

USING WATER "UNCHASTELY": CICERO *PRO CAELIO* 34 AGAIN—ADDENDUM

JAMES L. BUTRICA

IN BUTRICA 1999 I ARGUED, in response to Bruun 1997, that the use of water by women for douching after sexual intercourse was well enough attested that the words given to Appius Claudius at *Cael.* 34, *ideo aquam adduxi, ut ea tu incede uterere?* ("Did I bring water for you to use it unchastely?"), can be understood without resort to Bruun's suggestion that Cicero is characterizing Clodia as a prostitute by alluding to an illegal use of water by certain Roman brothels.

At the time, however, I was unaware of the evidence for a special connection between prostitutes and the use of water. This is the word *aquariolus*, defined in the *OLD* as "a servant who supplied washing-water for prostitutes." The ancient source for this definition is Paulus: *aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudicarum sordidi adseculae* (p. 22M). Apuleius uses the word as a generic insult against a cuckold who, even worse, is alleged to assist in his wife's infidelities (*Apol.* 78.1: *aquariolus iste uxoris suae*). There is a further echo of the concept, though not the word itself, in the *Historia Augusta*, where it is said of Commodus that, among other forms of low behaviour, he *aquam gessit ut lenonum minister* (*Comm.* 2.9).¹ This should occasion no surprise; if water was essential for douching after intercourse, a brothel would obviously have an especially urgent need for a constant and reliable supply, and it should be no more surprising that the slaves who toted the water acquired a special title. But the existence of the *aquarioli* as a distinct group also suggests another possible dimension to Cicero's prosopopoeia of App. Claudius. When Cicero has him ask, "Did I bring water [*aquam adduxi*] for you to use it unchastely?", we are perhaps to understand, "Did you think I was your *aquariolus* when I built the Aqua Appia?"

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICS
MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND
ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND
A1C 5S7

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¹Note also the collocation *lenones, perductores, aquarioli* at Tertullian *Apol.* 43.