

Appendix 3

A CATALOG OF POSSIBLE  
PROSTITUTES AT POMPEII

The names given below are not exhaustive regarding all known, or knowable, Pompeian female prostitutes, though at minimum the list includes all prostitutes whose names are found in this book. I also include males who are said to charge a price for sex and note their gender after their names. I would appreciate learning of missing names.

A word of caution is in order here. Of all the elements of this book, this one comes closest simply to replicating Roman misogyny. In fact, that is very nearly the point. My intent is to list the women whom the Romans identify, or appear to identify, as prostitutes. I cannot be absolutely certain that any of these identifications is correct.<sup>102</sup> Allegations of promiscuity, or the willingness to perform a sexual act, are just that. So I do not, for example, write “allegedly offers fellatio.” Most if not all of this evidence, inscriptions in the form of casual graffiti, involves mere allegation.

My aim then is to be as cautious as possible. When a woman’s name is simply found, as it often is at Pompeii, on the wall of an establishment that can be identified as a brothel and/or a tavern, I note that the name is “identified from context.” When the rationale is more tenuous, I indicate this explicitly, as in “identified from context: next door to a tavern.”<sup>103</sup> Given the uncertainty that

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102. For those readers without Latin, please note that “Incerta” refers to a prostitute whose name is unknown.

103. I acknowledge my debt to a preliminary list of Pompeian prostitutes collected by Evans, *War* (1991) 218. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 102–18, is also a good source of information about Pompeian prostitutes.

lingers over the identification of brothels, I refrain from explicit attempts at linking possible prostitutes with possible brothels, at least for now. This list is intended merely as a convenience and not as a tool to be deployed in a circular process of identification of both prostitutes and brothels.<sup>104</sup>

The Pompeian evidence offers several women as possible prostitutes with the same or a similar name. Rarely if ever can we be certain that these are the same person, though individuals with a penchant for statistical analysis should be warned that this uncertainty cuts both ways. It is possible that more than one woman named Fortunata worked at the same brothel, just as it is possible that the same Fortunata worked in more than one brothel. I have tried to eliminate obvious duplicates but have not pressed too hard.

Another uncertainty militating against resort to such analysis is that surrounding the chronology of the inscriptions. Not all of these women, if they were indeed prostitutes, need have worked at the same time. We might assume that nearly all of the inscriptions date close to the destruction of the city in A.D. 79, but we should note the case of Tyche, whose inscription, a very rare dated example, derives from 3 B.C.

Once again, to be clear, there is no guarantee that even women explicitly identified as prostitutes by the ancient sources were so in actual fact.<sup>105</sup> My ultimate purpose in providing this list is to facilitate further research on Roman prostitution and misogyny.

The meaning of the term *verna* in the Pompeian epigraphs is uncertain; scholars are unable to choose between “native Pompeian” or “home-born slave.”<sup>106</sup> No discussion of prostitutes’ names is possible in this place, but it is worth noting that the Pompeian evidence for names suggests that most prostitutes were slaves, ex-slaves, or at minimum lived in social conditions close to slavery.<sup>107</sup>

Acria. Price: 4 asses. *CIL* 4.4259.

Aegle. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.7862.

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104. There is a long tradition of more or less creative reconstruction of the “love life” of the people of Pompeii: Della Valle, “Amore” (1937); Della Corte, *Amori e amanti* (1958); D’Avino, *Women of Pompeii* (c. 1964); Gigante, *Civiltà* (1979) 203–21.

105. See the cautious approach taken by Savunen, *Women* (1997) 103, 107–8 (cf. her position on the women whose names are found at the Pompeian address 9.14.4); Cantarella, *Pompeii* (1998) 75.

106. Treggiari, “Lower Class Women” (1979) 84 n. 36; Eichenauer, *Arbeitswelt* (1988) 121; Herrmann-Otto, *Ex Ancilla Natus* (1994) 344–46.

107. The arguments of Allison, “Placing Individuals” (2001) that Greek names are evidence of the survival of an ethnic community, whatever their merits, find no place here.

- Afillia. Price: 2 ½ asses. *CIL* 4.7764.<sup>108</sup>  
Afra (Helpis). (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2993zg.  
Afrodite. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1382, 1384.  
Amaryllis. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1510 (cf. 1507 [weaver]): possibly mere insult).  
Amunus (male). Price: 4 asses. *CIL* 4.3964.  
Anedia (?). (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2269.  
Anthis. (Identified from context: next door to a tavern). *CIL* 4.8218a–b; cf. f–g.  
Aplonia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2197.  
Apronia Secundina. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.7062–63.<sup>109</sup>  
Arbuscula. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.7068.  
Arria. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8911.<sup>110</sup>  
Asellina. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.7863, 7873.  
Aspasia. Offers fellatio (?). *CIL* 4.10129.  
Athenais. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.4150.  
Attica. Price: 16 asses. *CIL* 4.1751.  
Attica. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2172.  
Attine. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.2258.  
Beronice. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2198, 2256.  
Callidrome. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2206.  
Camudia. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.8449.  
Capella Bacchis. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8238, 8246.  
Cestilia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2413h.  
Chloe. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1646.<sup>111</sup>  
Cicada. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2993db.  
Cosconia. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.8124.<sup>112</sup>  
Cresimus (male). Price: 4 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.3964.  
Cressa. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2215.  
Culibonia. Nickname for a prostitute? *CIL* 4.8473.  
Dafne. (identified from context: near a crib). *CIL* 4.680.

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108. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 106, is skeptical of the identification as a prostitute (she also treats Afillia and Ianuaria as one person).

109. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

110. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

111. See the discussion in Savunen, *Women* (1997) 104.

112. See Solin, "Pompeiana" (1968) 108–11, whose reading of "lena" is unpersuasive, however.

- Dionusia (or Itonusia, the preferred reading). Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1425.
- Drauca. Price: 1 denarius (= 16 asses). *CIL* 4.2193.
- Egidia. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.4192.
- Epafra. Price: 10 asses. *CIL* 4.4259.
- Euclia. Price: 2 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5345; 5372?
- Euplia. *CIL* 4.2310b; 5048 (*filia* or fellatio? Price of 5 asses?); cf. 10004.
- Eutychis Graeca. Price: 2 asses. "Moribus bellis." *CIL* 4.4592, 4593(?).
- Fabia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2239.
- Fabia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2413m + p. 222.
- Faustia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1636.
- Faustilla. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.2288.
- Felic(u)la. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.2199–2200.
- Felic(u)la. Price: 2 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.4023; 4066; cf. 8917, 9051a.<sup>113</sup>
- Felicula. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.8711a.
- Felix (male). Price: 1 as (for fellatio). *CIL* 4.5408.
- Firma. Price: 3 asses. *CIL* 4.4259.
- Firma. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.8454.
- Fortunata. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2224, 2259, 2275.<sup>114</sup>
- Fortunata. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2310e, 10005.
- Fortunata. Price: 23 asses. *CIL* 4.8034.
- Fortunata. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.8185.<sup>115</sup>
- Fortunata. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8984.
- Fyllis. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.7057.
- Glycera. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5120.
- Glyco. Offers cunnilingus; *halicaria*. 2 asses. *CIL* 4.3999, 4001.<sup>116</sup>
- Helpis. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2189.
- Ianuarina. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2201a, 2227a, 2233, 2236.
- Ianuarina. Price: 2 ½ asses. *CIL* 4.7764.<sup>117</sup>
- Ianuarina. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.8361.
- Ianuarina. Offers fellatio (?) *CIL* 4.8465b.
- Ias. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1379, 2174.

113. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 106, is skeptical.

114. On Fortunata, see also *CIL* 4.111: Marcellum Fortunata cupit.

115. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 106, is skeptical.

116. *Halicaria* is perhaps not relevant to her prostitution, but instead suggests she may have been a part-timer: see chap. 2.

117. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 106, is skeptical; also identifies Ianuarina and Afillia as the same person.

- Incerta. Price: 2 ½ asses. *CIL* 4.4150.  
 Incerta. Price: uncertain. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.4593.  
 Incerta (Al . . . re?). Price: 5 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5204.  
 Incerta. Price: 2 (?) asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5206.  
 Incerta. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.5372.  
 Incerta. Offers fellatio. Price: 3 asses. *CIL* 4.8160.  
 Incerta. Price: 8 asses. *CIL* 4.8187.  
 Incerta. Price: 10 asses. *CIL* 4.8357b.  
 Incerta. Price: 4 asses. *CIL* 4.10078a.  
 Ionas (or Ionis). Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2402, 2403, 2404, 2406.  
 Isidorus (male). Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.4441, 4699 (cunnilingus; *verna*),  
 4700.  
 Itonusia (or Dionusia). Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1425.  
 Iucunda. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1376, 1379, 1380, 1385.  
 Iucunda. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1633, 1643.  
 Lais. Offers cunnilingus. *CIL* 4.1578.  
 La(h)is. Price: 2 asses (for fellatio). *CIL* 4.1969.  
 Libanis. Price 2 asses (for fellatio). *CIL* 4.2028 + p. 704.  
 Logas. Price: 8 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5203.  
 Lucilla. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.1948.  
 Macula. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2993db.  
 Mandata (?). (identified from context). *CIL* 4.3922.<sup>118</sup>  
 Maria (?). Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1840.  
 Maria. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.7866.  
 Maria. Price: 2 ½ asses. *CIL* 4.8224.  
 Maritimus (male). Price: 4 asses (for cunnilingus). *CIL* 4.8939, 8940.  
 Menander (male). Price 2 asses. “Bellis moribus.” *CIL* 4.4024.  
 Methe. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.4434.  
 Midusa. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.4196.  
 Mula. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.2203, 2204.  
 Mula (or Mummia). Price (?): 2 asses (for fellatio). *CIL* 4.8185.<sup>119</sup>  
 Myrine. (identified from context; price of 7 asses?). *CIL* 4.1402,  
 10033b, c.  
 Myrtale. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2268, 2271.  
 Myrtis. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2273, 2292, 2293.  
 Mystis. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1639.

118. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 109, is skeptical.

119. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 106, is skeptical.

- Naereia or Nereia.<sup>120</sup> Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.8394.
- Nebris (or Naebris). (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5118, 5145, 5146.
- Nica Glaphyrine. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1664.
- Nice. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2178a, 2278.
- Nicepor (male). Price: 2 (?) asses.<sup>121</sup> *CIL* 4.3964.
- Nicopolis. (identified from context: next door to a tavern). *CIL* 4.8218a, d–e (cf. 8171).<sup>122</sup>
- Nymphe. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1389.
- Optata. Price: 2 asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5105.
- Palmyra (?). (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8475.
- Panta. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2178b.
- Parte. Price: “sescentaria” (i.e., “astronomical”). *CIL* 4.4398.
- Parthenope. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5108.
- Phoebe. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5125.
- Pieris. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.5338.
- Pitane. Price: 3 asses. *CIL* 4.4439.
- Prima. Price: 1 as. *CIL* 4.8241, 8248, 8270.
- Primigenia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.3916 (cf. 3957).<sup>123</sup>
- Primigenia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8988.
- Primilla. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8360.
- Pyramis. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1382a.
- Pyris. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.4158.
- Quartilla. (identified from context: next door to a tavern). *CIL* 4.8212a–b, 8218k–l.<sup>124</sup>
- Quinta. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.10038d.
- Quintilia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1634.
- Restituta. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.1374 (reading uncertain).
- Restituta. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1631, 1665.<sup>125</sup>
- Restituta. (identified from context; “Bellis moribus”). *CIL* 4.2202.

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120. I owe these versions of the name to Dr. Antonio Varone, p.c.

121. See the editorial note on *CIL* 4.3964.

122. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

123. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, 109, is skeptical.

124. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

125. These two inscriptions lie across the street from each other at 7.6.34–36 and 7.15. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 111–12, with n. 156, persuasively links them to the same woman. For another example, see n. 129.

- Restituta. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.3951.  
Rufa. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1629a.  
Rufa. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.2421.  
Rufilla. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1651.  
Rupinus (male). Price: 2 (?) asses. *Verna*. *CIL* 4.5205, 5206.  
Rusatia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2262.  
Rustica. Offers cunnilingus. *CIL* 4.4264.  
Sabina. Price: 2 asses. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.4150, 4185.  
Salvia. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1427.  
Satria. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8294.  
Secunda. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1376, 1377, 1381.  
Serena. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.3928, 3929, 3930.  
Serena. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.8978.  
Sergia Compse. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.10171.<sup>126</sup>  
Setia. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1580.<sup>127</sup>  
Somene. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5122, 5123.  
Sop(h)e. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.5095.  
Spendusa. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1403.  
Spes. Price: 9 asses. "Moribus bellis." *CIL* 4.5127.  
Spes. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.8511.<sup>128</sup>  
Successa. Price: 5 asses. *Verna*. "Bellis moribus." *CIL* 4.4025.  
Successa. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5104, 5131, 5137, 5150,  
5153.  
Successa. (identified from context: next door to a tavern). *CIL* 4.8211.  
Successus (male). Price: 3 asses. *CIL* 4.3964.  
Synoris. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1397, 1398(?), 1408.  
Terna. Offers sex. *CIL* 4.4816.  
Timele. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.1378, 1387–1388a.  
Tyche. Price: 5 asses. *CIL* 4.2450. (3 B.C.).  
Tyndaris. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5190.  
Valeria. Offers fellatio. *CIL* 4.10033a.  
Veneria. Offers fellatio or masturbation. *CIL* 4.1391.

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126. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

127. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

128. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 107, is skeptical.

Veneria. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.1642, 4836.<sup>129</sup>

Veneria. Price: 2 asses. *CIL* 4.8465a.

Victoria. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.2221, 2225–28.

Vibia Iucunda. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.5113.

Vitalio (male). Price: 4 asses. *CIL* 4.4277.

Zmyrina. (identified from context). *CIL* 4.7863–64, cf. 7221.

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129. These two inscriptions lie across the street from each other at 7.6.34–36 and 7.15. Savunen, *Women* (1997) 111–12, with n. 156, persuasively links them to the same woman. For another example, see n. 125.