres was charged in 70 BC with extorting the Sicilian people. According to Cicero, this crime involved founding a workshop in the governor's residence at Syracuse and making a public order that all skilled craftsmen assemble there.³²¹ Verres allegedly kept the craftsmen, including goldsmiths, working for eight months producing vessels of gold whereby he used stolen ornamental work to decorate his golden cups and basins.³²²

³¹⁴ Please note the absence of any results for goldsmiths in Cato, Caesar and Sallust.

³¹⁵ A funeral law found in the Twelve Tables dictated that men with gold joined to their teeth could be buried or burnt without the gold having to be removed; see Cic, *Leg.* 2.60.

³¹⁶ For instance, the Senate forbade gold exports when Cicero was consul; Cic. *Flac.* 67.

³¹⁷ Pl. *Aul.* 505-522.

³¹⁸ Menaechmus is in love with the servant girl's mistress Erotium. The individual who accepts charge of the bracelet is actually Menaechmus' twin Sosicles.

³¹⁹ Pl. *Men.* (524-527).

³²⁰ Varro, *LL* 8.62.

³²¹ Cic., *Ver.* 2, 4.54.

³²² Cic., *Ver.* 2, 4.54-55.

The issue of gold and corruption was significant in Roman politics as shown through the contrasting cases of Verres and Lucius Piso outlined by Cicero. According to Cicero, when Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi was praetorian governor in Spain (113 or 112 BC) his golden ring was broken to pieces during a military exercise.³²³ In order to ensure transparency he organised for a goldsmith to openly weigh out the gold and prepare his ring in the full scrutiny of a public place, the marketplace at Corduba.³²⁴ Notably, in these passages Cicero does not come across as judgemental towards goldsmiths. The intentional stark contrast of Piso's frugal actions against that of Verres' overbearing superfluous behaviour was a rhetorical ploy used by Cicero to assist his prosecution case against Verres.

In *De Oratore*, Cicero makes an implicit reference to the precision of the goldsmith's craft when he puts the following words into the mouth of M. Antonius:

Haec enim nostra oratio multitudinis est auribus accommodanda, ad oblectandos animos, ad impellendos, ad ea probanda, quae non aurificis statera, sed populari quadam trutina examinantur.

“For this oratory of ours must be adapted to the ears of the multitude, for charming or urging their minds to approve of proposals, which are weighed in no goldsmith's balance, but in what I may call common scales.”³²⁵

³²³ Cic., *Ver.* 2, 4.56.

³²⁴ Cic., *Ver.* 2, 4.56.

³²⁵ Cic. *Orat.* 2.159 (Loeb trans.) Sutton, E. and Rackham, H. (eds and trans.), *Cicero. De Oratore Books I-II*, Loeb Classical Library 348, London and Cambridge, MA, pp. 312-313.

Fullo

The Latin term *fullo* translates as ‘fuller, cloth-fuller.’³²⁶ The trade of a fuller involved two main tasks, to finish cloth by removing any grease or dirt residue after the spinning and weaving process and to wash soiled garments.³²⁷ In order to remove residual grease and filth from clothing, fullers would soak the garments in a solution of fuller’s earth or human urine.³²⁸ The existence of a *collegia* of fullers reveals that a large number of individuals worked within the trade, their patron deity being Minerva.³²⁹ Fullers are mentioned in three of Plautus’ plays albeit briefly. In *Aulularia*, a launderer is listed amongst the tradesmen who are demanding to be paid for their goods or services.³³⁰ The passage presents the fullers as irksome. A more derogatory reference to the occupation of fuller can be found within Plautus’ *Asinaria* (907). In one particular scene, Plautus has his character Artemona likened to a fuller in order to illustrate how her experience of having to listen to her husband express his infatuation for another woman and hatred of her is so disgusting it could be considered akin to the work of a fuller.³³¹ Plautus’ final reference to the occupation of fuller is from his play *Pseudolus*. Within the play a slave boy whose master is the pimp Ballio must come up with a present for his master’s birthday or ‘drink the fuller’s produce’ (as mentioned earlier, fullers used urine to wash the clothes), that is, he must endure oral intercourse:

nunc, nisi lenoni munus hodie misero, cras mihi potandus fructus est fullonius.

³²⁶ Simpson (1977: 258).

³²⁷ Brown and Strong (1976: 176); Holleran (2012). For more information on fullers provided by Justinian’s Digest, see Maxey (1938: 34-38).

³²⁸ Brown and Strong (1976: 176). See Cato *Agr. Praef.*; Suet. *Aug.* 2.3, 4.2; *Vit.* 2.1; *Otho.* 1.1, *Vesp.* 1.2-4. Dio Cass. 46.4-5, 7.4; Joshel (1992: 66, 198).

³²⁹ Joshel (1992: 70, 113, 199).

³³⁰ Pl. *Aul.* 508.

³³¹ Pl. *As.* 875-910, at 907; cf. Pl. *As.* 851-853; de Melo (2011: 241 note 39) (Loeb trans.).

“Now unless I send the pimp a present today, I have to drink the fuller’s produce tomorrow.”³³²

These lines suggest that waste from *fullonicae* was considered dirty and perhaps by association the fullers themselves.³³³

Varro has the speaker Scrofa say in his *De Agri Cultura* that it is advantageous for farmers (*coloni*) to have access to local tradesmen such as physicians, fullers and other artisans who can be employed under a yearly contract.³³⁴ Scrofa elaborates, stating that farmers should not have such *artifices* (possibly slaves, possibly freedmen, possibly freemen) on the farm because the death of a single man could wipe out the farm’s profitability.³³⁵ Scrofa explains that rich land owners might prefer to entrust these roles, including that of a fuller, to their own *familia* (likely slaves), especially in cases where their farm is located far away from the nearest town or village.³³⁶ This suggests that men with skills in the fuller trade were valued.³³⁷

Carinarius, flammarius, molocinarius, violarius

Dyers commonly dyed wool and rarely dyed linen.³³⁸ Dyers used the shellfish *murex brandaris* to create purple dye which was particularly prized in Rome.³³⁹ Other sources for purple dye

³³² Pl. *Ps.* 775-789, esp. 781-782; see also de Melo (2012: 328-329 note 36) (Loeb trans.).

³³³ See Flohr, M. (2013), *The World of the Fullo. Work, Economy, and Society in Roman Italy*, Oxford, p. 186, citing Kwintner, M. (1992), “Plautus *Pseudolus* 782: A Fullonius Assault”, *Classical Philology*, Vol. 87, pp. 232-233, at 232 on the nature of the threat to the slave boy.

³³⁴ Varro, *RR* 1.16.4.

³³⁵ Varro, *RR* 1.16.4. See Adams, J. N. (1995) *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire*, Leiden and New York, pp. 76-77.

³³⁶ Adams (1995: 77).

³³⁷ Please note that Cato, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust do not refer to the term ‘fullo’.

³³⁸ Brown and Strong (1976: 176).

included the whelk *purpura haemostoma* and the lichen *archil*.³⁴⁰ Vegetable dyes such as woad and madder were easier to source and cheaper to use.³⁴¹ Plautus makes only one reference to individuals who dye clothes brown (*carinarii*), red (*flammarii*), mallow (*molocinarii*) and violet (*violarii*). These artisans are included in his catalogue of people demanding remuneration for their services at Plautus, *Aulularia* 505-522.³⁴²

Incidental references to retailers

Among the six literary sources searched,³⁴³ a large number of occupations are mentioned purely in an incidental manner, which means the significance of the references vary. Often the references found provided no meaningful information regarding the nature of the trade or of attitudes towards the particular specialists involved. Seemingly discouraging, these mentions while occasionally only singular indicate the existence of the occupation itself during the period.³⁴⁴

Plautus only refers to the following occupations once in his play *Aulularia*, when they are listed in his satirical catalogue of tradespeople demanding payment:³⁴⁵

- Cabinet or box makers (*arcularii*)
- Shoemakers (*calceolarii*)
- Slipper makers (*diabathrai*)³⁴⁶

³³⁹ Brown and Strong (1976: 175).

³⁴⁰ Brown and Strong (1976: 175-176).

³⁴¹ Brown and Strong (1976: 176).

³⁴² See esp. Pl. *Aul.* 510, 514. Cato (the Elder), Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust make no mention of the terms *carinarii*, *flammarii*, *molocinarii* or *violarii*.

³⁴³ Namely Plautus, Cato the Elder, Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust.

³⁴⁴ As mentioned previously, Maxey's research also investigated incidental references to occupations of the lower class but her study utilised evidence from Justinian's Digest; Maxey (1938: 5).

³⁴⁵ Pl. *Aul.* 505-522.

³⁴⁶ Varro (*LL* 7.3.53) mentions the Greek word *diabathra* (slippers) but not the occupation *diabathrai*.

- Makers of women's undergarments (*indusarii*)
- Woollen manufacturers (*lanarius*)
- Lace-makers (*limbularii*/limbolarii)
- Linen-weavers (*linteones*)
- Sleeve makers (*manulearii*)
- Sellers of exotic perfumes (*murobatharii*)
- Embroiderers (*phyrigio*)
- Patchers/menders of clothing (*sarcinatores*)
- Sandal makers (*solearii*/ *solarii*)
- Bodice makers (*stropharii*)
- Weavers (*textores*)³⁴⁷

Notably, Cato the Elder, Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust make no mention of the occupations listed above.

Conclusion

Trades and services which required skill but not a higher level of intelligence were considered by Cicero as 'lowly' and these would have included goldsmiths, barbers, fullers, perfumers, and individuals working in the textile industry.³⁴⁸ Amongst these occupations it is difficult to determine which one Cicero would have disparaged the most however it was likely the fullers who utilised actual human urine or perhaps the perfumers who 'catered to sensual pleasures'.³⁴⁹ If the evidence from Cicero and Plautus is reflective of the attitudes of the Roman elite more generally then the occupation of the fullers was heavily stigmatised, considered 'disgusting' and

³⁴⁷ Varro (*RR*) 1.2.21 mentions *textores* (weavers) once briefly, his speaker Agrasius emphasizing the unsuitability of weavers in a discussion on agriculture.

³⁴⁸ Cic. *Off.* 1.151.

³⁴⁹ Cic. *Off.* 1.150.

sometimes used in derogatory jokes and in references to unwanted oral intercourse. Despite the occupation being considered a ‘lowly’ position, those skilled in the fuller trade were, according to Varro, actually highly valued, suggesting that their capabilities in finishing cloth and ability to wash soiled garments were important to everyday life. If the attitude of the character Megadorus in Plautus’ play *Aulularia* (505-522, esp. 508) is reflective of societal attitudes more generally then goldsmiths might have been considered demanding and parasitic, especially where upper class women were concerned.³⁵⁰ Cicero recognised the contribution that goldsmiths made to society through the valuable gold vessels they produced and the exactitude of their craft. Furthermore, barbers also played an important part in the city’s service economy through their connection to shaping an individual’s public image and their ability to influence public opinion through their access and distribution of public gossip and news. Societal (or indeed elite) attitudes to barbers, however, cannot be ascertained through the available evidence.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.98 and Gowers (2012: 111).

CHAPTER FOUR: Occupations Connected To Sustenance

During the Late Republic, the majority of the population in Rome was entirely dependent upon the market for subsistence.³⁵¹ Cicero considered retail merchants ‘base’ since their trade required them to misrepresent the value of their goods in order to make a profit.³⁵² Although all small-scale merchants were considered vulgar, Cicero separately categorised retailers catering to the basic necessities, such as those involved in food production. This category consisted of what Cicero deemed ‘the most sordid of the occupations’ due to its connection with pleasing another, an attribute akin to the work of a slave.³⁵³ Not surprisingly, many lower-class occupations in Roman society were concerned with the preparation of food and would have been considered ‘lowly’ by Cicero.³⁵⁴

Sample Of Occupations Concerned With Sustenance

Lanius, lanarius, macellarius

Butchers in Rome (*lanii, lanarii, macellarii*) played an important role in society by helping to provide the meat required for sacrificial offerings to the gods, as well as for general sustenance.³⁵⁵ The former role is seen in Plautus’ play *Pseudolus* in which butchers (*lanii*) and animals are mentioned incidentally as being required to facilitate a sacrifice.³⁵⁶

³⁵¹ Holleran (2012).

³⁵² Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see Joshel (1992: 66). For my earlier discussion on *de Officiis* 1.150, see Chapter Two.

³⁵³ Cic. *Off.* 1.150; see Joshel (1992: 67).

³⁵⁴ Maxey (1938: 12).

³⁵⁵ The *suarii* also played a role in meat distribution; they were the merchants who sent the animals to the butchers for slaughter. They are omitted from Corbier, M. (1989), “The Ambiguous Status of Meat in Ancient Rome”, *Food and Foodways*, vol. 3, note 3, p. 233.

³⁵⁶ Pl. *Ps.* 326-334. In respect to the sacrificial animals, *hostiae* could include lambs and other smaller animals, whereas *victimae* concerned larger sacrificial animals; see Willcock, M.M. (ed.) (1987), *Plautus: Pseudolus*, Great Britain, p. 110.

In Cicero's only reference to butchers, he categorised the occupation, as one of the least respectable trades since it involves serving basic needs.³⁵⁷ Such a stigma may have also been connected to the taboo on blood. Despite the Romans being continually exposed to blood sacrifices, war and gory arena entertainment, they do not appear to have become completely desensitised to blood.³⁵⁸ For instance, during blood sacrifices it was considered a bad omen if the victim managed to break free and sprayed onlookers with blood.³⁵⁹ Corrupted blood in sacrificial animals was also considered a bad omen signifying the gods' wrath.³⁶⁰ When Sextus Roscius was charged with murdering his father, Cicero defended him saying that the:

“blood of a father and mother has great power, restraining force, and sanctity; a single drop of this blood produces a stain, which not only cannot be washed out but penetrates even to the heart, to be succeeded by the height of frenzy and madness.”³⁶¹

Therefore, this supports the idea that death and the pollution of blood were inseparable, possibly explaining one of the causes underlying the stigma of butchers being ‘sordid’.³⁶²

³⁵⁷ Cic. *Off.* 1.150.

³⁵⁸ Fowler argued against the idea of blood taboo in Rome on the basis that “religious law had ... eliminated the various chances that might arouse it.” While Burriss recognised that concluding the Romans had become desensitised to blood from seeing gladiatorial battles, war and sacrifices would be a natural inference but ancient evidence suggests otherwise. Fowler, W. W. (1911), *The Religious Experience of the Roman People From the Earliest Times to the Age of Augustus*, London, pp. 33, 180-181; Burriss, E. E. (1929), “The Nature of Taboo and Its Survival in Roman Life”, *Classical Philology*, vol. 24, note 2, pp. 145, 149. Cf. Lennon, J. (2012), ‘Pollution, Religion and Society in the Roman World,’ in Bradley, M. and Stow, K. (eds), *Rome, Pollution and Propriety: Dirt, Disease and Hygiene in the Eternal City from Antiquity to Modernity*, p. 52.

³⁵⁹ Livy 21.63.13-14; Suetonius, *Divus Julius* 59; see Lennon (2012: 52).

³⁶⁰ Lucan, *De bello civili* 1.609-37; Lennon (2012: 52).

³⁶¹ *magnam vim, magnam necessitatem, magnam possidet religionem paternus maternusque sanguis; ex quo si qua macula concepta est, non modo elui non potest, verum usque eo permanat ad animum, ut summus furor atque amentia consequatur.* Cicero, *S. Rosc.* 66-68: Text and translation from Freese (1930: 178-181) (Loeb trans.); cf. Lennon (2012: 53).

³⁶² Lennon (2012: 52).

Tellingly, Livy (22.25.18) comments on Gaius Terentius Varro (cos. 216) whose ancestry he considered base and sordid because his father was a butcher (*loco non humili solum sed etiam sordido ortus*).³⁶³ Livy further condemns Varro's father for completing the menial tasks himself, including selling his wares, and argues Varro is also base since he assisted his father with these 'lowly' tasks (*Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum*).³⁶⁴ Livy disparaged Varro's wealth on the basis that it was sourced from his father's 'sordid' career and categorised him as nothing but a loathsome social climber.³⁶⁵

Plautus makes several references to butchers within his corpus although most are merely incidental. In *Captivi* (902-909), butchers and pork-sellers are categorised as occupations catering to human nourishment. In *Trinummus* (405-410), Plautus' list of expensive trades include those of a butcher, suggesting that at least some of their products were considered costly in the playwright's time.³⁶⁶ According to Corbier, meat from pigs was the most expensive from the butcher.³⁶⁷ Pigs were advantageous since they could feed on leftovers and did not have to be pastured on agricultural land.³⁶⁸ Meat was expensive in Republican Rome, but not to the extent that it was only reserved for the elite or consumed on special occasions.³⁶⁹ Varro opines that if an individual owns their own salting-house then choosing to purchase lard from butchers constitutes laziness and extravagance.³⁷⁰ The high cost of meat is supported by a passage in *Aulularia* (369-377) in which the miser Euclio visits the market to buy meat in preparation for his daughter's

³⁶³ See Corbier (1989: 232, 257).

³⁶⁴ Livy (22.25.19): Text from Foster, B. O. (1929), *Livy. History of Rome, Volume V: Books 21-22*, Loeb Classical Library 233, Cambridge, MA.

³⁶⁵ Livy 22.26.1-5.

³⁶⁶ There is no mention of butchers or their products in Gray, J. H. (1904), *T. Macci Plauti: Trinummus*, London, pp. 108-109 or Harrington, C. S. (1870), *Captivi, Trinummus, et Rudens*, New York, p. 253.

³⁶⁷ Corbier (1989: 231).

³⁶⁸ Jongman (1988: 79).

³⁶⁹ Corbier (1989: 224).

³⁷⁰ Varro, *RR* 2.4.3; see Corbier (1989: 232).

wedding only to discover that fish, lamb, beef, veal, tunny and pork are too expensive for him to afford. Possibly ‘normal’ individuals would still purchase these products since the cost of the items is certainly exaggerated with the character being portrayed as a cheapskate. The fact that he is also characterized as poor, however, supports the notion that meat was considered valuable and provides evidence for the sort of products available at a meat market in Rome.³⁷¹

Plautus also makes reference to the location of butcher shops within Rome.³⁷² In particular the passage in *Curculio* (470-486) provides an intriguing description of where hucksters dwelt in or around the Forum.³⁷³ The butchers are said to live on the Velabrum, the low saddle between the Roman Forum and the Forum Boarium, with the millers and soothsayers.³⁷⁴ This passage also provides evidence of adaptations Plautus has made to his Greek originals in order to introduce observations of Roman life. These precise geographical adaptations would have enabled the audience to recognise the Roman situation and possibly, depending on the level of realism, seen the humour in the passage.

An insightful passage is located within the play *Pseudolus* (196-201) in which a pimp, Ballio, equates procurers to butchers since they also acquire their wealth through ‘false oaths’.³⁷⁵ The

³⁷¹ W. Wagner (1876: 120) recognises that Euclio had found the ‘trifling’ items at the market too expensive but does not comment on the prices or the products.

³⁷² Pl. *Epid.* 195-200; *Cur.* 483-484.

³⁷³ Richlin, A., (ed.) (2005), *Rome and the Mysterious Orient: Three Plays by Plautus*, California, p. 104; for a map, see Wright, J. (ed.) (1993), *Plautus’ Curculio* (rev. ed.), Norman and London, p. 72.

³⁷⁴ Plautus, *Curculio* (483-483); see Richlin (2005: 104). On the location of the *Velabrum*, see Richardson, L. Jr (1992), *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore and London, p. 406. From the time of Plautus it was the site of a busy market especially in foodstuffs (*ibid.*).

³⁷⁵ Pl. *Ps.* 196-97: *Aeschrodora, tu quae amicos tibi habes lenonum aemulos lanios, qui item ut nos iurando iure malo male quaerunt rem ...* “The butchers, those rivals of the procurers, who, just like ourselves, by false oaths seek their gains...”; Riley, H.T., (ed.) (1852), *The Comedies of Plautus: Literally Translated Into English Prose With Notes*, Vol. 1, London, p. 265.

passage contains a common pun, which plays on the two meanings of *ius malum* ('false/bath oath' and 'bad broth').³⁷⁶ The butchers and pimps are considered 'rivals' because they both earn a disreputable living through a bad *ius*.³⁷⁷ In order for the pun to work, the butchers mentioned must have had cheap eating establishments catering for 'common people' in addition to their shops where they sold their meat.³⁷⁸ *Lenones* were often slave dealers who sold the services of the girls they owned, services that could range from musical performances to sexual acts.³⁷⁹ The *leno* in Plautus' plays was always portrayed as a villain, a callous and deceitful individual.³⁸⁰ *Lenones* were also generally depicted breaking promises and oaths for their own commercial advantage.³⁸¹ Since pimps were depicted so basely in Plautus' plays, the comments by Ballio likening butchers and pimps suggests a generally negative public perception of butchers—even taking into account the comedic setting.³⁸² The pun on *ius malum* suggests that butchers were suspected by some at least of misrepresenting the value of their products to ensure a profit. Plautus' audience is generally assumed to have been diverse so jokes were pitched to various levels of society.³⁸³ In the prologue to one of Terence's plays we find that the audience might be the type of crowd that could be distracted by the news of an upcoming pugilist display, or preoccupied by a tight-rope walker ('The Mother-in-Law', 1st and 2nd prologues).

Another of Plautus' plays, the *Captivi* (818-822), supports the idea that butchers were considered

³⁷⁶ Pl. *Ps.* 196-197; see de Melo (2012: 263 note 13) (Loeb trans.); Willcock (1987: 105).

³⁷⁷ Willcock (1987: 105).

³⁷⁸ de Melo (2012: 105) (Loeb trans.).

³⁷⁹ Willcock (1987: 5-6).

³⁸⁰ Willcock (1987: 46).

³⁸¹ Pl. *Ps.* 351-354; Willcock (1987: 105).

³⁸² Pl. *Ps.* (196-197).

³⁸³ “... dramatic performances in Republican Rome ... could potentially attract a large and diverse crowd of spectators, drawn from all groups of the local populace and visitors from elsewhere.” Manuwald, G. (2010), *Roman Drama. A Reader*, London, p. 20.

as profiteers as within the play the character Ergasilus criticises how butchers slaughter lambs and then sell them for double the price of what they cost.³⁸⁴

*Tum lanii autem, qui concinnant liberis orbas ouis,
qui locant caedundos agnos et dupla agninam danunt,
qui Petroni nomen indunt uerueci sectario,
eum ego si in uia Petronem publica conspexero,
et Petronem et dominum reddam mortalis miserrumos.*³⁸⁵

Both Moore and de Melo support Lindsay's proposal that *Petro* was a nickname given to the bellwethers by the butchers.³⁸⁶ Moore takes this conclusion further by arguing that the passage is referring to the butchers transporting live lambs from farms or *fora* to their shops for slaughter.³⁸⁷ The cause of Ergasilus' anger is therefore the obstruction of pathways caused by wayward wethers since the butchers treated them like pets.³⁸⁸ The alternative interpretation, rejected by

³⁸⁴ Pl. *Capt.* 818-822; T.J. Moore ([1991], "Plautus, *Captiui* 818-822", *Latomus*, vol. 50, no. 2, p. 349) argues that the butchers are selling the meat itself at twice the price of the live lambs which they also sell. Notably, John Williams Proudfit ([1843], *The Captives: A Comedy of Plautus: With English Notes, for the Use of Students*, New York, p. 102) has nothing to say on this point. Please note that Proudfit's verse numbers for this same passage are 739-743 and not 818-822.

³⁸⁵ "Next point now: the butchers who arrange for sheep to be bereft of their children, who arrange for the lambs to be slaughtered and then sell the meat for double the price, who call the wether followed by the flock their *Petro*; if I set my eyes on this *Petro* in a public street, I'll make both *Petro* and its master the most wretched of mortals." (de Melo (2012: 588-589) (Loeb trans.).

³⁸⁶ See Moore (1991: 349); (de Melo (2012: 589 note 33) (Loeb trans.); Lindsay, W. M. (ed.) (1900), *The Captiui of Plautus*, London, p. 304.

³⁸⁷ Live animals were also kept by butchers with the intention to sell them for use in sacrifices; Plautus, *Pseud.* 327; Varro, *Rust.* 2.5.11; see Moore (1991: 351).

³⁸⁸ Moore (1991: 351).

both Moore and Lindsay, proposed that Ergasilus' complaints concern a butcher's practice of selling tough ram meat (*petro*) under the guise of being tender wether meat (*ueruex*).³⁸⁹

Varro also makes numerous incidental references to butchers and their shops (*lanienae*), for instance, in his distinction between the selling procedures for oxen intended for sacrifice or slaughter.³⁹⁰ In one of the neutral references, Varro mentions butchers merely to demonstrate that the Latin terms for meat (*caro*) and butcher shop (*laniena*) do not follow the logical pattern seen in terms such as wine (*vinum*) and wine shop (*vinaria*), and chalk (*creta*) and a chalk shop (*cretaria*).³⁹¹ Elsewhere Varro acknowledges that butchers acted as intermediaries between the farmers and the consumers.³⁹² Butchers evidently sold live dogs as well as other meats; the dogs were also possibly intended for slaughter since Varro comments that they were sluggish which could have been from intentional fattening.³⁹³

Sallust also depicts butchers as part of Rome's lowly. In a fragment of his *Histories* concerning Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (cos. 78),³⁹⁴ Sallust comments on how Lepidus bought the favour of the butchers, the pimps and wine-makers through largess.³⁹⁵ The association with Lepidus is also a suggestion that this 'type' of citizen was untrustworthy and potentially seditious. McGushin

³⁸⁹ Moore (1991: 350); Lindsay (1900: 303). The *suarii* also played a role in meat distribution; they were the merchants who sent the animals for slaughter. The *suarii* are not investigated within this thesis since Plautus, Cato, Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust make no reference to them. See Appendix; Corbier (1989: 233).

³⁹⁰ Varro, *RR* 2.5.11. Another reference, Varro, *RR* 3.2.11, concerns whether there is a price difference between domestic cattle sold to a butcher and wild cattle sold to men from the markets although the answer is ambiguous.

³⁹¹ Varro suggested *carnaria* is a more logical choice for 'butcher shop.' Varro, *LL* 8.30.55.

³⁹² Varro, *RR* 2.4.8.

³⁹³ Varro, *RR* 2.9.5.

³⁹⁴ Sallust, *The Histories* 1, Fragment 55. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the father of the triumvir, lived from c. 120 BC to 77 BC. During Lepidus' consulship he promulgated a popular grain law; see Broughton, *MRR* I. XXX; Vives, J. L. (2012), *Selected Works of Juan Luis Vives*, vol. 9, *Declamationes Sullanae*, Leiden, The Netherlands, p. 18.

³⁹⁵ Sallust, *The Histories* 1, Fragment 55.

observes how Lepidus' attempts to gain the favour of the commons further alienated him from the nobility and ended up being an unsuccessful exercise.³⁹⁶ McGushin focuses upon the politics of the situation rather than the nature of the portrayal of the butchers.³⁹⁷ By grouping butchers together with pimps and other individuals on the basis that all of these occupations involve daily interaction with common people, Sallust is insinuating that the butchers are also considered common and somewhat lowly.³⁹⁸

Cetarii, Piscatores

Fishermen (*piscatores*) and fishmongers (*cetarii*) were categorised by Cicero as occupying among the least respectable of trades since their work involved serving base needs.³⁹⁹ In one of Cicero's references, fishermen are documented assisting Pythius, a banker from Syracuse, in orchestrating a scam against the Roman knight Gaius Canius.⁴⁰⁰ The central section of *De Officiis* (3.40-95) within which this reference to fishermen is found, investigates the "claims of the apparently useful against the demands of justice."⁴⁰¹ In the particular passage concerning fishermen Cicero contemplates "the conflict between duty and expediency,"⁴⁰² specifically fraud in commercial transactions and the morality of *caveat emptor* ('let the buyer beware').⁴⁰³ In the scenario involving Pythius and the fishermen, Cicero's comments condemning *dolus malus* ('malicious fraud') predominantly concerned the vendor's malicious intent and ignored the role of the fishermen in orchestrating the scam. Since Cicero declared that engaging in malicious

³⁹⁶ McGushin, P. (1992), *Sallust: The Histories*, Vol. 1, Oxford, p. 128.

³⁹⁷ McGushin (1992: 127-128).

³⁹⁸ Sallust, *The Histories* 1, Fragment 55.

³⁹⁹ Cic. *Off.* 1.150. This mention of the *cetarii* (used in this passage as a substantive) is the only reference Cicero makes to the Latin term denoting fishmongers. Please note that Plautus, Cato, Varro, Caesar and Sallust make no references to *cetarii* within their texts.

⁴⁰⁰ Cic. *Off.* 3.58-61.

⁴⁰¹ Walsh (2000: xxiv).

⁴⁰² MacKendrick (1989: 242).

⁴⁰³ Cic. *Off.* 3.58-61; Walsh (2000: xxiv, 189).

fraud is reprehensible this would suggest that he is portraying the fishermen in a very negative light even though he does not state this directly.⁴⁰⁴ However it is unclear whether the fishermen were conscious participants in the fraud, if they were not then this may explain why Cicero predominantly vilified Pythius, he may not have considered the fishermen as morally culpable. The passage is therefore ambiguous as to Cicero's opinion of the fishermen.

In Plautus' play the *Captivi* (813-817), fishermen do not escape direct criticism:⁴⁰⁵

*tum piscatores, qui praebent populo piscis foetidos,
qui aduehuntur quadrupedanti, crucianti cantherio,
quorum odos subbasilicanos omnis abigit in forum,
eis ego ora uerberabo surpiculis piscariis,
ut sciant alieno naso quam exhibeant molestiam.*

“Next point: the fishmongers, who ride here on a jogging, jolting gelding and who offer the people stinking fish whose stench drives all loafers in the arcade out into the market, I'll whack their faces with their fish baskets so that they know what a nuisance they are to the public nose.”⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Walsh (2000: xxiv).

⁴⁰⁵ The millers (807-810) and butchers (818-822) are also criticised by the character Ergasilus in this same scene of the play.

⁴⁰⁶ The text and translation is that of de Melo (2012) (Loeb trans.).

The character Ergasilus is denouncing fishmongers due to the stench of their wares.⁴⁰⁷ According to Alan Watson, these lines (and in fact the whole passage from lines 803-824) are a parody of an aedilician edict.⁴⁰⁸ If Watson is correct this might illuminate, in a caricatured way, ‘official’ attitudes to the public nuisance of fish market smells.

However it is difficult to focus in on the force of the comical ‘observation’. Both Proudfit and Lindsay state that *crucianti cantherio* can be translated to mean a hard-trotting or jolting horse. Proudfit goes further, suggesting the Latin also translates as a lame or crazed animal.⁴⁰⁹ The horses, which worked in the mills, were notoriously badly treated but a particular association with fishmongers remains a mystery.⁴¹⁰ Therefore Ergasilus’ comment may be suggesting the fishermen were renowned for mistreating their horses.

In Act Two (Scenes I and II) of *The Rudens* (‘The Rope’) Plautus presents fishermen, poor men from Cyrene, as characters in his play.⁴¹¹ In Scene I (ll. 290–291) the fishermen have started their work on the shore and are lamenting their situation.⁴¹² Evidently, for the fishermen themselves fishing is not considered a regular trade or skill.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁷ Pl. *Capt.* 816-817: “I’ll whack their faces with their fish baskets so that they know what a nuisance they are to the public nose.” (Loeb trans.). Neither Proudfit or Lindsay make specific reference to the fishmongers or how they are being portrayed: Proudfit (1843: 101-102); Lindsay (1900: 302-303).

⁴⁰⁸ Watson, A. (1991), *Studies in Roman Private Law*, London and Rio Grande, p. 337ff.

⁴⁰⁹ Please note that Proudfit’s verse numbers for this same passage are 734-738 and not 813-817, Proudfit (1843: 101-102).

⁴¹⁰ See Toynbee, J. (1973), *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, London, pp. 184-185.

⁴¹¹ Pl. *Rud.* 290-331.

⁴¹² The verses in this scene are intended for recitative. See Sonnenschein, E. A. (ed.), (1891), *Rudens by Titus Maccius Plautus*, Oxford, pp. 101-102.

⁴¹³ Fish markets existed at Rome yet the text suggests fishing was not regarded as a trade. This may be because the fishermen in this scene were so poor they did not even have boats; see Sonnenschein (1891: 102-103).

*omnibus modis qui pauperes sunt homines miseri uiuont,
praesertim quibus nec quaestus est neque <e>didicere
artem ullam*

“People who are poor live wretchedly in all ways, especially those who have no trade and haven’t learned any skill.”⁴¹⁴

If the fishermen do not achieve a catch they are said to head home ashamed of themselves since they have no food to take home for their dinner or for their families.⁴¹⁵ This emphasises the level of poverty experienced by less fortunate fishermen since the play suggests they were likely barely living at the subsistence level. In Scene II, the slave Trachalio questions the fishermen if they have seen his master Plesidippus. Trachalio addresses the fishermen as *fures maritumi* (‘thieves of the sea’), a remark possibly intended as flippant humour.⁴¹⁶ Further references are made to the fishermen starving with little hope of reprieve: *quid agitis? ut peritis?*⁴¹⁷ These queries are also intended as facetious humour and not for the fishermen to take seriously.⁴¹⁸ Later in the play (ll. 971-975) the fisherman named Gripus, a slave owned by Daemones, is depicted having caught a trunk in his net. During an argument with Trachalio over the correct ownership of the trunk, Gripus describes his role as a fisherman and his presence in the forum and markets selling his stock. If the situation in the play is at all reflective of reality it might suggest that fishermen were

⁴¹⁴ The text and translation used is that of de Melo (2012: 432-433) (Loeb trans.).

⁴¹⁵ Pl. *Rud.* 300-304; Sonnenschein (1891: 103). Fay does not comment on the shame felt by the fishermen rather only observes that they are lamenting over the likelihood of missing dinner should they not catch anything; cf. Fay, H. C. (ed.), (1969), *Rudens by Titus Maccius Plautus*, London, p. 124.

⁴¹⁶ Pl. *Rud.* 310; Sonnenschein translates *fures* as ‘riflers’ which is essentially the same insinuation that fishermen are stealing the fruit of the sea. Fay describes the greeting as ‘grandiloquent’ and intended as humour; cf. Sonnenschein (1891: 104); Fay (1969: 125).

⁴¹⁷ Pl. *Rud.* 311.

⁴¹⁸ Pl. *Rud.* 311-312; see Fay (1969: 125).

generally impoverished, living just above subsistence level. The verses may also suggest that the occupation of a fisherman was so belittled that society barely considered it a trade.

Fishermen are also incidentally mentioned in *Trinummus* (405-410) listed among other expensive traders:

comesum, expotum, exunctum, elotum in balineis; piscator, pistor apstulit, lanii, coqui, holitores, myropolae, aucupes: confit cito; non hercle minus diuorse distrahitur cito quam si tu obicias formicis papauerem.

“It’s been eaten up, drunk up, anointed away, washed away in the baths; the fisherman took it away, the miller, the butchers, the cooks, the vegetable-sellers, the perfumers, the poultry-sellers. It gets used up quickly; it gets carried off just as quickly as if you throw poppy seed in front of ants.”⁴¹⁹

Varro makes only insignificant references to fishermen (*piscatores*).⁴²⁰

Furnarius

The only reference to *furnarii* that I could find is by Varro and is located among a list of festivals celebrated in February, in particular the *Furnacalia*, a Bakers Festival.⁴²¹ This festival was

⁴¹⁹ The text and translation used is that of Nixon, P. (ed.) (1984), *Plautus: Stichus. Three Bob Day. Truculentus. The Tale of a Travelling Bag. Fragments*, Loeb Classical Library 328, Cambridge, MA. Interestingly, E. Fraenkel (2007: 326, note 51) suggests that Terence’s list at *Eun.* 257 (see my earlier discussion) possibly follows the model of this passage. Neither Gray nor Harrington make reference to the fisherman or his products in their commentaries; see Gray (1904: 108-109); Harrington (1870: 253).

⁴²⁰ Varro, *RR* 3.3.4, 3.17.6. Cato, Caesar and Sallust never mention the term *piscator* in relation to the occupation of a fisherman.

⁴²¹ Varro, *LL* 6.3.13; see Kent, R. G. (trans.), (1938), *Varro: On the Latin Language*, vol. 1, Loeb Classical Library 333. Cambridge, MA, p. 186, note d.

orchestrated to honour the goddess *Fornax*, the ‘Spirit of the Bake-oven’ in order to ensure successful baking.⁴²²

Pistores

The earlier meaning of *pistor* especially in Plautus’ corpus would be translated into English as ‘miller’ however by the first century BC ‘bakers’ existed as a trade separate from the ‘millers’.⁴²³ According to Pliny there were no professional bakers at Rome in the period before the Third Macedonian War (171–168 BC) rather citizens, especially women, used to make bread themselves.⁴²⁴ Since the women used emmer to make the bread, early attestations of the word “baker” have been argued to actually mean “emmer pounder.”⁴²⁵ Pliny also says that Plautus (who, of course had died before the Third Macedonian War broke out [he wrote his *fabulae palliatae* between c. 205 and 184 BC]) speaks of bakers, using the Greek word, in his *Aulularia*.⁴²⁶ Pliny states that this reference in the *Aulularia* has been the subject of great debate amongst the learned in terms of its authenticity.⁴²⁷ Pliny says that this is ‘proved’ (i.e. his observation of the fact that there were no bakers in Rome before the Third Macedonian War) by the expression in Ateius Capito (a lawyer, consul in AD 5, and a writer on public law) that in his day it was usual for bread to be baked for ‘the finer people’ by cooks (*coci*) and that only those

⁴²² Kent (1938: 186 note d). Bakers in Rome (*furnarii*) receive no mention by Plautus, Cato, Cicero, Caesar or Sallust.

⁴²³ For more information on the change of the meaning of *pistor*, see Lindsay (1900: 161, 301); Simpson (1977: 451); Gray, J. H. and Goetz, G. and Schoell, F. (1894), *T. Macci Plauti Asinaria: from the Text of Goetz and Schoell, With an Introduction and Notes*, London, p. 92; Moore, T. J. (1998), *The Theatre of Plautus: Playing to the Audience*, Austin, p. 221, note 44.

⁴²⁴ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.107. See Moore (1998: 221, note 44); Purcell, N. (2005), ‘The Way We Used to Eat: Diet, Community and History at Rome’, in Gold, B. K. and Donahue, J. F. (eds), *Roman Dining: A Special Issue of American Journal of Philology*, Baltimore, pp. 7-8.

⁴²⁵ Purcell (2005: 7).

⁴²⁶ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.107.

⁴²⁷ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.107-108.

who ground spelt were called *pistores*.⁴²⁸ Nor, according to Pliny, did people have cooks (*coci*) on their regular staff of servants but would hire them from the market (*ex macello*).⁴²⁹

Cicero's speech against L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58) was delivered in 55 BC before the senate and attacked the politician Piso for alleged misconduct while he was governor of a province.⁴³⁰ Within the speech Cicero is portraying Piso as "an Epicurean voluptuary"—but one who lacks finery and sophistication.⁴³¹ Cicero feigns to concede that Piso was not exceptionally extravagant, a quality that in Cicero's view is an attribute of an ideal gentleman and freeman.⁴³² One of the examples for Piso's lack of extravagance is the fact that he did not have his own *pistor*.⁴³³ Instead, the bread and pastries for his household were purchased from a retailer.⁴³⁴ In Ciceronian Rome wealthy households provided their own bread as a matter of pride so Cicero's comments are not really intended as praise.⁴³⁵ In Cicero's speech defending Sextus Roscius of Ameria who is on trial for his father's murder, Cicero condemns Chrysogonus' lavish lifestyle, which Cicero argues made him desperate for funds and contributed to his accusation against Roscius in the first place.⁴³⁶ Through this passage Cicero unintentionally informs readers that

⁴²⁸ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.108.

⁴²⁹ Pliny, *Natural History* 18.108.

⁴³⁰ Squires, S. (ed. and trans.), (1990), *Asconius: Commentaries on Five Speeches of Cicero*, Bristol and Wauconda, pp. 2, 5.

⁴³¹ MacKendrick (1995: 320). For my earlier discussion on Cic. *Pis.* 67, see p. 25.

⁴³² Cic. *Pis.* 67; MacKendrick (1995: 320).

⁴³³ Cic. *Pis.* 67; MacKendrick (1995: 320). "Wealthy Roman houses baked their own bread ... it was a matter of pride in the ancient world to provide one's own supplies," Nisbet (1961: 132).

⁴³⁴ Cicero, *In Pisonem* 67; See Nisbet (1961: 131-132); Squires does not comment on this section of the text; Squires (1990: 22-23).

⁴³⁵ See Joane, H. J. (1938), *Industry and Commerce of City of Rome*, Baltimore, p. 67; Nisbet (1961: 132).

⁴³⁶ Cicero, *Pro S. Rosc.* 133-135; see Yonge, C. D. (trans.), (1872), *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero*, vol. 1, London, p. 37.

having a household slave working purely as a cook, baker or litter-bearer was quite common and not considered especially extravagant.⁴³⁷

There are also numerous incidental references to *pistores* in Plautus. For instance in *Asinaria* (200-201) Plautus incidentally mentions the use of money to pay for a baker's goods.⁴³⁸ A later reference to *pistores* in *Asinaria* (709) constitutes part of a threat against Argyrippus whereby he will be given to the millers to be used like an ass, turning the mill.⁴³⁹ In the play *Captiui* (807-810), the character Ergasilus criticises the millers for the smell that emanates from their workshops due to the sows they raise.⁴⁴⁰ As previously mentioned, this passage may be a parody of an aedilician edict and therefore provide insight, in a caricatured way, into the 'official' attitudes to the public nuisance of millers' workshop smells.⁴⁴¹ Plautus also makes reference to the location of the millers in Rome.⁴⁴² The play *Curculio* provides a survey of hucksters in Rome with the millers noted to trade on the Velabrum with the butchers and soothsayers.⁴⁴³

Pullarius

The adjective *pullarius* designates anyone who has a connection with young chickens, and therefore anyone who deals in, or with, chickens. When used as a substantive in literary texts, *pullarius* seems to refer exclusively to the public post of keeper of the sacred chickens, but epigraphical texts attest to it as a commercial calling.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁷ Cicero, *Pro S. Rosc.* 134.

⁴³⁸ See Gray and Goetz and Schoell (1894: 31) (who does not comment on the passage).

⁴³⁹ *Postea te ad pistores dabo*; see Gray and Goetz and Schoell (1894: 91-92).

⁴⁴⁰ Pl. *Captiui* 807-810.

⁴⁴¹ Watson (1991: 337ff.).

⁴⁴² Pl. *Cur.* 483-484.

⁴⁴³ Pl. *Cur.* 483-484; Richlin (2005: 104); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'Velabrum').

⁴⁴⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pullarius').

*D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / M(arco) Aur(elio) Eureto coniugi / carissimo qui v(ixit) ann(os) LXVIII / m(enses) VIII Septimia Felicissima / uxor et M(arcus) Aur(elius) Euretus et / Septimia Euresis et Aur(elius) Pu/dentianus fili(i) carissimo / negotianti pullario / patri p(ientissimo) m(erenti) f(ecerunt)*⁴⁴⁵

Such epigraphical attestations justify Treggiari in classifying the term *pullarius* as relating to poulterers. This usage, it seems, does not occur in Cicero's extant works.

Cicero mentions the keeper of the sacred chickens in the arguments in favour of divination that he puts into the mouth of Quintus Cicero at *de Divinatione* (1.77). The signs a *pullarius* concerned themselves with surrounded the feeding of animals and occasions where an object fell without human intervention.⁴⁴⁶ Gaius Flaminius (cos. 217) consulted the *pullarius* for premonitory signs and was advised to postpone battle against Hannibal.⁴⁴⁷ Flaminius ignored this advice and other prior omens to proceed into a disastrous battle against Hannibal at Lake Trasimenus.⁴⁴⁸ This account emphasises the religious significance of the *pullarius* and the perceived danger to the state when Romans, particularly generals, ignored their pronouncements.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁵ See, e.g., *CIL* 6, 9674.

⁴⁴⁶ See Pease, A. S. (ed.) (1963), *De Divinatione: Libri Duo*, Darmstadt, pp. 131-132.

⁴⁴⁷ *Cic. Div.* 1.77.

⁴⁴⁸ Prior to the battle, Flaminius' horse stumbled in front of the statue of Jupiter Stator, which was considered a 'divine warning' by soothsayers that Flaminius should not continue on the same path; see *Cic. Div.* 1.77; Pease (1963: 226).

⁴⁴⁹ The works of Cato, Varro, Caesar and Sallust contain no references to the occupational term *pullarius*.

Conclusion

If the situation described within Cicero's *De Officiis* (1.150-1.151) is indicative of the attitude of the Roman elite more generally then all of the occupations detailed above were considered 'sordid' and an inappropriate career choice for both freemen and gentlemen. Despite this highly negative perception, these occupations, especially those of butchers, bakers and fishermen, played an important role in providing nourishment to the Roman population. Notably, the butchers also contributed to society through providing the meat required for sacrificial offerings. If the evidence from Cicero, Plautus, Livy and Sallust is reflective of societal attitudes more generally then the *lanii* were considered ruthless profiteers, potentially untrustworthy and generally of 'low' station. The taboo on blood, specifically the connection between death and the pollution of blood, may be one of the reasons underlying the negative portrayal of the butchers. The evidence in Plautus' play *The Captiui* (813-817) suggests that fishermen and millers were generally considered a public nuisance due to the stench of their wares however the extent to which they were disparaged for this is unclear. If the situation in Plautus' play *The Rudens* is at all indicative of reality then fishermen, especially those without boats, were generally impoverished, possibly living just above subsistence level. Due to a lack of evidence the attitudes of the elite (and society more generally) towards the *pistores*, *furnarii* and *pullarii* of Rome remain unknown. All the same, Cicero's evidence does suggest that for an elite household, having a slave working purely as a baker was not considered extravagant and was likely fairly common.

CHAPTER FIVE: Male and Female Prostitutes

In Ciceronian Rome prostitutes did not constitute a homogenous group since they varied in social class, in the services they provided and in their methods of attracting customers.⁴⁵⁰ They were partially distinguishable from their clothing since prostitutes and women convicted of adultery were made to wear the male toga.⁴⁵¹ Prostitution as a service was not considered scandalous but to be a prostitute was considered disgraceful for both women and men.⁴⁵² Prostitution was legal in Rome with brothels dispersed throughout the city among residential and commercial areas.⁴⁵³ Roman law branded prostitutes as *infames* ('lacking in reputation') and required the registration of their occupation for the purposes of "tax and identification".⁴⁵⁴ During the Republic, it was also legal for female prostitutes to marry freeborn men however the husbands would then share their wife's *infamia*.⁴⁵⁵ Although prostitution was legal, allegations of practising or openly associating with prostitutes could discredit or undermine an individual's authority and reputation; this disrepute derived from the belief that such an individual was acting immodestly and being extravagant.⁴⁵⁶ The Romans did not stigmatize men having affairs with *meretrices* unless it was causing financial ruin and being conducted publicly.⁴⁵⁷ For instance, Cicero opined that it was

⁴⁵⁰ For instance a prostitute working the streets was considered more 'lowly' than prostitutes working out of brothels; see Plautus, *Cistellaria* 332-334: *intro abeo: nam meretricem astare in uia solam prostibuli sane est*; Adams, J. N. (1983), "Words for 'prostitute' in Latin", *RhM*, 126, p. 321.

⁴⁵¹ Larson, J. (2012), *Greek and Roman Sexualities: A Sourcebook*, London and New York, p. 265; McClure, L. K. (2006), 'Introduction', in Faraone, C. A. and McClure, L. K. (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, Wisconsin, p. 6.

⁴⁵² Larson (2012: 265); McClure (2006: 10-11).

⁴⁵³ McClure (2006: 13).

⁴⁵⁴ Larson (2012: 265); McClure (2006: 11).

⁴⁵⁵ Duncan, A. (2006), 'Infamous Actors: Comic Actors and Female Prostitutes in Rome', in Faraone, C. A. and McClure, L. K. (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, Wisconsin, p. 255.

⁴⁵⁶ The favour of a prostitute was often 'bought' with money, expensive jewellery or clothes; see Plautus, *Mostellaria* 286; McClure (2006: 11).

⁴⁵⁷ Married women however could be charged with adultery and were expected to remain loyal to their husbands. See Plautus, *Mercator* 818-829; *Mostellaria* 190: *matronae, non meretricium, est unum inseruire amantem* ("It's

inappropriate for *scorta* to mingle with *materfamiliae* at dinner parties and on other social occasions.⁴⁵⁸ Accusations of sexual depravity against powerful men and women occasionally arose in the Roman law courts as a political ploy to devastate an opponent; for instance, Cicero's allegations against Clodia in his *pro Caelio*.⁴⁵⁹

Latin Terms for 'Prostitute'. Meretrix versus Scortum

In Latin the terms most commonly used for 'prostitute' were *scortum* and *meretrix*.⁴⁶⁰ Famously, Cicero uses the latter term to attack the noble Clodia Metelli in the *pro Caelio*.⁴⁶¹ Notably, *scortum* and *meretrix* carry little if any linguistic distinction between lower and higher-class prostitutes (or courtesans) whereas in Greek the term *porne* was utilised for 'female prostitutes' and *hetairai* for 'female courtesans/companions.' *Scortum* originally meant 'leather' or 'hide'; the fact that the Latin term became related to prostitutes might have been due to the character of the material and the association made between leather-working and sexual intercourse.⁴⁶² By the time of Plautus, *scortum* was used to denote 'male prostitute' as well as 'female prostitute'.⁴⁶³ Since the term was used of the female pudenda it is logical that *scortum* is commonly argued to be the more demeaning term for prostitute.⁴⁶⁴ Moreover, the general use of *scortum* in Plautus'

appropriate for a married woman, not for a prostitute, to be at the beck of a single lover")(Loeb trans.); Cicero, *Pro M. Caelio Oratio* 48; Austin, R. G. (ed.), (1960), *M. Tulli Ciceronis: Pro M. Caelio Oratio*, 3rd ed., Oxford, p. 110.

⁴⁵⁸ See Cic. *Phil.* 2.105.

⁴⁵⁹ This case will be discussed later. See Cic. *Cael.*; McClure (2006: 11, 13); Larson (2012: 268).

⁴⁶⁰ Please note that no form of the word *meretrix* can be found in the works of Cato, Caesar or Sallust. McClure (2006: 7); Adams (1983: 321).

⁴⁶¹ Cic. *Cael.* 1, 38, 49.

⁴⁶² For *scortum* as 'leather' or 'hide', see Varro, *LL* 7.84. Please note that this is Varro's only passage mentioning prostitutes and he uses both *scortum* and *meretrix* indiscriminately; Adams (1983: 322-323); McClure (2006: 7).

⁴⁶³ For the use of *scortum* to also denote 'male prostitute' see, Pl. *Curc.* 473, *Poen.* 17; Cic. *Dom.* 49, *Sest.* 39, *Phil.* 2.44; Adams (1983: 322).

⁴⁶⁴ "*Scortum* was the more pejorative word"; Adams (1983: 322, 325); cf. Pierrugues, P., (1826), *Glossarium Eroticum Linguae Latinae*, Paris, p. 452: *SCORTA-ORUM- Genus infimum prostibulorum, populo patens vili pretio*, citing Plautus' *Poenulus* (265-269). Adams also assumes that it is the word *scortum* that the 'gentleman' Chremes wants to avoid saying in the presence of his wife since it is a *verbum turpe* (Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos* 1041).

plays supports the idea that *scortum* is the more disparaging word and *meretrix* was more neutral.⁴⁶⁵ Plautus uses *scortum*⁴⁶⁶ for indistinguishable characters who partake in sexual services, generally in the form of “temporary liaisons at dinners”.⁴⁶⁷ In contrast, the term *meretrix* is more neutral and regularly applied to named characters in New Comedy who were often considered ‘good’ and acted as the love interests.⁴⁶⁸

The distinction between *meretrix* and *scortum* is not, however, always definitively apparent. *Scortum* may or may not refer to lower class women although Pierrugues clearly thought so: *Genus infimum prostibulorum, populo patens vili pretio*, citing Plautus’ *Poenulus* (265-269).⁴⁶⁹ But the fact that it seems to be the more pejorative or abrasive word (as Adams)— does not necessarily mean that it refers to lower class women. For example, note the case of Livy (39.9.5–7) where he tells the story of Hispala Faecenia, a *scortum nobile* (‘well-known prostitute’). She was a *libertina* who continued to earn her living by the profession to which she had been introduced when she was an *ancillula*. Notably, Livy portrays her in a positive light, describing the *meretriculae munificentia* (‘the generosity of a ‘little’ prostitute’). He utilises the diminutive to diminish in some way the level of her prostitution. Within this passage Livy switches from a

Notably, this is only speculation on Adams’ part since Chremes really does not say the word. Adams ([1982], *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London, p. 217) does, however, note that if his assumption is correct then a more ‘sophisticated’ Roman would probably sneer at Chremes’ prudery since the term was more common than that.

⁴⁶⁵ McClure (2006: 7); Adams (1983: 324-325).

⁴⁶⁶ Please note that both Plautus and Cicero occasionally use the term *meretrix* when mentioning prostitutes as a group or unnamed prostitutes not specifically engaging in sexual activities. For example, see Pl. *As.* 220; *Bac.* 563-564, *Cas.* 585-587, *Cist.* 564-565, 713-716; *Men.* 193, 258-264, 1141; *Mer.* 685; *Poen.* 106, 191; Cic. *Inv.* 2.118.

⁴⁶⁷ Adams (1983: 325).

⁴⁶⁸ An example of a ‘good faith’ *meretrix* is Philaenium from *As.* 52-54. Exceptions where *meretrix* denotes a ‘bad faith’ prostitute include: Phronesium in *Truculentus* (see Pl. *Capt.* 54-58), Erotium in *Menaechmi* 906 (when Menaechmus believed Erotium lied to him) and the identical twin sisters (both named Bacchis) in *Bacchides* 39-40. See Duncan (2006: 258-265); McClure (2006: 7); Adams (1983: 325-326).

⁴⁶⁹ Pierrugues (1826: 452). Plautus’ *Poenulus* (265-269) will be discussed later.

relatively neutral use of *scortum* in the first instance to a quite positive use of *meretrix*. Similar to Chelidon in Cicero's *Against Verres*, Faecenia is a woman of some means.⁴⁷⁰

Evidence concerning Prostitutes in Plautus' Plays

One of the key pieces of evidence supporting the argument that *scortum* was the more derogatory term is a passage in Plautus' later play *Poenulus* (ll. 265-270).

*turba est nunc apud aram. an te ibi uis inter istas uorsarier prosedas, pistorum
amicas, reginas alicarias, miseras schoeno delibutas seruicolas sordidas, quae
tibi olant stabulum statumque, sellam et sessibulum merum, quas adeo hau
quisquam umquam liber tetigit nec duxit domum, seruolorum sordidulorum
scorta diobolaria?*

“Now there's a crowd at the altar. You don't want to mingle there with those prostitutes advertising themselves outside, do you? The girlfriends of millers, the queens of the groat mills, wretched, smeared with the juice of camel's hay, mean, dirty? The ones who smell of the brothel and standing outside, of chair and seat, whom moreover no free man has ever touched or taken home, the two-obol prostitutes of filthy slaves?”⁴⁷¹

Within this scene, the prostitute Adelphasium disparages a group of *prosedae* ('common prostitutes') because their method of solicitation is working the streets and therefore she considers them as her inferiors.⁴⁷² Her criticism continues with the claim

⁴⁷⁰ See also the case of the relatively wealthy and influential courtesan Praecia in Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* 6.2-4.

⁴⁷¹ The text and translation is that of de Melo (2012: 40-43) (Loeb trans.). *Poenulus* was composed in the midst of the Punic Wars against Carthage, Rome's greatest enemy and rival; Richlin (2005: 185).

⁴⁷² Pl. *Poen.* 265-266. Richlin (2005: 256) notes that the character speaking “strongly differentiates herself” from the *prosedae*; cf. Pl. *Cist.* 332-334; Adams (1983: 321).

that these prostitutes are the *amicae pistorum* ('the 'girls' of millers') and they smell of their customers.⁴⁷³ Adelphasium then goes on to describe these unprepossessing women as *servolicolae sordidas* ('the sordid servants of wretched little slaves') on whom you can smell the *stabulum statumque* ('the smell of stall and station/stable and standing').⁴⁷⁴ *Status* means, of course, position in life, their station or standing, so Adelphasium is proposing that she can smell their 'inferiority'. She wraps up her flourish of vulgar alliterative 'rhetoric' with the classification: *servolorum sordidulorum scorta diobolaria* ('two-obol whores of the most wretched little slave boys').⁴⁷⁵ This is, of course, comedy; it is meant to be funny (in a vulgar sort of way)—and, in context, this is a case of prostitutes talking about prostitutes—'professional' jealousy and all that. Adelphasium is talking to Anterastilis, two 'girls' who belong to the pimp Lycus. Having heard Adelphasium's little rant, Milphio (a slave from a more respectable household) exclaims in an aside to the audience:

*I in malam crucem! tun audes etiam seruos spernere,
propudium? quasi bella sit, quasi eampse reges ductitent,
monstrum mulieris, tantilla tanta uerba funditat,
quoius ego nebulae cyatho septem noctes non emam.*

"Go and be hanged! Do you actually dare to look down on slaves, you shameful creature?"

⁴⁷³ Pl. *Poen.* 266.

⁴⁷⁴ Pl. *Poen.* 267; Richlin (2005: 256) translates the phrase literally as "who stink of the stable/brothel and the stance,"; cf. H.T. Riley's translation (1882: 363) "... of their stable and stall", claiming that the lines concern the "lowest class of Courtesans, and their seats in the prostitutes' sheds."

⁴⁷⁵ Pl. *Poen.* 270. This is the literal translation if the diminutive means, "slave boys" — it might, more likely, translate as "the two bit whores of the most sordid of the lowest slaves." Cf. Riley (1882: 364): "twopenny strumpets of dirty trumpery slaves." Richlin (2005: 256) notes "[a]s with *prosedas*, all the last four terms relate to the image of the cheap prostitute ... who sits or stands out on display under a placard with her name and price."

As if she were pretty, as if kings were in the habit of hiring her, that monstrosity of a woman, such a tiny creature pours forth such big words! I wouldn't buy seven nights with her for a ladleful of fog.”⁴⁷⁶

As skewed as Adelphasium's view of the world is supposed to come across, she still illustrates the consciousness of differing stations within the working class and, more importantly, she depicts women who service millers as the lowest of the low, almost equating the millers with slaves.

A demonstration of Plautus' different applications of *scortum* and *meretrix* is found within *Menaechmi* (1141-1143):

*meretrix <quae> huc ad prandium
me abduxit me sibi dedisse aiebat. prandi perbene,
potaui atque accubui scortum, pallam et aurum hoc
<apstuli>.*

“The prostitute who took me to lunch here said I'd given it to her. I had a very good lunch, I drank, and lay with the prostitute, and I took away this cloak and gold.”⁴⁷⁷

Within this passage *meretrix* is utilised when labelling the 'prostitute' who took Sosicles to lunch yet the term changes to *scortum* when describing the same prostitute having sex with him. This might suggest that the two terms carry different connotations with *scortum* the more

⁴⁷⁶ Pl. *Poen.* 271-274. The text and translation is that of de Melo (2012: 42-43) (Loeb trans.).

⁴⁷⁷ The text and translation used is that of de Melo (2011: 544-545) (Loeb trans.).

derogatory.⁴⁷⁸ On the other hand, the usage of the terms in close proximity (as at Livy 39.9.5–7) may indicate that the words could be interchangeable.⁴⁷⁹

Plautus also makes reference to the location of prostitutes within Rome in a passage in *Curculio* (470–486) (as discussed earlier), which provides an intriguing description of the location of hucksters near the Forum.⁴⁸⁰ The ‘grown-up’ prostitutes (*scorta exoleta*) are said to live below the colonnaded hall with both male and female prostitutes frequenting the Tuscan Quarter:

qui periurum conuenire uolt hominem ito in comitium; qui mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum, dites, damnosos maritos sub basilica quaerito. ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent ... in Tusco uico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese uenditant.

“Anyone who wants to meet a perjurer should go to the assembly place. Anyone who wants to meet a liar and a braggart must look for him at the temple of Venus Cloacina, and anyone who wants to meet rich and married wasters must look below the colonnaded hall. In the same place there will also be grown-up prostitutes and men who ask for formal guarantees from prospective debtors ... In the Tuscan Quarter there are those people who sell themselves.”⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁸ Pl. *Men.* (1141–1143); Gratwick does not comment on the sudden change of terminology; Gratwick, A. S. (ed.) (1993), *Plautus: Menaechmi*, New York and Cambridge, UK, pp. 158–159.

⁴⁷⁹ See Gratwick (1993: 234) (citing Thierfelder, A. (1929), *De rationibus interpolationum Plautinarum*, Leipzig, pp. 82, 117) for the textual difficulties here.

⁴⁸⁰ Richlin (2005: 104).

⁴⁸¹ Pl. *Cur.* 470–72; 482 (de Melo (2011: 282–283) (Loeb trans.)). The exact location of the colonnaded hall is unclear since the Basilica Porcia opened the year of Plautus’ death. The Tuscan Quarter was a market “between the Capitoline and Palatine hills” specifically “between the Forum and the Velabrum.” [de Melo (2011: 282–283) (Loeb trans.)]. See Richlin (2005: 104) (making the point that *exoletus* is commonly used of male sex objects [usually prostitutes and/or slaves] who are past the age of eighteen or so).

As I've emphasised earlier, this passage also provides evidence of the nature of the adaptations Plautus has made to his Greek originals in order to introduce observations of Roman life. These precise geographical adaptations would have enabled the audience to recognise the Roman situation and the humour in the passage.

To become close to a prostitute and engage their services was considered a costly affair and often foolish since the pimps or even the prostitutes themselves are depicted casting away the customers once their funds were depleted leaving their prior lovers destitute.⁴⁸² For instance, in the prologue of *Captiui*, Plautus endorses his other achievements by listing his plays and in doing so promotes the *Captiui* as a moral alternative since this play does not have a *meretrix mala* ('bad prostitute') as *Truculentus* does.⁴⁸³ The reference to a prostitute in *Truculentus* concerns the *meretrix* Phronesium.⁴⁸⁴ Within *Truculentus*, one of Phronesium's disenchanted customers, Diniarchus, laments that to love a prostitute is ill-fated since consorting with a *meretrix* destroys a man's reputation and inevitably his fortune, regardless of whether her feelings are genuine or not.⁴⁸⁵

The concept of a 'bad' prostitute is part of a common binary theme running through Roman Comedy, that of the 'good faith' prostitutes who are sincere in their feelings for their *adulescens* and the 'bad faith' prostitutes who lie to and manipulate their lovers for their own personal

⁴⁸² Pl. *Truc.* 77: *nam me fuisse huic fateor summum atque intumum, quod amantis multo pessimum est pecuniae* ("I was her dearest and closest friend, which is by far the worst thing for a lover's money"), de Melo (2013: 274-275) (Loeb trans.); Pl. *Truc.* 570-575: *uelut haec meretrix meum erum miserum sua blanditia implicat pauperie: priuabit bonis, luce, honore, atque amicis* ("For instance, the prostitute here entangles my wretched master in poverty through her flattery; she'll deprive him of possessions, light, reputation, and friends"), de Melo (2013: 330-331) (Loeb trans.).

⁴⁸³ Pl. *Capt.* 54-58; The moral superiority of the play *Captiui* is readdressed in verses 1029-1034 which is the end of the play; see Lindsay (1900: 133-134).

⁴⁸⁴ Pl. *Truc.*; Lindsay (1900: 134).

⁴⁸⁵ Pl. *Truc.* 40-50, 77.

gain.⁴⁸⁶ Notably, even the ‘good faith’ prostitutes are represented as excellent liars and shown to deceive their less appealing clients for financial gain suggesting prostitutes in general were considered untrustworthy.⁴⁸⁷ Plautus often has the ‘good faith’ prostitute as a *pseudo-hetaira*, a freeborn girl, who was raised to be a prostitute but is revealed to be of respectable birth and therefore a suitable wife for her *adulescens*.⁴⁸⁸ Tellingly, the ‘bad faith’ prostitutes are never revealed to be freeborn.⁴⁸⁹ Prostitutes that were freeborn were considered to be more valuable.⁴⁹⁰

A passage in Plautus’ play *Cistellaria* (23-38) has a character, the mother of the prostitute Gymnasium and a procuress, describe the ill-will directed towards prostitutes by married upper class women.⁴⁹¹ As pointed out earlier, in the context of his condemnation of Antony’s licentious behaviour in Varro’s villa at Casinum, Cicero voiced his disapprobation that ‘prostitutes’ should mingle with ‘married ladies’.⁴⁹² Within the aforementioned Plautine passage however, elite women would flatter prostitutes when they encountered them at parties and similar social events but in private they endeavoured to cause trouble for the women they considered were having relations with their husbands.⁴⁹³ The shame connected with the occupation of prostitution is also evident through the character Selenium’s ardent wish to avoid being labelled a prostitute despite the pressure levelled upon her by her supposed mother Melaenis.⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁸⁶ Duncan (2006: 257).

⁴⁸⁷ For example, Philaenium manipulated her client Diabolus in the play *Asinaria* despite her feelings for Argyrippus; Pl. *As.* 204-227; see also Pl. *Mil.* 879-884; Duncan (2006: 257).

⁴⁸⁸ Duncan (2006: 257).

⁴⁸⁹ Duncan (2006: 257).

⁴⁹⁰ In Plautus’ play *Persa* (645-654), the slave Toxilus uses the possibility of a prostitute being ‘freeborn’ as a selling point in his negotiations with the buyer Dordalus; see Richlin (2005: 176).

⁴⁹¹ Please note that the prostitutes referred to in the passage are the children of freedwomen; see Riley (1882: 188).

⁴⁹² See Cic. *Phil.* 2.105.

⁴⁹³ Pl. *Cist.* 23-38; see Riley (1882: 188).

⁴⁹⁴ Pl. *Cist.* 82-85.

In *Menaechmi* (193), the hanger-on character Peniculus acts as a commentator on the motives of the *meretrix* exclaiming that, “a prostitute is always flattering, while she sees something she can take.”⁴⁹⁵ This line emphasises the distrust felt by the characters within the scene, and therefore by extension the audience, towards prostitutes who were renowned for their ability to seduce, deceive and ultimately exploit their customers.⁴⁹⁶ A similar sentiment emerges in verses 906-908 whereby Menaechmus has asked the prostitute Erotium to return his wife’s mantle, which he had stolen, however ‘as expected’ she lies saying she has returned it already.⁴⁹⁷ Menaechmus’ comment that Erotium acted as all prostitutes would by misleading him, likely to ensure her own advantage, highlights the perception that prostitutes could not be trusted.

Depiction of Female Prostitutes

In Plautine comedy, a prostitute was commonly presented as deceitful and self-serving.⁴⁹⁸ Her affections towards her clients were also questionable since a *meretrix* was considered adept at lying.⁴⁹⁹ In Plautine comedy, prostitutes were commonly stereotyped as heavy drinkers.⁵⁰⁰ Tellingly, Plautus used a range of imagery to accentuate the voracious nature and actions of the prostitutes within his plays.⁵⁰¹

Evidence of Prostitutes within Cato’s Corpus

In the extant evidence, Marcus Porcius Cato only mentions the occupation of a prostitute twice, once, using the term *scortum*:

⁴⁹⁵ Gratwick (1993: 158-159).

⁴⁹⁶ Pl. *Men.* 193.

⁴⁹⁷ Pl. *Men.* 906-908; see Gratwick (1993: 224).

⁴⁹⁸ In the play *Miles Gloriosus* (879-884) the prostitute Acroteleutium observes that any prostitute must be excellent at lying or they would starve; see Duncan (2006: 252).

⁴⁹⁹ Duncan (2006: 257).

⁵⁰⁰ Pl. *Truc.* 584-586, 853-856; de Melo (2013: 331) (Loeb trans.).

⁵⁰¹ Whirlpools, fishing and the sea were among the images representing a prostitute’s ability to trap men; see Pl. *Bac.* 50f., 85f., 102, 372, 470f.; Pl. *Epid.* 213-216; Pl. *Truc.* 35-9, 568-570; see Barsby, J. (ed. and trans.) (1986), *Plautus, Bacchides*, Warminster, p. 104, 139.

Ibi pro scorto fuit, in cubiculum subrectitavit e conuiuio, cum partim illorum iam saepe ad eundem modum erat.

“There she acted like a harlot, she went from the banquet straight to the couch and with a part of them she often conducted herself in the same manner.”⁵⁰²

This reference is a quote from Cato’s speech *De Re Floria*, the year and context of which are unknown.⁵⁰³ One interpretation of the fragment suggests it may have concerned a free man (not a woman), a victim of violence, whose attackers defended their actions on the basis that prosecution was illegal as the victim behaved like a prostitute and therefore his body was not inviolate.⁵⁰⁴ In another passage from that speech preserved by Aulus Gellius, Cato the Elder refers to the Senate’s opinion that freeborn men who “publicly prostitute themselves or hire themselves out to pimps” forfeit their normal privilege of physical inviolability⁵⁰⁵:

Ne quis autem de “suspicioso,” quod supra posuimus, et de “formiduloso” in eam partem quae minus usitata est, exemplum requirat, de “suspicioso” apud M. Catonem De Re Floria ita scriptum: “Sed nisi qui palam corpore pecuniam quaereret aut se lenoni locavisset, etsi famosus et suspiciosus fuisset, vim in corpus liberum non aecum 8censuere adferri.” “Suspiciosum” enim Cato hoc in loco suspectum significat, non suspicantem.

⁵⁰² Cato, fr. 213 Malcovati *apud* Aul. Gell. *NA* 10.13.2-3; the translation is that of Rolfe (trans. and ed.) (1982: 246-247) (Loeb trans.).

⁵⁰³ Williams, C. A. (2009), *Roman Homosexuality*, 2nd ed., New York, p. 325, n.166.

⁵⁰⁴ Williams (2009: 325, n.166).

⁵⁰⁵ Williams (2009: 325, n.166).

“Now, that no one may have to search for an example of *suspiciosus*, which I mentioned above, and of *formidulosus* in its less usual sense, Marcus Cato, On the property of Florius, used *suspiciosus* as follows: ‘But except in the case of one who practised public prostitution, or had hired himself out to a procurer, even though he had been ill-famed and suspected (*suspiciosus*), they decided that it was unlawful to use force against the person of a freeman.’ For in this passage Cato uses *suspiciosus* in the sense of “suspected,” not that of “suspecting.”⁵⁰⁶

The Depiction of Male and Female Prostitutes within Cicero’s Corpus

Interestingly, Cicero utilises the term *meretrix* more than any other Latin author except “writers of comedy and literary criticism”.⁵⁰⁷ Most of these references are located within the *Verrine Orations* and the *Pro Caelio*.⁵⁰⁸ The remaining references are dispersed among the works *De Domo Sua*, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, *Philippicae*, *De Inventione*, *De Finibus* and the *De Natura Deorum*.⁵⁰⁹

Cicero used *scortum* in the singular to denote a ‘male prostitute’ in “passages of vilification (*Dom.* 49, *Sest.* 39, *Phil.* 2.44).”⁵¹⁰ In Cicero’s *De Domo Sua* 49 (‘On his house’), he heavily criticised Clodius as a *scortum populare* (‘public prostitute/political whore’) who arrogantly strutted through the forum ready to distribute ‘favours’ only to be rejected at the polls.⁵¹¹ In one

⁵⁰⁶ Cato, fr. 212 Malcovati *apud* Aul. Gell. *NA* 9.12.7-8; the translation is that of Rolfe (trans. and ed.) (1982: 190-191) (Loeb trans.). See also Williams (2009: 325, n.166).

⁵⁰⁷ McCoy, M. (2006), ‘The Politics of Prostitution: Clodia, Cicero, and Social Order in the Late Roman Republic’, in Faraone, C. A. and McClure, L. K. (eds), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*, Wisconsin, p. 178.

⁵⁰⁸ McCoy (2006: 178).

⁵⁰⁹ Cic. *Dom.* 111.2, 112.6, 112.8; *Har.* 33.5; *Phil.* 2.44.10; *Inv.* 2.118.8, 2.118.10, 2.118.12; *Fin.* 2.12.2, *N.D.* 1.14.1, 1.93.3; See McCoy (2006: 184).

⁵¹⁰ Adams (1983: 326).

⁵¹¹ Cic. *Dom.* 49; see MacKendrick (1995: 150); Nisbet, R. G. M. (ed.), (1939), *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Domo Sua Ad Pontifices Oratio*, Oxford, p. 113.

of his speeches against M. Antony (*Philippicae* 2.44), Cicero recounts scandals from Antony's life prior to entering public office.⁵¹² In an attempt to undermine Antony's character, Cicero accuses him of working as a *vulgare scortum* ('common prostitute') when he was younger.⁵¹³ Since it was the 'passive' participants in male-male sexual encounters, who were most ridiculed in Rome, Cicero ensures he accuses Antony of being the 'passive' participant.⁵¹⁴ Prosecutors or adversaries of Roman men, who had been attractive in their youth, often made this accusation.⁵¹⁵ Cicero's accompanying use of the adjectives *populare* and *uolgare* at *Dom.* 49 and *Phil.* 2.44 highlight his disparaging usage of the term *scortum*.⁵¹⁶ Similar to Plautus' pejorative use of the term *scortum*, Cicero utilises the plural form in his political speeches when informing his audience of the numerous unnamed prostitutes keeping company with some of his opponents (*Cat.* 2.10, 2.24, *Har. Resp.* 59, *Mil.* 55, *Phil.* 2.105).⁵¹⁷ Similarly to Plautus' practice, Cicero uses the singular form *meretrix* when discussing named prostitutes.⁵¹⁸

The Rhetoric of Prostitution in the Roman Law Courts in the First Century BC

In 70 BC Cicero prosecuted Gaius Verres for the charge of extorting the provincials during his three-year rule as governor of Sicily.⁵¹⁹ Cicero alleges that Verres stole a memorial statue depicting Diana the virgin goddess and desecrated it by placing it into a brothel surrounded by "the debauches of whores and whoremongers."⁵²⁰ According to Cicero, this was a crime Verres

⁵¹² Ramsey, J. T. (ed.) (2003), *Cicero: Philippics I-II*, Cambridge, UK, pp. 226-227.

⁵¹³ *Cic. Phil.* 2.44; Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (ed. and trans.) and Ramsey, J. T. and Manuwald, G. (2010), *Cicero: Philippics I-6*, Loeb Classical Library 189, Cambridge, MA, pp. 96-97.

⁵¹⁴ *Cic. Phil.* 2.44; see Ramsey (2003: 227); Shackleton Bailey and Ramsey and Manuwald (2010: 96-97).

⁵¹⁵ For examples, see Ramsey (2003: 227).

⁵¹⁶ Adams (1983: 326).

⁵¹⁷ Adams (1983: 326).

⁵¹⁸ Adams (1983: 326).

⁵¹⁹ McCoy (2006: 178).

⁵²⁰ *Cic. Ver.* 2.4.83: *Verres temperantissimi sanctissimique viri monumentum, Dianae simulacrum virginis, in ea domo collocabit in qua semper meretricum lenonumque flagitia versantur?*: Greenword (1935: 384-384) (Loeb trans.); see McCoy (2006: 179).

repeated more than once.⁵²¹ Furthermore, Verres was shameless even prior to being quaestor since he would spend his time consorting with prostitutes and their pimps.⁵²² To reinforce the licentiousness of Verres, Cicero describes the power of the infamous prostitute Chelidon and how elite men such as Gaius Mustius, Marcus Iunius and Publius Titius from the ‘praetor’s court’ found themselves ‘forced’ to spend time in her company and congregate in her house in order to purchase an audience with Verres.⁵²³ In this passage the term *meretrix* takes on a derogative tone due to the context.⁵²⁴ Cicero emphasises the shame and disgust that an elite male should feel publicly entering a prostitutes’ residence: *Ut mittam cetera, quo tandem pudore tales viros, quo dolore, meretricis domum venisse arbitramini?*⁵²⁵ All the same, it is evident from the context that Chelidon was a woman of influence and not a common *meretrix*.⁵²⁶ Cicero’s underlying argument against Verres is that he debased and that he abused his position as a civic official while also being influenced by a woman.⁵²⁷ Roman orators frequently used the rhetorical ploy of suggesting that an influential woman was behind the scenes pulling the strings if they wanted to demean a man.⁵²⁸ Cicero represents Chelidon as something of an exaggerated caricature: “As

⁵²¹ Verres allegedly removed the valuables from the Temple of Minerva at Syracuse and gifted them to prostitutes. Cicero, *Ver.* 2.4.123: *Ille deos deorum spoliis ornari noluit, hic ornamenta Minervae virginis in meretriciam domum transtulit*. Greenword (1935: 432-433) (Loeb trans.).

⁵²² Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.101: *Homo scilicet aut industria aut opera probata aut frugalitatis existimatione praeclara aut denique, id quod levissimum est, assiduitate, qui ante quaesturam cum meretricibus lenonibusque vixisset ...* Greenword (1935: 228-229) (Loeb trans.).

⁵²³ Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.136-138. McCoy argues that the normal visitors of a prostitute and the men from the ‘praetor’s court’ are one and the same therefore Cicero is employing humour here. McCoy’s proposal is likely incorrect since Cicero would not have taken the serious risk of demeaning the members of the jury who were all senators; McCoy (2006: 179-181).

⁵²⁴ Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.137; see Adams (1983: 326).

⁵²⁵ Cicero, *Ver.* 2.1.137.

⁵²⁶ Adams (1983: 326).

⁵²⁷ For further evidence of Cicero’s disparaging of Verres through the allegation that Chelidon exercised influence over him, see Cic. *Ver.* 2.3.30-31, 2.5.34; McCoy (2006: 181).

⁵²⁸ See Hillard, T. (1989), ‘Republican Politics, Women and the Evidence’, *Helios* 16, pp. 165-182; Hillard, T. (1992), ‘On the Stage, Behind the Curtain: Images of Politically Active Women in the Late Roman Republic’, in

often as that woman came up and whispered in his ear, he would call back parties to a case he had already judged and alter his judgement.”⁵²⁹ It seems unlikely that Cicero would have expected the jurors to believe that Verres’ decisions as praetor were subject to Chelidon’s approval in that a prostitute actually came up onto the praetor’s tribunal and whispered in the praetor’s ear.⁵³⁰ Chelidon's death helps to demonstrate the comfortable position in society she enjoyed and the strength of her relationship with Verres since she bequeathed him money in her will.⁵³¹ In Cicero’s speech against Verres and in his later assault on Clodia during the defence of Caelius, Cicero uses political and sexual humour to emphasise social inversions and support his argument.⁵³² Cicero’s accusations against Verres, in terms of his connection to Chelidon, would not have been so powerful had prostitutes been considered reputable members of the community.

Cicero defended M. Caelius Rufus in two of five charges brought against him at a trial held on the 3-4 April 56 BC.⁵³³ In defending Rufus, Cicero publicly attacked the private life of the aristocratic Roman woman Clodia, whom Rufus had previously had a relationship with that ultimately ended poorly.⁵³⁴ Clodia was the major source and witness of the charges against

Garlick, B. and Dixon, S. and Allen, P. (eds) *Stereotypes of Women in Power. Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views*, New York, pp. 37-64.

⁵²⁹ Cic. *Ver.* 2.1.120 (Loeb trans.); see also *Ver.* 2.5.34.

⁵³⁰ A similar case concerns the courtesan Praecia who flourished in the 70s BC in Rome. According to Plutarch’s *Life of Lucullus* (6.2-4), she was famed for her “beauty and wit” and was the lover of the politician P. Cornelius Cethegus. Plutarch states “No public measure passed unless Cethegus favoured it, and Cethegus did nothing except with Praecia’s approval.” (Loeb trans.) Cethegus is evidently the subject of a similar attack to that on Verres, namely of there being a ‘woman’ behind ‘the man.’ Praecia was evidently relatively wealthy as Plutarch labels her *hetaira* instead of *porne*. Plutarch’s *Life of Lucullus* in Perrin, B., trans. (1914), *Plutarch. Lives*, Volume II: *Themistocles and Camillus. Aristides and Cato Major. Cimon and Lucullus*, Loeb Classical Library 47, Cambridge, MA. For information on both Praecia and Chelidon, see Bauman, R. A. (2002), *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*, London and New York, pp. 65-67.

⁵³¹ Cic. *Ver.* 2.2.116, 2.4.7.

⁵³² McCoy (2006: 181).

⁵³³ Cic. *Cael.*; Austin (1960: vii-viii, 152).

⁵³⁴ McCoy (2006: 177).

Caelius therefore by undermining her character Cicero was able to undermine the entire case of the prosecution. To excuse the actions of Caelius, Cicero labelled Clodia a *meretrix*, which was unprecedented in criminal trials and even in Latin literature.⁵³⁵ By labelling Clodia a *meretrix*, Cicero was arguing that her complaints were worthless and that no charges could be laid against Caelius based upon the word of a prostitute.⁵³⁶ In Ciceronian Rome, no stigma existed against a Roman male having an affair with a *meretrix*, therefore Cicero's accusation against Clodia would not have undermined Caelius' social standing:

Verum si quis est, qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus (negare non possum), sed abhorret non modo ab huius saeculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum consuetudine atque concessis. Quando enim hoc non factitatum est, quando reprehensum, quando non permissum, quando denique fuit, ut, quod licet, non liceret?

“However, if there is anyone who thinks that youth should be forbidden affairs even with courtesans, he is doubtless eminently austere (I cannot deny it), but his view is contrary not only to the licence of this age, but also to the custom and concessions of our ancestors. For when was this not a common practice? When was it blamed? When was it forbidden? When, in fact, was it that what is allowed was not allowed?”⁵³⁷

⁵³⁵ Cic. *Cael.* 1, 38, 49; A Tiberian *senatus consultum*, prohibited equestrian ranked Roman females from working as prostitutes however this resolution clearly postdates Cicero's time period; cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 2.85; McCoy (2006: 177); Gardner, J. F. (1986), *Women in Roman Law and Society*, London, p. 130; Flemming, R. (1999), “*Quae Corpore Quaestum Facit*: The Sexual Economy of Female Prostitution in the Roman Empire”, *The Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. 89, pp. 53-54; Duncan (2006: 256).

⁵³⁶ Austin (1960: 98).

⁵³⁷ Cic. *Cael.* 48. The text and translation used is that of Gardner, R. (trans.), (1958), *Cicero. Pro Caelio. De Provinciis Consularibus. Pro Balbo*, Loeb Classical Library 447, Cambridge, MA; see also Austin, R. G. (ed.), (1960), *M. Tulli Ciceronis: Pro M. Caelio Oratio*, 3rd ed., Oxford, p. 110.

According to Cicero, Clodia publicly degraded herself, blurring the lines of social order until her actions and the company she kept essentially meant that she was proclaiming herself a *meretrix* and debasing her household.⁵³⁸ Clodia's actions and manners, which Cicero argued to be indicative of her occupation as a shameless prostitute, include: being unmarried and attending dinner parties with male strangers, behaving lewdly in public, participating in licentious gossip, hosting numerous parties, allowing 'lecherous' individuals into her home and generally dressing like a *meretrix*.⁵³⁹ In accusing Clodia of inverting social norms, Cicero argued for Clodia's removal from civil society, which evidently succeeded since she seems to disappear from the public sphere following the trial.⁵⁴⁰

Conclusion

Although prostitutes were not a homogenous class,⁵⁴¹ it is obvious from the ancient literary evidence examined that prostitutes were considered excellent liars, disgraced by their occupation which required them to exploit their clients. Roman men were able to pay for a prostitute's services without incurring scandal (prostitution was legal) unless they were conducting the activities in public and immodestly. Conversely, Roman women could not have sex outside marriage without serious repercussions including being charged for adultery.⁵⁴² The idea of prostitutes and excess were inseparable, with men often being chastised in Plautine comedy for wasting money on prostitutes rather than the focus of ridicule being directed to their disloyalty to

⁵³⁸ Cic. *Cael* 38, 49, 57; see McCoy (2006: 182-183).

⁵³⁹ Cic. *Cael* 49; Austin noted that the passage, Cic. *Cael* 48-50, is part of an integral section of Cicero's defence and acts as a climax to Cicero's plea that Caelius' is an honourable man; Austin (1960: 101, 109-110); see also Cic. *Cael* 38.

⁵⁴⁰ McCoy (2006: 183-184).

⁵⁴¹ Prostitutes who worked the streets and those whose clients were millers are mentioned as the most 'lowly' of the group showing the existence of differing stations within the working class, see Pl. *Poen.* (II. 265-270).

⁵⁴² Treggiari, S. (1991), *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges From The Time Of Cicero To The Time Of Ulpian*, Oxford, pp. 262ff.

their wives. The consequence of Roman men wasting away their fortunes on prostitutes likely fuelled the stereotype that we find in the Plautine comedies of the greedy, lying, manipulative prostitute who would take everything a man owned until he had nothing and then move on to the next client leaving her previous one destitute. This connection between prostitutes, excess and immodesty lent itself to accusations of sexual depravity against political opponents in the Ciceronian period. Because of the stigma attached to prostitutes, accusations of openly associating with prostitutes had the potential to be devastating in terms of the reputations of elite men and women. Not surprisingly allegations of sexual misconduct and impropriety were commonly used as a rhetorical ploy in the Roman law courts of the first century BC as evident through Cicero's numerous speeches.⁵⁴³

The most popular Latin terms for 'prostitute' were *meretrix* and *scortum*. While the two terms carry little if no linguistic distinction between lower and higher-class prostitutes, a debate exists regarding whether the term *scortum* carries a more disparaging tone than *meretrix*. The literary evidence examined previously (predominantly from Plautus and Cicero) does not provide a definitive answer; the terms may have been interchangeable. Adams argues that *scortum* is the more pejorative word however this does not mean that it necessarily refers to lower class women. Notably, both Plautus and Cicero often used the term *scortum* for unnamed prostitutes whereas when discussing named prostitutes they repeatedly employed the singular form *meretrix*.⁵⁴⁴ Prostitutes contributed to society through their services providing sexual gratification and companionship. The majority of evidence available concerns female prostitutes, making a comparison between the social standing of male and female prostitutes (and societal attitudes to them) somewhat futile, as the conclusions drawn would be far too superficial.

⁵⁴³ Cic. *Dom.* 49; *Philippicae* 2.44; *Cat.* 2.10, 2.44; *Har. Resp.* 59; *Mil.* 55; *Phil.* 2.105; *Ver.* 2.1.101, 2.1.136-138, 2.4.83, 2.4.123; *Cael.* 39, 49, 57.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. Adams (1983: 326).

Conclusion

In this study we have examined some works from the Ciceronian period together with the works of Plautus whose plays were circulating at the time. From this examination a number of interesting items have emerged with regard to societal attitudes to the ‘lower’ occupations. In Plautus’ plays in particular, evidence that illustrates more clearly everyday life, it is interesting that a number of occupations are depicted in stereotypical ways. For instance, the butchers, are almost always referred to in a negative fashion as profiteers, the cooks are notorious thieves, the fishermen are depicted as grievously poor and, not to put too fine a point on it, smelly; the fullers were particularly smelly, millers too and they are depicted on the very edges of society (alongside women whose sexual services they sought). Plautus’ plays depict the barbers as gossipmongers and Cicero, as we have seen, depicts their occupation as a servile task: *artificium sordidum ancillareque* (*Tusc.* 5.58).

To the extent that these crafts are depicted as servile, or close to servile, it is perhaps worthwhile noting, as Treggiari says (see Chapter Two), a genuine demographic shift after the close of the Second Punic War (with the dramatic increase of slave numbers in Rome). The influx of foreign slaves, Treggiari suggests (*Roman Freedmen*, p. 90), had in fact led to a diminution of societal respect for the more menial crafts and occupations that servile labour in ever larger proportions filled.

Cicero’s attitude is a good deal more complex than one might have expected—which is perhaps not surprising given that we possess so much work of Cicero and given that his thoughts are preserved in so many different media. As Moses Finley said, in a complex society not all men will follow “accepted canons” (*Ancient Economy*, p. 52). Cicero’s personal correspondence, for instance, although more reflective of his day to day life, has surprisingly little to say by way of

illuminating this topic; he talks to his correspondents about his domestic staff but the expression of his attitudes is more or less oblique and we are left to read between the lines. By way of example we catch glimpses of the wide chasm between Cicero and his correspondents, on the one hand, and those who serve them, on the other. A letter to Atticus in June 45 BC (13.9.1) speaks volumes (this letter is discussed in Chapter Two). There are certain confidences that Cicero will not trust to his couriers or even dictate aloud to his beloved Tiro (presumably for fear of the indiscretions or unreliability of his slave household who might be listening in). It is in his oratory that we find the most direct and calculated references to ‘lowly’ occupations, and these, of course, are offered in a highly rhetorical fashion, often accusatory (and must be treated with caution). Cicero’s references to prostitution are a clear example and have been treated in detail in Chapter Five. All the same, there must be an assumption here that the hostile rhetoric is meant to express prejudice which he expected his elite audience (in most cases members of the jury panel) to share. The philosophical works are less rhetorical and, therefore, potentially all the more reliable sources of information but the allusions to the crafts are frequently ambiguous, elusive, and hard to read. The most useful passage in these works is the extended passage in the *de Officiis* (1.150-1.151), which has been discussed at length in Chapters Two and Three—a passage which elaborates in a very vivid fashion the parallel passage in his contemporary Sallust which mirrors the disdain for those who earn their livelihood by the labour of their own hands (*Jugurthine War* 73.6).

Clearly Cicero was willing to stand by the social prejudices that he no doubt shared with his peers, and these can be seen in his public utterances, both in forensic exaggeration and in the more considered observations of his philosophical discourses though, in the letters, reading between the lines (as advocated above), we see just how reliant he was on the service of those whom he publicly disdained. This is true not only of the lettered staff who are so much more in

evidence in the letters than any other group, but also of his highly prized cook (who is discussed in Chapter Two). Likewise his implicit and instinctive appreciation of the precision of the goldsmith's craft (see Chapter Three): an appreciation which apparently did not entail a respect for those so engaged (see Joshel's comments cited in Chapter Three).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Working Database of Occupations

All the Latin occupational terms and most of the translations have been sourced from Treggiari (1980) unless otherwise stated.⁵⁴⁵

Latin term	Translation	Text searched through the Cross Database Searchtool
<i>Abietarius</i>	dealer in fir-wood ⁵⁴⁶	<i>abietar*</i>
<i>Acutarius</i>	sharpener	<i>acutar*</i>
<i>Aerarius</i>	coppersmith	<i>aerar*</i>
<i>Albarius</i>	worker in stucco	<i>albari*</i> <i>albar*</i>
<i>Alipilus</i>	a slave who plucked under-arm hair from bathers ⁵⁴⁷	<i>alipil*</i>
<i>Aluminarius</i>	dealer in alum	<i>aluminar*</i>
<i>Anatiarius</i>	duck-seller	<i>anatiar*</i> <i>anatar*</i>
<i>Ancilla</i>	maid-servant, handmaid ⁵⁴⁸	<i>ancill*</i>
<i>Aquilegus</i>	water-diviner	<i>aquileg*</i> <i>aquilex*</i>
<i>Arcularius</i>	cabinet or box maker ⁵⁴⁹	<i>arcular*</i>
<i>Aromatarius</i>	dealer in spices ⁵⁵⁰	<i>aromatar*</i> <i>aromat*</i>
<i>Artifex</i>	artist ⁵⁵¹	<i>artifex*</i> <i>artific*</i>
<i>Atriensis</i>	the overseer of the atrium, steward ⁵⁵²	<i>atriens*</i>
<i>Auceps</i>	a slave serving as a fowler	<i>aucep*</i>

⁵⁴⁵ Treggiari (1980: 61-64).

⁵⁴⁶ Broekaert, W. and Zuiderhoek, A. (2013), 'Industries and Services', in Erdkamp, P. (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rome*, New York and Cambridge, UK, p. 319; Lewis, C. T. and Short, C. (1879), *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford (s.v. 'abietarius') in Crane, G. R. (ed.) (2007), *Perseus Digital Library: Latin Word Study Tool*, Tufts University, viewed 30 December 2015, <<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=ābīētāriūs&la=la&can=ābīētāriūs0#Perseus:text:1999.04.0059:entry=abietarius-contents>>.

⁵⁴⁷ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'alipilus').

⁵⁴⁸ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'ancilla').

⁵⁴⁹ Plautus, *Aulularia* 519; Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'arcularius').

⁵⁵⁰ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'aromatarius').

⁵⁵¹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'artifex').

⁵⁵² Simpson, D. P. (1977), *Cassell's Latin Dictionary: Latin-English, English-Latin*, New York, p. 64.

	on an estate ⁵⁵³	<i>aucup</i> *
<i>Aurarius</i>	goldsmith ⁵⁵⁴	<i>aurari</i> *
<i>Auri acceptor</i>	‘receiver of gold’, worker or dealer in gold ⁵⁵⁵	<i>auri</i> * <i>acceptor</i> * <i>auri</i> * <i>aceptor</i> * <i>aur</i> * <i>ac</i> *
<i>Aurifex</i>	goldsmith ⁵⁵⁶	<i>aurif</i> *
<i>Auri netrix</i>	spinner of gold thread ⁵⁵⁷	<i>net</i> *
<i>Auri vestrix</i>	a tailor of clothes in cloth of gold or embroider ⁵⁵⁸	<i>aur</i> * <i>vest</i> *
<i>Aviarius altiliarius</i>	bird-fattener	<i>aviari</i> * <i>alitiari</i> *
<i>Axearius</i>	axle-maker	<i>axeari</i> *
<i>Bibliopola/bybliopola</i>	bookseller ⁵⁵⁹	<i>bibliopol</i> * <i>bybliopol</i> *
<i>Brattarius</i>	gold-beater ⁵⁶⁰	<i>brattiar</i> *
<i>Cabator/cavator</i>	excavator	<i>cabat</i> * <i>cavat</i> *
<i>Caelator</i>	engraver, carver ⁵⁶¹	<i>caelator</i> *
<i>Calcariensis</i>	lime-burner	<i>calcariens</i> * <i>calcar</i> *
<i>Calceolarius</i>	shoemaker ⁵⁶²	<i>calceolar</i> *
<i>Caligarius</i>	boot-maker	<i>caligari</i> * <i>caligar</i> *
<i>Cancellarius</i>	door-keeper, porter ⁵⁶³ Note: late Latin (AD 485-585)	<i>cancellari</i> *
<i>Candelabrarius</i>	maker of candelabra	<i>candelab</i> *
<i>Capsarius</i>	maker of satchels, slave who carried his young master’s satchel to school ⁵⁶⁴	<i>capsar</i> *

⁵⁵³ Maxey (1938: 19).

⁵⁵⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘aurarius’).

⁵⁵⁵ Treggiari (1980: 61); Olson, K. (2008), *Dress and the Roman Woman: Self-Presentation and Society*, Oxon and New York, p. 54.

⁵⁵⁶ For *aurifex* see, Treggiari (1980: 61); For *aurifex*, see Simpson (1977: 69).

⁵⁵⁷ *Auri netrix*, (‘a gold spinner’ from 4th century AD); *CIL* 6.9213. See Gleba, M. and Pasztokai-Szeoke, J. (eds) (2013), *Making Textiles in pre-Roman and Roman Times: People, Places, Identities*, Vol. 13 of Ancient Textiles Series, Oxford and Oakville, p. 116 n. 14; Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁵⁵⁸ *Auri vestrix* (‘a tailor of clothes of gold’); *CIL* 6.9214. See Gleba and Pasztokai-Szeoke (2013: 116 n.14); Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁵⁵⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘bibliopola’); For *bybliopola* see, Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁵⁶⁰ Glare (1982, repr. 2010, s.v. ‘brattarius’, 241).

⁵⁶¹ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘caelator’).

⁵⁶² Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘calceolarius’).

⁵⁶³ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘cancellarius’).

⁵⁶⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘capsarius’); Simpson (1977: 90); *Capsarius* (‘box-maker’) see, Treggiari (1980: 61).

<i>Carinarius</i>	dyer of yellow ⁵⁶⁵	<i>carinari</i> *
<i>Cassidarius</i>	helmet-maker	<i>cassid</i> * <i>cassis</i> *
<i>Caudicarius</i>	lighter man, bargee	<i>caudicar</i> *
<i>Centonarius</i>	patchwork-maker	<i>centonari</i> *
<i>Cetarius</i>	fish-monger ⁵⁶⁶	<i>cetari</i> *
<i>Chartarius</i>	paper-maker, paper-merchant ⁵⁶⁷	<i>chartari</i> * <i>chart</i> *
<i>Circi nuntius</i>	announcer of the circus	<i>ci</i> * <i>nunt</i> *
<i>Cisiarius</i>	the driver of a cabriolet ⁵⁶⁸	<i>cisiari</i> *
<i>Citrarius</i>	worker in citrus-wood	<i>citrari</i> * <i>citr</i> *
<i>Clostrarius</i>	locksmith	<i>clostrari</i> * <i>clost</i> *
<i>Coactor</i>	collector of rents, money at auctions, etc. ⁵⁶⁹	<i>coactor</i> *
<i>Cocio</i>	dealer	<i>cocio</i> *
<i>Cocus/coquus</i>	cook ⁵⁷⁰	<i>coc</i> * <i>coqu</i> *
<i>Coriarius</i>	tanner, currier ⁵⁷¹	<i>coriari</i> *
<i>Coronarius</i>	garland-maker	<i>coronari</i> *
<i>Crepidarius</i>	maker of slippers, sandal-maker, shoemaker ⁵⁷²	<i>crepid</i> *
<i>Cubicularius</i>	chamber-servant ⁵⁷³	<i>cubiculari</i> *
<i>Cullearius</i>	bag-maker	<i>cullear</i> * <i>culle</i> * <i>culear</i> * <i>cule</i> * <i>coleus</i> *
<i>Cultrarius</i>	knife-maker, cutler	<i>cultrar</i> *
<i>Diabathrarius</i>	producer of slippers, shoemaker ⁵⁷⁴	<i>diabath</i> *
<i>Dispensator</i>	steward, attendant, treasurer ⁵⁷⁵	<i>dispensat</i> *
<i>Dissignator</i>	usher, undertaker	<i>dissignat</i> *

⁵⁶⁵ Simpson (1977: 92).

⁵⁶⁶ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cetarius').

⁵⁶⁷ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'chartarius').

⁵⁶⁸ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cisiarius').

⁵⁶⁹ Treggiari (1980: 61); Simpson (1977: 112).

⁵⁷⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cocus').

⁵⁷¹ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'coriarius').

⁵⁷² Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'crepidarius').

⁵⁷³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cubicularius').

⁵⁷⁴ Plautus, *Aulularia* 513; Simpson (1977: 187).

⁵⁷⁵ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'dispensator').

<i>Epippiarius</i>	horse-cloth maker	<i>epipp</i> *
<i>Exonerator calcariarius</i>	lime unloader	<i>exoner</i> * <i>calcar</i> *
<i>Fabarius</i>	bean seller	<i>fabari</i> *
<i>Faber argentarius</i>	silversmith	<i>argentar</i> *
<i>Faber automatararius</i>	machine-maker	<i>automatar</i> *
<i>Faber balneator</i>	mechanic at baths	<i>balneato</i> *
<i>Faber eborarius</i>	ivory-worker	<i>eborari</i> * <i>eborar</i> *
<i>Faber ferrarius</i>	blacksmith	<i>ferrari</i> *
<i>Faber intestinarius</i>	inlayer, ⁵⁷⁶ specialist in finish carpentry and interior woodwork ⁵⁷⁷	<i>intestinar</i> *
<i>Faber lectarius</i>	joiner specialising in beds	<i>lectar</i> *
<i>Faber oculariarius</i>	specialist in inserting artificial eyes in statues ⁵⁷⁸	<i>ocular</i> *
<i>Faber solarius baxiarius</i>	maker of woven slippers	<i>soliar</i> * <i>solear</i> * <i>baxiar</i> * <i>bax</i> *
<i>Faber subaedianus</i>	builder who worked on interiors	<i>subaed</i> *
<i>Faber tignarius</i>	carpenter ⁵⁷⁹	<i>tignuar</i> *
<i>Fabricam haberemus</i>	art of carpentry ⁵⁸⁰	<i>fab</i> * <i>haber</i> *
<i>Faenarius</i>	dealer in hay	<i>faenar</i> *
<i>Fartor</i>	a fatterer of fowls, poulterer ⁵⁸¹	<i>fartor</i> *
<i>Flabellifera</i>	fan-bearer ⁵⁸²	<i>flabellifer</i> *
<i>Flammarius</i>	dyer of garments in flaming red ⁵⁸³	<i>flammar</i> *
<i>Flaturarius</i>	metal-caster ⁵⁸⁴	<i>flatur</i> *
<i>Fruentarius</i>	grain dealer	<i>frumentar</i> *
<i>Fullo</i>	fuller	<i>fullo</i> *
<i>Fumificus</i>	cook ⁵⁸⁵	<i>fumific</i> *
<i>Furnarius</i>	baker ⁵⁸⁶	<i>furnar</i> *
<i>Gallinarius</i>	poultry-farmer ⁵⁸⁷	<i>gallinar</i> *

⁵⁷⁶ Treggiari (1980: 62).

⁵⁷⁷ *CIL* 6.8173; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 318-319).

⁵⁷⁸ *CIL* 6.9402; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319).

⁵⁷⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'tignarius'); Treggiari (1980: 62).

⁵⁸⁰ Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.116.

⁵⁸¹ Simpson (1977: 241); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'fartor').

⁵⁸² Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'flabellifera').

⁵⁸³ Plautus, *Aulularia* 510.

⁵⁸⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'flaturarius').

⁵⁸⁵ Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 7.38.

⁵⁸⁶ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'furnarius').

<i>Gaunacarius</i>	furrier	<i>gaunac</i> *
<i>Gemmarius</i>	jeweller ⁵⁸⁸	<i>gemmari</i> *
<i>Gerulus</i>	porter	<i>gerul</i> *
<i>Gladiator</i>	swordsmith	<i>gladiar</i> *
<i>Glutinarium</i>	gluer	<i>glutin</i> *
<i>Harundinarius</i>	dealer in limed twigs	<i>harundin</i> * <i>arundin</i> *
<i>Holitor</i>	greengrocer	<i>holitor</i> * <i>olitor</i> *
<i>Hordearia</i>	barley-seller	<i>hordear</i> *
<i>Horrearius</i>	storehouse man	<i>horrear</i> *
<i>Iatrolipta</i>	masseuse	<i>iatrolip</i> * <i>iat</i> *
<i>Iatromea</i>	midwife	<i>iatrom</i> * <i>iat</i> *
<i>Ianitor</i>	door keeper, porter ⁵⁸⁹	<i>ianitor</i> *
<i>Inaurator</i>	gilder	<i>inaur</i> *
<i>Indusiarius</i>	maker of women's under garments ⁵⁹⁰	<i>indusiari</i> *
<i>Infector</i>	dyer	<i>infect</i> *
<i>Inundator</i>	flooder	<i>inundat</i> * <i>inund</i> *
<i>Iumentarius</i>	dealer in baggage animals	<i>iumentari</i> *
<i>Lagonarius</i>	bottle-seller	<i>lagonar</i> *
<i>Lanarius</i>	maker of woollen cloth	<i>lanar</i> *
<i>Lanarius coactilarius</i>	felter	<i>coactil</i> *
<i>Lanius</i>	butcher	<i>lani</i> *
<i>Lapidarius</i>	stonecutter ⁵⁹¹	<i>lapidar</i> * <i>lapicid</i> *
<i>Lecticarius</i>	litter-bearer ⁵⁹²	<i>lecticar</i> *
<i>Lector/anagnostes</i>	slave who reads aloud ⁵⁹³	<i>lector</i> * <i>lecte</i> * <i>anagnost</i> *
<i>Librariolus</i>	junior transcriber or bookseller ⁵⁹⁴	<i>librari</i> *
<i>Librarius</i>	copyist, transcriber of books ⁵⁹⁵	<i>librari</i> *

⁵⁸⁷ Simpson (1977: 261); Treggiari (1980: 62).

⁵⁸⁸ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'gemmarius').

⁵⁸⁹ Simpson (1977: 282).

⁵⁹⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'indusiarius').

⁵⁹¹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'lapidarius').

⁵⁹² Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'lecticarius').

⁵⁹³ Simpson (1977: 43, 340).

⁵⁹⁴ Simpson (1977: 345).

⁵⁹⁵ Treggiari (1980: 62); Simpson (1977: 345).

<i>Lignarius</i>	dealer in wood	<i>lignar</i> *
<i>Limbolarius/limbularius</i>	lace-maker ⁵⁹⁶	<i>limbol</i> * <i>limbul</i> *
<i>Linteo/lintearius</i>	linen weaver ⁵⁹⁷	<i>lintear</i> * <i>linteo</i> *
<i>Loclarius</i>	box-maker	<i>loc</i> *
<i>Lorarius</i>	harness-maker	<i>lorar</i> *
<i>Lyntrarius</i>	boatman	<i>lyntrar</i> *
<i>Macellarius</i>	provision-dealer	<i>macell</i> *
<i>Macellensis</i>	market man	<i>macell</i> *
<i>Machinator</i>	engineer	<i>machinate</i> *
<i>Mancipes</i>	dealer, usually in slaves	<i>mancep</i> * <i>mancip</i> *
<i>Manulearius</i>	sleeve maker ⁵⁹⁸	<i>manulear</i> *
<i>Margaritarius</i>	pearl-setter	<i>margarit</i> *
<i>Marmorarius</i>	marble cutter	<i>marmorar</i> * <i>marmor</i> *
<i>Materiarius</i>	timber-merchant	<i>materiar</i> *
<i>Medicus</i>	doctor, physician ⁵⁹⁹	<i>medic</i> *
<i>Mellarius</i>	dealer in honey	<i>mellar</i> *
<i>Mensor</i>	surveyor	<i>mentor</i> *
<i>Mercator, pecuarius, suarius</i>	livestock dealer	<i>suari</i> *
<i>Meretrix</i>	prostitute, courtesan ⁶⁰⁰	<i>meretrix</i> * <i>meretric</i> *
<i>Molitor</i>	slave that ground the grain consumed by the <i>familia rustica</i> on the estate. ⁶⁰¹	<i>molitor</i> * <i>miloto</i> *
<i>Molochinarius</i>	dye in mallow colour. ⁶⁰²	<i>molochinar</i> * <i>molochin</i> * <i>molocinar</i> *
<i>Mulio</i>	mule-driver, mule-keeper ⁶⁰³	<i>mulio</i> *
<i>Mulomedici</i>	mule-doctor ⁶⁰⁴	<i>mulomedic</i> *
<i>Museiarius</i>	mosaicist	<i>museiar</i> *
<i>Musicus/fidicen/tibicen</i>	musician ⁶⁰⁵	<i>music</i> *

⁵⁹⁶ Hildyard, J. (1839), *Aulularia: Ad fidem codicum qui in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici exstant aliorumque nonnullorum. Recensuit, notisque et glossario locuplete*, Cambridge, UK, p. 167.

⁵⁹⁷ Treggiari (1980: 62); Simpson (1977: 347).

⁵⁹⁸ Hildyard (1839: 165).

⁵⁹⁹ Simpson (1977: 365).

⁶⁰⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'meretrix').

⁶⁰¹ Maxey (1938: 23).

⁶⁰² Hildyard (1839: 166).

⁶⁰³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'mulio').

⁶⁰⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'mulomedici').

⁶⁰⁵ Simpson (1977: *musicus* 384, *fidicen* 247 ['harp player, lyre player'], *tibicen* 604 ['flute player']).

		<i>fidic*</i> <i>tibic*</i>
<i>Myropola</i>	seller of unguents ⁶⁰⁶	<i>myropol*</i>
<i>Navicularius</i>	shipowner	<i>navicular*</i>
<i>Nomenclator</i>	a slave who told his master the names of the persons whom he met ⁶⁰⁷	<i>nomenclator*</i>
<i>Nummularius</i>	money changer	<i>nummular*</i>
<i>Obsonator</i>	a slave who purchased, conserved and served food. ⁶⁰⁸	<i>obsonator*</i>
<i>Obstetrix</i>	midwife ⁶⁰⁹	<i>obstetri*</i> <i>opstetri*</i>
<i>Officinator</i>	owner of a workshop	<i>officinator*</i>
<i>Officinatrix</i>	female owner of a workshop ⁶¹⁰	<i>officinatri*</i>
<i>Olearius</i>	dealer in oil	<i>olear*</i>
<i>Opilio</i>	shepherd ⁶¹¹	<i>opilio*</i>
<i>Ornatix</i>	hairstylist	<i>ornatri*</i>
<i>Paenularius</i>	cloak-seller, ⁶¹² maker of mantles ⁶¹³	<i>paenular*</i> <i>paenul*</i>
<i>Pavimentarius</i>	a maker of pavements ⁶¹⁴	<i>pavimentar*</i>
<i>Pedisequus</i>	servant in attendance, footman ⁶¹⁵	<i>pedisequ*</i>
<i>Pellio</i>	furrier	<i>pellio*</i>
<i>Pernarius</i>	seller of ham	<i>pernari*</i>
<i>Phasianarius</i>	a slave who cared for pheasants on a large estate ⁶¹⁶	<i>phasianar*</i>
<i>Phyrgio</i>	embroiderer ⁶¹⁷	<i>phyr*</i>
<i>Pictor</i>	painter	<i>pictor*</i>
<i>Pigmentarius</i>	dealer in paints or cosmetics	<i>pigmentar*</i>
<i>Piscator</i>	fisherman	<i>piscator*</i>

⁶⁰⁶ Simpson (1977: 385).

⁶⁰⁷ Simpson (1977: 395).

⁶⁰⁸ Maxey (1938: 25).

⁶⁰⁹ Treggiari (1980: 63); Simpson (1977: 405).

⁶¹⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'officinatrix').

⁶¹¹ Simpson (1977: 413).

⁶¹² Treggiari (1980: 63).

⁶¹³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'paenularius').

⁶¹⁴ Treggiari (1980: 63); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pavimentarius').

⁶¹⁵ Simpson (1977: 429).

⁶¹⁶ Maxey (1938: 20).

⁶¹⁷ Hildyard (1839: 163).

<i>Pistor</i>	millers, baker ⁶¹⁸	<i>pistor</i> *
<i>Pistor candidarius</i>	baker of white bread ⁶¹⁹	<i>pistor</i> * <i>candid</i> *
<i>Pistor similaginarius</i>	baker who used the finest wheat flour ⁶²⁰	<i>pisor</i> * <i>similaginar</i> * <i>pistor</i> * <i>simil</i> *
<i>Pistrinarius</i>	the manager of a <i>pistrinum</i> ⁶²¹	<i>pistrinar</i> *
<i>Plastes</i>	potter, statuary	<i>plast</i> *
<i>Plumarius</i>	embroiderer with feathers	<i>plumar</i> *
<i>Plutarius</i>	maker of balustrades	<i>plutiar</i> * <i>plutear</i> *
<i>Politor eborarius</i>	ivory polisher	<i>politor</i> * <i>ebor</i> * <i>eborari</i> *
<i>Pomarius</i>	fruit-seller ⁶²²	<i>pomari</i> *
<i>Praeceptor</i>	teacher, instructor ⁶²³	<i>praeceptor</i> *
<i>Praeco</i>	crier	<i>praeco</i> *
<i>Praeco vinorum</i>	crier of wines	<i>praeco</i> * <i>vin</i> * <i>praeco</i> * <i>uin</i> *
<i>Propola</i>	retailer, huckster ⁶²⁴	<i>propol</i> *
<i>Pugillarius</i>	maker of writing-tablets ⁶²⁵	<i>pugillar</i> *
<i>Pullarius</i>	poulterer ⁶²⁶ , keeper of the sacred chickens ⁶²⁷	<i>pullar</i> *
<i>Purpurarius</i>	dyer and seller of purple cloth	<i>purpurar</i> *
<i>Resinaria</i>	dealer in resin	<i>resinaria</i> * <i>resinar</i> *
<i>Restio</i>	rope-maker	<i>restio</i> *
<i>Saccarius</i>	porter of sacks	<i>saccari</i> * <i>saccar</i> *
<i>Sagarius</i>	cloak-seller, ⁶²⁸ dealer in mantles ⁶²⁹	<i>sagar</i> *

⁶¹⁸ Maxey (1938: 63).

⁶¹⁹ Maxey (1938: 21).

⁶²⁰ *CIL* 6.9812; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319).

⁶²¹ Maxey (1938: 25).

⁶²² Treggiari (1980: 63); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pomarius').

⁶²³ Treggiari (1980: 63); Simpson (1977: 461).

⁶²⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'propola').

⁶²⁵ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pugillarius'); *Pugillariarius* ('maker of writing tablets'); Treggiari (1980: 63).

⁶²⁶ *CIL* 6, 9674; Treggiari (1980: 63).

⁶²⁷ The adjective *pullarius* designates anyone who has a connection with young chickens, and therefore anyone who deals in, or with, chickens. When used as a substantive in literary texts, *pullarius* seems to refer exclusively to the public post of keeper of the sacred chickens, but epigraphical texts attest to it as a commercial calling. See Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pullarius').

⁶²⁸ Treggiari (1980: 63).

⁶²⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'sagarius').

<i>Salictarius</i>	one who takes care of willow-trees ⁶³⁰	<i>salictari</i> *
<i>Salsamentarius</i>	dealer in salted fish	<i>salsamentar</i> *
<i>Salsarius</i>	salter	<i>salsar</i> *
<i>Saltator</i>	dancer ⁶³¹	<i>saltator</i> *
<i>Salutigerulus</i>	errand-boy that carries salutations or messages ⁶³²	<i>salutigerul</i> *
<i>Sandaligerula</i>	female slave that carried her mistresses' sandals ⁶³³	<i>sandaligerul</i> *
<i>Sarcinator</i>	male patcher ⁶³⁴	<i>sarcinat</i> *
<i>Sarcinatrix</i>	mender, seamstress	<i>sarcinat</i> *
<i>Scalptor</i>	sculptor	<i>scalptor</i> *
<i>Scapiaria</i>	maker or seller of vessels called <i>scaphia</i>	<i>scapiar</i> *
<i>Scortum</i>	harlot, prostitute ⁶³⁵	<i>scort</i> *
<i>Scriptor titulorum</i>	sign-writer	<i>scriptor</i> * <i>titul</i> *
<i>Scutarius</i>	shield-maker	<i>scutari</i> *
<i>Sector serrarius</i>	sawyer	<i>sector</i> * <i>serrari</i> *
<i>Segmentarius</i>	maker of strips, ribbons and borders	<i>segmentar</i> *
<i>Seminaria</i>	seller of seeds	<i>seminar</i> *
<i>Semisonarius</i>	apron-maker ⁶³⁶	<i>semisonar</i> *
<i>Sericarius</i>	seller of silk	<i>sericari</i> *
<i>Sigillarius</i>	maker of figurines	<i>sigillari</i> * <i>sigillar</i> *
<i>Signarius</i>	sculptor	<i>signari</i> *
<i>Solatarius</i>	maker of women's shoes	<i>solat</i> *
<i>Speclarius</i>	glazier	<i>speclar</i> *
<i>Stropharius</i>	bodice-maker ⁶³⁷	<i>strophiar</i> *
<i>Structor</i>	builder	<i>structor</i> *
<i>Subrutor</i>	demolition man	<i>subrut</i> *
<i>Subulcus</i>	swineherd ⁶³⁸	<i>subulc</i> *
<i>Sutor</i>	cobbler	<i>sutor</i> *
<i>Tabernarius</i>	shopkeeper, tavernkeeper	<i>tabernari</i> * <i>tabern</i> *
<i>Tector</i>	carpenter, ⁶³⁹ stucco-worker, plasterer ⁶⁴⁰	<i>tector</i> *

⁶³⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'salictarius').

⁶³¹ Simpson (1977: 531).

⁶³² Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'salutigerulus').

⁶³³ Simpson (1977: 533).

⁶³⁴ Simpson (1977: 534).

⁶³⁵ Varro, *On the Latin Language* 7.84; Simpson (1977: 539).

⁶³⁶ Hildyard (1839: 167).

⁶³⁷ Hildyard (1839: 167).

⁶³⁸ Simpson (1977: 579).

<i>Tesselarius</i>	maker of dice or <i>tessellae</i>	<i>tesselar</i> * <i>tessel</i> *
<i>Textor</i>	weaver ⁶⁴¹	<i>textor</i> *
<i>Thurarius</i>	incense-seller	<i>thurari</i> * <i>thurar</i> *
<i>Tibiarius</i>	flute-maker	<i>tibiari</i> *
<i>Tonsor</i>	barber	<i>tonsor</i> *
<i>Tonstrix</i>	shearer of nap on woollen cloth ⁶⁴² , female hair-cutter ⁶⁴³	<i>tonstri</i> *
<i>Toreuticensis</i>	embosser	<i>toreut</i> *
<i>Tritor argentarius</i>	chaser of silver	<i>tritor</i> * <i>argentar</i> * <i>tritor</i> * <i>argent</i> *
<i>Vestiplicus</i>	clothes-folder, ironer ⁶⁴⁴	<i>vestiplic</i> *
<i>Unctor</i>	an anointer ⁶⁴⁵	<i>unctor</i> *
<i>Unguentarius</i>	dealer in unguents ⁶⁴⁶ , perfumer ⁶⁴⁷	<i>unguentari</i> *
<i>Vascularius</i>	maker of metal vessels	<i>vasculari</i> *
<i>Venalicius</i>	slave-dealer	<i>venalici</i> *
<i>Venator</i>	a slave that hunted on an estate. ⁶⁴⁸	<i>venator</i> *
<i>Vestiarus</i>	clothier	<i>vestiari</i> *
<i>Vestigator</i>	tracker (slave who located in advance animals and blocked their escape from the area in preparation for the hunt) ⁶⁴⁹	<i>vestigator</i> *
<i>Veterinarius</i>	veterinarian	<i>veterinari</i> *
<i>Victimarius</i>	assistant at sacrifices	<i>victimari</i> *
<i>Vilica</i>	female overseer of an estate, wife of an overseer ⁶⁵⁰	<i>vilic</i> * <i>villic</i> *
<i>Vilicus</i>	overseer of an estate, steward, baliff ⁶⁵¹	<i>vilic</i> * <i>villic</i> *

⁶³⁹ Treggiari (1980: 64).

⁶⁴⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘tector’).

⁶⁴¹ Simpson (1977: 602).

⁶⁴² Treggiari (1980: 64).

⁶⁴³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘tonstrix’).

⁶⁴⁴ *CIL* 6.9981; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319).

⁶⁴⁵ Simpson (1977: 623).

⁶⁴⁶ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘unguentarius’).

⁶⁴⁷ Treggiari (1980: 64)

⁶⁴⁸ Maxey (1938: 16).

⁶⁴⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘vestigator’); Maxey (1938: 18).

⁶⁵⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘vilica’).

⁶⁵¹ Simpson (1977: 642).

<i>Vinarius</i>	wine merchant	<i>vinari</i> *
<i>Violarius</i>	dyer in violet-colour ⁶⁵²	<i>violari</i> *
<i>Vitrearius</i>	maker of glassware ⁶⁵³	<i>vitrear</i> *

⁶⁵² Hildyard (1839: 164).

⁶⁵³ Glare (1982, repr. 2010, s.v. ‘vitrearius’, 2080).

Appendix 2

Plautus, Cato (the Elder), Varro, Cicero, Caesar and Sallust make no mention of the following Latin terms in respect to occupations. All the Latin occupational terms and most of the translations have been sourced from Treggiari (1980) unless otherwise stated.⁶⁵⁴

Latin term	Translation	Text searched through the Cross Database Searchtool
<i>Abietarius</i>	dealer in fir-wood ⁶⁵⁵	<i>abietar*</i>
<i>Albarius</i>	worker in stucco	<i>albari*</i> <i>albar*</i>
<i>Alipilus</i>	a slave who plucked under-arm hair from bathers ⁶⁵⁶	<i>alipil*</i>
<i>Aluminarius</i>	dealer in alum	<i>aluminar*</i>
<i>Anatiarius</i>	duck-seller	<i>anatiar*</i> <i>anatar*</i>
<i>Aromatarius</i>	dealer in spices ⁶⁵⁷	<i>aromatar*</i> <i>aromat*</i>
<i>Auri netrix</i>	spinner of gold thread ⁶⁵⁸	<i>net*</i>
<i>Auri vestrix</i>	a tailor of clothes in cloth of gold or embroider ⁶⁵⁹	<i>aur* vest*</i>
<i>Axearius</i>	axle-maker	<i>axeari*</i>
<i>Bibliopola/ Bybliopola</i>	bookseller ⁶⁶⁰	<i>bibliopol*</i> <i>bybliopol*</i>
<i>Brattarius</i>	gold-beater ⁶⁶¹	<i>brattiar*</i>
<i>Cabator/ cavator</i>	excavator	<i>cabat*</i> <i>cavat*</i>
<i>Caligarius</i>	boot-maker	<i>caligari*</i> <i>caligar*</i>
<i>Cancellarius</i>	door-keeper, porter ⁶⁶² Note: late Latin (AD 485-585)	<i>cancellari*</i>
<i>Capsarius</i>	maker of satchels, slave who carried his young master's	<i>capsar*</i>

⁶⁵⁴ Treggiari (1980: 61-64).

⁶⁵⁵ Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'abietarius').

⁶⁵⁶ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'alipilus').

⁶⁵⁷ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'aromatarius').

⁶⁵⁸ *Auri netrix*, ('a gold spinner' from 4th century AD); *CIL* 6.9213. See Gleba and Pasztokai-Szeoke (2013: 116 n.14); Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁶⁵⁹ *Auri vestrix* ('a tailor of clothes of gold'); *CIL* 6.9214. See Gleba and Pasztokai-Szeoke (2013: 116 n.14); Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁶⁶⁰ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'bibliopola'). For *bybliopola* see, Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁶⁶¹ Glare (1982, repr. 2010, s.v. 'brattarius', 241).

⁶⁶² Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'cancellarius').

	satchel to school ⁶⁶³	
<i>Cassidarius</i>	helmet-maker	<i>cassid*</i> <i>cassis*</i>
<i>Circi nuntius</i>	announcer of the circus	<i>ci* nunt*</i>
<i>Cisiarius</i>	the driver of a cabriolet ⁶⁶⁴	<i>cisiari*</i>
<i>Cocio</i>	dealer	<i>cocio*</i>
<i>Coriarius</i>	tanner, currier ⁶⁶⁵	<i>coriari*</i>
<i>Epippiarius</i>	horse-cloth maker	<i>epipp*</i>
<i>Exonerator calcariarius</i>	lime unloader	<i>exoner* calcar*</i>
<i>Fabarius</i>	bean seller	<i>fabari*</i>
<i>Faber automatarius</i>	machine-maker	<i>automatar*</i>
<i>Faber eborarius</i>	ivory-worker	<i>eborari*</i> <i>eborar*</i>
<i>Faber intestinarius</i>	inlayer, ⁶⁶⁶ specialist in finish carpentry and interior woodwork ⁶⁶⁷	<i>intestinar*</i>
<i>Faber lectarius</i>	joiner specialising in beds	<i>lectar*</i>
<i>Faber oculariarius</i>	specialist in inserting artificial eyes in statues ⁶⁶⁸	<i>ocular*</i>
<i>Faber subaedianus</i>	builder who worked on interiors	<i>subaed*</i>
<i>Faenarius</i>	dealer in hay	<i>faenar*</i>
<i>Flaturarius</i>	metal-caster ⁶⁶⁹	<i>flatur*</i>
<i>Gerulus</i>	porter	<i>gerul*</i>
<i>Gladiarius</i>	swordsmith	<i>gladiar*</i>
<i>Hordearia</i>	barley-seller	<i>hordear*</i>
<i>Horrearius</i>	storehouse man	<i>horrear*</i>
<i>Iatrolipta</i>	masseuse	<i>iatrolip*</i> <i>iat*</i>
<i>Iatromea</i>	midwife	<i>iatrom*</i> <i>iat*</i>
<i>Inaurator</i>	gilder	<i>inaur*</i>
<i>Inundator</i>	flooder	<i>inundat*</i>
<i>Iumentarius</i>	dealer in baggage animals	<i>iumentari*</i>
<i>Lagonarius</i>	bottle-seller	<i>lagonar*</i>
<i>Lanarius coactilarius</i>	felter	<i>coactil*</i>
<i>Lignarius</i>	dealer in wood	<i>lignar*</i>
<i>Loclarius</i>	box-maker	<i>loc*</i>
<i>Lorarius</i>	harness maker	<i>lorar*</i>

⁶⁶³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘capsarius’); Simpson (1977: 90); *Capsarius* (‘box-maker’) see, Treggiari (1980: 61).

⁶⁶⁴ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘cisiarius’).

⁶⁶⁵ Treggiari (1980: 61); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘coriarius’).

⁶⁶⁶ Treggiari (1980: 62).

⁶⁶⁷ *CIL* 6.8173; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 318-319).

⁶⁶⁸ *CIL* 6.9402; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319).

⁶⁶⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. ‘flaturarius’).

<i>Lyntrarius</i>	boatman	<i>lyntrar</i> *
<i>Machinator</i>	engineer	<i>machinate</i> *
<i>Molitor</i>	Slave that ground the grain consumed by the <i>familia rustica</i> on the estate. ⁶⁷⁰	<i>molitor</i> * <i>miloto</i> *
<i>Mulomedici</i>	mule-doctor ⁶⁷¹	<i>mulomedic</i> *
<i>Museiarius</i>	mosaicist	<i>museiar</i> *
<i>Nummularius</i>	money changer	<i>nummular</i> *
<i>Obsonator</i>	a slave who purchased, conserved and served food. ⁶⁷²	<i>obsonator</i> *
<i>Officinator</i>	owner of a workshop	<i>officinator</i> *
<i>Officinatrix</i>	female owner of a workshop ⁶⁷³	<i>officinatri</i> *
<i>Ornatix</i>	hairdresser	<i>ornatri</i> *
<i>Pavimentarius</i>	a maker of pavements ⁶⁷⁴	<i>pavimentar</i> *
<i>Pellio</i>	furrier	<i>pellio</i> *
<i>Pernarius</i>	seller of ham	<i>pernari</i> *
<i>Phasianarius</i>	a slave who cared for pheasants on a large estate ⁶⁷⁵	<i>phasianar</i> *
<i>Pistor candidarius</i>	baker of white bread ⁶⁷⁶	<i>pistor</i> * <i>candid</i> *
<i>Pistor similaginarius</i>	baker who used the finest wheat flour ⁶⁷⁷	<i>pisor</i> * <i>similaginar</i> * <i>pistor</i> * <i>simil</i> *
<i>Pistrinarius</i>	the manager of a <i>pistrinum</i> ⁶⁷⁸	<i>pistrinar</i> *
<i>Plastes</i>	potter, statuary	<i>plast</i> *
<i>Plumarius</i>	embroiderer with feathers	<i>plumar</i> *
<i>Plutarius</i>	maker of balustrades	<i>plutiar</i> * <i>plutear</i> *
<i>Politor eborarius</i>	ivory polisher	<i>politor</i> * <i>ebor</i> * <i>eborari</i> *
<i>Praeco vinorum</i>	crier of wines	<i>praeco</i> * <i>vin</i> * <i>praeco</i> * <i>uin</i> *
<i>Pugillarius</i>	maker of writing-tablets ⁶⁷⁹	<i>pugillar</i> *
<i>Purpurarius</i>	dyer and seller of purple cloth	<i>purpurar</i> *

⁶⁷⁰ Maxey (1938: 23).

⁶⁷¹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'mulomedici').

⁶⁷² Maxey (1938: 25).

⁶⁷³ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'officinatrix').

⁶⁷⁴ Treggiari (1980: 63); Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pavimentarius').

⁶⁷⁵ Maxey (1938: 20).

⁶⁷⁶ Maxey (1938: 21).

⁶⁷⁷ *CIL* 6.9812; Broekaert and Zuiderhoek (2013: 319).

⁶⁷⁸ Maxey (1938: 25).

⁶⁷⁹ Lewis and Short (1879, s.v. 'pugillarius'); *Pugillariarius* ('maker of writing tablets'), Treggiari (1980: 63).

<i>Resinaria</i>	dealer in resin	<i>resinaria</i> * <i>resinar</i> *
<i>Restio</i>	rope-maker	<i>restio</i> *
<i>Saccarius</i>	porter of sacks	<i>saccari</i> * <i>saccar</i> *
<i>Salsamentarius</i>	dealer in salted fish	<i>salsamentar</i> *
<i>Salsarius</i>	salter	<i>salsar</i> *
<i>Scalptor</i>	sculptor	<i>scalptor</i> *
<i>Scapiaria</i>	maker or seller of vessels called <i>scaphia</i>	<i>scapiar</i> *
<i>Scriptor titulorum</i>	sign-writer	<i>scriptor</i> * <i>titul</i> *
<i>Sector serrarius</i>	sawyer	<i>sector</i> * <i>serrari</i> *
<i>Segmentarius</i>	maker of strips, ribbons and borders	<i>segmentar</i> *
<i>Semisonarius</i>	apron-maker ⁶⁸⁰	<i>semisonar</i> *
<i>Sericarius</i>	seller of silk	<i>sericari</i> *
<i>Sigillarius</i>	maker of figurines	<i>sigillari</i> * <i>sigillar</i> *
<i>Signarius</i>	sculptor	<i>signari</i> *
<i>Solarius</i>	maker of women's shoes	<i>solat</i> *
<i>Speclarius</i>	glazier	<i>speclar</i> *
<i>Suarius</i>	livestock dealer	<i>suari</i> *
<i>Subrutor</i>	demolition man	<i>subrut</i> *
<i>Tesselarius</i>	maker of dice or <i>tessellae</i>	<i>tesselar</i> * <i>tessel</i> *
<i>Thurarius</i>	incense-seller	<i>thurari</i> * <i>thurar</i> *
<i>Tibiarius</i>	flute-maker	<i>tibiari</i> *
<i>Toreuticensis</i>	embosser	<i>toreut</i> *
<i>Tritor argentarius</i>	chaser of silver	<i>tritor</i> * <i>argentar</i> * <i>tritor</i> * <i>argent</i> *
<i>Vestiarius</i>	clothier	<i>vestiari</i> *
<i>Veterinarius</i>	veterinarian	<i>veterinari</i> *
<i>Victimarius</i>	assistant at sacrifices	<i>victimari</i> *
<i>Vitrearius</i>	maker of glassware ⁶⁸¹	<i>vitrear</i> *

⁶⁸⁰ Hildyard (1839: 167).

⁶⁸¹ Glare (1982, repr. 2010, s.v. 'vitrearius', 2080).

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