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Communal dining in the Roman West : private munificence towards cities and associations in the first three centuries AD

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COMMUNAL DINING IN THE ROMAN WEST

Private Munificence Towards Cities and Associations in the First Three Centuries AD

Shanshan Wen

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Front cover image: An inscription from Castulo in Hispania Tarraconensis, *CILA* III, 101 = *AE* 1958, 4, referring to a benefactress Cornelia Marullina who decorated the city with silver statues, provided public banquets and paid for circus games
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COMMUNAL DINING IN THE ROMAN WEST

Private Munificence Towards Cities and Associations in the First Three Centuries AD

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Contents

List of Figures ix
List of Maps xi
Abbreviations xiii
Note on epigraphic conventions xv
Acknowledgements xvii

Chapter 1 Roman dining in context: from commensality to private munificence 1
1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Definition and terminology of privately sponsored communal dining 7
1.3 Two perspectives on privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman world 10
1.3.1 Categories of Roman commensality 10
1.3.2 Privately sponsored communal dining as a form of '*euergetism*' 15
1.4 Quantification and interpretation 18
1.5 Evidence and structure 19

Chapter 2 Benefactors of public dining in western cities 23
2.1 Typology of benefactors 24
2.1.1 Collective benefactors 24
2.1.2 Individual benefactors 27
2.2 Categories of benefactions 35
2.2.1 Office-related food gifts 37
2.2.2 Responsive benefactions 40
2.2.3 Voluntary benefactions 43
2.2.4 Testamentary benefactions 46
2.3 Aims and concerns of benefactors: emic perspectives 47
2.3.1 Patriotic zeal and emotional attachment to local communities 47
2.3.2 Religious beliefs 48
2.3.3 Concern for the well-being of emperors 49
2.3.4 Birthdays and posthumous commemorations 50
2.4 The political and social dynamics behind privately sponsored food gifts 52

2.5 Conclusions 57

Chapter 3 Beneficiaries and the 'concept of community' 61

3.1 Beneficiary groups 61

3.1.1 Participation frequency 62

3.1.2 Different groups in detail 66

3.2 Benefaction arrangements 81

3.2.1 Distinctions between different beneficiaries belonging to various status groups 82

3.2.2 Distinction between the two genders 85

3.3 The 'concept of community': from Republic to Empire 88

3.3.1 Civic community under the Republic 89

3.3.2 Continuity and development in the imperial period 90

Chapter 4 Communal dining in the associations: a miniature of public dining? 93

4.1 Communal dining in the associations 94

4.1.1 *Augustales* 94

4.1.2 *Iuvenes* 95

4.1.3 *Tria collegia* 96

4.1.4 Other professional and religious associations 96

4.2 Collegial dining in context 97

4.2.1 Beneficiaries and benefactions 97

4.2.2 Benefactors of collegial dining 101

4.2.3 Circumstances surrounding donations 112

4.2.4 Aims and concerns of benefactors: emic perspectives 122

4.2.5 Etic perspectives on collegial dining in Italy and the western provinces 127

4.3 Conclusions 128

Chapter 5 Geographical distribution of privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman West 131

5.1 The geographical distribution of privately sponsored public dining 131

5.1.1 Regional differences: distribution in Italy and the western provinces 131

5.1.2 City differences: distribution in western towns 149

5.2 The geographical distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining 156

5.2.1 Distribution of collegial dining in western regions and towns 156

5.2.2 Contextualization of geographical distribution 158

5.3 Conclusions 162

Chapter 6 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman West 165

6.1 The emergence of privately sponsored public banquets in Republican Rome 166

6.2 Emperors and munificence in imperial Rome 169

6.3 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining in Italy and the western provinces 173

6.3.1 Patterns of the chronological distribution 173

6.3.2 Chronological distribution in Italy and the western provinces: regional differences 176

6.4 Contextualization of the development and decline of privately sponsored public dining 178

6.4.1 Comparison between different benefactions 178

6.4.2 Economic growth, inequality and munificence 182

6.4.3 Changes in the political culture 183

6.4.4 Social and political changes in the later Empire 187

6.5 Chronological distribution pattern of privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and *Augustales* 188

6.6 Contextualization of privately sponsored collegial dining 190

6.6.1 Chronological developments 190

6.6.2 Concluding observations 194

6.7 Conclusions 195

Conclusion 197

Appendix I Epigraphic references to privately sponsored public dining 205

Appendix II Epigraphic references to privately sponsored collegial dining 261

Appendix III Benefactors of public dining 271

Appendix IV Western towns yielding evidence of privately sponsored public dining 293

Appendix V Western towns yielding evidence of privately sponsored colleigal dining 301

Bibliography 305

Samenvatting 325

Curriculum Vitae 333

List of Figures

Figure 2.1	Male benefactors (n=235)	30
Figure 2.2	Female benefactors (n=56)	35
Figure 2.3	Cyclical pattern of responsive benefactions	41
Figure 3.1	Beneficiary groups under different circumstances of munificence	62
Figure 3.2	Beneficiaries participation frequency in terms of benefactor's gender	64
Figure 3.3	Beneficiaries during different periods	65
Figure 3.4	Distinctions between different food benefactions received by various status groups	82
Figure 3.5	Food benefactions for the two genders	87
Figure 3.6	Beneficiaries under the Republic	90
Figure 3.7	Comparisons between beneficiaries under the Republic and the Empire	91
Figure 5.1	Epigraphic density in the western provinces	132
Figure 5.2	Distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in the western empire	133
Figure 5.3	Comparison between epigraphic density and the number of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in selected western provinces	136
Figure 5.4	Distribution of Caesarian and Augustan colonization in Africa	140
Figure 5.5	Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in Africa	140
Figure 5.6	Distribution of Caesarian and Augustan colonization in Spain	140
Figure 5.7	Distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in Spain	140
Figure 5.8	Distribution of inscriptions recording magistrates in the north-western provinces	146
Figure 5.9	Pie charts showing the proportion of different offices attested in the north-western provinces and in Lugdunum	147
Figure 5.10	Distribution of magistrates in the northern Alpine regions	147
Figure 5.11	Distribution of magistrates in Spain	148
Figure 5.12	Cities yielding more than three (>3) inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining	150

Figure 5.13 Comparison between the number of cities and the number of cities with attestations of privately sponsored public dining in terms of size in *Regio* I 151
Figure 5.14 Comparison between the number of different benefactions in attested Italian towns in terms of town size 154
Figure 5.15 Comparison between the number of different benefactions in attested Italin towns in proportion to the total number of towns of different sizes 154
Figure 5.16 Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in North African and Spanish towns belonging to various size brackets 155
Figure 5.17 Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored collegial dining in different regions 157
Figure 5.18 Comparison of the number of towns in terms of yielding evidence referring to *collegia*, privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and to privately funded public dining 159
Figure 6.1 Chronological distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining over the centuries 174
Figure 6.2 Chronological distribution of Latin inscriptions over the centuries 174
Figure 6.3 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining by emperor's reign and a comparison with the epigraphic habit 175
Figure 6.4 Chronological distribution by regions (1) 177
Figure 6.5 Chronological distribution by regions (2) 177
Figure 6.6 Comparison of chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining between North Africa and other western regions 179
Figure 6.7 Comparison of chronological distribution between privately sponsored public dining and public building in the Roman West 180
Figure 6.8 Comparison of chronological distribution between distributions of *sportulae* and privately sponsored public dining in Italy 181
Figure 6.9 Chronological distribution of inscriptions referring to benefactresses of public dining 185
Figure 6.10 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining over the centuries 189
Figure 6.11 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining by emperor's reign and a comparison with that of private munificence on public dining 190

List of Maps

Map 5.1 The communities of Italy and the western provinces which produced inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining 134

Map 5.2 Distribution of urban centres in the Roman Empire 137

Map 5.3 The communities of Italy and the western provinces which produced inscriptions referring to privately sponsored collegial dining 157

Abbreviations

Names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated according to the standard practice used in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. For epigraphic collections, the abbreviations are as follows:

AE	*L'Année Épigraphique* (Paris 1888-).
BCTH	*Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* (Paris 1883-1973).
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin 1863–).
CILA	*Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía* (Sevilla 1989-).
CLE	*Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (Leipzig 1930).
Dougga	*Dougga, fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées* (Bordeaux-Tunis 2000).
EAOR	*Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano (*Roma 1988-).
EMarsi	*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* (Milan 1975).
HEp	*Hispania Epigraphica* (Madrid 1989–).
IANice	*Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez (Cemenelum, Ager Cemenelensis)* (Paris 1975).
IDRE	*Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptiones extra fines Daciae repertae* (Bukarest 1996-).
IEAquil	*Itinerari epigrafici Aquileiesi* (Trieste 2003).
ILAfr	*Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)* (Paris 1923).
ILAlg	*Inscriptions latines d'Algérie* (Paris 1922-).
ILGN	*Inscriptions latines de Gaule (Narbonnaise)* (Paris 1929).
ILLRP	*Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* (Florence 1965).
ILMMalaga	*Inscripciones latinas del museo de MáIaga* (Madrid 1981).

ILTun	*Inscriptions latines de la Tunesie* (Pais 1944).
ILS	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin 1892-1916).
IMustis	*Mustitana: Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis, cité romaine de Tunisie* (Paris 1968).
InscrAqu	*Inscriptiones Aquileiae, I-III* (Udine 1991-1993).
InscrIt	*Inscriptiones Italiae* (Rome 1931-).
IRAlmeria	*Inscripciones romanas de Almería* (Almería 1980).
IRPCadiz	*Inscripciones romanas de la provincia de Cádiz* (Cádiz 1982).
Pais	*Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementa Italica* (Rome 1884).
Pisaurum	Cresci Marrone, G. and G. Mennella, *Pisaurum* (Pisa 1984).
SupIt	*Supplementa ItaIica* (Rome 1981-).

Note on epigraphic conventions

Inscriptions are presented without abbreviations in this book and translated in accordance with epigraphic conventions:

(abc)	expansion of abbreviated texts, insertion of missing letters
[abc]	letters or words that are missing in the original text but have been restored
]	blank of unknown length at the beginning
[	blank of unknown length at the end
[[abc]]	letters which were erased in antiquity
<e=F>	correction of the original text
{abc}	letters which were cut in error
[---]	letters of uncertain number
/	division of lines
Sic !	mistakes in the original text

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Leiden, March 2018

Chapter 1

Roman dining in context: from commensality to private munificence

1.1 Introduction

Modern anthropologists, philosophers and historians agree that 'dining' is more than just a form of 'eating'. As Yuval Lurie puts it in his monograph *Cultural Beings*, 'eating is a natural activity through which living creatures nourish themselves by taking food into their bodies. Dining is a cultural custom through which human beings eat in a refined, rule-governed manner'.[1] Consequently, eating is a biological instinct inherent in living beings, whereas dining is a product of human society. People across various cultures have created different dining habits. Nevertheless, there seems at least one common practice: humans tend to eat together.

Commensality has long been identified as a fundamental social activity. Eating with family members, friends, fellow members of an association or other people from the community is what human beings have done since ancient times. From the time of the Sumerian cities to that of the Greek *poleis*, from early-dynastic Egypt to China under the Qin-Han dynasties, the practice of sharing food and drink was ubiquitous in the ancient world, as shown by the Greek *deipnon* or symposium, by Chinese family banquets, by the Hellenistic royal banquets and by the Sumerian and Egyptian temple feasts.[2] Richard S. Ascough states that, 'people eat because they have to do so; people eat with other people because they choose to do so'.[3]

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[1] Lurie (2000), 37.

[2] Ancient dining practice was long treated as a trivial matter. During the past few decades, there has been an upsurge of interest in this subject. I can only mention some works here. On the ancient Greek *symposion*, see, for example, Murray (1983a); Murray (1983b); Murray (1990); Schmitt-Pantel (1990); Wecowski (2014) and papers in Slater (1991). On Greek city banquets see Schmitt-Pantel (1992); Schmitt-Pantel (1997). On Hellenistic royal meals, see Nielsen and Sigismund Nielsen (1998), 102-133. For a brief account of extravagant dining habits in the cities of Han China, see Loewe (1968), 140. For a comparison of gender relations between Ancient China and Greece in the context of banquets, see Zhou (2010). On feasting in the Ancient Near East: Bottéro (1994); Pollock (2003); Schmandt-Besserat (2001); Smith (2003); Burkert (1991).

Previous studies of Roman commensality

The subject of Roman dining practices was first raised in the Renaissance, when scholars combed through ancient literary materials and systematized their findings.[4] During the nineteenth and early twentieth century, Roman eating habits were considered a part of Roman 'private life' or 'daily life' and were often referred to as such in the handbooks.[5] These contributions were primarily based on literary sources and these suffered from at least two deficiencies: a natural tendency to focus on the upper classes and the inherent difficulty of expanding the research scope beyond eating and dining as a daily habit in order to fill the stomach.[6]

More than a century ago, various issues pertaining to commensality began to be explored by social scientists. As early as the nineteenth century, in his study of sacrificial meals, William Robertson Smith points out that, 'those who eat and drink together are by this very act tied to one another by a bond of friendship and mutual obligation'.[7] In the twentieth century the subject of commensality continued to attract attention, particularly because of the way in which it illuminated and created boundaries between groups and established social bonds.[8]

In the field of Roman history, it was not until the late twentieth century that studies of dining shifted towards thorough and more nuanced analyses. A distinguishing feature of the literature of this period is that it paid close attention to the 'functions' of Roman dining activities. John H. D'Arms launched a discussion about the social functions of Roman communal meals in an article published in 1984. He raised issues about the mechanisms of *hospitium* and reciprocity embedded in social dining, the societal needs met by feasting, the role of public feasting in promoting social harmony and exerting social control, and also the co-existence of equality and hierarchy in private *convivia*.[9] In his subsequent research on public feasting in private

---

See Alcock (2006), 181-225 for ancient eating habits in general. Feasting, as an important type of dining activities, has been paid attention by sociologists, archaeologists, ethnographers and anthropologists, see, for example, Hayden (2014); Bray (2003); Dietler and Hayden (2001); Kerner, Chou and Warmind (2015).

[3] Ascough (2008), 34-35.

[4] For example, Pedro Chacón (Petrus Ciacconius Toletanus) was known for his exploration of the dining customs of the ancient Romans, see Chacón (1588) and a second edition with appendix by Fulvio Orsini, Chacón (1590); this edition was completed by the dissertation of Girolamo Mercuriale (Hieronymus Mercurialis), see Chacón, Orsini and Mercuriale (1664) and Chacón, Orsini and Mercuriale (1689); see also Bacci (1596); Stucki (1582).

[5] Becker (1844), 123-141, 355-382; Marquardt (1886), 289-330; Friedländer (1908), Vol. 2, 146-164; Blümner (1911), 385-419; Carcopino (1940), 287-300; Balsdon (1969), 32-55.

[6] Dunbabin (2003a), 5, also mentions that such studies were 'in a largely synchronic form that took little account of variations over time'.

[7] Smith (1889/1927), 265 (reference is to the third edition, 1927).

[8] E.g. Mauss (1954); Lévi-Strauss (1964); Douglas (1966); Simmel (1910/1997).

[9] D'Arms (1984), 327-348. See also D'Arms (1990), 308-320.

settings, he has focused on Caesar's *horti trans Tiberim* and points out that public feasts were cleverly stage-managed by Caesar to 'promote his personal political aims … and bring further political advantage', 'setting a new standard for Roman *principes* … and for municipal magistrates'.[10] He builds on his argument by taking P. Lucilius Gamala's munificent feasts as examples to demonstrate that Caesar did indeed provide an exemplary role model for municipal notables.[11]

Similar arguments can be found in the work of Van Nijf, who views public commensality as a way by which existing hierarchical structures of society were reinforced and a means to define the status of various groups.[12] On the basis of his examination of commensal activities of *collegia*, he argues that 'banquets could either emphasise and magnify internal differences or gloss over them in order to represent the participants as equal'.[13]

In 2004 John F. Donahue provided the first comprehensive examination of public feasts in the Roman West during the Principate.[14] His investigation of Roman communal feasts sheds light on the functions which public meals could perform: 'to unite and to classify celebrants by social rank'.[15] Donahue's focus is on communal meals on any public occasion - whether sponsored by emperors, public resources or private money.

More recently Richard S. Ascough has paid attention to the social and political aspects of associational meals. He sees the two principal functions of association meals as the building of group identity and the integration of the association into the wider society.[16] Jinyu Liu, who focuses on the social and religious aspects of the collegial feasts, has also observed the hierarchical settings which became visible when *collegia* participated in public commensality.[17]

Roman commensality and power relations are, then, generally seen as closely related. D'Arms argues that a powerful host could display his wealth and strengthen his influence in existing hierarchies by providing a spectacle in the form of a lavish banquet. Importantly, the roles assumed by the hosts and guests during the course of such a spectacle/banquet defined and expressed their own ranks and status in the society.[18] These hierarchical structures are best observed at the banquets of which the host was either a king or an emperor. In his monograph on the banquets of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors, Konrad Vössing shows that a royal Hellenistic banquet

[10] D'Arms (1998), esp. 42-43.
[11] D'Arms (2000a), 192-200.
[12] Van Nijf (1997), 149-188.
[13] Van Nijf (1997), 53.
[14] Donahue (2004a). For a new and expanded edition, see Donahue (2017).
[15] Donahue (2017), 1.
[16] Ascough (2012), 59-69.
[17] Liu (2009), 251-252.
[18] D'Arms (1999), 301-319.

served to affirm the superior position of the king and that, in a later era, Roman emperors would also ensure that their powerful position was reaffirmed in what were on the face of convivial occasions.[19] Behind the scenes of perhaps seemingly harmonious gatherings at which meals were shared, hierarchical power structures remained firmly intact.

Besides hosts and guests, the role of servants at *conviva* has also been investigated. D'Arms has examined the duties of dining-room slaves, as well as their rewards and punishments, during the Principate.[20] Dunbabin draws upon iconographical materials of the third and fourth century to explore the depictions of servants in contemporary art. She has noticed that the theme of waiting servants became popular in artistic culture in the later empire and argues that this trend reflected the aspiration of the elite to display their wealth, status and luxurious life-style in visual representations.[21] Carly Daniel-Hughes has discussed the relationship between the sex trade and the institution of slavery in the context of dining in the imperial period. In this author's view, dining-room slaves' sexual availability to the participants of banquets was 'an extension of slavery in the context of meal culture'.[22]

The display of gender and family relations in dining practices is another topic which has attracted scholarly attention. In the context of the Roman family, Keith Bradley observes that the Roman dinner was male-dominated. A man would prefer to have dinner with his male friends or male relatives rather than with his wife or children. In Bradley's view, this kind of family relationship indicates that friendship was valued more highly than relations between husband-wife or parents-children in Roman society.[23] In his monograph on Roman dining posture, Matthew Roller challenges the generally accepted view that free adult men reclined when they were dining; and that free adult women sat in the time of the Republic and reclined during the time of the Empire; free children sat and slaves stood. Although individuals of any gender, age or status could theoretically assume any posture, reclining, sitting and standing embodied different social values and their variations were related to gender, class and status.[24] Discussing association meals, Philip A. Harland indicates that the associations followed a set of banqueting values which had been devised to regulate behaviour and ensure order on such social occasions.[25]

Scholars have also expended effort on examining the evolution of dining practices through time. Aristocratic banquets in Archaic Italy, especially in early Rome and

[19] Vössing (2004).
[20] D'Arms (1991), 171-183.
[21] Dunbabin (2003b), 443-468.
[22] Daniel-Hughes (2012), 174.
[23] Bradley (1998), 51-52; H. S. Nielsen also discusses the Roman family by examining the presence of children at mealtimes, see Nielsen (1998), 56-63.
[24] Roller (2006).
[25] Harland (2012), 73-85.

Etruria, have been shown to have borne a close relationship to power structures, as demonstrated by A. Zaccaria Ruggiu. This scholar argues that the disappearance of the archaic banquet and the abolition of the monarchy were not unrelated. The revival of the custom in the second century BC was a consequence of Rome's new contact with Asiatic luxury.[26]

Dunbabin explores banquet scenes from visual materials to tease out clues about the evolution of banqueting images which emerged from 'contemporary practice and ideologies'.[27] Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp has studied the banquets of the upper classes from the time of Cicero to that of Pliny the Younger, showing the relationship between the changes in the Roman elites' banquets and the concomitant social and political changes in Roman society during this period.[28]

Although these recent discussions are unquestionably valuable and important, various limitations are discernible. First and foremost, it seems fair to say that public feasts and communal meals attended by members of associations have been paid much less attention than dining in private settings.[29] As we have seen, a partial exception must be made for a handful of studies which analyse privately sponsored public meals as a way of reinforcing existing hierarchical structures in society and of defining the status of various groups but have still paid very little attention to any differences between various parts of the empire. In fact, the few studies of this type which have been undertaken present generalizing pictures abstracted from evidence gathered from different parts of the empire. The upshot is that the impression created by these studies is one of parallel developments in different regions. However, a more detailed inspection of the evidence reveals that the epigraphic evidence relating to privately funded public dinners is found only in certain parts of the empire. Moreover, in those parts of the empire which have yielded evidence for these dinners, interestingly it was not always the same groups of participants who were invited, but also that different kinds of food were sometimes served to the same groups of participants in different regions.

Another weakness in those publications which offer a general overview of various types of communal dining, or are restricted to just one type of dining, is their tendency to obscure differences in the chronological trajectories of communal dining in various parts of the empire. Therefore a more detailed study of the epigraphic evidence might well bring to light differences in the chronological distribution of the evidence of privately sponsored communal dining in mainland Italy, North Africa and Spain.

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[26] Zaccaria Ruggiu (2003).
[27] Dunbabin (2003a), 208.
[28] Stein-Hölkeskamp (2005).
[29] In particular, the aristocratic banquets (*convivium*), for recent works, see e.g. Tchernia (2008); Schnurbusch (2011); {Vössing, 2012 #710}; Badel (2013).

Thirdly, although the existing literature has convincingly demonstrated that evidence of various types of privately sponsored communal dining can be traced in various parts of the Western Empire, little interest has so far been shown in the identities of the benefactors who funded these dinners. At the very least we should try to discuss epigraphic texts referring to the public dinners provided by local magistrates or town-councillors as well as to inscriptions referring to food-related benefactions offered by 'outsiders', for instance, people who happened to be the patrons of local communities. Similarly, a clear distinction should be made between privately sponsored public dinners to which *collegia* were invited alongside other groups and dinners for *collegiati* hosted by 'internal benefactors' belonging to the *collegia* in question.

In short, despite the very valuable research on private and public dining which has been carried out over the past twenty-five years, there is still room for a more detailed study which not only highlights distinctions between the various types of privately sponsored public dining but also illuminates the profound differences which can be observed between different parts of the empire.

Private sponsorship is the key to privately sponsored communal dining. Unlike private commensality and public/collegial dining, which was financed from a public/collegial treasury, communal dining in a public or collegial context financed by private munificence did have another role. It linked wealthy individuals to public and collegiate affairs. Therefore, the present book examines one particular type of social event: the benefactions bestowed on the wider community by individuals.

Geographically, the focus of my explorations will be on the western half of the Roman Empire. In opting for this geographical delimitation, I have been guided by two competing considerations. On the one hand, the practice of privately sponsored public dining is known to have existed not only in Italy but also in other parts of the empire. One of the aims of my enquiries will be to abstract the similarities and differences in the public dining practices of various regions. This can be done only by widening the geographical scope. On the other hand, a comparative investigation of communal dining practices in the Roman world could easily spin out of control if the geographical limits of this sort of examination are set too wide. For this reason, communal dining practices in the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire will be excluded. Another justification for restricting the geographical scope of this book is there are good reasons to think that, in the western half of the Empire, the custom of privately funded public dining spread from Italy to various provinces. Because of this genealogical connection, it makes good sense to study Italy and the western provinces in a single book.

The chronological scope of my investigations will be first-to-third century AD, although some observations about earlier and later developments will be made. These chronological restrictions have been dictated by the ancient evidence relating to

privately sponsored public dining. As this book will show, the earliest evidence of the bestowal of privately funded food benefactions outside the city of Rome dates to the final years of the Republic. During the first century AD the amount of evidence steadily increases, but most of the epigraphic evidence belongs to the second or early third century AD. As far as we can tell, privately funded food benefactions targeting either entire civic communities or specific status groups within these communities petered out in the fourth century AD. The reasons for this chronological pattern will be investigated in the final chapter of this monograph.

1.2 Definition and terminology of privately sponsored communal dining

The term 'dining activities' refers to the communal consumption of food at any gathering in the context of public or associational life – although, as it will emerge this needs further specification. The circumstances in which such gatherings were held could vary, but the communal consumption of food was central. What information about Roman dining can be extracted from ancient sources?

Literary texts and epigraphic records reveal a rich and varied terminology related to food or the partaking of meals, and to 'dining' specifically.[30] Commonly used terms associated with 'dining activities' are *epulum*, *cena* and *convivium*, which literally mean 'feast', 'banquet' and 'dinner'. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* defines 'feast' as 'a religious anniversary appointed to be observed with rejoicing, in commemoration of some event or in honour of some personage; a sumptuous meal or entertainment given to a number of guests; a banquet, especially of a more or less public nature; an usually abundant and delicious meal.'[31] The definition of 'banquet' shares one feature with that of 'feast', namely: 'a feast, a sumptuous entertainment of food and drink'.[32] The term 'dinner' is defined in the *OED* as 'the chief meal of the day; a formally arranged meal of various courses; a repast given publicly in honour of someone, or to celebrate some

[30] See Donahue (2017), 5-12, 253, note 19.

[31] "feast, n.", *OED* Online, Oxford University Press (last accessed March 2018). There are different definitions of feasts given by different scholars. For example, Dietler defines feasts as 'forms of ritual activity that involve the communal consumption of food and drink,' see Dietler (2001), 65 and also 67, 69; Hayden keeps to the definition that 'any sharing between two or more people of a meal featuring some special foods or unusual quantities of foods (i.e., foods or quantities not generally served at daily meals) hosted for a special purpose or occasion.' See Hayden (2014), 8. It seems no single definition of feast dominates. The definitions can differ from each other, as Twiss argues, in respect of the number of participants, food types and quantity, degree of culinary skill and performative elaboration, location and occasion, etc. See Twiss (2012), 364. I personally suggest that any definition cannot work well without relating it to specific issues, therefore a definition can only be useful when it is made to answer specific questions.

[32] "banquet, n.1", *OED* Online, Oxford University Press, (last accessed March 2018).

event.'[33] These definitions help to cast light on some of the elements of Roman dining activities: communality, the idea of abundance and a social context. Nevertheless, much can be lost in translation and we should be aware that there is no perfect match between these Latin and English words. Therefore it is imperative to examine the meanings of relevant Latin terms in their particular contexts.

In his research on Roman public feasts, Donahue uses the dichotomous concepts – 'public' and 'private'. He defines a public meal as 'any gathering to which the *populus* at large or representative groups from within the community were invited in order to share a meal' and lists a series of cases such as 'citywide feasts, collegial and curial banquets, municipal feasts restricted to certain classes' and 'the banquets of the emperor at the imperial palace'.[34] Although this broad definition is an accurate description of the scope of Donahue's investigations, various questions can be raised in the context of the aim of this book: Is it really possible to label collegial gatherings and banquets held by emperors at the imperial palace 'public' meals? At the very least, it would seem advisable to replace Donahue's dichotomy with a tripartite distinction between dining in a purely private sphere, collegial dining and dining in town squares or other public spaces.

Accordingly, our definitions of 'dining activities' in the Roman world need to be refined: private dining involves eating with families, relatives, friends, acquaintances, personal clients or people in other relationships; public dining refers to consuming food at public gatherings in which the populace or representative groups within a city partake and collegial dining indicates the sharing of a meal with members of the same association. At this point in the study, it should be noted that the term '*collegia*' will be used to refer to Roman associations in a general sense.[35] In fact, if we adopt a broad definition of the term 'association' even the *Augustales* can be grouped under this heading. Needless to say, this categorization does not in any way imply that the *corpora* of the *Augustales* bore a close resemblance to professional associations or that there were no major social distinctions between *Augustales* and members of 'ordinary' *collegia* (cf. Chapter 4).

Since this monograph will be looking only at those public dinners whose costs were shouldered by private benefactors, the topic of my investigations can be defined as comprising all forms of food-related *euergetism* with the exception of food hand-outs which were not intended to be consumed during a communal meal. The term *euergetism* has been used to describe the phenomenon of 'private liberality for public

[33] "dinner, n.", *OED* Online, Oxford University Press, (last accessed March 2018).
[34] Donahue (2017), 3.
[35] Latin terms *collegium*, *corpus*, *sodalicium* and *sodalitas* are commonly used to refer to associations.

benefit'.[36] The Latin terms which were frequently used to refer to such acts of 'private liberality for public benefit' include *munificentia*, *liberalitas* and *merita*.[37] In this monograph, we shall be looking at those acts of liberality which involved the bestowal of food-related benefaction(s) on entire civic communities, on one or several status groups belonging to these communities or to associations, with the additional restriction that only those benefactions which were provided at the benefactor's own expense are considered.

A superficial inspection of some of the epigraphic sources is enough to reveal that 'food-related benefactions' came in multiple forms. The most frequently attested type is the 'communal meal'. This meal is usually referred to either as an *epulum* or a *cena*. Occasionally we encounter the term *prandium*, which denotes a mid-day meal, or the word *visceratio*, which refers to a public distribution of the flesh of sacrificial animals. Some inscriptions use none of these words, but merely provide the information that members of local communities or members of associations received something 'to eat'.

A second group of inscriptions does not refer to 'public meals' or 'communal dinners', but to distributions of 'cakes and sweet wine' (*crustulum et mulsum*), or of 'bread and wine' (*panis et vinum*). The limited information included in most inscriptions is not always sufficient for us to determine if these food items were consumed in public spaces or taken home by the recipients, but the general impression is that communal consumption was the norm.

Finally, a considerable body of epigraphic evidence refers to private benefactors donating sums of money whose interest was to be used to organize communal meals. Such cases of indirect sponsorship of communal dining will also be considered in this study.

Inscriptions referring exclusively to distributions of *sportulae* have been excluded from this study. Although the term *sportulae* might refer to hand-outs of food in some inscriptions, its most usual sense is distributions of money. In principle, this money might have been used to buy food, but there is no evidence to suggest that recipients of *sportulae* were expected to spend this money on food items to be consumed in public spaces.[38] At this point, it seems significant that a considerable number of inscriptions refer to *sportulae* being handed out *alongside* food, suggesting that we are dealing with two different types of benefactions.[39]

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[36] Veyne (1990), 10. See also Zuiderhoek's definition of civic *euergetism*, Zuiderhoek (2009), 6-14, esp. 9-10.
[37] See Forbis (1996), Forbis (1993), Forbis (1990).
[38] Duncan-Jones (1982), 138-140.
[39] For a discussion of the variable meanings of the terms *sportulae*, *epulum* and *cena*, see Slater (2000), 112.

1.3 Two perspectives on privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman world

1.3.1 Categories of Roman commensality

One way of studying privately sponsored communal dinners is to examine these dinners from the angle of Roman commensality. I share the opinion of Suzanne Villeneuve who says that, 'there is no single type of food sharing behavior but rather an array of different motivations, characteristics, and conditions that occur under the umbrella of food sharing',[40] and different classifications of different kinds of Roman commensality have been made in the literature. For instance, various criteria have been formulated to distinguish feasts. These distinguishing features include the identity of hosts (for example, private versus public) and the motives of the organizers (self-interest versus altruism) to mention just two aspects.[41] As has already been explained, my investigations will be based on the tripartite distinction between private, public and collegial dining.[42] While other classifications might prove more helpful or illuminating in other research contexts, this tripartite division seems well suited to the particular set of problems which will be investigated in the chapters that follow.

Dining in private life

There is no doubt that everyday domestic commensality was the most fundamental and frequent type of communal dining in the private sphere, spanning the period from the time of the Republic to Late Antiquity.[43] Furthermore, as was to be expected, there were other occasions on which people ate together in a private context.

It was not uncommon for Romans belonging to various social groups to have dinner with friends.[44] For many Romans, a private dinner was an occasion for socializing. The host usually provided such a meal for a limited number of guests, with

[40] Villeneuve , 34.
[41] Hayden suggests ten approaches to classifying feasts and puts forward three major categories, namely: alliance and co-operation feasts, economic feasts and diacritical feasts. See Hayden (2001), 35-41; Hayden (2014), 9-11.
[42] For the classification of public feasts and collegial banquets in ancient Roman society, both Donahue and Ascough borrow from the typologies offered by Claude Grignon, including exceptional, segregative, transgressive and extra-domestic commensality. See Donahue (2003), 426-441; Ascough (2008), 33-45.
[43] Apart from the quotidian family meals, there were special domestic festival celebrations. For example, during the *Saturnalia*, all members of the household – masters and slaves, women and children – feasted together. See Beard, North and Price (1998), Vol. 1, 50, 261, Vol. 2, 124-126; Scullard (1981), 205-207; for the *Saturnalia* as a domestic ritual, see Dolansky (2010), 488-503.
[44] Plin. *Ep*. 2.6; Mart. *Epigr*. 5.78.

a focus on social enjoyment.[45] Cicero expresses his appreciation of this kind of Roman *convivium*: 'For our fathers did well in calling the reclining of friends at feasts a *convivium*, because it implies a communion of life, which is a better designation than that of the Greeks, who call it sometimes a "drinking together" and sometimes an "eating together", thereby apparently exalting what is of least value in these associations above that which gives them their greatest charm.'[46]

Luxurious settings and rich, succulent dishes turned dinner parties into banquets, at which the wealthy host could entertain a range of guests – his friends, his friends' friends (*umbrae*), his clients or the dinner-chasers/free-loaders/spongers (*parasiti*).[47] Although invitations were supposed to transcend the boundaries of class, hierarchies could still be emphasized at dinner, for example, in the way in which guests were seated or by the dishes they were served. A satirical description of such a sumptuous banquet is given in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, at which many luxurious dishes were served in an ostentatious manner.[48]

Imperial Rome gives another variety of this private commensality: private banquets organized by emperors. We are told, for instance, that on one occasion Otho invited eighty senators to have supper with him at the palace.[49] Emperors could also attend banquets as guests, as Nero did according to Suetonius.[50] Up to a point, banquets staged by the emperor in his palace or attended by him at other venues were like ordinary family banquets. However, extreme hierarchical structures juxtaposed with ostensibly convivial equality could be said to have been characteristic of the imperial 'private' banquets.[51]

Family gatherings, probably with friends present, were a customary manner to mark important milestones in the life of an individual and this kind of occasion often involved a banquet. The Romans not only celebrated their own birthdays but also those of their family members or friends.[52] The donning of the *toga virilis* around the

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[45] For the number of guests, see Gell. *NA* 13.11.1-3. For the settings of Roman dining places, see Dunbabin (2003a), 38-46.
[46] Cic. *Sen*. 13.45. See also Plut. *Mor*. *Quaest. conv*. 642.
[47] Dunbabin (2003a), 40-42; Fass (2005), 60-61.
[48] Petron. *Sat*. 26-78.
[49] Plut. *Otho* 3; Statius as Domitian's guest, see Stat. *Silv.* 4.2.
[50] Suet. *Ner*. 27.
[51] Vössing (2004), 533-543; Vössing (2015), 249-251. For the dining setting strengthening the difference in power and status between the emperor and his guests, see Bek (1983), 90-94.
[52] Cic. *Phil*. 2.15; Mart. 7.86; Plaut. *Capt*. 174; *Pseud*. 165-170, 175-185, 234, 775-780. For Roman birthday rituals and their functions in inter-personal relationships, see Argetsinger (1992), 175-193. For the *dies lustricus*, see Macrob. *Sat*. 1.16.36; Plut. *Mor*. *Quaest. Rom*. 288C-E. On this day, newborn babies were named and purified, sacrifices were offered and families gathered together. We do not know much about the communal feasts held on such an occasion, but a party in celebration of the neonate given by the parents for family and friends was deemed appropriate, see Ter. *Phorm*. 48-50; for the birth and *dies lustricus*, see Dasen (2009), 199-214; Dixon (1988), 237-240.

age of seventeen marked full adulthood for males and this milestone was accompanied by a ritual ceremony,[53] after which there could be a banquet or distribution of gifts.[54] The wedding feast (*cena nuptialis*) was an important element in a Roman wedding.[55] Guests shared a wedding cake (*mustaceum*),[56] and another feast (*repotia*) would be held the day after the wedding.[57] It was also common for the Romans to have meals to commemorate the dead.[58] A funeral feast (*silicernium*) would be held on the day of the actual burial;[59] another meal would be held on the ninth day after the funeral (*cena novendialis*).[60] On the anniversary of the birth of the departed, and during festivals for commemorating dead ancestors, particularly the *Parentalia* and *Feralia*,[61] it was customary for living family members and friends to partake of a meal at the grave-site.[62] These examples show that commensality often played a part in private social occasions associated with significant moments in the lifetime of a person.

Dining in public life

Commensality also featured strongly in Roman public life, in which it was often a part of religious rituals and ceremonies. Sacrificial meals, such as the *epulum Iovis* or the *lectisternium*, linked the Romans with their deities.[63] People from various social classes could participate in public sacrifices and share the victims' meat afterwards.[64] Since the Roman calendar was packed with public festivals, there were plenty of scope for the organization of public meals. For example, during one of the most ancient Roman festivals – the Latin Festival (*Feriae Latinae*) – the flesh of the victim would be shared

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[53] This *rite de passage* consisted of dedicating the *bulla*, replacing the *toga praetexta* with the *toga virilis*, a procession to the Forum Romanum and ultimately the Capitol, and making sacrifices. See Dolansky (1999); Dolansky (2006), 40-92; Dixon (1992), 101-102; Rawson (2003), 142-144; Harlow and Laurence (2002), 67-69; Dolansky (2008), 47-70.

[54] Dolansky (1999), 56-57.

[55] Gell. *NA* 2.24.7-14; Suet. *Cal.* 25. According to Juvenal, with his usual wit, there was a huge wedding feast for Gracchus, who was the male bride and reclined in the lap of his groom, see Juv. 2.119-120.

[56] Cato left a recipe for this cake, see Cato, *Agr*. 121.

[57] For the wedding dining and drinking, see Hersch (2010), 212-213, 221-222.

[58] Lindsay (1998), 67-80.

[59] Varro *Sat. Men*. 303; Apul. *Flor*. 19.

[60] Tac. *Ann*. 6.5; Petron. *Sat*. 65-66.

[61] Ov. *Fast.* 2.533-570; Varro *Ling*. 6.13; Juv. 5.85 (*feralis cena*); Plin. *HN* 20.113 (*epulis feralibus*).

[62] Toynbee (1971), 50-51, 61-64.

[63] Yerkes (1952), 25-26, points out that 'the word *sacrifice* was used in Latin to describe various rites which arose from the common meal when that meal was held…for the purpose of entering into union with the mysterious Power or powers….'

[64] Rüpke (2006), 143, mentions three possibilities to partake of food: *cena recta*, *sportulae* and selling sacrificial meat. The 'right of dining publicly' (*ius epulandi publice*) was enjoyed by the top class of the society; the common people could either buy the victim's meat or join in the banquet, seated separately, see Scheid (1988); Scheid (1985).

at a common meal.[65] Generally speaking, a festival was not complete without feasting.[66] For instance, the populace was invited to a public banquet at the *Saturnalia* and the *Compitalia*.[67]

The feast of Jupiter (*epulum Iovis*) was probably established at an early date and later linked to the *Ludi Plebeii*.[68] The first *lectisternium* mentioned by Livy was celebrated in 399 BC after a grave pestilence: the *duumviri* who were in charge of the sacred rites arranged couches for the deities and people throughout the city opened their doors, offering food to everyone, be they friends, strangers or personal enemies.[69] In 196 BC a college of *epulones* was established. The primary task of these functionaries was to organize public feasts during the festivals and games.[70]

Apart from these religious occasions, public dinners to mark important moments in life were also provided by individuals during the republican period, particularly in the final decades of the Republic. In fact, what these private individuals did was to transform what had been private affairs into public events, thereby blurring the distinction between public dining and private dining. Only a few texts from the republican era refer to public commensality taking place to celebrate significant events in the lives of private citizens.[71] From the time of Augustus the sources increase in number. During the empire, the emperors could and did stage public banquets in the city of Rome when celebrating important occasions in their lives.[72] On the municipal level, local elites began to resort to such moments as opportunities to display munificence towards their fellow-townsfolk. For instance, the birthday of a private individual could be celebrated with a public banquet.[73]

Public commensality could also be organized by a private individual as a vehicle to make his personal achievements known to the general public. During the late Republic, public banquets were provided by powerful victorious generals and the emperors of the Principate followed this example. Furthermore, local notables in Italian and provincial communities began to broadcast the bestowal of various public honours, such as election to high offices or the erection of a public statue, by sponsoring public dinners for the inhabitants of the town.[74]

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[65] Scullard (1981), 111-113.
[66] Macrob. *Sat*. 1.16.3-6.
[67] For the *Saturnalia*, see Scullard (1981), 205-207; for the *Compitalia*, see Scullard (1981), 58-60; Beard, North and Price (1998), Vol. 1, 184-186; for the development of the *Compitalia* at different periods, see Stek (2008), 112.
[68] Livy 29.38.8, 25.2.10, 33.42.11; Scullard (1981), 186; Beard, North and Price (1998), Vol. 1, 40.
[69] Livy 5.13.6-8; Beard, North and Price (1998), Vol. 1, 63.
[70] Livy 33.42; Scullard (1981), 186-187; Beard, North and Price (1998), Vol. 1, 100.
[71] Livy 8.22; Livy 39.46; Cic. *Mur.* 75; Suet. *Iul*. 26.2.
[72] E.g. Cass. Dio 48.34.3 for Octavian's coming of age; Cass. Dio 80.9.2 for Elagabalus' marriage.
[73] E.g. *CIL* X, 4736: a *duumvir* gave a banquet for the populace on his birthday.
[74] E.g. military victory: Plut. *Luc*. 37.4; Plut. *Caes*. 55; entry into office: *CIL* VIII, 769; honour bestowed: *CIL* VIII, 26606. For *cenae aditiales*, see Sen. *Ep*. 95.41; Varro, *Rust*. 3.6.6.

Dining within associations

We know that the members of an association held their own banquets during the first century BC.[75] It is not always clear where such gatherings took place, but some archaeological finds suggest that the *collegia* might have had special banqueting facilities.[76]

The important role of commensal activities in associational life can be inferred from some of the ways in which *collegia* referred to themselves: a 'dining club' (*collegium comestorum*/*sodales comestores*) or 'companions who are in the habit of banqueting together' (*convictores qui una epulo vesci solent*).[77] The by-laws of some associations dating to the imperial period show that *collegiati* had annual dining gatherings on special days (such as the foundation day of the association and the birthday of the patron deity).[78] Many *collegia* assumed responsibility for the burials and the death cults of their members and, on these occasions, funerary banquets could be held.[79] In addition, during various festivals, such as the *Parentalia*, *Rosalia* and the *dies Violaris*, banquets were commonly held to commemorate deceased members.[80] As Keith Hopkins put it, 'perhaps commemoration of the dead was merely an excuse for a good party'.[81]

At the time of the empire, the *collegia* are also encountered among the recipients of dinners funded by private munificence. For example, an inscription from Cemenelum records a woman named Etereia Aristolais who dedicated a statue for her deceased son and provided the *collegium centonariorum* with a banquet. Besides this meal, the *centonarii* received a sum of money on condition that they used the interest yielded by this sum to hold a banquet every year.[82] The evidence of such privately

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[75] Varro *Rust*. 3.2.16. For a discussion of banquets organized for members of associations, see Ascough (2008), 33-45; Donahue (2003), 432-434.

[76] See Bollmann (1998), 47; Dunbabin (2003a), 94-96. The meeting places might have varied from *collegium* to *collegium*, see Smith (2003), 102-105.

[77] *CIL* IX, 3693; *CIL* IX, 3815; *CIL* XI, 6244. Dunbabin (2003a), 94, 'Communal dining was beyond doubt one of the primary functions of the majority of *collegia*, whatever their official raison d'être.' Donahue (2017), 126-136.

[78] E.g. *CIL* VI, 10234; *CIL* XIV, 2112; Donahue (2003), 433-434.

[79] Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 256-300; Ausbüttel (1982), 59-71; Van Nijf (1997), 38-69; Liu (2009), 266, summarizes the funeral arrangements which involved 'the maintenance of a collegial graveyard, the erection of inscribed tombstones for the deceased, the contribution of money for burials, (compulsory) attendance at the funerals of deceased members, giving funerary banquets, the performance of recurrent funerary rituals for the deceased, or some combination thereof.' The burial fees were probably paid by the deceased member (the membership dues) or by the living members, see Liu (2009), 269.

[80] Donahue (2017), 132-134; for the dining facilities at the tombs, see Liu (2009), 274 and note 94.

[81] Hopkins (1983), 214.

[82] *CIL* V, 7906.

sponsored collegial dining is limited, but it still indicates a new source of communal meals for *collegiati* in this period.

1.3.2 Privately sponsored communal dining as a form of '*euergetism*'[83]

A second way of studying privately sponsored communal dining is to group this particular form of private munificence with other forms of *euergetism*.[84] Similarities and differences between various types of *euergetism*, and the driving forces behind each of these types have long been contentious issues.[85] Not all of these discussions will be pursued here. According to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, the term *euergetism* refers to 'the socio-political phenomenon of voluntary gift-giving to the ancient community'.[86] While this definition is an accurate description of some of the defining features of Hellenistic and Roman *euergetism*, it does not highlight the reciprocal relationship between benefactors and beneficiaries sufficiently. [87] Furthermore, even a superficial examination of the epigraphic evidence reveals that at least some benefactors in the Hellenistic and Roman world bestowed their generosity on particular sub-groups in local communities rather than the communities as a whole. As already mentioned, some benefactors provided communal meals exclusively for members of private associations. There are no good reasons not to study such privately funded collegial dinners from the angle of *euergetism*, especially because food-related benefactions targeting *collegiati* were obviously modelled on benefactions targeting entire communities.

The practice of *euergetism* in the communities of Roman Italy and in the African and Spanish provinces has attracted a great deal of attention in the modern literature,[88] but examples of private munificence in the north-western provinces

[83] Cf. Marrou (1956), 305, in which *évergétisme* is translated as 'private munificence'.
[84] The first introduction of this term to the scholarship of ancient history is owed to André Boulanger, see Boulanger (1923), 25; earlier contributions to the use and popularity of this term were also made by Marrou (1948), Veyne (1976) and Gauthier (1985).
[85] For example, Veyne (1976) and important reviews of Veyne by Andreau, Schmitt-Pantel and Schnapp (1978), Chevallier (1978) and Garnsey (1991); see also an overview in Migeotte (1997). For recent works on *euergetism*, see e.g. Zuiderhoek (2009), Domingo Gygax (2016).
[86] *Euergetism* in Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow (2012), 566.
[87] In the sense of gift-exchange between the private benefactor and local city/representative groups as beneficiary. Cf. Zuiderhoek's definition of civic *euergetism*, Zuiderhoek (2009), 9-12.
[88] On Roman Italy and North Africa, Duncan-Jones and Stanislaw Mrozek made a series of contributions in the 1960s: Duncan-Jones (1962); Duncan-Jones (1963); Duncan-Jones (1965); Duncan-Jones (1981); Duncan-Jones (1974a), a second edition came out in 1982; Mrozek (1968); Mrozek (1972a); Mrozek (1972b); Mrozek (1978); Mrozek (1984b); Mrozek (1987); Andreau (1977); Jouffroy (1977); Wesch-Klein (1990); Goffin (2002); Lomas and Cornell (2003); Zerbini (2008). On the Spanish provinces, Mackie (1990); Melchor Gil (1992); Melchor Gil (1993);

remain poorly known.[89] A common feature of the existing studies is that they focus on either one particular region of the empire or a limited number of regions. In his study of public feasts, Donahue discusses 'the Western Empire – primarily municipal Italy, Roman Spain and North Africa'.[90] However, as has already been observed, scant attention has been paid to the geographical distribution patterns revealed by epigraphic evidence of public feasts. At the very least we should try to explain why *euergetism* was well developed in Italy, North Africa and Spain, but much less in other parts of the Western Empire.

The phenomenon of *euergetism* in the Roman world is usually examined within a specific timeframe.[91] However, in his study published in 2009, Arjan Zuiderhoek looks at long-term developments in patterns of benefactions in Asia Minor.[92] Interpreting *euergetism* as 'a form of politics', he explains the proliferation of *euergetism* between the late first and early third century AD as prompted by the need of urban elites to legitimize their rule in an increasingly oligarchical society. *Euergetism,* Zuiderhoek argues, was a tool to be wielded to maintain social stability in the cities, but this does not mean that such an increase in *euergetism* should be ascribed primarily to potential threat of political and social instability.[93]

In an article which was published in 1994, Melchor Gil discusses the evolution of *euergetism* in Roman Spain.[94] Although he does discern an increase of *euergetism* from the late first century to the second century, he then sees a decline. But why? He discards explanations based primarily on economic crises, and suggests that the causes of its disappearance could lie in the changing mentality of the members of the elite. It is certainly plausible to argue that changes in both the structure of the empire and in the mentality of the elites did play a crucial role in the disappearance of *euergetism*. Nevertheless, there is certainly room for a more detailed discussion of exactly why elite mentality towards *euergetism* changed in this period.

Private munificence has been widely discussed in the context of other research, such as Duncan-Jones' work on the quantitative aspects of wealth in the Roman world, Forbis' study on municipal virtues in the Roman Empire and Hemelrijk's research into

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Blázquez (1993); Melchor Gil (1994); Navarro Caballero (1997); Andreu Pintado (2004); Melchor Gil (2005); Melchor Gil (2009); Pudliszewski (1992).

[89] On the Gauls and the Germanies, Frézouls (1984); Frézouls (1985-87). On Roman Britian, Blagg (1990). For a recent study of *civic euergetism* in Roman Asia Minor, see Zuiderhoek (2005); Zuiderhoek (2009). For banquets and distributions in the Greek East during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see e.g. Schmitt-Pantel (1992), 255-420; Schmitt-Pantel (1982); Van Nijf (1997), 149-188; Schmitt-Pantel (1997).

[90] Donahue (2017), 4.

[91] E.g. Panciera (1997) on civic *euergetism* during the Roman Republic; {Alföldy, 1997 #688} on *euergetism* in the Augustan period; Eck (1997) on *euergetism* and the imperial cities.

[92] Zuiderhoek (2009), 17-20.

[93] Meyer (2011).

[94] Melchor Gil (1994), 77-81.

public roles of women in civic life.[95] In their discussions of motives behind munificence, scholars have come up with various interpretations, often related to the social and political elements of munificence.[96] Mrozek argues distributions were manipulated by benefactors as a political instrument to ensure support in elections and as a means to display one's social position.[97] Melchor Gil views *euergetism* as a tool serving to make manifest and perpetuate the existing social order and to create civic memories for the benefit of the benefactor and his/her family.[98] Similar arguments can be found in Donahue's analysis of benefactors. In his words, benefactors sponsored public feasts 'with the common thread being the overarching need to express publicly one's magnanimity and, in the process, to reinforce and dramatize economic and social differences between provider and recipient'.[99]

While the observations just quoted apply to *euergetism* in general, we need to bear in mind that the motivations behind private munificence could vary from one occasion to another and from one kind of benefaction to another. In his book on public dining, Donahue mentions different occasions on which public feasts were provided, but his main thesis is focused on the perspective of class distinctions, and he does not devote much time to motivations. Moreover, neither Donahue's book nor any other publication provides a satisfactory answer to the question of why privately sponsored communal dinners were such a popular form of *euergetism* in the period from the first to the third century AD. In other words, why did so many benefactors spend large sums of money on food-related benefactions?

Turning to the *collegia*, it has often been noted that collegial dinners were the primary activities of Roman associations.[100] Taking this basic observation as their point of departure, various scholars have examined occasions for collegial dining, the dining arrangements and the buildings in which these banquets were held.[101] It has also been noted that members of *collegia* could be invited to privately funded banquets offered

[95] Duncan-Jones (1982); Forbis (1996), 29-43; Hemelrijk (2004); Hemelrijk (2006); Hemelrijk (2013); Hemelrijk (2015), Ch.3, 'Civic Benefactresses'. See also Donahue (2004b); Van Bremen (1996).
[96] Mackie (1990), 184, gives a list of motives including 'regard for fellow-citizens, pride in one's town, religious sentiment, desire for power, for posthumous prestige or memory, and honor, esteem, a public reputation'.
[97] Mrozek (1987), 105.
[98] Melchor Gil (1992), 393.
[99] Donahue (2017), 116.
[100] For banqueting as one of the principal activities of *collegia*, see, for example, Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 392; Ausbüttel (1982), 55-9; Patterson (1994), 233-234; Zanker (1994), 275-277; Dunbabin (2003a), 97.
[101] Donahue (2017), 130-134; Liu (2009), 248-251; Dunbabin (2003a), 94-99; Bollmann (1998), 37-39, 47-57, 133-134.

to civic communities.[102] It has also frequently been observed that hierarchical dining arrangements seem to have been a defining feature of collegial dinners. Nevertheless, it is still unclear whether benefactors throughout the western half of the empire included *collegia* among the recipients of community-wide dinners; the other possibility is that this happened only in certain regions and in certain periods. Similarly, the existing literature has little to say about the geographical and chronological spread of privately sponsored dinners which were organized exclusively for *collegiati*. Do we find such collegial dinners in the same regions in which *collegia* are known to have participated in community-wide meals or do the data sets for these phenomena reveal different geographical distributions?

1.4 Quantification and interpretation

As some existing studies have already attempted, the goal of this monograph is to examine privately sponsored dining primarily from the perspective of political and social history. An important difference with most existing publications is that my investigations will highlight geographical patterns in a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Quantification helps to achieve a better understanding of the identities of benefactors and beneficiaries, the occasions for such munificence and the differences between civic groups. Maps, graphs and tables based on quantitative data help to abstract geographical patterns. Consequently my approach will also be comparative: geographical patterns revealed by maps or graphs invite us to compare regions and to come up with explanations of region-specific phenomena. This also means that qualitative interpretation will remain an essential building block in my enquiries.

A parallel approach to the distribution of private munificence for communal dining looks at the chronological patterns. One of the central contentions of this book is that the long-term evolution of the practice of privately sponsored public dining cannot be understood without taking into account region-specific differences in political cultures. At the same time, the long-term changes – revealed by the chronological patterning of the epigraphic evidence – cannot be understood without taking into account long-term changes in the specific social and political structures of Roman society. In particular, we have to explain why inscriptions referring to privately funded communal meals peter out in the late third and early fourth century AD. Did this decline simply reflect a gradual impoverishment of civic elites or should we look for a more complex explanation?

[102] Duncan-Jones (1982), 141-143; Van Nijf (1997), 154-187; Donahue (2017), 126-128; Liu (2009), 222, 235; Hemelrijk (2008), 140. For the endowments used for collegial banquets, see Liu (2008a).

1.5 Evidence and structure

There are only a few literary sources which mention public (as opposed to private) banquets held by prominent figures in republican Italy or in the western half of the empire during the early Empire. Therefore any study of the practice of privately sponsored communal dining has to rely almost exclusively on epigraphic materials. To explore the issues which will be covered in this study, I have set up a database of 349 inscriptions containing information about private munificence expressed in the form of public and collegial dining. I have been able to build my work on a solid foundation. The catalogue contained in Donahue's book has been very helpful, but his corpus is not a specialized collection of epigraphic materials on Roman feasting paid for by private benefactors. Richard Duncan-Jones has included epigraphically recorded costs of feasts in his catalogue of costs and prices in Africa and Italy.[103] Stanislaw Mrozek and Jacek Pudliszewski give tables of benefactors who provided food distributions (and distributions of cash) to various groups of recipients in Roman Italy and Spain.[104] These lists provide a good starting point for a comprehensive understanding of communal dining as a benefaction across broader areas. For the purposes of this research, I have collected all inscriptions which are concerned with private munificence for communal dining in the communities of Italy and the western provinces, excluding the city of Rome. Although it can never be claimed that a collection is 100 percent complete, I do think that my corpus can be used as a representative sample on which to base a quantitative study.

The evidence from inscriptions can offset the deficiency in the literary sources and counteract the effects of earlier Rome-centric approaches. Nevertheless, the epigraphic nature of the primary sources also poses a series of problems and challenges. One of these concerns the possible distorting effects of what has come to be known as 'the epigraphic habit'. As is generally known, the output of inscriptions has its own characteristics in terms of chronological and geographical distribution. The problems arising from the geographical and chronological patterning of the epigraphic record as a whole will be examined more closely in Chapters 5 and 6. What I want to emphasize here is that the 'winners' in the local communities of the Western Roman Empire are more likely to have left traces of their achievements.[105] In practical terms, this means that most of the surviving evidence consists of inscriptions referring to those who had the capacity (and the aspiration) to leave such accounts. Perhaps the distorting effects of this bias should not be overestimated. Although the theoretical possibility that some people paid for communal dining without leaving records cannot be entirely dismissed – it should not be forgotten that advertising benefactions was an important ingredient

[103] Duncan-Jones (1982), costs of feasts in Africa, see 104; in Italy, see 201-203.
[104] Mrozek (1987), 64-75, Tables V-VIII; Pudliszewski (1992), 72-73.
[105] Liu (2009), 25; Hemelrijk (2015), 4.

of *euergetism* in the Roman Empire. Hence the former is not a very plausible scenario. Since *euergetism* was primarily the preserve of wealthy citizens and revolved around an exchange of material benefactions in return for public honours, the distribution patterns observed in the evidence available should reflect a historical reality. Another type of distortion could arise from the uneven distribution of evidence across regions. Promising findings from a particular area, or limited access to the sites of some Roman cities in other areas, could have influenced the spatial patterning of the evidence. However, while this difficulty is real enough, the differential availability of the surviving evidence cannot explain the complete lack of evidence of public dining in some areas which are rich in epigraphic sources. For example, although there is a considerable amount of epigraphic evidence from Roman Britain, not a single British inscription refers to privately sponsored public dining. Here too it does not seem far-fetched to assume that the surviving evidence reflects a historical reality.

The interpretation of the epigraphic evidence also poses several challenges. The inscriptions are often brief and formulaic. As a consequence, only a few texts provide detailed descriptions of how communal dinners were organized.[106] In some cases the only information provided by an inscription is that 'X gave an *epulum* or other food hand-outs'. Often there is additional information about the benefactor, including his or her name, career path or family background, and an explicit reference to the circumstances which prompted the benefactor's liberality. Beneficiaries can also be identified, for instance, the identification of the civic community as a whole or a list of representative groups. Unfortunately, the records are not always so explicit.

Furthermore, the sources are often fragmentary. In some cases the benefactor's name as disappeared in a lacuna, not allowing us to go beyond the conclusion that 'someone' gave a banquet. A closely related problem is that highly fragmentary inscriptions can be restored in multiple ways. One of the inscriptions included in Donahue's catalogue runs as follows: *[---] XIpr[im ---] / [---]us et pro[---] / [---]m et sta[tuas(?) ---] / [--- ded]icatio[ne*.[107] In this text, the phrase *[---]m et statuas* has been variously restored as *[temple]m et statuas*, or as *[epulu]m et statuas* or as *[porticu]m et statuas*.[108] In my view this text cannot be regarded as providing unequivocal evidence of a privately sponsored public meal.

Another issue concerns the provenance and dating of the epigraphic evidence. Most inscriptions cannot be dated precisely, and the provenance of the relevant inscriptions cannot always be recovered. I have had to rely upon existing literature and have tended to adopt the dates and places provided by specialists.

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[106] In the words of Meiggs (1973), 313: 'Inscriptions do not tell the whole story, it is the things that were taken for granted and were not worth recording that we most want to know.'

[107] *AE* 1991, 1676.

[108] Cf. Donahue (2017), 237, no. 309 and *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*, http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD055532: *------]XI pr[imus?] / [ob honorem IIvirat?]us et pro[misit?] / [templu?]m et sta[tuas?] / [--- ded]icatio[ne? ------*.

Lastly, it should be emphasized that the epigraphic material which has been included in this study consists entirely of published inscriptions. Sources which await discovery or publication might necessitate a future revision of my arguments or at least a re-analysis of the patterns revealed by my investigations.

In spite of these pitfalls, the relatively abundant epigraphic record has a unique value in shedding light on some important issues pertaining to the practice of privately sponsored communal dining. In Chapters 2 and 3, this material will be used to study the benefactors who donated communal dinners and the various groups of beneficiaries who were the recipients of their benefactions. The principal aims of these chapters are to place the privately funded food benefactions of the first centuries of the Empire in their political and social contexts so as to reconstruct the motives of those who provided them. Chapter 4 is concerned with privately sponsored communal dining for various associations. Finally, Chapters 5 and 6 will deal with the macro level. In these chapters geographical and long-term chronological patterns will be delineated and an attempt will be made to explain these patterns as a reflection of the existence of region-specific political cultures but also as a mirror of long-term political and social changes in the political cultures and mentalities of the western half of the Roman empire as whole.

Chapter 2

Benefactors of public dining in western cities

During the first three centuries AD, civic benefactors played an important role in municipal life in the western half of the Roman Empire. It is commonly accepted that benefactors were rich citizens who were willing to use their wealth to pay for actions of munificence.[1] In the Greek world, 'the *euergetes* earned enhanced status, and possibly material rewards, by making donations in cash or kind for the benefit of the citizen body.'[2] In the Roman world, the core function of benefactors remained unchanged, in the sense that, in Italy and the Mediterranean provinces of the empire at least, it was expected that wealthy citizens would make benefactions to help local citizen communities. Only from the second quarter of the third century AD do we see a striking downturn in civic benefactions.

Food-related customs in Rome ranged from hosts sending dinner invitations to their guests[3] to monthly distributions of free hand-outs of grain in the city of Rome.[4] In this chapter, the focus will fall on the benefactors who provided gifts of food to local citizen communities, or specific sub-groups within these communities, in Italy and the western provinces. Although there are some examples of local elites acting collectively, the vast majority of civic food benefactions referred to in the sources were examples of the liberality of individual donors. Further distinctions appear when we concentrate on the circumstances in which individual benefactors arranged food hand-outs. Although many public dinners or food hand-outs were donated by office-holders, we also find many examples of wealthy citizens providing public meals in reponse to the bestowal of various types of honours on them. Yet another group of benefactors seems to have sponsored public feasts or food hand-outs in a purely private capacity (that is, not as

[1] E.g. Veyne (1976), 113-114.
[2] P.C. Millett, 'Finance, Greek and Hellenistic' in: Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow (2012), 271.
[3] E.g. Mart. 5.79; Plin. *Ep.* 1.15; Hor. *Carm*. 3.29; Sen. *Ep*. 19.11.
[4] See Woolf (1990), 197-200; Garnsey (1988), 211-217.

office-holders) and without having been prompted to do so by any preceding bestowal of public honours.

The main questions which will occupy us in this chapter are: Who were the people who provided civic communities in the western half of the empire with food benefactions? What were the circumstances which stimulated them? And, above all, why did they do this?

2.1 Typology of benefactors

Benefactor is a general term which covers a variety of gift-givers: men and women, office-holders and people acting in a purely private capacity, members of the town council and wealthy ex-slaves. Below, various categories of benefactors are distinguished for the purpose of claryifying which type or types of benefactors are most often encountered in the epigraphic sources.

2.1.1 Collective benefactors

A handful of inscriptions refer to the members of the *ordo decurionum* making collective decisions about public dinners or food distributions.

In a famous inscription from Forum Sempronii which was set up in AD 18, we read that at its own expense (that is, paid for from the local treasury) the local town council gave wine and cakes to the women at the temple of Bona Dea and wine and cakes to the decurions and people on the occasion of the dedication of the statues of the Caesars and the Augusta, vowing that the latter gifts would be repeated in perpetuity on the anniversary of the dedication. The inscription also refers to the town council's decision to organize an annual feast on the birthday of the emperor, Tiberius but states that the cost of this feast would be shouldered by a private benefactor, a certain Q. Cascellius Labeo, rather than by the community as a whole.[5]

It seems reasonable to assume that other Italian and provincial communities also arranged for food distributions to be made on imperial birthdays or on other occasions associated with the imperial cult. As Fishwick points out, the local *fasti* which have been found at the sites of various Italian and provincial towns 'provide the pattern not only for municipal cult in Italy but also for festivals celebrated in the provincial and municipal cults of the empire as a whole'.[6] A good example is an inscription from Narbo which contains a record of various anniversaries of significant events connected with the imperial house: 7 January, the day on which Augustus assumed the *fasces* for the first time, 31 May, the day on which Augustus reconciled the people and decurions

[5] *CIL* XI, 3303 = *ILS* 154. For translation, see Lomas (1996), 190-191; cf. Hemelrijk (2015), 210, n.103.
[6] Fishwick (1987), Vol. II, 482.

of Narbo, and two days to celebrate his birthday (23-24 September).[7] Public feasts can be expected to have been part and parcel of at least some of these celebrations, but the *fasti* do not mention them.

In some cases, feasts organized and paid for by the local town council were part of a one-off celebration. In AD 57 the local council of Salpensa (Baetica) restored (*restituit*) the statue of Nero and provided a public feast on the day of its rededication.[8] Since the decision to restore the statue had been taken by the town council as a whole, it is not surprising to see that same body taking collective responsibility for organizing the public meal. A somewhat similar example comes from the North African town of Mididi. Between AD 290 and AD 292 the *ordo decurionum* of Mididi laid on a feast (*epulum*) for the plebs after the construction of a new council hall had been completed. It appears that the erection of this new building had been financed by contributions made by the local *curiae* (groups of well-to-do citizens). Consequently, the public meal which was offered after the completion of the building work had been paid for by 'all members of the *curiae*' (*prestantibus curialibus universis*).[9] Another inscription from Baetica referring to the *res publica Oba* (Baetica) dedicating a statue and providing a feast (*epulum*) might also belong to this category[10] but, since the first part of the inscription is missing, we cannot be entirely certain of this.

Two other texts are a record of the local town council decreeing public dinners to mark the occasions on which statues were granted to prominent citizens.

In the second century AD, the town council of another Baetican community, Sosontigi, decreed public dinners (*cenae publicae*) be held for Quintus Valerius Optatus, who was an *Augustalis perpetuus*, and set up statues for him, his wife and children.[11]

An often-discussed/controversial inscription from Iporca (Baetica), which has been dated to the late second or early third century AD, suggests that it might have been unusual for a local town council to sponsor public dinners in these specific circumstances. The text in question reports that the town council of Iporca not only set up a statue for Cornelia Tusca, who was a 'perpetual priestess' (*sacerdos perpetua*), but also provided a public dinner (*cenae publicae*) when it was dedicated. Interestingly, the inscription ends with the somewhat ambiguous phrase 'likewise the *seviri* remitted the [cost of their?] dinners'. From these words it has been inferred that, under normal

[7] *CIL* XII, 4333.
[8] *CIL* II, 1281.
[9] *CIL* VIII, 11774. The meaning of the term *curiales* ('members of the *curiae*' or 'members of the town council') is disputed, see Amodio (1998), 233-249, but the former interpretation is supported by various other North African inscriptions, e.g. Duncan-Jones (1982), 108 and Duncan-Jones (1962), 73-74. *Contra* Donahue (2017), 94, the text does not refer to a meal being offered to all the *curiae* of the town.
[10] *CIL* II, 1330.
[11] *CIL* II, 1721 = *ILS* 5492.

circumstances, Cornelia Tusca would have been expected to shoulder the cost of this public meal herself and consequently the council's decision to provide a dinner at public expense, prompting the *severi* to pay for their own meals, should be interpreted as an additional honour.[12]

According to Donahue, an inscription from yet another town in Baetica, the *municipium* of Epora, also refers to the local town council sponsoring a public dinner, but the text actually states that Marcus Valerius Phoebus, a local *sevir Augustalis*, had been awarded the privilege of joining the local council.[13]

Inscriptions which contain references to the provision of public meals by the collective citizens of various communities also concern the seving of food organized either after the successful erection of buildings at public expense or in connection with a decision to honour a prominent member of the community by awarding him or her a public statue.

If a plausible restoration recently proposed by Ari Saastamoinen can be relied on, the first variety is exemplified by a third-century inscription from the North African town of Sustri connected to the rebuilding of a local shrine by the [*populus Sustrita*]*nus*. When the shrine was dedicated on the birthday of Emperor Gordian III, the people of Sustri held a public feast 'because of the two festive occasions'.[14]

A good illustration of the second category appears in an inscription from Privernum which was set up in AD 137. In this year the citizens of Privernum (the *Privernates*) decided to organize a public meal (*cena*) for Titus Flavius Scopellianus on 15 March and to set up a statue for him as a reward for his meritorious service (*ob merita eius*). Scopellianus, who had held multiple local offices and happened to be the father of two *equites*, reciprocated by providing cakes and sweet wine (*crustum et mulsum*) on 20 August when the statue was dedicated.[15]

A somewhat anomalous case is referred to in the famous inscription from Palestrina commemorating the setting up of statue in accordance with the provisions of the will of the late-Roman senator, Postumius Iulianus. When Postumius died in AD 385 he bequeathed a piece of land to the town of Praeneste, on the condition that the *cives Praenestini* would honour his spirit year after year and set up a statue of him in the *forum*. The citizens of Praeneste duly erected the statue and decided to organize dinners in honour of their deceased patron 'twice a year or more often'.[16] Although Postumius did not spell out exactly how his spirit was to be 'honoured' after his death, the decision to organize commemorative meals was clearly taken in order to comply with the condition made in his bequest.

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[12] *CIL* II, 1046, discussed by Hemelrijk (2015), 146-147.
[13] *CIL* II, 2156 = *ILS* 6913. See Donahue (2017), 94.
[14] *CIL* VIII, 25935. See Saastamoinen (2010), Appendix 1, no. 546.
[15] *AE* 1974, 228.
[16] *CIL* XIV, 2934.

2.1.2 Individual benefactors

Men

Individual male benefactors accounted for the vast majority of civic benefactors who provided public meals in the Western Roman Empire. Most of them were members of the local upper classes, mainly those who were performing, or had performed, certain functions in their city.

The longer the *cursus honorum* of the person recorded had been and the more elevated the positions he had fulfilled, the higher his social status would be and the more likely he would have been to take on the role of benefactor.[17] One example of an individual who held multiple local offices, most of them successively, was Publius Lucilius Gamala from Ostia. From an inscription which was set up in the early years of the Principate, it appears that Gamala had been an *aedile* and had been admitted to the town council without charge. In the years which followed, he was elected *pontifex*, *duumvir quinquennalis* with censorial power and *curator* in charge of managing public property. He offered public meals three times, one *epulum* for 217 dining couches (*triclinia*) and two *prandia*.[18] It has been claimed that Gamala was the first municipal benefactor to have provided communal food in Roman history, and that the scale of his public feasts was unique. Perhaps his generosity earned him a public funeral in the twenties BC.[19]

Most male benefactors were local magistrates or had held this office. The obvious reasons for this are that local magistrates were recruited from wealthy families and that local office-holders were expected to display generosity towards their fellow citizens (cf. below). Nevertheless, we also encounter members of the local elite sponsoring food benefactions outside the context of office-holding and without any stimulus having been provided by any recent bestowal of honours. The motives which might have prompted such 'voluntary' benefactions will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

There is one inscription referring to a member of the local elite who continued to maintain close links with his home community after attaining high office in Rome. Marcus Pontius Felix held several magistracies at Tusculum before becoming a senator.

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[17] For instance, *duumviri* are more often attested as benefactors (in 42 inscriptions) than *aediles* (in 25 inscriptions).

[18] *CIL* XIV, 375 = *ILS* 6147. D'Arms (2000), 198, suggests these public meals were provided on the occasion of Gamala's admission to the town council, but the inscription does not provide any concrete information on this point. A couple of the public meals referred to in the text might have been provided on the occasion of the dedication of one of the shrines which Gamala is said to have restored or built.

[19] D'Arms (2000a), 192-195.

When the *municipes* and *incolae* of Tusculum set up a statue for him, he offered the *populus* a public feast and honeyed wine on the dedication day.[20]

Other prominent members of local elites belonged to the senatorial class either by birth or by adoption. Pliny the Younger falls into the latter category. As far as we can tell, he never held any magistracy in Comum.[21] However, he maintained close contacts with his native town and bestowed various benefactions on its citizens.[22]

Priests of various types, among them *pontifices*, *sacerdotes*, *flamines* and *augures*, were also recruited from the local town elites. As a matter of fact, a priesthood and a civic magistracy were often held by the same person either simultaneously or successively.[23] Most priesthoods were normally held for one year, but re-election to the same priesthood was possible and references to permanent priesthoods, indicated by the term *perpetuus*, are also commonly found. It is noteworthy that when priests acted as private benefactors their liberality was not necessarily linked to the priesthood.

Municipal patrons occasionally acted as civic benefactors.[24] In an article which was published more than thirty-five years ago, John Nicols demonstrates that between the principates of Augustus and Trajan about 60 percent of patrons of communities were senators, 22 percent were equestrians and 18 percent members of local elites who had held various local offices.[25] In this early period it was still uncommon for senators to become patrons of their home communities. Pliny the Younger, for instance, was patron of Tifernum Tiberinum but not of his home-town Comum.[26] In striking contrast to this more than three-quarters of equestrians became patrons of their own *patriae*.[27]

Many inscriptions refer to municipal patrons who had their home-town or other communities as clients, bestowing food benefactions on their client communities.[28] Should they have had multiple client communites, which included their home communities, they might have been expected to have favoured their home-towns when bestowing food benefactions.[29] Whatever the case might have been, at least one exception suggests that this assumption might not have been the case. Publius Aelius Marcellus, an army officer who was a native of Apulum in Dacia, was patron and decurion in his home-town. In addition, he was also patron of several towns in Italy.

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[20] *CIL* XIV, 2636.
[21] Krieckhaus (2004), 299-314.
[22] E.g. Plin. *Ep*. 4.1; *CIL* V, 5262 = *ILS* 2927.
[23] This person normally belonged to local upper class and was expected to take the interests of the local community to heart. Cf. Szemler (1972), 21; Beard (1990), 24.
[24] For Roman patronage, see e.g. Gelzer (1969), trans. by Seager, 86-101; Badian (1958). For the categories of patronage, see Nicols (1980a), 366; Nicols (2014), 2-4.
[25] Nicols (1980a), 380.
[26] Krieckhaus (2004), 308.
[27] Nicols (1980a), 381.
[28] E.g. *CIL* XIV, 2120; *AE* 2004, 467; *CIL* VIII, 1548; *CIL* X, 5917; *CIL* VIII, 25808b = *ILS* 9403.
[29] *CIL* IX, 5831.

The local council of one of his client towns, Forum Flaminii, decreed that a statue be set up for Marcellus. On the dedication day he provided bread, wine and 20 sesterces for the *decuriones* and their children and the sum of 4 sesterces for ordinary citizens.[30] Although the statue was decreed by the council of Forum Flaminii, the inscription was found at Fulginiae of which Marcellus also happened to be patron. In which town was the statue erected? Which town received the benefactions? There are no certain answers. Fulginiae was a larger town than Forum Flaminii.[31] Perhaps the two towns co-ordinated their efforts to honour their common patron. Of course, we cannot rule out the possibility that Marcellus also provided his home-town in Dacia benefactions, but there is no epigraphic evidence to support this supposition.

From the reign of Hadrian and thereafter, some interesting changes begin to creep into the social backgrounds of municipal patrons. Although senators continue to account for a considerable proportion of municipal patrons, their share sinks to 40 percent. In this same period, the number of senators who became patrons of their home communities rises to 31 (as opposed to 9), suggesting that asking a senator to accept a formal relationship of patronage with his home-town was becoming a way of cementing the relationship between the community and its most prominent members.[32]

Furthermore, the epigraphic record points to the existence of region-specific customs which guided the selection of municipal patrons. It seems clear, for instance, that communities in North Africa and Baetica tended to enter into relationships of patronage with senators or equestrians who had served as provincial administrators, whereas communities in Tarraconenses preferred to establish these relationships with men of local importance.[33]

Evidence of military men providing public food benefactions is sparse. One of the few inscriptions belonging to this category reports that Marcus Nasellius Sabinus, a *praefectus* of *cohors I Dalmata*, together with his father, who was an *Augustalis*, established a foundation (10,000 sesterces if at an annual interest rate of 5 percent) for the rural *pagus Lucullanus* in the territory of Beneventum. The *pagani* were to use the annual revenue (125 *denarii* = 500 sesterces) for the purpose of organizing annual feasts on Sabinus' birthday.[34]

Augustales appear quite often in the guise of providers of food benefactions to communities. In many older publications, the *Augustales* of the early-imperial period are described or defined as a kind of priests of the imperial cult.[35] In reality there are no good reasons to think of *Augustales* as having a particular connection to the

[30] *CIL* XI, 5215.
[31] De De Ligt (2012), Appendix II, 317.
[32] Nicols (1980a), 382.
[33] Nicols (1980b), 545.
[34] *CIL* IX, 1618. Cf. De Carlo (2013), 274.
[35] E.g. Duff (1928), 133-137; Taylor (1914); Duthoy (1978); Ostrow (1985) and Ostrow (1990).

imperial cult rather than simply as a status group which was created by Augustus.[36] Many *Augustales* were of servile origin.[37] Nevertheless, they achieved a relatively high social status beyond that of their original class. As in the case of the *decuriones*, most food benefactions were made by individual *Augustales* rather than by the *Augustales* as a collective body, but an inscription from Caere gives an exception to this rule. In AD 25 twelve freedmen organized plays in both the Latin and Greek styles on six successive days and provided the people (*populus*) of Caere with cakes and sweet wine.[38]

Besides the ex-slaves belonging to the *Augustales*, we occasionally encounter other freedmen sponsoring communal dining. During the reign of Hadrian, for instance, the freedman Leonas dedicated a statue for his patron and offered the citizens of Auximum a *cena*.[39] A few decades later a silk merchant, Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus, who was probably a freedman, paid for the construction of a temple of Venus at Gabii, distributed cash on the day of its dedication and also donated 10,000 *denarii* to the town of Gabii, the interest on which the the *decuriones* and *seviri Augustales* were to use to hold an annual feast on the birthday of his daughter.[40]

Figure 2.1 shows the absolute numbers of male benefactors belonging to various categories.[41]

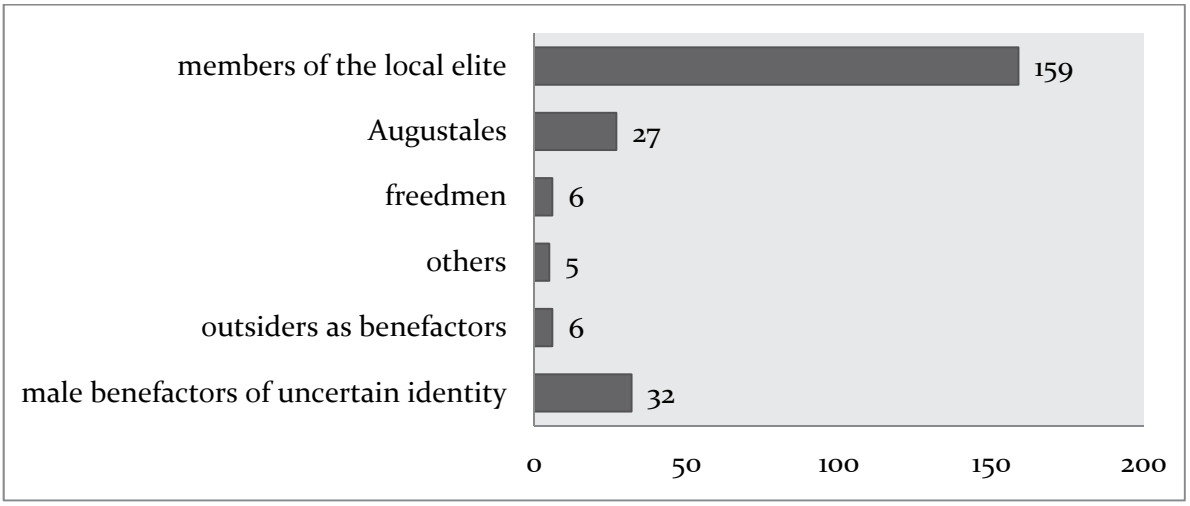

Figure 2.1 Male benefactors (n=235)

[36] See e.g. Beard, North and Price (1998), 357-358; Mouritsen (2006) and Mouritsen (2011), 250-261.
[37] E.g. *CIL* X, 1887; *CIL* V, 1897; *CIL* XI, 5222.
[38] *CIL* XI, 3613.
[39] *CIL* IX, 5833.
[40] *CIL* XIV, 2793. For discussions about this inscription, see Giroire and Roger (2007), 192; Rüpke (2014), 27-32.
[41] See Appendix III. 'Members of the local elite' include those who were holding or had held one or various magistracies, priesthoods, military ranks and those who were appointed civic patrons of their home-towns. 'Freedmen' only include those who did not belong to the *Augustales*. 'Others' refers to the rest local benefactors who might not have belonged to the local elite.

The results of this classification show that food-related *euergetism* was primarly something undertaken by local people. Looking at those benefactors whose social status can be identified (203 out of 235 individuals), it appears that the vast majority of them provided public dinners or food gifts while holding or after holding various local magistracies, priesthoods or military ranks. Taken together with those members of the local elite who were not office-holders, the share of benefactors belonging to local elite families amounts to 78.3 percent (159/203). If we go a step farther and regard the *Augustales* as a prominent group within the communities which consisted of well-off inhabitants, the share of powerful, prominent and wealthy local people who bestowed food-related benefactions on their communities rises even higher to 91.6 percent.

Women

Since Roman society was extremely patriarchal, there was not much public space in which women could play a role. Nevertheless, the epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that a considerable number of women acted as civic benefactors.[42] Mrozek has estimated that about 10 percent of all donors in municipal Italy during the Principate were women.[43] On the basis of the data collected for the purposes of my own investigations, which focus only on food gifts but cover a large geographical area, the share of female benefactors can be estimated at ca. 19 percent (56 women vs. 235 men). Even though the number of female benefactors was much smaller than that of the male donors, their contribution to the communities does merit attention.

Under Roman law any free woman of citizen status who was not subject to *patria potestas* was entitled to own property, and this can be seen as a crucial prerequisite for women making public benefactions. Women could attain wealth by receiving dowries, by inheriting property or by engaging in economic activities.[44]

The social background of benefactresses was less diverse than that of male benefactors. Perhaps not surprisingly, women belonging to local elite families account for the largest proportion of civic benefactresses. These women were influential even without holding office. In many cases they provided food benefactions at their own expense, but sometimes they acted as co-donors. In quite a few cases we encounter benefactresses providing public dinners or food hand-outs to honour the testamentary dispositions in the will of a deceased member of their family.[45] In other cases, a family tradition of providing benefactions to local communities might have prompted elite women to give food gifts on a purely voluntary basis.

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[42] See e.g. Van Bremen (1996) and works of E.A.Hemelrijk. For recent work, see Hemelrijk (2015).
[43] Mrozek (1987), 74.
[44] Cf. Gardner (1986); Gardner (1999), 11-27.
[45] E.g. *CIL* VIII, 937; *CIL* II, 1047; *CIL* II, 1941; *CIL* III, 1717.

Serving as a priestess is an indication of a relatively high economic capacity because the priestess or her family would have had to be rich to have afforded the post. Just as in the case of priesthoods held by men, an entry fee was required to become a priestess. Asicia Victoria, a *flaminica perpetua* in Thugga, not only paid *summa honoraria* for her priestesshood but also gave 100,000 sesterces for the priestesshood of her daughter.[46] Such women unquestionably would have had the means to bestow various kinds of material benefits on their home communities. Various inscriptions refer to women paying for a public feast because they had obtained a priestesshood[47] and we hear of women providing communal feasts while holding priestesshoods. Iunia Rustica, the first and perpetual priestess in the *municipium* of Cartima (Baetica), offered a public feast and public entertainments after financing the construction of porticos, the digging of a pool and the erection of a statue of Cupido.[48] In short, serving as a priestress provided women with a platform on which to play a role in the public sphere.

There are also some examples of freedwomen providing food gifts to communities, even though the evidence is scarce. In the small town of Nepet, an imperial freedman's wife and daughter made a dedication for their husband and father while offering a public feast to the decurions, the *Augustales*, the *plebs* and to their wives and children.[49] Because of their lower social rank freedwomen were much less likely to have made an appearance in public life, and this must be the explanation of the relative dearth of inscriptions referring to food gifts being provided by such women.

Like men of high social status, prominent women are known to have established relationships of patronage with local communities, but the number of civic patronesses attested in Italy and the western provinces is much smaller than the corresponding number of men.[50] If we apply Nicols' criteria for the identification of civic patronesses, or the slightly different criteria formulated by Hemelrijk,[51] there is not a single instance of a municipal patroness providing food-related benefactions.

There is one example of a municipal patron's wife dispensing food benefits to her husband's client community. The woman in question was a certain Vibia Marcella,

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[46] *CIL* VIII, 26590-26591 = *ILTun* 1427 = *Dougga* 73.
[47] E.g. *CIL* II, 1278; *CIL* VIII, 1491 = *CIL* VIII, 26525.
[48] *CIL* II, 1956, discussed by Hemelrijk (2015), 159-160.
[49] *CIL* XI, 3206.
[50] Hemelrijk (2004), 210-214.
[51] For Nicols's criteria, see Nicols (1989), 120. He puts forward two conditions for the recognition of a civic patroness: first, when the title *patrona* was explicitly granted to a woman; second, the text of the inscription was officially authorized by the decurions. For Hemelrijk's criteria, see Hemelrijk (2004), 213. She adjusts the criteria: in addition to the decurions' authorized decree, when the title *patrona* is mentioned in an inscription which was erected by 'the city (*colonia, municipium, res publica, civitas*, etc.), the *ordo decurionum*, the citizen body or a substantial section of it (such as the *plebs urbana*)', the woman is regarded as a municipal patroness.

who was married to Lucius Attius Severus, *praefectus* of *cohors I Africana* and patron of Auximum. Sometime in the second century AD, she had a statue of her husband erected in the town and to mark the occasion she offered the citizens a *cena* and the *populus* an *epulum*.[52] It is doubtful if Vibia Marcella should be regarded as a patroness in her own right.[53]

How do we explain this dearth of food benefactions provided by *patronae*? One possible reason might be that female patrons were seen primarily as intermediaries between client-cities and the imperial government.[54] If so, these women might not have been expected to provide food benefactions to the local communities in question. While this hypothesis could offer part of the solution, it does not explain why various male patrons of communities, including at least some external patrons,[55] are known to have provided communal meals in communities with which they had established relationships of patronage.

There is, however, a more convincing explanation. As both Nicols and Hemelrijk have observed, most of the municipal *patronae* belonged to the senatorial class, or even the imperial family.[56] Their status is strikingly different from that of male patrons, many of whom were equestrians or men of local importance (cf. above). Therefore it would seem likely that only well-connected women of very high status were co-opted as civic patronesses, suggesting that closeness to the emperor or other powerful people was regarded as a key qualification for their elevation.[57] If such connections were indeed of paramount importance, it does not seem that providing feasts or other food benefactions would have been regarded as an important duty of patronesses.

A closely related reason that female patrons did not provide local communities with food benefactions could have to do with the fact that the vast majority of those women who entered into relationships of patronage with Italian or provincial towns did not live in these towns, although it seems reasonable to suppose that patronesses would have had some kind of connection with the client-city before they were chosen as a city *patrona*. In some cases their families might have originated from the city; in other cases the female patron might have owned property in the city.[58] However, we can be certain that many high-ranking patronesses lived in Rome. Hence it is feasible to assume that the geographical distance separating patronesses from their client-cities dissuaded them from providing specific material benefactions. This observation applies

[52] *CIL* IX, 5841.
[53] Van Abbema (2008), 35, suggests Vibia Marcella can be regarded as a *patrona*.
[54] See e.g. Duthoy (1984), 148-151; Salway (2000), 140-148; Hemelrijk (2004), 222-226.
[55] See Appendix III, 'Outsiders as benefactors'. Cf. Donahue (2017), 115-116.
[56] Nicols (1989), 140, Table A; Hemelrijk (2004), 238, Table 3 and Table 4.
[57] Hemelrijk (2004), 224-226. It can be inferred that the difference between a city patron and other members of the local elite was that the former had contacts with the central power in Rome, see Duthoy (1984), 148-150.
[58] See Kajava (1990), 27-36.

especially to client-cities in North Africa. Eleven women, ten belonging to senatorial families and one member of the imperial family, are recorded as patronesses in Africa Proconsularis,[59] but none of them is known to have provided food benefactions for their client cities. In other words, while physical proximity to the imperial court was a major factor in selecting municipal patronesses, the very same proximity meant that they were less likely to have provided their client-communities with material benefactions. Viewed in this light, it might be no coincidence that few inscriptions mention any kind of benefactions provided by patronesses.[60] The only explicit exception is an inscription from Bulla Regia from which it appears that Iulia Memmia, patroness of Bulla Regia, built baths for the city and established a cash foundation for their maintenance.[61]

Yet another reason for the lack of epigraphic references to female patrons providing food benefactions could have to do with the chronological distribution of the evidence. As Hemelrijk has observed, approximately 60 percent of the inscriptions recording female patrons of communities should be dated in or after the third century, only 23 percent is dated roughly to between the late second and the early third century and the remaining 17 percent should be dated to the (late) second century.[62]

However, as we will see in Chapter 6, epigraphic references to privately sponsored public dining decline from the late second/early third century. Hence it can be argued that patronesses of communities were most active in a period in which the practice of communal dining was on the wane.

Interestingly, we find another two women providing food to communities from which they did not originate. In mainland Italy a certain Corellia Galla Papiana bequeathed 100,000 sesterces to Minturnae and the same amount to Casinum so that *crustulum* and *mulsum* could be distributed to celebrate her birthday every year.[63] At Ostur (Baetica), a certain Marcus Calpurnius Sentinatianus erected a silver statue of Juno Regina and his wife, Suconia Rustica, celebrated the dedication with a public banquet for both sexes.[64] Although the husband had held various offices (*primus pilus legionis primae Adiutricis, procurator provinciae Lusitaniae et Vettoniae* and *praefectus classis praetoriae Ravennatis*), his relationship with Ostur remains a bit of a mystery. What we do know is that this couple might have originally come from Hispalis.[65] Whatever their origins, the exceptional examples of Papiana and Rustica at least demonstrate that women's displays of generosity could serve either their own purposes or the interests of their families, even beyond their home communities.

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[59] Hemelrijk (2015), 536-540, Table 5.1.
[60] Forbis (1996), 12-21, 34-42.
[61] *AE* 1921, 45. Cf. Hemelrijk (2015), 236.
[62] For figures see Hemelrijk (2015), 536-540; cf. Nicols (1989), 140.
[63] *CIL* XIV, 2827 = *ILS* 6294.
[64] *CIL* II, 1267 = *CILA* 1, 81.
[65] Cf. Des Boscs-Plateaux (1995), 126-127.

The epigraphic data relating to food gifts provided by women are summarized in Figure 2.2.

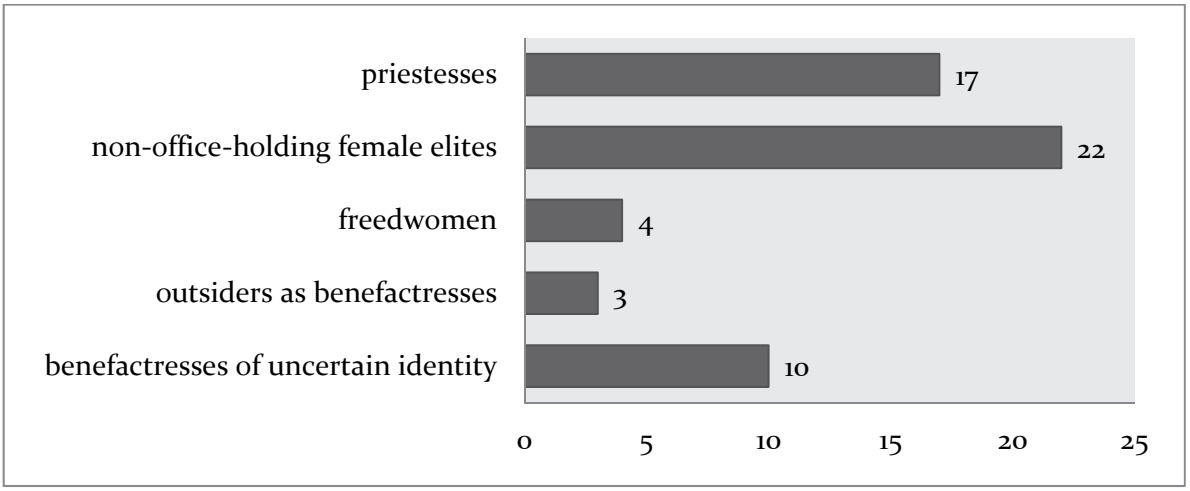

Figure 2.2 Female benefactors (n=56)[66]

The chart reveals that women belonging to local elite families, comprising both priestesses and women not holding any religious or other position, account for 84.8 percent of all identifiable female benefactors known to have provided food gifts to communities. The obvious explanation is that in an oligarchical society elite women were allowed, indeed expected, to help advertise the superior status of elite families and to make a contribution towards legitimizing elite rule by engaging in acts of public munificence.[67] At the same time, although women continued to be barred from civic magistracies they could hold those religious offices which had been held by women for many centuries. This explains why most of those elite women who provided food benefactions are not recorded to have held any type of office, but nevertheless a significant minority can be identified as priestesses. In their turn, the recipient communities not only enjoyed material benefactions but also strengthened their ties with the wealthiest and most powerful families in the town. In the case of freedwomen, their relatively low social status seems to have weighed more heavily than their financial capacity to display public generosity.

2.2 Categories of benefactions

While there can be no doubt about the frequency of communal dinners and food distributions sponsored by benefactors, the practice of privately funded public dining needs to be analysed in more depth. In what circumstances did they provide public food benefactions? Exactly why did municipal benefactors sponsor communal dining? And, how do we explain the popularity of privately sponsored public feasts?

[66] See Appendix III.
[67] Cf. Van Bremen (1996).

For analytical reasons, I shall divide food-related benefations from private munificence into four categories on the basis of the circumstances in which they were bestowed.[68]

My first category is composed of all acts of *office-related* benefaction, corresponding to what Paul Veyne has called benefactions *ob honorem*.[69] In Veyne's account of the transformation of the liturgical system of (parts of) the Classical world into the *euergetism* of the Hellenistic and that of the Roman world, this type of benefaction played an important part. One of the basic ideas guiding Veyne's analysis is that, from late-Classical times onwards, holders of magistracies were expected to shoulder some of the costs related to office-holding and/or to make gifts to the communities in which they held their offices. As a result civic offices were monopolized by wealthy town elites. Although ostensibly democratic institutions which had survived for many centuries, the *poleis* of Hellenistic Greece and Asia Minor became effectively oligarchical.

While many subsequent publications have cast doubt on various aspects of Veyne's analysis, for instance, by emphasizing the continuing importance of local citizenship and citizen communities in both the Hellenistic and the Roman world, the epigraphic sources leave no doubt that benefactions related to office-holding were an important part of social life. For the purposes of my own analysis, I define office-related food gifts to have been composed not only of those food gifts which were provided by office-holders but also by people who had been elected to offices or were taking up such offices at some time after their election.

My second category of benefactions comprises all food-related benefactions which were provided in response to the bestowal of various kinds of honour (but not in response to election to office). This type of food benefaction will be referred to as *responsive* food gifts. Benefactions provided by individuals who were responding to the bestowal of honours on close relatives will also be grouped under this heading.

Then there are many examples of food gifts being awarded outside the context of office-holding and without any discernible stimulus being provided by the bestowal of honours. In what follows, benefactions of this type will be referred to as *voluntary* food benefactions. As are benefactions *ob honorem*, this type of benefaction is extensively discussed by Paul Veyne. He postulates that it became increasingly common for the civic elites of the Hellenistic world to provide various kinds of 'spontaneous' benefactions, not because they wanted to defuse economic, social or political tensions, but simply because spontaneous largesse was seen to be an effective way of displaying or asserting membership of the social and political elite.[70] While this specific

[68] In what follows, I focus on food benefactions provided by individuals benefactors, to the exclusion of food gifts provided by the *ordo decurionum*, or by other groups, collectively.
[69] Veyne (1990), 90-94, 117-118, 122-123.
[70] Veyne (1990), 104-105.

interpretation has been heavily criticized, it is certainly true that in the western half of the Roman Empire a considerable number of food gifts were provided by benefactors who were neither office-holders nor recipients of any other type of civic honour.[71]

Fourthly, some food gifts were provided in accordance with the dispositions made in the will of someone who had recently died. Such food-related benefactions will be called 'testamentary'. However, it should be noted that it is not always clear whether the food benefactions provided by the heirs or other beneficiaries of a last will were prescribed in that will or provided on a voluntary basis.

2.2.1 Office-related benefactions

When an individual was elected to a magistracy or priesthood, the electee had to pay a *summa honoraria*.[72] This sum was usually destined for the public treasury, but in some cases it was used to pay for benefactions. From an inscription which was set up in Thibica (Africa Proconsularis) in the early- or mid-third century, it appears that Lucius Plancius Victorianus and Gaius Volussius Statianus multiplied the *summae honorariae* which they had to pay in connection with their election to the aedileship, and used this money to erect some kind of monument, probably a statue, and offered *sportulae* to the decuriones as well as an *epulum* and an oil distribution (*gymnasium*) to their fellow citizens on the day of dedication.[73] In other inscriptions, we read about the interest from a *summa honoraria* being used to pay for public feasts. During the reign of Septimius Severus, a certain Asicia Victoria, who had been elected *flaminica perpetua* in the North African town of Thugga, not only trebled the amount of money which was due as the *summa honoraria* for this priestesshood but also paid 100,000 sesterces for her daughter's priestesshood. The annual income from these sums was to be used to finance a whole range of benefactions, including *sportulae* for the decurions and a feast for the *curiae*.[74] While the *summa honoraria* took the form of a monetary payment, other contributions, such as construction of buildings, the dedication of statues, games and privately sponsored communal feasts, were sometimes provided as supplements. One example is that of C. Lucilius Athenaeus, a *flamen* of Ceres in Carthage, who was entrusted with the task of erecting a statue of Emperor Septimius Severus at Uchi Maius. After the 12,000 sesterces which he had paid as his *summa honoraria* in connection with this appointment, as well as an unspecified amount of public money, had been used to pay for this statue, Athenaeus not only provided extra money to

[71] For a critique of Veyne's insistence on the non-political nature of 'voluntary' benefactions see, for instance, Andreau, Schmitt-Pantel and Schnapp (1978), 307-325.
[72] See Garnsey (1971), 309 and n.1. Schwarz (2001) rightly doubts the financial importance of *summae honorariae* in the Roman East, but goes too far when she questions their existence in various parts of the Roman empire. Cf. Zuiderhoek (2009), 43.
[73] *CIL* VIII, 769. For the meaning of *gymnasia*, cf. Fagan (1999); Hemelrijk (2015), 144, note 112.
[74] *CIL* VIII, 26590-26591, *ILTun* 1427=*Dougga* 73. Cf. *AE* 1968, 588 = *IMustis* 20.

finance the plinth of the statue and its ornamentations but also provided a feast (*epulum*) for the *decuriones* after the statue had been dedicated.[75] Likewise, in the Numidian city of Madauros Quintus Obstorius Honoratus, a veteran of *cohors I urbana* (which was stationed in Carthage), spent 40,000 sesterces of his own money on an arch and a statue after paying 'all *summae honoriae*' into the public treasury. When the arch and the statue were dedicated, he provided *sportulae* for the decurions, a feast for the *curiae* and oil for the *populus*.[76] If we opt for a strict interpretation of the inscription reporting these gifts, the *summae honoriae* and the 40,000 sesterces were different sums of money.

Many other inscriptions refer to prominent citizens providing gifts of food after they had been elected to various magistracies or been admitted to the local town council. The magistracies in question ranged from an aedileship[77] and a duumvirate[78] to the office of *duumvir quinquennalis*.[79] Admission to the local town council appears to have been a separate honour.[80] Following such elections individuals displayed their generosity, in part in order to show their gratitude but also to advertise their newly acquired honours. One way of doing so was by inviting the decurions, or wider sections of the population, to a public meal. Sometime during the first century AD, a certain Lucius Cornelius M[---] offered the decurions of Surrentum a great meal (*magna cena*) after his election to an unspecified magistracy.[81] Similarly, in the second century a certain Labeo gave the people (*populus*) of Cures Sabini a meal after attaining the office of *quattuorvir*.[82]

Public meals were also offered by prominent citizens who had been appointed to priesthoods. We read, for instance, about food benefactions given *ob honorem flamonii* (*perpetui*) or *ob honorem pontificatus*.[83] Sometime after AD 138, a certain Gaius Pescennius Saturus Cornelianus set up two statues and provided two banquets at Zama Regia after he had been appointed *flamen perpetuus* of the deified Emperor Hadrian.[84] In the same period, Publius Marcius Quadratus, a *flamen* of the imperial cult, built a theatre at Thugga, organized theatrical shows and gave *sportulae*, a feast and distributed oil after being appointed *flamen perpetuus*.[85] Likewise, when Lucius Nonius

[75] *CIL* VIII, 26255.
[76] *AE* 1919, 44 = *ILAlg* I, 2130.
[77] *CIL* VIII, 858; *CIL* VIII, 14296.
[78] *CIL* VIII, 863; cf. *CIL* VIII, 862, referring to the erection of a statue and banquets for the members of the local *ordo* paid for by a member of the local elite who had been elected *duumvir* without having held the aedileship.
[79] *CIL* IX, 2553 = *AE* 2006, 362; cf. *AE* 1961, 109.
[80] *CIL* VIII, 25468; *CIL* VIII, 14296.
[81] *CIL* X, 688.
[82] *CIL* IX, 4973.
[83] *CIL* VIII, 20853; *CIL* VIII, 26606; *CIL* VIII, 10620.
[84] *CIL* VIII, 12018.
[85] *CIL* VIII, 26606.

Rogatianus Honoratianus had been appointed *flamen perpetuus* in the small town of Mustis (Africa Proconsularis), he gave the *curiae* a feast when he dedicated a monument together with his wife and two sons.[86] Yet another text from North Africa lists various benefactions made by a certain [---]nanius Abonius in connection with his own appointment as *flamen perpetuus* of the town of Sutunurca and his son's admission to the local town council. He showed his gratitude by building a temple on his own land, erecting statues of his father and mother in two niches and providing a feast (*epulum*) and distributions of oil (*gymnasia*) to the entire community.[87]

Some priestesses also showed a liberal hand in distributing food gifts after obtaining priestly offices. Instances include Iulia Paulina at Capena, [---]ia Celerina at Salpensa (Baetica) and [---] Patricia at Iliberris (also in Baetica), both of whom provided meals after being appointed to a *sacerdotium*,[88] and Iulia Paula Laenatiana who was honoured with a *flaminatus* at Thugga.[89]

An interesting text from Agbia (Africa Proconsularis) refers to food gifts being bestowed by Cincius Victor, a prominent citizen who had been appointed *patronus* of his home community during the reign of Antoninus Pius. Following this appointment, Victor shouldered the costs of restoring the portico of the temple of Ceres and of erecting a statue of the *Genius curiae* in the local council hall. On the day of the dedication, he distributed *sportulae* of 2 sesterces (each) to the decurions and provided a feast (*epulum*) for all the citizens. When the community responded by asking Victor's son to become the town's patron, the former paid for the cost of a statue of Fortuna and again provided the decurions with *sportulae* and the citizens with a public meal on the day of its dedication.[90]

There is also some epigraphic evidence of public meals being provided by freedmen when they obtained a place among the *severi*. In an inscription from Fidenae we read that, when Blastus Eutactianus and Secundus, two *liberti* of the former consul Iulius Quadratus, became *severi* and Italia, a *liberta* of the same ex-consul, became *magistra* of the Bona Dea, they made a joint dedication to the *numen* of the imperial house and also provided a feast for the town council, and perhaps for the other citizens as well.[91]

Apart from communal meals or food hand-outs provided by people who had been elected to magistracies or religious offices or who were taking up such offices, food-related benefactions were expected to be provided in connection with the particular

[86] *AE* 1968, 591. *Contra* Donahue (2017), 192, the text does not say that the sons of Honoratianus offered the *curiae* of Mustis an *epulum*.
[87] *ILAfr* 304 = *LBIRNA* 893.
[88] *AE* 1954, 165 = *AE* 1982, 267; *CIL* II, 1278 = *CILA* II, 3, 951; *CIL* II, 5, 631 = *CIL* II, 5514.
[89] *CIL* VIII, 1491 = *CIL* VIII, 26525 = *ILAfr* 522.
[90] *CIL* VIII, 1548.
[91] *CIL* XIV, 4057. Note that Donahue (2017), 224, wrongly identifies Blastus and Secundus as imperial freedmen.

magistracy or priesthood held by the benefactor. In many cases, however, it is uncertain whether or not such foods gifts were provided by the office-holders during their term of office or fell within the scope of their duties. Even in the case of holders of religious offices offering public meals in connection with building activities undertaken for religious reasons, the link between the priesthood held by the benefactor and the specific building which had been erected and dedicated is not always straightforward. An interesting inscription from Mustis reports that C. Orfius Luciscus, who had been appointed *sacerdos publicus* of Caelestis and Aesculapius after having been *praefectus iure dicundo pro duumviris* and *duumvir quinquennalis*, dedicated an arch and a statue for *Ianus Pater* and provided theatrical spectacles and a banquet (*epulum*) for the *curiae* and the association of the *Cerealicii* on the day of the arch's dedication. According to the inscription, the reasons for the dedication was Luciscus' 'enormous veneration of the most sacred divine power' (*praecipua erga sanctissimum numen religio*) and his undying affection for his native land.[92] There is, however, absolutely nothing to suggest that the 'divine power' referred to in the text is to be identified either with Caelestis or with Aesculapius. It has, in fact, been suggested that Pluto, who is referred to as the *genius* of Mustis in another inscription, is the most likely candidate for the *numen* to which the arch was dedicated.[93]

Another example is the distribution of meat (*visceratio*) provided by Aufidius Felix, who was *flamen perpetuus* and *decurio* at Sutunurca (Africa Proconsularis). Since the term *visceratio* usually refers to a distribution of meat after an animal had been sacrificed, it is tempting to assume a connection with the flaminate, but the inscription suggests that this distribution was carried out in connection with a dedication which had been paid for with a *summa honoraria* (and perhaps with other money).[94]

A handful of texts refer to priestesses providing communal meals after dedicating temples or statues of various deities, [95] but a certain Anulla, *sacerdos divae Augustae* at Abdera (Baetica), did so after giving and dedicating a *basilica* and a fanlight (*hypaethrum*).[96]

2.2.2 Responsive benefactions

Many inscriptions refer to food gifts being provided by people who had been honoured by urban communities, in most cases with a public statue.[97] Those responding to the

[92] *CIL* VIII, 16417.
[93] See Fishwick (1991), 196-200.
[94] *CIL* VIII, 24003.
[95] *CIL* II, 964; *CIL* II, 1956; *AE* 1972, 270.
[96] *CIL* II, 1979.
[97] E.g. *CIL* XI, 6360; *CIL* XI, 3009; *CIL* VIII, 25808b; *CIL* IX, 5831; *CIL* XI, 5635; *CIL* IX, 981; *AE* 1960, 214. For the purpose of my analysis, all food benefactions provided by magistrates or

bestowal of such honours could be either those honoured themselves or their family members.[98]

In many inscriptions phrases such as *ob merita*, *ob munificentiam* or *ob munificentiam ac liberalitatem* are used to refer to the considerations which prompted communities to honour prominent citizens or powerful outsiders.[99] Therefore it would appear that many of those who provided food gifts after receiving civic honours had displayed their generosity on previous occasions. In this case, we are clearly dealing with a quasi-cyclical process in which expressions of public gratitude for benefactions bestowed on communities triggered new benefactions (Figure 2.3).

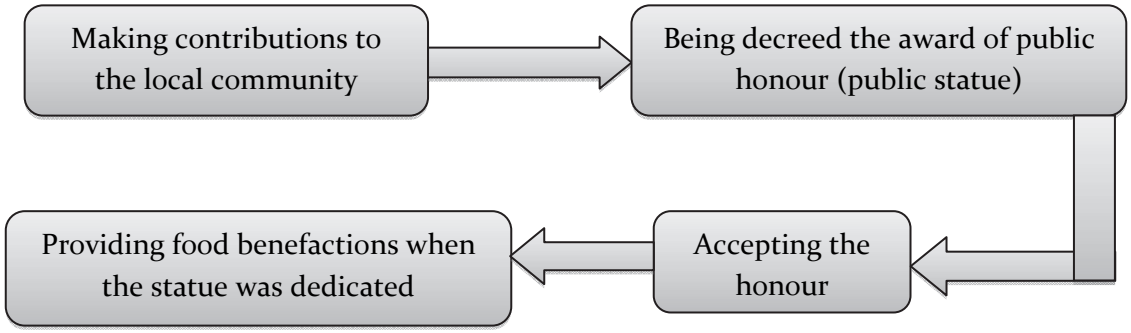

Figure 2.3 Cyclical pattern of responsive benefactions

Not surprisingly, wealthy and influential citizens account for the vast majority of those who were honoured with public statues and responded by providing communal meals. A certain Marcus Amullius Optatus Crementianus, an equestrian from the African town of Thagaste, exemplifies this category. This individual, who is praised as a 'man of generosity' (*vir munificentiae*), received a public statue which was paid for by voluntary contributions from the town council of his home city. When this statue was dedicated, Amullius again demonstrated his generosity by presenting his home-town and its *curiae* with the vast sum of 100,000 sesterces and by spending yet another 2,000 sesterces on banquets (*epulas vini*) and games.[100]

In a recent monograph, Hemelrijk has collected the epigraphic evidence of public statues being awarded to women belonging to elite families. From Hellenistic times onwards wealthy and prestigious women appear as benefactors of communities. From the time of the Principate, examples of this recognition of women are also found in Italy and in the western provinces of the Roman Empire. As in the case of prominent

priests who had been honoured with a public statue will be regarded as 'responsive' rather than as 'office-related'.

[98] E.g. *CIL* XI, 3211.

[99] *Ob merita*: *CIL* XI, 7556; *CIL* VIII, 1827; *CIL* XI, 6014; *AE* 1974, 228; *AE* 1894, 148= *ILS* 6468; *CIL* IX, 5831; *CIL* XI, 4815; *CIL* XI, 6054; *CIL* IX, 981; *CIL* IX, 3160; *CIL* IX, 4976. *Ob munificentiam*: *AE* 1976, 176; *CIL* X, 5853; cf. *CIL* VIII, 5146 (*munificentiae viro*). *Ob liberalitatem*: *CIL* VIII, 12422; *AE* 1958, 144. *Ob munifcientiam ac liberalitatem*: *AE* 1960, 214.

[100] *CIL* VIII, 5146.

male citizens, the local council sometimes decided to express its gratitude for the meritorious actions, munificence or generosity displayed by such women by honouring them with a public statue.[101] As did their male counterparts, they usually responded by offering public feasts on the day on which such statues were dedicated.

In an inscription from Saepo in Baetica, we read about the local town council's decision to honour Pomponia Rosciana, *sacerdos perpetua* of the deified emperors and empresses, with a public statue. As did many male recipients of public statues, Pomponia erected the statue at her own expense and provided a public feast (*epulum*) to mark the occasion.[102] In AD 173 Baebia Pontias also paid for the public statue which she had been awarded by the town council of Cures Sabini and provided cakes, sweet wine and *sportulae* on the day of its dedication.[103] A third example is Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias, who was honoured with a public statue after restoring the dilapidated baths of Anagnia. When the statue was dedicated, Marcia provided cash distributions and a banquet for the decurions, the *severi* and the *populus*.[104]

A somewhat exceptional case is that of Cornelia Tusca. As we have seen, this woman received a public statue in the town of Iporca (Baetica), but the cost of the customary public meal seems to have been shouldered by the participants themselves.[105]

Some women also provided communal meals after a close relative had been honoured with a public statue. In the first or second century a certain Egnatia Co[---] provided a banquet (*epulum*) for the decurions, the *Augustales* and the *plebs urbana* of the town of Carsulae after this community had erected a public statue for her son.[106] Similarly, a second-century inscription from Nescania (Baetica) reports that, when the local town council had ordered the erection of a public statue for a certain Gaius Marius Clemens, his mother, Fabia Restituta, stepped forward to shoulder the cost of this statue and provided a public banquet for the decurions and their sons as well as cash distributions for citizens, non-citizens and *servi stationarii*.[107] Another example comes from Nepet, where Otacilia Comice provided *sportulae* for the decurions and the *Augustales* and a banquet (*epulum*) for the *populus* after her husband, Gnaeus Corellius Frontinus, had been honoured with a statue in recognition of his holding of local offices over many years.[108]

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[101] For women honoured with public statues, see Hemelrijk (2015), 154-161; 272-320 and corresponding notes for epigraphic references to women receiving statues *ob merita/munificentiam/liberalitatem*.
[102] *CIL* II, 1341.
[103] *CIL* IX, 4970.
[104] *CIL* X, 5918.
[105] *CIL* II, 1046.
[106] *AE* 1996, 647.
[107] *CIL* II, 2011.
[108] *CIL* XI, 3211.

Close relatives might also provide communal meals when a prominent citizen was honoured with a statue after his death. For instance, when the African town of Gor decided to erect a public statue for a prominent citizen who had bequeathed 12,000 sesterces to the community, Maria Victoria, his daughter and heiress, erected the statue at her own expense and she and her husband provided a banquet (*epulum*) for the town council.[109]

Various municipal patrons were also honoured with public statues, and some of these patrons responded by providing food benefactions. A Gaius Sulpicius Victor, father of two equestrian sons, was patron of Lanuvium. After he had been granted a public statue 'on account of his incomparable loyality and immense munificence', he gave cash hand-outs to the decurions, *Augustales* and the *curiae* and a double meal (*epulum duplum*) to the *curia mulierum*.[110]

An interesting inscription from Carsulae shows that public meals might also have been provided by an *Augustalis* who had received a public statue. Titus Flaminius Maius, a *sevir Augustalis*, had the dilapidated aqueduct repaired at his own expense after his son had been elected *quattuorvir* at Carsulae. The citizens of Carsulae decided to honour him for his generosity by erecting a public statue for him and, following in the footsteps of so many members of the decurional class, Flaminius responded by distributing cash hand-outs and bread and wine on the day of the statue's dedication.[111]

2.2.3 Voluntary benefactions

A large proportion of benefactors provided food gifts outside the context of office-holding and without any discernible motivation being provided by, for instance, the erection of a public statue.[112] It cannot be a coincidence that a very large proportion of 'spontaneous' food gifts were furnished for the purpose of turning the benefactor's birthday, or anniversaries of other important family events, such as the birthday of a son, into a festive occasion for the receiving community as a whole. During their own lifetimes, benefactors could achieve this aim by distributing various types of food or drink on family-related anniversaries. A possible example of this direct approach comes from Sinuessa, where a certain Marcus Cacius Cerna, who had held the position

[109] *CIL* VIII, 12422.
[110] *CIL* XIV, 2120. The Sulpicius Victor mentioned in this inscription might be identical to the Sulpicius Victor *pater* who set up a funerary inscription for a deceased son who was an *eques equo publico*. Cf. Gregori (1997), 173-174.
[111] *CIL* XI, 4582.
[112] In at least some cases benefactions of the 'voluntary' type must have been the subject of negotiations between benefactors and the recipient communities, but the very nature of those inscriptions referring to 'spontaneous' acts of munificence makes it impossible to identify such cases.

of *duumvir*, began the practice (*instituit*) of providing the entire *populus* with an annual feast (*cena*) on 11 September, his birthday.[113]

Most benefactors who provided voluntary food gifts donated sums of money on the condition that the beneficiaries would use the annual revenue from these sums to hold feasts on particular anniversaries. In the late second or early third century Publius Ligarius Potitus, a decurion of the town of Gor (Africa Proconsularis), promised to pay 4,000 sesterces into the local treasury so that his birthday could to be celebrated with boxing matches, a distribution of oil and an annual dinner for decurions.[114] Another North African example comes from Theveste, where T. Flavius Caelestinus, who might have held the duumvirate (the phrase referring to this office has disappeared in a lacuna), donated 50,000 sesterces to the *curiae* on condition that those belonging to these groups would spend the annual interest yielded by this sum on an annual communal feast on his birthday.[115]

In Italy Gaius Torasius Severus, *IIIIvir iure dicundo* of Spoletium, gave 250,000 sesterces to the public treasury and 120,000 sesterces to the *seviri Augustales*, the priests of the imperial Lares and the headmen of various town quarters (*VIviris Augustalibus et compitalibus Larum Augustorum et magistrorum vicorum)*. The recipients were to use the revenue from these sums to hold an annual public feast to celebrate his son's birthday.[116] Likewise, in the second or third century Gaius Futius Onirus, twice *duumvir* of Croton, gave 10,000 sesterces to the *decuriones* on the condition that they would use the revenue from this endowment to have an annual feast on his daughter's birthday.[117]

A prominent citizen of Ferentinum, Aulus Quinctilius Priscus, opted for a more elaborate arrangement. After buying three estates and a meadow belonging to the community for 70,000 sesterces, he gave them back on condition that he (and his heirs) would be allowed to lease them in perpetuity for the annual sum of 4,200 sesterces (representing an annual return of 6 percent). The latter sum was to be used to pay for the cost of annual distributions of cakes and sweet wine and *sportulae* on his birthday.[118]

An interesting text from Beneventum which has already been referred to shows that benefactions of this kind could also be bestowed on rural communities. Probably sometime during the second century a certain Marcus Nasellius Sabinus, *praefectus* of the *cohors I Dalmatarum*, together with his father Nasellius Vitalis, twice *Augustalis quinquennalis*, presented the inhabitants of their *pagus* with a decorated portico and with a shrine at the crossroads. They also gave 125 *denarii* to the residents of the

[113] *CIL* X, 4736.
[114] *CIL* VIII, 12421.
[115] *CIL* VIII, 1887 = *CIL* VIII, 16510.
[116] *CIL* XI, 4815.
[117] *CIL* X, 107.
[118] *CIL* X, 5853. Cf. Kehoe (1997), 84.

district banqueting on this spot, on condition that on 8 June the *pagani* would hold an annual feast on the birthday of Sabinus.[119]

Other inscriptions refer to public banquets being provided on the dedication day of a statue by the donor him- or herself or that of a close relative they had erected. An inscription from Pitinum Pisaurense refers to a prominent Gaius Caesidius Dextrus erecing a statue for himself. On the day of the dedication he offered banquets to the decurions, *Augustales* and the *plebs urbana* as well as giving bread and wine to the *populus* and plebs.[120]

Sometime in the second century, a certain Futia Longina prepared a dinner for the decurions and *Augustales* after setting up a statue for her son.[121] Another *mater*, Capria Quinta, from Corfinium provided a public meal and cash hand-outs for women after erecting statues for her children.[122] Similarly, when Vibia Marcella had a statue of her husband sculpted, she gave a *cena* to the *coloni* and an *epulum* to the *populus* on the dedication day.[123]

In addition, we also read about freedmen making dedications to their patrons. An inscription from Auximum reports a certain Leonas, *libertus*, set up a statue for his patron and provided a banquet for the *coloni* when he dedicated it.[124] A similar case is found in Pitinum Mergens. A certain freedman, Eutyches, offered the decurions and the plebs *crustulum* and *mulsum* on the occasion of the dedication of a statue to his patron.[125]

To judge from the inscriptions, benefactors also displayed their generosity by donating various momunents *sua pecunia*/*sua liberalitate* and followed up this initial gift by serving a banquet to celebrate the dedication. In a second-century inscription from Ocriculum, we read that a Sextus Aufidianus Celer distributed food gifts which he paid for out of his own pocket to the *populus* when he dedicated a monument to Fortuna Augusta.[126] A succinct text from Herculaneum refers to two brothers, Aulus Lucius Proculus and Aulus Lucius Iulianus, giving the decurions and *Augustales* a *cena* after making a joint dedication to Augustus *pecunia sua*.[127] In the early third century, Quintus Cervius Lucretius Maximus and Gaius Geminius Victoricus made a dedication to Mercurius Augustus which they paid for themselves and offered a banquet to the

[119] *CIL* IX, 1618. *Contra* MacMullen and Lane (1992), 35, this text does not say that Nasellius Vitalis had been an Augustal priest or a *duovir* for the *census* (*quinquennalis*). Cf. Torelli (2002), 221.
[120] *CIL* XI, 6033.
[121] *CIL* X, 110.
[122] *CIL* IX, 3171.
[123] *CIL* IX, 5841.
[124] CIL IX, 5833.
[125] *CIL* XI, 5960.
[126] *CIL* XIV, 3581 = *CIL* XI, 4081.
[127] *AE* 1979, 169.

decurions at Giufi.[128] Another inscription from North Africa reports that out of their own generosity two *aediles* erected a monument to Caelestis Augusta and provided banquets for the decurions when it was dedicated.[129] A certain *sevir*, Lucius Aemilius Daphnus, from Murgi generously donated some thermal baths to his civic community and gave a banquet for both the citizens and resident non-citizens.[130] A first- or second-century inscription from Taraconensis reports that a Voconia Avita also built warm baths for her town at her own expense. To celebrate the dedication she provided circus games and a public banquet.[131]

2.2.4 Testamentary benefactions

Testamentary food gifts were offered to fulfill a provison made in someone's will. In many cases the testator and the benefactor were the same person. For instance, it appears from an inscription from Sentinum, which was erected under Domitian, that one of the town's citizens, Gaius Aetrius Naso, an equestrian who had served as prefect of the *cohors Germanorum* and as *tribunus militum* of *legio I Italica*, had left a will which included not only the instruction to erect some kind of monument, probably an equestrian statue, for him after his death but also a bequest of 120,000 sesterces to the citizens of Sentinum. The recipients were to use the bequest to hold a feast on 16 August.[132] Similarly, an inscription from Hippo Regius reports that Aurelius Honoratus, a *flamen* of the imperial cult who had held all the municipal offices (*omnibus honoribus functo*), had bequeathed the town 100,000 sesterces to make it possible for the decurions, the members of the *curiae* and the *Augustales* to hold annual dinners on his wife's birthday.[133]

However, a public feast or food distributions, not stipulated in a last will that such food benefactions should be provided, were also given on the initiative of an heir who was the beneficiary. According to a late-second-century inscription from Tucci (Baetica), the will of Lucius Lucretius Fulvianus included the instruction to erect a silver statue weighing one pound. When his daughter, Lucretia Campana, executed the provisions of her father's will and dedicated the statue, she organized four days of theatrical plays and distributed food (*epulum*).[134]

In some cases it is impossible to determine whether communal meals provided by direct heirs or other beneficiaries of a will had been prescribed by the testator. A statue plinth from Barbesula (Baetica) has the following inscription: 'For L. Fabius Caesianus

[128] *CIL* VIII, 23991 = *ILS* 5776.
[129] *CIL* VIII, 859 = *CIL* VIII, 12376. See also *CIL* VIII, 861 = *CIL* VIII, 12379.
[130] *CIL* II, 5489.
[131] *AE* 1979, 352.
[132] *CIL* XI, 5745. The Aetrii were an important family at Sentinum, see Liu (2009), 188-191.
[133] *AE* 1958, 144.
[134] *CIL* II, 1663.

of the Galerian tribe, *duumvir*, perpetual *flamen* of the citizens of the *municipium* of Barbesula. Fabia Fabiana, daughter of Gaius, and Fulvia Honorata, daughter of Sextus, his heirs, erected this (statue) in accordance with his will and also provided a feast (*epulum*).'[135] Had this feast been prescribed by the testator or did Fabia and Fulvia provide it on their own initiative?

2.3 Aims and concerns of benefactors: emic perspectives

In her recent work on feasting, O'Connor provides the following summary of the functions of feasts:

> In all parts of the world, feasts were the primary arena for: the display of hierarchy, status and power including gender distinctions; the expression of competition and conflict; the negotiation of loyalty and alliance; the creation and consolidation of community and identity through inclusion and exclusion; the cultural recognition and regulation of the natural world, time and the life cycle; the enactment of public rituals; the linking of sacred and secular; the celebration of life and death; the honoring of the gods; the commemoration of specific events and personages; the mobilization and exploitation of resources.[136]

As this succinct analysis reveals, the motives and concerns which prompted members of local elite families and other people to step forward as benefactors can be studied and analysed from multiple perspectives. One possible approach is to look at the goals and concerns which are expressed either in the language of the inscriptions themselves or indicated by the choice of the occasion on which food gifts were provided to communities. Alternatively, we could try to uncover deeper causal connections by relating the appearance of food-related benefactions, and their persistence over a period of almost 300 years, to structural features of political and social life in the cities of the early and high Roman Empire. In what follows, I shall begin by examining some of the motives and concerns highlighted in inscriptions reporting food gifts. In the final part of this chapter, a more structural analysis of the driving forces behind such benefactions will be attempted.

2.3.1 Patriotic zeal and emotional attachment to local communities

To judge from the inscriptions, the generosity displayed by some benefactors was prompted by a strong emotional connection with their community.

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[135] *CIL* II, 1941.
[136] O'Connor (2015), 9.

A second-century inscription from Thugga refers to a certain Lucius Calpurniu[s ---] setting up a monument at his own expense inspired by his affection for his town (*in [amorem] civitatis su[ae]*) for which he also provided various benefactions including three days of plays, hand-outs for the decurions as well as the distribution of wine and oil for everyone.[137] In the same period, a text from North Africa reports that a life-long priest, Marcus Pinarius Fortunatus, had promised a sanctuary for Fortuna from his *summa flamonii*, over and above which he added some extra money. His heir and grandson, Marcus Salvius Celsus Pinarianus, completed the construction by contributing even more money because of his affection for his home-town *([i]n amorem patriae suae*) and when it was dedicated gave further proof of his liberality by hand-outs for decurions, a banquet and oil distribution for all citizens and a spectacle of theatrical plays.[138]

Some benefactors gave expression to the emotional connection with their home-town by making a dedication to its specific *genius*. In Etruria a *sevir Augustalis*, Quintus Peternius Amphio, erected a *cippus* for the *genius* of the *colonia*, Heba, providing the people with *crustulum* and *mulsum* on the day of its dedication.[139] In a similar vein, Quintus Cominius Abascantus erected two statues in the *forum* of Misenum, one of the *Genius* of the *municipium Misenum* and another representing the Protectress of the fleet, burnishing his generosity even more by distributing cash when they were dedicated.[140]

2.3.2 Religious beliefs

Communal meals funded by individuals were essentially mundane affairs. However, a significant proportion of recorded food gifts which targeted civic communities were provided when temples or shrines were dedicated to various deities, suggesting that, on an individual level, their religious beliefs also certainly prompted members of local elites to shoulder the costs of certain building projects as well as the costs of the food benefactions provided to celebrate the dedication of finished buildings. In the late second century AD, a certain Aulus Antonius Horus built a shrine to the Magna Mater, which he embellished with a portico in front of the shrine and a chamber for the *sacerdos*, in the Italian town of Atina. On the day on which the temple was dedicated, he distributed cakes and honeyed wine to the *decuriones*, the *Augustales* and the people.[141] An inscription from the Civitas Vazitana (Africa Proconsularis) reports that a certain Publius Opstorius Saturninus erected a shrine to Mercurius Sobrius which was furnished with a *pronaos* and an altar and he also provided a banquet and an oil

[137] *CIL* VIII, 15528 = *CIL* VIII, 26527 = *ILTun* 1404.
[138] *CIL* 12218 = *CIL* VIII, 23107.
[139] *AE* 1920, 97 = *AE* 1981, 342.
[140] *AE* 2000, 344.
[141] *CIL* X, 333.

distribution on the occasion of its dedication.[142] During the reign of Gordian III, an unknown *duumvir* of another town in Proconsularis, who was also a *flamen perpetuus*, built a temple of Victoria and erected three statues of the Victoria of the reigning emperor as well as an unspecified number of columns. When the buildings and the temple were dedicated, he gave the *decuriones sportulae* and a meal not only to the *curiae* but also to the entire *populus*.[143] An inscription from Baetica refers to a certain Baebia Crinita, who held a priestesshood, donating a temple of Apollo and Diana worth 200,000 sesterces and sponsoring a public meal after its completion.[144]

2.3.3 Concern for the well-being of emperors

Throughout the empire countless dedications were made 'for the well-being of the emperor' (*pro salute imperatoris*) and some of these dedications were accompanied by food benefactions.

In Tarquinia Marcus Tarquitus Priscus and his son, Marcus Tarquitus Etruscus, dedicated a monument for the well-being of Emperor Tiberius. On the occasion of its dedication, they offered the *decuriones* a banquet and the plebeians cakes and honeyed wine.[145] An inscription from Cures Sabini records two *seviri Augustales*, Quintus Veranius Asclepiades and Quintus Veranius Sabinus, dedicating a monument to Marcus Aurelius and distributing food hand-outs to the decurions and the people on the day of its dedication.[146] At Fagifulae a certain Quintus Parius Severus dedicated a statue to Emperor Antoninus Pius and provided a meal and cash distributions on the day of its dedication.[147]

In the Liburnian town of Asseria, Lucius Laelius Proculus left a will which contained a provision for the erection of a triumphal arch in honour of Emperor Trajan and the organization of a public meal.[148]

There are yet more examples from Baetica and North Africa. In Tucci (Baetica), Lucius Lucretius Fulvianus left a will in which he stipulated that a silver statue to be dedicated to the *pietas Augustae* should be erected. After his daughter, Lucretia Campana, had observed this wish, she provided theatrical performances, circus games and a public banquet when it was dedicated.[149] In the Numidian town of Theveste, Quintus Titinius Securus erected a temple of Saturn for the well-being of both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, providing a banquet and theatrical performances when it

[142] *CIL* VIII, 12007.
[143] *CIL* VIII, 25371.
[144] *CIL* II, 964.
[145] *AE* 2008, 524.
[146] *CIL* IX, 4957.
[147] *CIL* IX, 2553.
[148] *CIL* III, 15021 = *CIL* III, 15034 = *AE* 1908, 193.
[149] *CIL* II, 1663.

was dedicated.[150] Similarly, a fragmentary inscription from Chidibbia reports food benefactions being distributed for the welfare of the emperor and his whole family.[151]

The birthdays of the imperial family were also occasions which attracted the attention of benefactors. An inscription from Telesia records that two civic benefactors, Quintus Fillius Rufus and Quintus Agrius Celer, who were *praetores duumviri*, built wool-workshops at their own expense to produce revenue which could be used to finance annual distributions of *mulsum* and *crustum* to the citizens (*coloni*) on the birthday of Caesar Augustus.[152] A town council decree from Forum Clodii refers to a certain Quintus Cascellius Labeo furnishing a perpetual *cena* for the *decuriones* and the people on the birthday of Tiberius and to the *decuriones* providing honeyed wine and cookies for female worshippers of Bona Dea on the birthday of Livia.[153]

2.3.4 Birthdays and posthumous commemorations

Many inscriptions refer to benefactors who provided communal meals with the intention of turning their birthdays into public occasions.

In the first century, a certain Marcus Cacius Cerna offered the people of Sinuessa a public *cena* on his birthday.[154] Since the inscription uses the term 'established' (*instituit*) in connection with this *cena*, this must have concerned an annual event. Although it is unclear whether the *cenae* established by Cacius Cerna were supposed to continue after his death, the epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that this is what many other benefactors hoped to achieve. One example comes from Africa Proconsularis, where Publius Ligarius Potitus, a decurion of the *civitas Goritana*, promised to give 4,000 sesterces on condition that the decurions would use the income generated by this sum to pay for an annual dinner on his birthday in perpetuity.[155]

As has been noted in an earlier section of this chapter, some benefactors tried to ensure the perpetual celebration of their birthdays by bequeathing sums of money in their wills. A first-century inscription from Praeneste reports that a certain Corellia Galla Papiana bequeathed Minturnae and Casinum 100,000 sesterces on condition that the money would be used to distribute cakes and honeyed wine every year on her birthday.[156] In an inscription from Zucchar (Africa Proconsularis), we read that a certain Lucius Sisenna Bassus bequeathed a sum with the instruction that it be used

[150] *AE* 1933, 233.
[151] *AE* 2003, 2005.
[152] *CIL* IX, 2226.
[153] *CIL* XI, 3303.
[154] *CIL* X, 4736.
[155] *CIL* VIII, 12421.
[156] *CIL* XIV, 2827.

for the erection of a statue of himself and for providing an annual dinner and distributions of cash on his birthday.[157]

Some benefactors were more concerned about the birthdays of close relatives than about their own. In mainland Italy, Gaius Futius Onirus donated 10,000 sesterces to the decurions of Croton with the instruction that they were to use the interest to mark his daughter's birthday by holding an annual dinner.[158] At Pitinum Mergens, a woman named Licinia donated a sum of money on condition that the annual income would be used to organize a feast for the *decuriones* and the *plebs urbana* on her son's birthday.[159] At Rudiae, Marcus Tuccius Augazo promised 80,000 sesterces whose interest could be used to defray the cost of an annual meat distribution (*visceratio*) on his son's birthday.[160] In the North African town of Mactar, Caius Sextius Martialis gave the municipal treasury 50,000 sesterces in order to make it possible for the members of the *curiae* to hold a feast on his brother's birthday.[161] At Spoletium, Gaius Torasius Severus paid 250,000 sesterces into the public treasury so that the *decuriones* might celebrate his son's birthday with a public dinner.[162] At Pisaurum, Gaius Titius Valentinus bequeathed the colony one million sesterces whose interest would be used to provide a banquet for the people on the birthday of his son.[163]

Benefactors aspiring to perpetuate the memories of family members also had the option of erecting various buildings dedicated to the memory of their deceased loved ones and they could also provide communal meals on the occasion of their dedication.

An inscription from Sutunurca (Proconsularis Zeugitana) records various benefactions provided by a certain Abonius. After the death of his parents, he financed the construction of a temple, dedicated marble statues of his parents and provided an *epulum* and oil for everyone (*universis*) on the occasion on which the temple and the statues were dedicated.[164] At Mustis, the wish to honour the memory of his father and demonstrate his affection for his home-town prompted a certain Gaius Cornelius to dedicate statues and to provide games lasting three days, not to mention hand-outs for the *decuriones* and oil and dinners for the entire population (*universis popularibus*) on the occasion of their dedication.[165] According to an inscription from Ilugo (Tarraconensis), a certain Annia Victorina funded the construction of an aqueduct, including bridges, waterpipes and reservoirs and their ornamentation, in memory of

[157] *CIL* VIII, 924.
[158] *CIL* X, 107.
[159] *CIL* XI, 5963.
[160] *CIL* IX, 23. For more examples, see *CIL* IX, 1618; *CIL* VIII, 1845; *CIL* IX, 4971; *AE* 1958, 144.
[161] *CIL* VIII, 11813.
[162] *CIL* XI, 4815.
[163] *CIL* XI, 6377.
[164] *ILAfr* 304.
[165] *CIL* VIII, 1577.

her husband and son. A dinner was offered on the occasion of the dedication of these buildings.[166]

Yet another option available to benefactors was to donate money to fund commemorative rites and meals at their own graves or those of their loved ones. A text from Mons Fereter in Umbria reports that an anonymous individual, who had already donated various buildings to the city, bequeathed the huge sum of 200,000 sesterces which was to be used to pay for funeral meals and another 100,000 sesterces for the distribution of honeyed wine and bread.[167] In a funerary inscription from Patavium, we read that a certain Gaius Vettonius Maximus built a tomb for himself and gave the *pagani Misquilenses* 800 sesterces on condition that the annual income yielded by this sum would be used to lay flowers on the grave and to have a meal.[168]

These texts are quite explicit about the wish of benefactors to turn important family anniversaries into public occasions and the desire to perpetuate their own memory or those of their loved ones, figuring prominently among the reasons which prompted wealthy or moderately well-off citizens to bestow food benefactions on communities.

2.4 The political and social dynamics behind privately sponsored food gifts

As countless studies have explained, the fact that magistrates, priests and other members of civic elites bestowed various kinds of benefactions on civic communities in the Hellensitic and Roman worlds was intimately linked to the oligarchical nature of political life in these communities.

As early as the fourth century BC, Aristotle had formulated the idea that civic magistracies should have expensive duties attached to them. He also observed that, if magistrates offered magnificent sacrifices or erected public buildings upon entering office, 'the people who participate in the entertainments and see the city decorated with votive offerings and buildings will not desire an alteration in the government, and the notables will have memorials of their munificence'.[169] From Hellenistic times, particularly from the mid-second century BC, inscriptions referring to magistrates or other prominent citizens bestowing various kinds of benefactions on their home communities became a very common practice, and it is generally agreed that this signified the emergence of a political culture in which a relatively small group of elite

[166] *CIL* II, 3240. Cf. Hemelrijk (2015), 122.
[167] *CIL* XI, 6481. It has been suggested that this magnate was a senator, Champlin (1991), 157, n.5.
[168] *CIL* V, 2090. For further examples, see e.g. *CIL* VIII, 9052; *CIL* X, 107; cf. *InscrIt* 10, 5, 817 = *AE* 1996, 726 = *AE* 1996, 728 = *AE* 2001, 1067.
[169] Arist. *Pol*. 6.7. For translation, see Jowett and Barnes (1988), 152.

families monopolized access to the highest offices.[170] As innumerable studies have pointed out, neither the appearance of a culture of *euergetism* nor the increasingly oligarchical nature of urban political culture proved enough to undermine the importance of local citizenship or of local citizen communities. In fact, one of the most striking features of *euergetism* in its Hellenistic form is that almost all of the benefactions which were provided by members of local elites were gifted to people who had local citizenship rights. From this circumstance, it has been deduced that, from functional point of view, the purpose of office-related and other benefactions was to persuade less well-off members of local citizen communities to accept the legitimacy of elite rule.[171]

Under the early Empire, oligarchical rule and the practice of *euergetism* persisted in the self-governing *poleis* of the Greek-speaking East, and from the early years of the Principate and thereafter a very similar system emerged in Italy, Spain and North Africa. It therefore seems a foregone conclusion that the emergence and continued existence of the practice of providing food gifts for civic communities in these areas were a reflection of this development.

These summary observations go a long way towards explaining the custom of offering office-related food gifts by those prominent citizens who had been elected to high offices or by male or female office-holders.

On one level, all interactions between providers of food-related benefactions and beneficiaries can be seen as taking place in the context of a reciprocal relationship in which food gifts were exchanged for the purpose of accruing prestige and honour.[172] It has in fact been argued that terms such as *merita*, *munificentia* and *liberalitas*, which are often employed in the inscriptions, indicate that 'the ultimate goal of the donor was to secure honor and glory in the community'.[173] Adopting this approach but using a different terminology, other researchers have argued that food gifts and other benefactions can be seen as a way of converting material resources into 'symbolic capital'.[174]

At the same time, benefactions can be seen as an effective way by which civic elites could affirm their moral excellence through outward and visible displays of generosity. This concept applies not only to the willingness of civic elites to shoulder the cost of erecting various kinds of public buildings but also to elite-sponsored public meals and food distributions. Viewed in this light, the honorific language of inscriptions which

[170] Gauthier (1985).
[171] See, for instance, Quass (1993). For a study of political legitimacy, see Beetham (2013).
[172] Gill, Postlethwaite and Seaford (1998), 1.
[173] Donahue (2004b), 889. For these terms in epigraphic evidence from Spain and Italy, see Melchor Gil (1994), 65-76 and Forbis (1990), 505-507.
[174] For 'symbolic capital', see Bourdieu (1977), esp. 171-183; Gordon (1990a), 194-198 and Gordon (1990b), 224-231; Luraghi (2010), 249-250.

praise benefactors for their *liberalitas* or *munificentia* can be read as a legitimizing discourse which helped to cement elite rule.[175]

While this is true, instead of focusing exclusively on the symbolic and legitimizing aspects of benefactions, we should also ask why so many benefactors decided to provide public banquets and food distributions. In my view, an important part of the reason for the popularity of food benefactions was that the organization of banquets for members of local citizen communities helped to reaffirm the continuing importance of these citizen communities and the intimate relationships which existed between wealthy members of local elites and their fellow citizens. Throughout the early-imperial period inscriptions unfailingly refer to local assemblies and to the confirmation of the decisions of town councils by the *populus*.[176] Municipal charters refer to magistrates being elected by local assemblies.[177] Nevertheless, there are strong indications that the most important decisions were taken by town councils rather than by assemblies and that it was difficult for members from a non-decurional background to aspire to the highest offices.[178] Exactly what did it mean to be a citizen of an Italian, Spanish or North African community under these political conditions? Part of the answer is that membership of local citizen communities continued to be underlined in local religious festivals and also in local food distributions, many of which were provided for people with local citizenship rights.[179] Hence, it is hardly surprising that members of local elites account for ca. 80 percent of all identifiable male benefactors who are known to have provided food gifts to communities in Italy and the western provinces.

In an earlier section of this chapter, we have noted the fact that ca. 19 percent of all epigraphically attested food benefactions were provided by women, and that women belonging to local elite families account for ca. 85 percent of those female benefactors whose status can be identified. As various scholars have pointed out, the fact that under Roman law women who were not subject to *patria potestas* were property-owners can be assumed to have been a prerequisite for such benefactions, but their liberated legal status does not really explain *why* a significant number of property-owning women took the step of showering public meals or food distributions on their home communities.

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[175] Cf. Zuiderhoek (2009), 122-133.
[176] See for example *AE* 1948, 18 = *AE* 1953, +184; *ILAlg* 1, 2145 = *AE* 1919, 37; *CIL* X, 7915; *ILAlg* 2, 3, 7936 = *AE* 1916, 34; *AE* 1949, 55; *ILAlg* 1, 1295 = *AE* 1998, 1580. Cf. Boatwright (2000), 47-48.
[177] Lex Malacitana 51-59. Galsterer (2000), 350, 355-356.
[178] Cf. Reynolds (1988), 25-26; Mackie (1983), 55, 79; Langhammer (1973), 202-277; Mouritsen (1988).
[179] Of course, members of the local elite also had the option of affirming their membership of their group by restricting their food gifts to town-councillors only. Nevertheless, it is siginificant that most privately sponsored food gifts were distributed to all people with local citizenship rights.

In an attempt to account for the reason that women provided benefactions for their communities, Donahue argues that 'as towns relied more and more upon financial support from its citizens to maintain viability during the Principate, gender became less important'.[180] It would appear, however, that this explanation looks at the situation in terms which are too focused on the financial aspect. A more convincing explanation can be found by taking a closer look at the role of elite women in the oligarchical political cultures of the civic communities of Italy and the western provinces. In an important book which appeared more than twenty years ago, the Dutch ancient historian Van Bremen argues that in the increasingly oligarchical *poleis* of the Hellenistic world women from elite families were not just allowed but actually *expected* to display the same kind of generosity as men from the same social background. In other words, in an oligarchical world it became both possible and even quasi-compulsory for elite women to make benefactions which helped to perpetuate and legitimize collective elite rule.[181] Hence I would argue that the epigraphic evidence of food gifts provided by elite women can be read in the same light.

This is not to suggest that distinctions between gender roles were entirely extinguished in the increasingly oligarchical cities of the early and high Roman Empire. Unlike elite men, women were never elected to magistracies, a step which would have given them real power.[182] This explains why female providers of food gifts appear in inscriptions either as priestesses or as 'voluntary' benefactresses.

A few words have already been said about the dynamics of 'responsive' food benefactions. In particular, attention has been drawn to the fact that many of these benefactions seem to have been part of a quasi-cyclical pattern of interaction between benefactors and beneficiaries in which displays of generosity triggered bestowals of public honours which then elicited offers to shoulder the cost of both public statues and food-related benefactions. The most likely explanation of this pattern is that those who had received public honours became 'indebted' to the community which had awarded them.[183] Therefore, if those honoured wanted to maintain their social superiority, they were obliged to reciprocate any bestowal of public honours by making yet another display of generosity. In other words, whenever a community decided to erect a public statue for a prominent citizen, the latter must have been under enormous pressure to shoulder the cost of this statue and to show his gratitude to the community by providing a public meal on the day of its dedication.

In the case of food-related benefactions of the voluntary type, 25 percent of these benefactions were provided on condition that the recipients would use the money (or

[180] Donahue (2004b), 873, n.3; cf. Donahue (2017), 112-113.
[181] Van Bremen (1996).
[182] In a few cities of the Greek-speaking East, elite women were elected to eponymous magistracies. Although such offices were extremely prestigious, they did not involve any administrative responsibilities. Cf. Van Bremen (1996), 30-34.
[183] Cf. Domingo Gygax (2009), Domingo Gygax (2016), 45-57.

the food) to organize banquets on the benefactor's birthday or on anniversaries of important events affecting his or her close relatives. Another 18.75 percent of food benefactions were offered when the benefactors celebrated the dedication of a statue for their loved ones. How do we explain this large proportion (43.75%) of food benefactions closely related to a person's private life?

In a monograph which appeared in 1987, Mrozek has identified the competitive nature of the *munificentia privata* which was a part of political life in the municipalities as the general reason Italian inscriptions record large numbers of benefactions of this type. In his view, elite competition for local offices and affirmation of one's social position made such seemingly 'voluntary' food gifts more or less obligatory.[184]

It also seems likely that some providers of voluntary benefactions bequeathed large sums with no other purpose in mind than to perpetuate the memories of themselves or their loved ones. Some inscriptions explicitly identify this as the donor's motive and there is no reason to dismiss such claims as disingenuous.[185]

While both these explanations contain an important element of truth, we should also bear in mind that the increasingly oligarchical nature of political and social life in Italy and the western provinces meant that the line between 'public' and 'private' was becoming increasingly blurred. As various other scholars have observed, in the oligarchical societies of the Hellenistic world the private life of prominent elite families became a matter of public concern for all members of citizen communities.[186] This explains why citizen communities in the Greek-speaking East began to issue 'consolation decrees' after elite families had lost one of their members.[187]

In my view, food benefactions provided a way of making it possible for all decurions or, better still, for all citizens, to celebrate the birthday of the benefactor or that of one of the benefactor's close relatives, or to celebrate the dedication of a statue the benefactor erected for his or her family member(s). By transforming the celebration of family anniversaries and affairs into public occasions, elite families were able to give expression to the idea that local citizen communities were governed, and ought to be governed, by a restricted group of distinguished families whose biological continuity and prosperity and whose remembrance of its members were matters of public concern.

In the case of testamentary benefactions, the nature of the Roman will should be taken into account. Unlike most wills drawn up by people in the modern world, the Roman will can be described as 'the product of a tension between private hopes and social expectations'.[188] In this sense, testamentary benefactions bear some resemblance

[184] Mrozek (1987), 103, 105. Cf. Ramanius (2012), 114.
[185] E.g. *CIL* VIII, 12421; *CIL* IX, 1618.
[186] E.g. Gauthier (1985), Van Bremen (1996), Pleket (1998).
[187] Cf. Pleket (1994), 147-156; Pleket (1998), 209-210.
[188] Champlin (1991), 6.

to those offered on a voluntary basis: both types of benefactions were inspired by the benefactors' sense of duty towards other people and by their wish to give a good impression of themselves. Those who provided testamentary benefactions had their sights set on establishing a reputation for moral excellence, or to perpetuate one if they already had earned it posthumously.[189] This reputation would bring credit to their family. Importantly, their heirs or other people who had been entrusted with executing a will which bestowed benefactions on local communities were presented with an opportunity to show their own public-spiritedness and generosity by adding benefactions of their own. This is what the sons and heirs of Marcus Baebius Secundus did when they distributed *crustulum* and *mulsum* on the date on which they dedicated a statue of their father as stipulated in the latter's will.[190] While all benefactions bequeathed in someone's will can be read as posthumously affirming the rightful place of the deceased and his family among the local elite of the community, those executing the will were given the opportunity to assert their own entitlement to social and political prominence by demonstrating that they possessed the same superior moral qualities as the deceased.

2.5 Conclusions

One of the findings of this chapter is that the vast majority of benefactors and benefactresses who provided public meals or food hand-outs originated from local elite families. Although unquestionably many food-related benefactions were provided by office-holders, the occasions on which such benefactions were bestowed did not need to have anything to do with their office. My investigations into the circumstances of privately sponsored public dining reveal that, besides benefactions *ob honorem*, food benefactions were also offered to celebrate the bestowal of non-office-related honours and as a way of displaying spontaneous generosity, whether during a person's lifetime or posthumously.

To judge from the epigraphic materials, the local elite and other wealthy individuals were prompted to provide food gifts for civic communities, or specific sub-groups within these communities, by a number of considerations, among them affection for his/her home-town, religious beliefs, a display of political loyalty, celebrations of birthdays or family anniversaries and the perpetuation of personal memories. Although these concerns reveal concrete motivations which could differ from one occasion to another, the popularity of expressing this form of *euergetism* by the offering of food must have been deeply embedded in the social and political culture of an oligarchical society. In this vein, we must acknowledge that, by and large food-sharing activities did help to create a sense of togetherness between participants.

[189] *Ibid*. 168.
[190] *CIL* X, 5714.

By showing an interest in taking care of the well-being of civic communities, food-related *euergetism* contributed to the establishment of an intimate relationship between wealthy members of the elites and ordinary citizens; an outcome which served the interests of the local elite.

Office-related food gifts can be seen as a reflection of a specific political culture which developed in certain parts of the Western Empire. Up to a point this political culture was oligarchical, a system in which the highest local offices were monopolized by a small group of elite families. Nevertheless, despite the foothold of the latter on the ladder to success, the citizen body was still the most important source of political legitimacy. As local assemblies gradually lost much of their political significance in popular elections, the practice of privately sponsored public dining presented itself as an excellent alternative which could be adopted by the members of the local elite to demonstrate their allegiance to civic values and to reaffirm the importance of the citizen body. It would be easier to understand why female benefactors also participated so readily by placing their generosity in the context of the oligarchical political culture. As in the oligarchical *poleis* of the Hellenistic world, women belonging to the elite families in the communities of Italy, Spain and North Africa were very probably expected to display munificence towards their communities because such benefactions helped to cement collective elite rule.

A quasi-cyclical pattern revealed by 'responsive' food benefactions suggests a reciprocal relationship between the community and its prominent citizens, one in which acts of munificence were lauded by the bestowal of an honour which in its turn triggered a new round of display of generosity and so on and so forth. Those so honoured were expected to show their gratitude after they had been granted any public honour and providing food benefactions can be seen as a great way to achieve this. Such acts of generosity not only provided a feeling of relief from a sense of inherent 'indebtedness', they also contributed to the maintenance of superiority.

In the case of 'voluntary' food-related benefactions, despite any consideration of affirming moral excellence, many inscriptions refer to the desires of members of the local elite to celebrate their own personal birthdays or those of people close to them and to commemorate the dedication of statues for their family members in public. These statements can be interpreted as declarations by elite families, who found themselves in an increasingly oligarchical society, that local communities were being governed and should be governed by them and consequently their continued prosperity and private life was a matter of public concern.

The motives behind 'testamentary' benefactions share similarities with the voluntary type in the sense they contributed towards affirming a good reputation. However, one underlying cause for arranging food benefactions posthumously could have been that the testator hoped to perpetuate his or her elevated prestige in the community after death. Those providing extra food benefactions in order to observe

the provisions set out in a will can also be seen as taking advantage of the opportunity to achieve prominence in the community.

The motivations of private benefactors for providing public feasts or food distributions can be explored in greater depth by taking into account their selection of recipients. In the next chapter, we enquire into who were (frequently) targeted and the benefactors' preference will be related to the changing concept of community under the Empire.

Chapter 3

Beneficiaries and the 'concept of community'

In this chapter, I focus on the beneficiaries of privately sponsored public dining. The inscriptions referring to privately funded public dinners mention various groups of recipients, with different groups, or combinations of groups, being invited on different occasions. None of these groups participated in all community-wide meals. Van Nijf argues that, 'public spectacles and civic celebrations were used to make serious political statements about the kind of community their organisers thought they were living in.'[1] Public spectacles or civic celebrations did indeed make these statements, but food-related benefactions are a particularly good way to study these perceived communities. Invitations to groups to attend public dinners should be seen as focused messages from the benefactors about which groups they considered to be part of the community.

This leads to the main questions posed in this chapter: Which groups were selected as the beneficiaries of privately sponsored public dinners? How often was each of these groups selected? Did benefactors distinguish between different groups by providing different types of food benefactions, or different amounts of food, for various categories of recipients? What do these choices reveal about how communities were perceived in Italy and the western provinces?

3.1 Beneficiary groups

Ideally, the beneficiaries of 'community-wide' meals should have included the whole population, but this was not always the case. The residents of a community consisted of a number of different juridical and social groups, not all of which would always participate in public dining at the same time. The recipient groups most often attested in the sources include the *populus*, the *decuriones*, the *(seviri) Augustales*, *collegia*, women, children and *incolae*.[2] In the following sections the frequency with which

[1] Van Nijf (1997), 135. See also Zuiderhoek (2009), 87.

[2] In his study on the distributions of money and food in the Italian cities of the Roman Empire, Mrozek puts forward four categories of beneficiaries: the *decuriones*, the *seviri Augustales* and

these groups of beneficiaries appear in the inscriptions will be examined, after which each group is considered in more detail.

3.1.1 Participation frequency

Recipients of privately sponsored public dinners differed in gender and age as well as social and juridical status. Some groups of beneficiaries participated in public dinners more often than others. An investigation of their participation frequency shows which groups were most often targeted by benefactors.

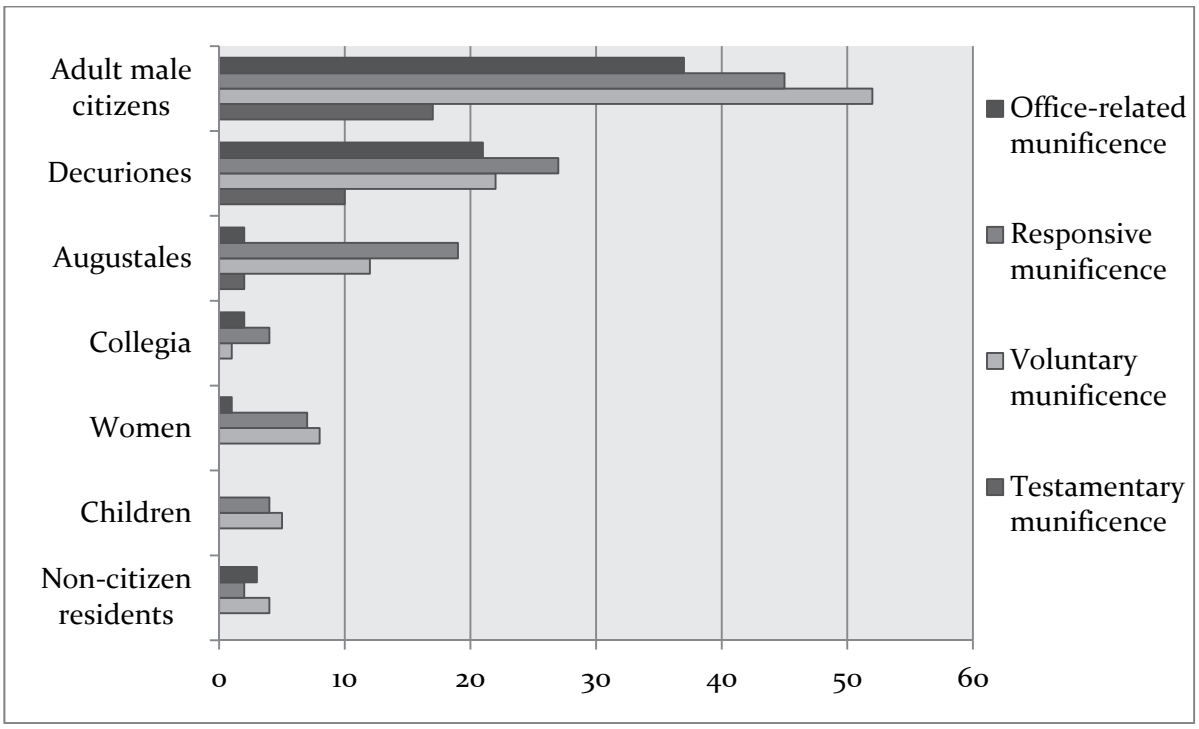

Figure 3.1 Beneficiary groups under different circumstances of munificence

Figure 3.1 shows that inscriptions recording the bestowal of voluntary or responsive benefactions on specific groups of beneficiaries are more numerous than those which record the recipients of office-related and testamentary feasts. The vast majority of office-related food benefactions were given to people with either local citizenship rights or the decurions, or both. The obvious explanation for this is that, in theory at

Augustales, other colleges and the people, see Mrozek (1987), 83-102. See also Donahue's discussions on recipients of banquets, Donahue (2017), 118-141. In the present study, those beneficiaries who only appear once in the sources are left out, e.g. *CIL* XI, 4815: *compitales Larum Augustorum*; *CIL* VIII, 1321: *congentiles* and *sacerdotes*. An exceptional inscription from Baetica (*CIL* II, 2011) mentions *servi stationarii* receiving cash hand-outs when a local benefactor provided a public banquet. Pudliszewski (1992), 76, argues that the *servi stationarii* must have attended this banquet with the other groups mentioned in the text; however, I think we cannot rule out the possibility that these *servi* did not take part in the public meal but received only *sportulae*.

least, magistrates were elected or appointed by the entire citizen body, although in practice popular elections were gradually transformed into an orchestrated formality, with the role of the assemblies restricted to being asked to ratify the list of candidates compiled by the council.[3]

Since public honours, such as the erection of a public statue, were normally bestowed at the behest of the local town council (sometimes at the request of the *populus*), it is not surprising that the *decuriones* feature prominently among the recipients of responsive food benefactions. Nevertheless, references to responsive food gifts presented to the entire citizen body are even more numerous. This suggests that the entire civic community was still seen as the source of civic honour.

In the case of voluntary food gifts, benefactors might have been expected to have had more freedom for manoeuvre, allowing them to select favoured groups of beneficiaries according to their personal preferences. Despite this assumption, the vast majority of all voluntary food benefactions were designated for local citizen bodies or decurions, or both. This strongly suggests that 'voluntary' benefactions were just as much 'political' as 'office-related' food gifts. From a statistical point of view, the most important difference between these two types of benefactions is that a significant minority of voluntary food gifts targeted *Augustales*, women or children.

Another way to approach the analysis of the quantitative data relating to various groups of beneficiaries is to focus on the gender of benefactors. From this point of view, we find that the citizen populace and the *decuriones* were invariably the groups most likely to receive benefactions – regardless of whether the donors were male or female (Figure 3.2). Noentheless, it remains noteworthy that female benefactors seem to have had more particular preferences. Besides the civic population, the local council and the *Augustales*, they gave priority to fellow women and children rather than to *collegia* or non-citizen residents. This is a distinct deviation from the behaviour of male benefactors. This finding provides grounds to infer that female donors were more inclined to recognize female citizens and non-adults as core groups of local citizen communities.

[3] For further analysis see the section on adult male citizens.

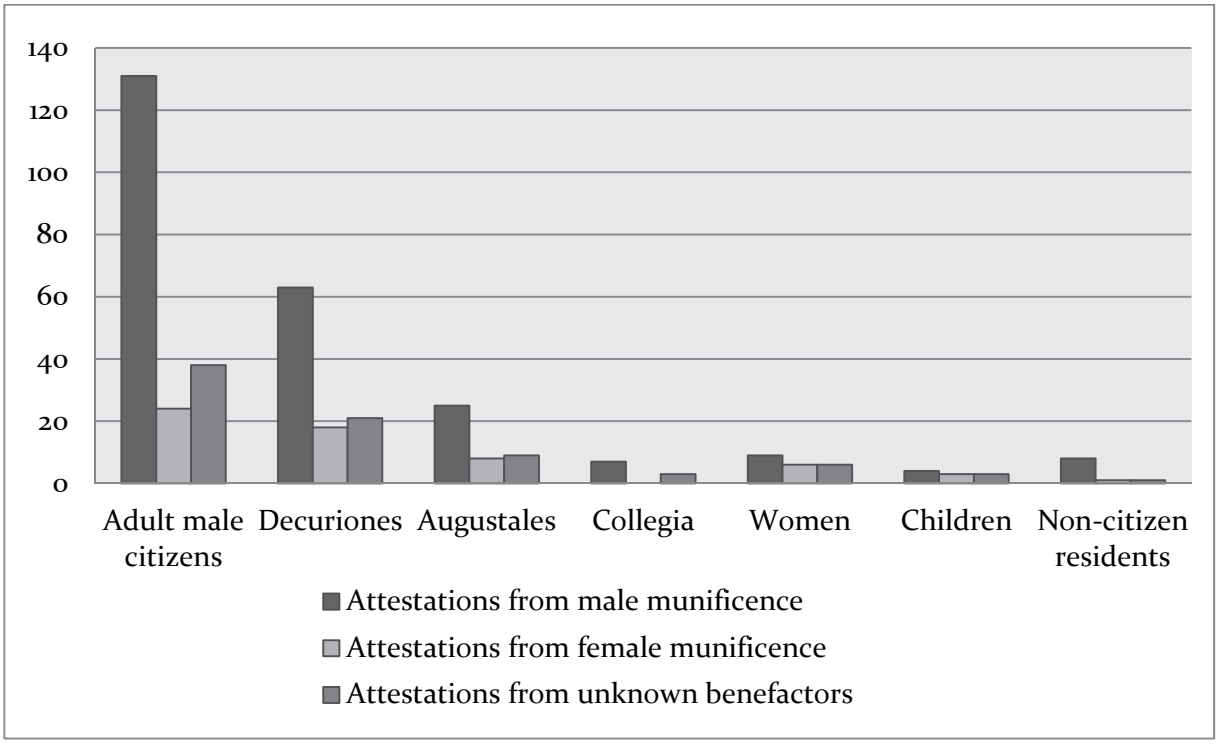

Figure 3.2 Beneficiaries participation frequency in terms of benefactor's gender

The first three centuries AD witnessed the inception, the heyday and decline of privately sponsored public dining (cf. Chapter 6). When the evidence is set out chronologically (Figure 3.3), it is clear that, from the late republic to the fourth century, the citizen population remained the most important group of recipients. They were included whatever the circumstances surrounding the benefactions were, they were recipients of benefactions provided by both genders and had benefactions bestowed upon them at different periods of time. However, even though the number of attestations to different beneficiary groups is likely to have been influenced by what was deemed socially appropriate, the civic body was and remained the most important recipient.

Considering the gradual devaluation of popular election to office, which meant that political power was transferred even more firmly into the hands of local town councils, the staying power of local citizen bodies as the most frequently attested beneficiaries of privately funded public food benefactions is remarkable. One possible explanation is that the loss of effective voting rights did not undermine the symbolic importance of the local citizen body as the only source of political legitimacy. The viability of this hypothesis will be explored in more depth in the next section.

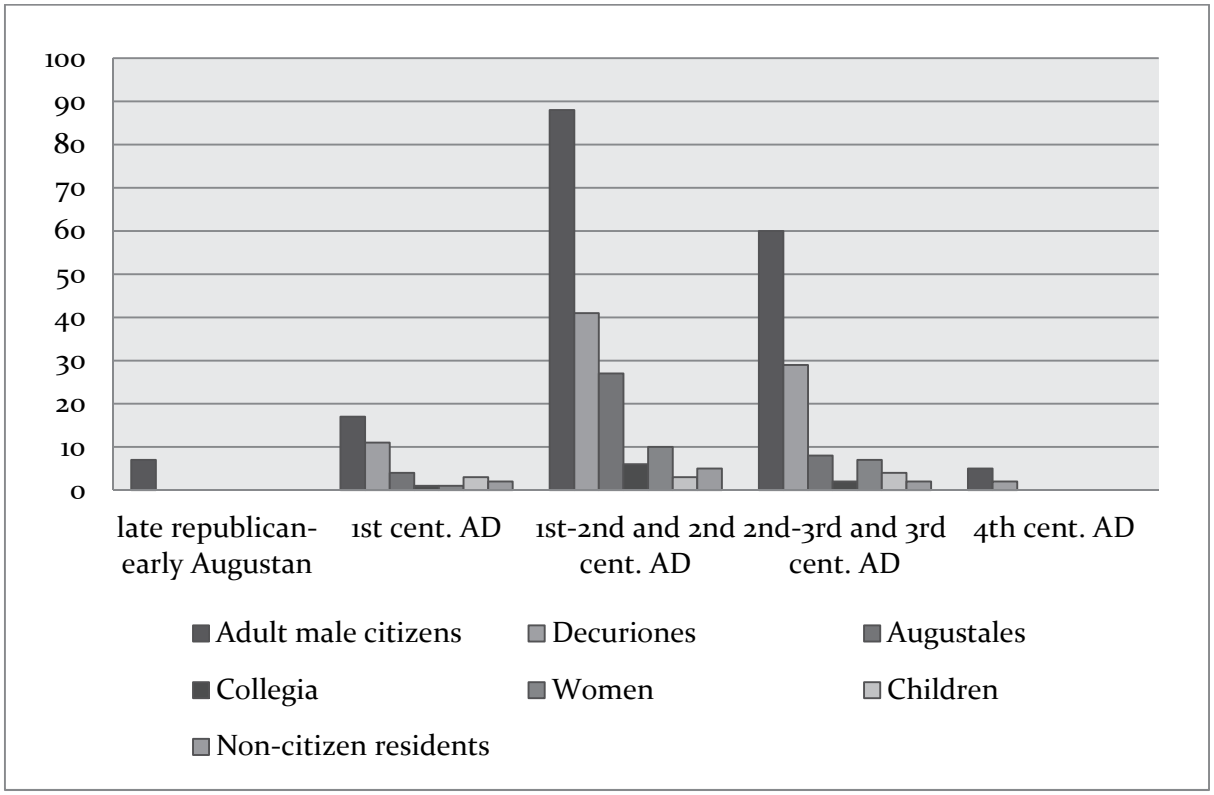

Figure 3.3 Beneficiaries during different periods

While local citizen bodies and members of local town councils account for the vast majority of all recipients of privately funded food benefactions during the first to third centuries AD, the chronological distribution of the epigraphic data also suggests that the role of the *Augustales* began to feature more prominently in the late first century and thereafter. On this basis it might be postulated that it was only during this period that the *Augustales* achieved wide recognition as the second-highest status group of local civic society. Despite their apparent rise in importance, during the second and third centuries epigraphic references to entire citizen communities receiving food benefactions are about four times more numerous than attestations of food gifts which were designated for the *Augustales*.

Lastly, the inclusion of other groups of beneficiaries appears to have remained optional throughout the period covered by this study. Inscriptions referring to food benefactions targeting *collegia*, women, children or non-citizen residents suggest that these groups might have been selected as socially significant components of civic society, but the epigraphic record as a whole leaves no doubt that the vast majority of food benefactions reflected a narrower concept of local communities in which the *populus* and the *ordo decurionum* remained the preferred target groups of elite benefactors.

3.1.2 Different groups in detail

Adult male citizens

As has been shown, the civic body of male adults is the most frequently attested group of beneficiaries of privately sponsored public dinners. In the following sections, the various terms for and ways of distinguishing between different groups of adult male citizens will be explained and illustrated with examples.

The best place to begin is with the most encompassing term: many inscriptions use the term *populus*. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* defines *populus* as a collective term for the Roman citizen body.[4] In the epigraphic record of the first to third centuries, the term is used not only to denote the adult male citizens of local communities, but is extended to all permanent residents, including *incolae*.[5]

Many inscriptions distinguish between *populus* and *decuriones* or between *populus* and *Augustales*. It goes without saying that, in such cases, the term *populus* refers to 'the remainder of the male citizens' not comprised by those sub-groups of local citizens which are listed separately.[6] In other texts, the *populus* is distinguished from women and children, confirming the view that the term normally denotes the adult male citizens.[7] However, we also encounter the phrase '*populus utriusque sexus*', demonstrating that the term *populus* might also be used to refer to a civic body consisting of the two genders. Of course, it remains reasonable to suppose that the term retains its usual meaning wherever women are not explicitly mentioned.

Since Roman citizen communities were composed of both town-based citizens and country-dwellers of citizen status, the *populus* could include both groups. An inscription from Spoletium refers to a cash endowment of 1,500,000 sesterces, the annual income from which was to be used to provide the citizens (*municipes*) with a dinner, accompanied or preceded by a distribution of sweet wine and cakes.[8] Duncan-Jones has calculated that the endowment must have yielded an annual income of 75,000 sesterces and that the latter sum would have been enough to provide between 4,700 and 9,400 citizens with the food gifts referred to in the inscription. On this basis the size of the citizen population, men, women and children can be estimated to have been 16,450-32,900,[9] not including the unfree population. We also happen to know that early-imperial Spoletium had a walled area of ca. 30 hectares, of which approximately three-quarters was a built-up area. There were no significant suburbs.

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[4] T. J. Cornell, 'Populus' in: Hornblower, Spawforth and Eidinow (2012), *Oxford Reference Online*.
[5] Mrozek (1984a), 19. *Incolae* had (limited) voting rights in local assemblies.
[6] Duncan-Jones (1982), 279-280.
[7] For epigraphic references which distinguish *populus* from women/children, see e.g. *CIL* X, 5849; *CIL* IX, 3160; *AE* 1946, 174 = *AE* 1992, 244.
[8] *CIL* XI, 4789.
[9] Duncan-Jones (1982), 267.

Since assigning 16,500 inhabitants to a built-up area of 22.5 hectares would result in an impossibly high population density of more than 700 inhabitants per hectare, we can be certain that, at least in this particular case, the recipients included large numbers of country-dwelling citizens.[10]

Other complexities surrounding the term *populus* are illustrated by various other Italian inscriptions. An inscription from Auximum recording that a certain Vibia Marcella, wife of Lucius Praesentius Paetus Lucius Attius Severus, a citizen of Ancona who was patron of Auximum, provided a proper dinner (*cena*) for the *coloni* and a simple meal (*epulum*) for the *populus* on the occasion of the dedication of the statue she had put up for her husband.[11] In this text the *coloni* referred to must be the citizens of Auximum (which was a *colonia*), whereas the term *populus* must refer to a wider group. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this group also included the *incolae*.[12] Two inscriptions which were found in the territory of Visentium record the bestowal of food gifts on the *vicani* and the *populus*.[13] On both occasions the *vicani* were invited to an *epulum*, whereas the *populus* received only a donation of *crustulum et mulsum*. To judge from the find-spots of these inscriptions, the term *vicani* refers to citizens living in the rural *vici* of the territory of the town.[14] Since the *populus* received less significant food gifts, the logical conclusion must be that this term covers people without local citizenship rights.

In many inscriptions the recipients of various food gifts are identified as 'the citizens' (*cives, coloni* or *municipes*), 'the community of citizens' (*civitas*) or 'the community' (*res publica*). In other contexts various other terms, as among them *omnes*, *universi*, *viri*, *populares* and *patria*, are used to denote the beneficiaries of privately sponsored food benefactions.[15] Of these terms, only *viri* is completely unambiguous. Although in most inscriptions the other terms also seem to refer to adult male citizens,

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[10] De Ligt (2012), 232-233.

[11] *CIL* IX, 5841. A *cena* is usually considered to have been a better meal than *epulum*, see e.g. Mrozek (1987), 38, 41-42; Donahue (2017), 7-9; Dunbabin (2003a), 82-83, 91; cf. Duncan-Jones (1982), 263-264, n.3.

[12] Cf. Gagliardi (2006), 82-83.

[13] *CIL* XI, 2911 and *AE* 1980, 428. For the find spots see Tarpin (2002), 398 and Rossi (2012), 292-293.

[14] *Contra* Mrozek (1990), 39, who sees the *vicani* of Visentium as town-dwelling citizens. An inscription from Ariminum (*CIL* XI, 379 = *ILS* 6664) records cash gifts of 20,000 sesterces to the *vicani vicorum VII* of Ariminum. These *vici* are generally considered urban, for instance, by Duncan-Jones (1982), 283, Coarelli (1995), 175-180, and Cenerini (1997), 26.

[15] E.g. *cives*: *AE* 1992, 385 = *AE* 2002, +68; *CIL* VIII, 23880; *coloni*: *CIL* XIV, 375 = *ILS* 6147; *CIL* X, 4727 = *ILS* 6297; *CIL* IX, 2252; *CIL* IX, 5841; *AE* 1975, 354 = *AE* 1978, 291; *CIL* IX, 5823; *municipes*: *CIL* XI, 4789; *CIL* X, 5853; *CIL* XI, 6060; *CIL* XI, 5693; *civitas*: *CILA*, III, 1, 101 = *AE* 1958, 4; *res publica*: *CIL* II, 5941 = *ILS* 6954; *AE* 1979, 00352; *omnes*: *CIL* X, 5918 = *ILS* 406; *universi*: *ILAfr* 00304; *CIL* VIII, 15246 = *CIL* VIII, 15528 = *CIL* VIII, 26527 = *ILTun* 1404; *AE* 1997, 432; *viri*: *CIL* XI, 6190; *AE* 2001, 889; *populares*: *CIL* VIII, 1577 = *CIL* VIII, 15572; *AE* 1905, 35; *patria*: *CIL* VIII, 12006.

Mrozek has argued that, from the early second century onward, some Italian inscriptions use the term *cives* to refer to all free-born men living in a town, including those without local citizenship rights.[16] Furthermore, in an inscription from Siagu (in Zeugitana) the expression *omnes cives* comprises all adult men and women of citizen status.[17]

Another term used to denote adult male citizens is *plebs*. This term is mainly found in the Italian inscriptions. Outside Italy, the term *plebs* was rarely used – with the exception of one inscription found in Africa Proconsularis, and two in Baetica.[18] Although in most cases the term *plebs* seems to refer to the adult male citizens belonging to a community, but this was not necessarily the case. A second-century AD inscription from Pitinum Pisaurense records that the *decuriones*, *seviri Augustales* and *plebs urbana* were offered banquets (*epula*) and oil for bathing, whereas the *populus* and *plebs* were given bread and wine.[19] The distinction between the *populus* and the *plebs* is not entirely clear, but the former term might be interpreted as referring to all (country-dwelling) people with local citizenship rights, whereas the latter might be understood to be inclusive of resident foreigners (*incolae*) as well.[20]

In various cities of Roman North Africa, inscriptions refer to food benefactions being granted to groups of recipients called *curiae*.[21] As Duncan-Jones has demonstrated, these *curiae* were a kind of association composed of people with local citizenship rights who took care of the burial of members and held dinners.[22] From this point of view the *curiae* might be considered as representing the most affluent sections of the civic communities of Roman Africa. One inscription refers to the African *curiae* being recipients of benefactions jointly with the *populus*,[23] and another to food gifts presented to the *curiae* and 'all the citizens' (*universi cives*).[24] In these texts, the terms *populus* and *universi cives* must refer to those citizens who were not members of the *curiae*. In Italy an inscription from Lanuvium refers to *curiales* receiving food

[16] Mrozek (1990), 40.
[17] Duncan-Jones (1982), 264-265.
[18] *CIL* VIII, 23965; *CIL* II, 1047; *CIL* II, 1441. For the terms concerning people in the inscriptions, see Mrozek (1993).
[19] *CIL* XI, 6033.
[20] Cf. Mrozek (1984a), 17-21.
[21] On the differences between the African and Italian *curiae* see Duncan-Jones (1982), 277-278, n.5. Cf. Kotula (1968), Kotula (1980). For a recent discussion on the North African *curiae*, see Dawson (2016), 98-178.
[22] Duncan-Jones (1982), 278. Jacques (1990), 390-401, argues that the *curiales* were adult male citizens of good standing listed on a *publica* register; turning to those citizens who did not belong to the *curiae*, it is possible that they were unable to afford the expenses which would have been incurred.
[23] *CIL* VIII, 25371.
[24] *AE* 1975, 877.

benefactions,[25] but in this case those involved were the members of a voting division of the citizen population of the town.[26]

Two Italian inscriptions refer to public banquets which were held in rural areas. In AD 43 a certain Publius Crusius Germanus gave the *decuriones* of the *pagus Sarclanus* in the territory of Sinuessa 2,000 sesterces to enable them to organize an annual banquet on his birthday.[27] Since the benefactor is not identified as a magistrate or administrator, it seems reasonable to infer that he was acting in a purely private capacity. Another inscription, which has already been discussed in a previous chapter, reports that a certain Marcus Nasellius Sabinus and his father, who is identified as a former *Augustalis quinquennalis*, gave the *pagani* of the *pagus Lucullanus* (in the territory of Beneventum) 500 sesterces on condition that they would use the revenue to hold annual dinners after accomplishing their annual *lustratio* of the *pagus* and again on 8 June, Sabinus' birthday.[28] In both cases we are dealing with benefactors from a relatively humble background making a bid for immortality in the rural communities from which they must have originated themselves.

The large number of food benefactions which were designated for people with local citizenship rights clearly demonstrates that the concept of the civic community had not lost its importance during the first, second and early third century AD. During the final centuries of the Roman Republic, the civic body was the civic context in which the *res publica* was dealt with.[29] For instance, if benefactions were distributed in celebration of a triumph in the Republic, every citizen was entitled to receive a share because it was a civic affair conducted in the civic sphere and the benefactor was the representative of the *res publica*. Moreover, the shared citizen identity invested any members of this body, particularly those possessed of wealth and high status, with responsibility for and a reciprocal obligation towards their fellow citizens.[30] Despite the gap between the elites and the common people, the citizen community of republican times was an ideal unity of citizens. Therefore, it is unsurprising to find that private munificence in this period was often directed towards the entire *populus*. Traditionally, the Roman elite gained honour (*honor*) by their election to political office and the *populus* had a crucial say in these appointments.[31] The logical conclusion

[25] *AE* 1994, 345.
[26] Duncan-Jones (1982), 278. Another inscription from Lanuvium refers to a *curia mulierum*. This text will be discussed in the section on female recipients.
[27] *AE* 1979, 147.
[28] *CIL* IX, 1618. For *vicani* as the only recipients, see *CIL* XI, 2998.
[29] On the understanding of *res publica*, see Flower (2010), 10-17; Hodgson (2017), 1-20.
[30] For discrimination of the common people in terms of patronage, see Mouritsen (2001), 138-139.
[31] Mouritsen (2017), 96.

is that the elite could not have aspired to public office/honour without winning popular support.[32]

During the first centuries of the Empire the concept of the ideal civic community did retain its importance, although it did assume different forms. As Jones observed long ago, 'the one democratic feature in the civic constitutions, the popular election of the magistrates and, directly or indirectly, of the councillors, gradually fell into abeyance in the second century A.D.'.[33] However, even after local office-holders ceased to be elected by local assemblies, they were still expected to live up to the ideals of the local citizen community by displaying their concern for their fellow citizens.

In the local communities of the imperial period, benefactors displayed their generosity and superiority by lavishing gifts. Any intangible rewards for the provision of private munificence were provided by the recipients.[34] By displays of their altruism, benefactors created a much-needed audience to whom to advertise their election to high office or the bestowal of other public honours, such as public statues. Such occasions could also be prompted by the celebration of family anniversaries or for the perpetuation of personal memory. Benefactors could not achieve public recognition by displaying their munificence in isolation. Therefore, the *populus* was vitally important: not only did they form a passive public to whom benefactors wanted to present themselves, they also played an active role in acknowledging their benefactors' position in the community. The imperial benefactor still operated in a community defined by the citizen populace.

One way in which elite citizens could display their concern for their citizen community as a whole was to shoulder the cost of various public amenities, such as theatres, sanctuaries or *macella*. Another option was to provide a public meal to be enjoyed by all members of the citizen community. The latter would have been less financially burdensome. To judge from the information provided by the inscriptions,

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[32] Hölkeskamp (2010), 31.

[33] Jones (1974), 13; cf. De Ste Croix (1981), 308-315. As Mommsen noted long ago (Mommsen (1905), 317), the gradual concentration of the highest civic offices in the hands of a few families must gradually have robbed elections to office by local assemblies of their original significance. The early-fourth century rule that magistracies were restricted to those who were already members of the town-council (*Dig*. 50.2.7.2 Paul) can be seen as the logical outcome of this development. As various scholars have pointed out, there is epigraphic evidence for local assemblies electing magistrates in Italy in the mid-second century AD (e.g. *ILS* 6190), and a law of 326 AD refers to magistrates in North African cities being elected by the *populus* (*Cod. Theod*. 12.5.1; cf. Horstkotte (1984), 213, n.19), but such texts are fully compatible with the view that elections by local assemblies gradually developed into ritual expressions of consent with the rule of an increasingly narrow group of wealthy families.

[34] Garnsey (1999), 134, gives answers to why Hellenistic euergetists provide benefactions: '…for their self-esteem, for their survival as a social group, to reaffirm their legitimacy. The crowds who joined in … sanctioned the domination of the elite over society and politics.' Also see Zuiderhoek (2009), 113-153 for a more detailed analysis of legitimization by means of gift-giving by the elite.

organizing a public meal was much cheaper than erecting a public building. Such munificence as a public dinner for all people of citizen status was a good opportunity for conspicuous consumption and can be seen as a highly effective way of displaying the undiminished social and political relevance of the local citizen community. It might even be suggested that the gradual erosion of the elective role of local assemblies *increased* the social and political significance of private displays of public generosity simply because, simply because the gradual devaluation of popular elections meant that public munificence became relatively more important as a way of legitimizing elite rule in the eyes of non-elite members of civic communities.[35]

The appearance of the plebs urbana as a preferred target group

At least eleven inscriptions, all from peninsular Italy, refer to food gifts being bestowed on the *plebs urbana*.[36] Although at first sight these texts are not particularly remarkable, it should be remembered that many historians regard the separation of town and country as a medieval development. Finley, for instance, has argued that, during the period of the Roman Empire, 'the traditional unity of town and hinterland – political, juridical and residential – went on unchallenged'.[37] There can be no doubt that this assessment is correct to the extent that throughout Antiquity each city normally included a rural territory. Furthermore, we have seen that at least in some instances country-dwelling citizens were invited to privately sponsored public dinners organized for people with local citizenship rights. However, precisely because in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic and Republican periods there had never been a juridical dividing-line between town-based and country-dwelling citizens, the appearance of the

[35] Cf. Chapter 6.

[36] *CIL* V, 5262 (Comum, AD 100-109); *CIL* IX, 4215 (Amiternum, AD 338); *CIL* XI, 5963 (Pitinum Mergens, 2nd century); *CIL* XI, 6033 (Pitinum Pisaurense, 2nd century); *AE* 1996, 647 (Carsulae, 1st/2nd century); *CIL* IX, 3954 (Alba Fucens, 2nd/3rd century); *CIL* IX, 3842 (Antinum, 2nd century). In *CIL* XI, 6014 (Sestinum, AD 198-211) the *plebs* received *sportulae* of two *denarii* and *panis et vinum* are almost certainly identical with the *plebs urbana* who set up an honorary statue for the benefactor in conjunction with the local *seviri Augustales*. In *CIL* XI, 6360 (Pisaurum, 2nd century), the added *panis et vinum* are also likely to have been provided for the *plebs urbana* who had houldered the cost of a statue for the benefactor. In *CIL* XI, 6377 (Pisaurum) and *CIL* IX, 981 (Compsa, 2nd/3rd century), since the dedication was made by the *plebs urbana,* the food gifts which were provided for the *populus* should also have been designated for this group. Cf. also *CIL* XI, 2650: *sportulae* for the *plebs urbana* of Saturnia (AD 234); *CIL* IX, 977 (Compsa): distribution of *sportulae* to decurions and *populus utriusque sexus* after the dedication of a statue financed by *plebs urbana*; *CIL* XI, 3013 (*ager Viterbensis*): distribution of *sportulae* to decurions, *Augustales* and *plebei intra murum habitantes*. For more epigraphic references to the *plebs urbana* as a dedicant of honorary statues and/or as a recipient of distributions, see, for instance, *CIL* XI, 6060 (Urvinum Mataurense); *CIL* XII, 368 (Riez, Gallia Narbonensis); *CIL* IX, 4697 (Rieti); *CIL* IX, 5428 (Falerio Picenus); *CIL* X, 5064 (Atina); *CIL* XI, 2650 (Saturnia); *CIL* XI, 6369 (Pisaurum).

[37] Finley (1977), 307.

plebs urbana as a separate group of beneficiaries targeted by local benefactors is a highly significant development. As Clara Berrendonner has said in an article on the role of the *plebs* in the towns of early-imperial Etruria and Umbria: 'The fact that the term *plebs* is often accompanied by the adjective *urbana* suggests that the principal protagonists in civic life were the citizens of the urban centre as opposed to those who lived in the country.'[38]

One possible explanation of this development can be found in Zuiderhoek's recent book on the relationships between benefactors and citizens in early-imperial Asia Minor. One of the problems which Zuiderhoek tackles in his book is why non-elite urban citizens were prepared to accept the elite's claim to social and political dominance as legitimate. Part of his answer is that the town-based elites of Roman Asia Minor derived most of their income from estates they owned in the territory of their cities or elsewhere. From an economic and social point of view, this situation meant that 'the burden of exploitation was carried by the rural poor'.[39] Furthermore the fact that life in the cities of Asia Minor was also characterized by a high degree of economic and social inequality should not be lost sight of. Nonetheless, the simple fact that many townspeople made a living as self-employed shop-keepers, petty traders and manufacturers means that the exploitative aspects of life in the city were far less obvious than they were in the countryside. Zuiderhoek argues that this contrast between heavily exploited country-dwellers and lightly exploited, or unexploited, townspeople goes a long way towards explaining why the oligarchic system of the Greek cities of Asia Minor was entirely acceptable to most town-dwelling citizens.

Applying these ideas to the cities of peninsular Italy, it might be suggested that, in this part of the empire too, a long-established tradition of elite-residence in cities, in conjunction with a relatively low intensity of economic exploitation in urban communities, had the effect of fostering a close relationship between town-based elites and other town-dwelling citizens. Viewed in this light, the appearance of food benefactions specifically intended for the *plebs urbana* can be seen as symptomatic of the gradual opening up of a social divide between urban and rural citizens. In other words, while the civic elites of Roman Italy continued to legitimize their social and political dominance in the eyes of non-elite citizens, the town-dwelling *plebs* were increasingly seen as the most important target of their legitimizing strategies.

Decuriones (ordo decurionum)

The local *decuriones* form the second beneficiary group most often attested. Mrozek observes that there are no fewer than 150 inscriptions recording the *decuriones*

[38] Cf. Berrendonner (2005), 532: "Le fait que le term *plebs* soit souvent accompagné de l'adjectif *urbana* suggère en effet que les principaux protagonistes de la vie civique étaient les citoyens du centre urbain, par opposition à ceaux qui habitaient les campagnes" (my translation).
[39] Zuiderhoek (2009), 148.

receiving various distributions in the Italian communities alone.[40] In the present study on food-related benefactions, the *decuriones* as beneficiaries of privately sponsored public dining can be found in ninety-eight inscriptions in Italy and the western provinces.

Thirty-four inscriptions present this group as the only beneficiary group, of which twenty-seven contain information about the identities of the benefactors. In twenty cases we are dealing with magistrates or members of the town council who provided dinners specifically for the *decuriones*.[41] The parents of a *decurio* and holders of priesthoods are also found to have paid particular attention to this group.[42] By singling out members of the local council, benefactors could highlight their close relationship with this group.

More often than not, the *decuriones* and the populace were invited to a public dinner together. However, the explicit distinction between these two groups shows that hierarchical relationships among the citizen body were acknowledged facts. Given the existence of this hierarchy, one might have expected to find members of the town council being served better meals than ordinary citizens. A handful of inscriptions show that decurions did indeed receive preferential treatment in some cases at least. These inscriptions will be discussed in the second half of this chapter.

Augustales

The *Augustales* also enjoyed private munificence.[43] Inscriptions show they participated in public dinners with other groups, more often than not with the *decuriones* and the populace. Why were the *Augustales* singled out as a group in the inscriptions?

In older publications, the *Augustales* are often defined as a group of sub-elite citizens which played a prominent role in the imperial cult.[44] In recent scholarship this theory has been abandoned in favour of a more flexible interpretation which sees the *Augustales* engaging in various cultic activities but also recognizes their role as local

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[40] Mrozek (1987), 83, n.1.

[41] *CIL* X, 107; *CIL* XI, 3009; *CIL* VIII, 25468; *AE* 2003, 1985; *CIL* VIII, 860; *CIL* VIII, 12378; *ILTun* 746; *CIL* VIII, 10620; *CIL* VIII, 1284; *CIL* VIII, 858; *CIL* VIII, 859; *CIL* VIII, 861; *CIL* VIII, 862; *CIL* VIII, 863; *CIL* VIII, 23966; *CIL* VIII, 12421; *ILS* 6468; *CIL* X, 688. As recorded in *ILAfr* 294 and *CIL* VIII, 23991, the *decuriones* were given an *epulum* while the *populus* received *missilia*. Coleman (2011), 342 points out that the *missilia* were either items of food or cash tokens thrown to the crowd as prizes. In this instance, it is impossible to establish whether or not the *missilia* involved food, but it would seem to have been more practical to distribute tokens rather than food. Therefore in these two cases the *decuriones* were viewed as the only recipients of the food bestowed.

[42] E.g. *AE* 1928, 26; *CIL* VIII, 26255; *CIL* VIII, 1498.

[43] The titles of this group varied from town to town, including *Augustales*, *seviri*, *seviri Augustales* and other variants, see Duthoy (1978), 1254; Mouritsen (2006), 237-240.

[44] Duthoy (1978), Ostrow (1985) and Ostrow (1990) regard that the primary function of the *Augustales* was to perform priestly duties involved in the worship of the deified emperor.

benefactors and sponsors of public events.[45] Taking an important step forwards, Mouritsen has argued that the activities undertaken by the *Augustales* varied from town to town, thereby undermining any attempt to piece together a single picture of this institution using epigraphic evidence from a number of different towns.[46]

The hierarchical position of the *Augustales* in the communities has also become the subject of discussion. It used to be generally accepted that the *Augustales* formed an *ordo* ranking immediately below the *ordo decurionum*.[47] Refuting this widely accepted view, Mouritsen has recently argued that the preferential treatment granted to them in public 'was a direct response to their euergetic role and sponsorship of public amenities rather than a reflection of their "middle-class" position.'[48]

A considerable number of Italian inscriptions refer to privately sponsored food benefactions being bestowed on the *decuriones* and *Augustales* only or to the *Augustales* receiving larger cash hand-outs than the *plebs*.[49] Although these texts leave no doubt about the prominent position of the *Augustales* in the communities in question, they do not prove the existence of an *ordo Augustalium*.

Only two inscriptions refer to benefactors bestowing office-related food gifts on the *Augustales*.[50] The explanation of this is that, at least in theory, magistrates were elected or appointed by the entire citizen community. The *Augustales* never acquired a constitutional position comparable to that of either the *populus* or the *ordo decurionum*.

Epigraphic evidence for *Augustales* as the recipients of responsive food benefactions is far more plentiful.[51] In addition, we find evidence that *Augustales* were included among the beneficiaries of voluntary food benefactions.[52] In some cases the benefactor was a member of the *Augustales* himself or a freedman.[53] However, when prominent citizens provided public dinners after public honours had been bestowed

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[45] Beard, North and Price (1998), 357-358 and Mouritsen (2006), 240-242 hold the view that they were not particularly involved in the ruler cult and did not function as official priests. Also see Laird (2002) on the function and identity of the *seviri Augustales* at Ostia.
[46] Mouritsen (2011), 251-253.
[47] Duthoy (1974), 149-150; Abramenko (1993), 76-82.
[48] Mouritsen (2011), 256-259.
[49] E.g. *CIL* XIV, 2416; *AE* 1979, 169; *CIL* X, 1881; *CIL* XIV, 2793; *CIL* X, 110; *CIL* XI, 6360; *CIL* IX, 3838; *AE* 1976, 176; *CIL* IX, 23; *CIL* IX, 2553.
[50] *CIL* IX, 2553 (Fagifulae) and *CIL* XII, 697 (Arelate). Note that the benefactor from Arelate was a *flamen Augustalis*.
[51] E.g. *CIL* X, 1881; *CIL* X, 110; *CIL* XI, 6362; *CIL* IX, 3838; *AE* 1976, 176; *CIL* IX, 23; AE 1958, 144; *CIL* X, 5917; CIL XI, 3206; *CIL* IX, 3160; *CIL* XI, 6014; *CIL* V, 7905.
[52] E.g. *AE* 1979, 169; *CIL* XIV, 2793; *AE* 1958, 144; *CIL* XII, 697; *CIL* XI, 3206; *CIL* XI, 4815; *CIL* IX, 4971; *CIL* X, 110; *CIL* X, 5853.
[53] *Augustalis*: *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* X, 1881; *flamen Augustalis*: *AE* 1958, 144; *libertus*/*liberta*: *CIL* XIV, 2793; *CIL* X, 5917; *CIL* XI, 3206.

on them, they also commonly included the *Augustales* among the beneficiaries.[54] An examination of the identifiable benefactors in the relevant inscriptions shows that twelve out of twenty-five benefactors were office-holders in the communities.[55] It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that a considerable proportion of benefactors who provided public food gifts of either the responsive or voluntary types were inspired by a hierarchical concept of the civic community in which the *Augustales* took their place alongside the *ordo decurionum* and ordinary citizens.

Religious and professional collegia

In his monograph on professional associations, Van Nijf lists nineteen inscriptions from Italy and the western provinces under the heading '*collegia* in public commensality in the West'. However, an inspection of his list reveals that it contains only seven texts which refer to food benefactions. The remaining inscriptions record only distributions of cash (*sportulae*).[56] If we add a few inscriptions which were not included in van Nijf's list, the tally for privately funded food benefactions targeting religious or professional associations in Italy or the western provinces rises to ten.[57]

Five of the community-wide food benefactions which were specifically bestowed on *collegia* can be assigned to the responsive type.[58] Three texts seem to refer to food gifts which had been offered spontaneously.[59] Only in two cases do we seem to be dealing with office-related benefactions.[60] The dearth of benefactions from this latter category can easily be explained: like the *Augustales*, professional and religious associations played no part in electing magistrates, or in rubber-stamping lists of candidates drawn up by town councils. The shortage of epigraphic references to *collegia* benefiting from either responsive or voluntary food benefactions is, however, more difficult to explain.

In some cases the decision to include *collegia* as a separate group of recipients seems to have been prompted by the fact that the benefactor was in fact responding to the erection of a public statue by the *collegiati*. For instance, a late-second or early-third-century inscription from Eburum reports that a civic patron, Titus Flavius Silvanus, was honoured by having a statue dedicated to him by the *collegium*

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[54] E.g. *CIL* IX, 3160; *CIL* XI, 6014; *CIL* V, 7905; *CIL* X, 5918; *AE* 1976, 176; *CIL* IX, 3838; *CIL* IX, 3171; *AE* 1997, 432; *AE* 2004, 467; *AE* 2000, 533.
[55] *AE* 1976, 176; *CIL* IX, 3838; *CIL* IX, 3842; *CIL* IX, 3160; *AE* 1997, 432; *AE* 2000, 533; *CIL* XI, 6360; *CIL* XI, 6033; *CIL* XI, 6014; *CIL* V, 7905; *CIL* XI, 4815; *CIL* X, 5853.
[56] Van Nijf (1997), 253-254. As argued by Duncan-Jones (1982), 140, there are no grounds for thinking that municipal *sportulae* were invariably intended to be spent on food.
[57] *CIL* IX, 3842; *AE* 2000, 533; *CIL* X, 451; *CIL* X, 5796; *CIL* IX, 2553; *CIL* V, 7920; *CIL* V, 7905; *AE* 1954, 154; *CIL* XII, 5905; *CIL* XII, 697 (*corporibus*). For *collegia* as recipients, see also Van Nijf (1997), 155; Donahue (2017), 126-128.
[58] *CIL* IX, 3842; *CIL* V, 7905; *CIL* X, 5796; *CIL* X, 451; *AE* 2000, 533.
[59] *AE* 1954, 154; *CIL* V, 7920; *CIL* XII, 5905.
[60] *CIL* IX, 2553 and *CIL* XII, 697.

dendrophororum. In return he donated 8,000 sesterces to the *collegium* so that its members would celebrate his birthday every year. On the occasion of the dedication of the statue, besdies the cash hand-outs distributed to the patrons of the *collegium*, former magistrates, the other decurions and the *Augustales*, he provided 1,000 sesterces and an *epulum* for the *dendrophori* and the *fabri* as well as cash and a *viscerationem* for the plebeians.[61]

Another example comes from Antinum, where the *collegium dendrophorum* set up a statue for their patron, Sextus Petronaeus Valerianus Antinus. In gratitude for the dedication, he distributed cash hand-outs during a dinner which had been organized for the *decuriones*, the *seviri Augustales*, the *collegium dendrophorum* and the *plebs urbana*. Notably, the *dendrophori* received a larger amount of money (12 sesterces apiece) than any of the other groups.[62]

This leaves us with only eight inscriptions from the entire western half of the empire referring to food benefactions offered to *collegia* which had not attracted the benefactor's attention by honouring a statue to him. Interestingly, four of these inscriptions come from Alpes Maritimae and from Gallia Narbonensis, two provinces which have also produced epigraphic evidence of dinners attended exclusively by *collegiati* (Chapter 5).

The paucity of epigraphic evidence for *collegia* taking part in community-wide meals casts some doubt on Van Nijf's claim that the first and second centuries AD witnessed the emergence of *collegia* as status groups of major importance in most cities of the Roman empire.[63] To judge from the inscriptional evidence from Italy and the western provinces, the *populus* as a whole remained the preferred recipients of privately funded food gifts throughout the period covered by this study. Of course, there can be little doubt that individual members of *collegia* benefited from such food benefactions but, as far as we can tell from the epigraphic record, they must have normally done so by virtue of their membership of the *populus* of their towns.[64]

Women and children

Terms such as *populus, cives, municipes, coloni, plebs, plebs urbana, pagani* and *vicani* were normally used to refer to men.[65] When women were recipients, they would be

[61] *CIL* X, 451.
[62] *CIL* IX, 3842: *ob cuius dedica/tionem dedit decurionibus / {a}epulantibus sing(ulis) HS VIIII n(ummum) / seviris Aug(ustalibus) {a}epulan(tibus) sing(ulis) HS VI n(ummum) / collegio s(upra) s(cripto) {a}epul(antibus) sing(ulis) HS XII n(ummum) / plebi urbanae {a}epul(antibus) sing(ulariter) HS IIII n(ummum).*
[63] Van Nijf (1997), 149-188.
[64] Cf. Donahue (2017), 126.
[65] Mrozek (1987), 99; MacMullen (1980), 212.

explicitly mentioned as such.[66] From the inscriptions it appears they received benefactions with other groups either as a separate civic category (*mulieres*), as the female half of the *populus utriusque sexus* or as the wives of the male beneficiaries (*coniuges, uxores*).

Women as a general group (*mulieres*) were provided for by both male and female benefactors.[67] However, they sometimes seem to have received preferential treatment as the only beneficiary of munificence displayed by female benefactors.[68] An inscription from Veii reports that a benefactress provided an *epulum* for the mothers, sisters and daughters of the *centumviri* and for the female citizens of every class.[69] Another example from Corfinium mentions that a mother set up statues for her children and on the occasion of dedication gave an *epulum* and 2 sesterces to each woman.[70]

In addition to this, a famous inscription from Lanuvium records the decision of the local town council and the *populus* to erect an equestrian statue for Gaius Sulpicius Victor, the father of two sons of equestrian status and patron of the *municipium*.[71] When the statue was dedicated, the honorand responded by providing the decurions, the *Augustales* and the (male) members of the *curiae* with *sportulae* of 24 sesterces each and the *curia mulierum* with a double meal (*epulum duplum*). Since the *curia mulierum* cannot have had a political role, it must have had a religious or social character (or both), and it is tempting to acknowledge Hemelrijk's suggestion that these women received a double meal because they belonged to upper-class families.[72]

In an inscription from Ferentinum, female recipients of a privately sponsored public dinner appear as wives, daughters and sisters of the local decurions and *decemviri* (and of those who had the right to dine with these men) as well as the wives of the *seviri Augustales*.[73] Strictly speaking, the relevant part of the inscription records a distribution of *sportulae* on the benefactor's birthday but, since the recipients are referred to as 'lying on their (dining) couches' (*discumbentibus*), it seems reasonable to infer that the distributions referred to in the text took place during a privately sponsored public dinner.

Another example of an inscription referring to wives of decurions taking part in a public dinner with their husbands comes from Corfinium, where the members of the

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[66] On females as recipients, see Mrozek (1972b), 46; Mrozek (1987), 98-99; Donahue (2017), 139-140; Hemelrijk (2015), 142-143; 208-211.
[67] Hemelrijk (2015), 208, points out that the terms *mulieres* and *feminae* refer not only to free-born women citizens but also to freedwomen and foreign female residents.
[68] For more examples of women explicitly included as recipients of female munificence (banquets, cash hand-outs and other distributions), see Hemelrijk (2015), 138-156, and Table 3.6.
[69] *CIL* XI, 3811.
[70] *CIL* IX, 3171.
[71] *CIL* XIV, 2120.
[72] Hemelrijk (2015), 206-207.
[73] *CIL* X, 5849.

splendissimus ordo were invited with their wives and children.[74] A third illustration is provided by an inscription from Nepet. Here the local decurions and *Augustales* and those belonging to the *plebs* were given an *epulum* together with their wives and children after a statue had been erected for Marcus Ulpius Thallus, an imperial freedman.[75]

It would appear that in all these instances women's qualifications to participate in public dinners depended on the juridical or social status of their husbands.

Finally, we find women being invited to public dinners as the female half of the *populus utriusque sexus* or of the *plebs urbana utriusque sexus*.[76] Interestingly, the 'non-citizen residents of either sex' (*incolae utriusque sexus*) are also referred to as participating in community-wide dinners.[77]

The sources discussed above indicate that women were more likely to be included as recipients when male honorands offered responsive benefactions or when a female donor gave a voluntary display of munificence. This pattern can be accounted for by distinguishing between the citizen body in a narrowly political sense and the community of citizens in a biological and social sense: although women did not have any voting rights, they did play a vital role in perpetuating the urban elite and the local citizen body.

Another point which cannot be ignored is that almost 90 percent of the evidence about women being included as beneficiaries comes from small and medium-sized towns.[78] There seems little doubt that women who lived in a smaller town could benefit from munificence more easily, simply because the cost of community-wide meals would have been more affordable in such communities.

Ten inscriptions from the western half of the empire refer to children participating in public banquets or to receiving food distributions with adults.[79] In some cases both male and female children of *decuriones* were provided for.[80] This shows that being a

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[74] *CIL* IX, 3160.
[75] *CIL* XI, 3206.
[76] *CIL* IX, 981; *CIL* IX, 3954.
[77] *CIL* XI, 5693
[78] *AE* 1946, 174 (Casinum); *CIL* X, 5849 (Ferentinum); *CIL* X, 5853 (Ferentinum); *CIL* XIV, 2120 (Lanuvium); *CIL* IX, 981 (Compsa); *AE* 1976, 176 (Blanda Iulia); *CIL* IX, 3954 (Alba Fucens); *CIL* IX, 3160 (Corfinium); *CIL* IX, 3171 (Corfinium); *AE* 1997, 432 (Fugifulae); *CIL* XI, 6190 (Ostra); *CIL* XI, 5693 (Tuficum); *CIL* XI (Nepet); *CIL* XI, 3811 (Veii); *AE* 1966, 183 (Munigua); *CIL* II, 1267 (Ostur); *CIL* II, 1191 (Naeva); *AE* 2001, 889 (Beneventum); *CIL* II, 1378 (Carmo). Duncan-Jones (1982), 143, indicates that in small towns women were usually included among the recipients of distributions.
[79] *CIL* X, 5849; *CIL* X, 5853; *AE* 2001, 889; CIL IX, 3160; *CIL* IX, 2962; *CIL* IX, 2252; *CIL* XI, 5215; *CIL* XI, 3206; *CIL* XI, 3811; *CIL* II, 5, 847.
[80] *CIL* X, 5849; *CIl* IX, 3160; *CIL* IX, 2962; *CIL* XI, 5215; *CIL* II, 5, 847.

member of the local council brought prestige and privilege, not only to the *decuriones* themselves but also to their families.[81]

According to a third-century inscription from Fulginiae, a certain Publius Aelius Marcellus was granted a public statue by the local council. On the occasion of the dedication of this statue, he provided bread, wine and 20 sesterces for the councillors and their (male?) children (*liberi*), and 4 sesterces to the citizens.[82] Another example comes from Nescania in Baetica. When the town council of this community decided to erect a public statue for a certain Gaius Marius Clemens, his mother, Fabia Restituta, gave the *decuriones* and their children (*filii*) an *epulum* as well as cash hand-outs to citizens, non-citizen residents and the *servi stationarii*.[83]

Sometimes the children of ordinary citizens were also included. Sometime during the second or third century, Lucius Manlius Rufio, one of the *seviri* of Telesia, provided the citizens (*coloni*) of the town and their children (*liberi*) with an *epulum* and the non-citizens received sweet wine and cakes.[84] Similarly, the inscription from Nepet, which records the bestowal of a public banquet in connection with the erection of a public statue for Marcus Ulpius Thallus (cf. above), explicitly mentions the children of the decurions, the *Augustales* and the *plebs* among the recipients.[85]

Like women, children appear to have been an optional group. The decision to include them might have been prompted by considerations related to the gender of the benefactor (cf. above), but also by personal preferences for which the reason remains hidden. The epigraphic record as a whole shows that women and children were rarely the principal beneficiaries of private munificence. Nevertheless, the fact that they were sometimes included indicates that they were regarded as constituent elements of the community in its wider sense.

Non-citizen residents

Non-citizen residents, *incolae* or *peregrini*, were those people who did not hold citizenship in the community on which the act of munificence was bestowed.

In nine inscriptions which refer to *incolae* being invited to privately sponsored community-wide meals, they are distinguished from the citizens by the use of juxtapositions such as *coloni et incolae*, *municipes et incolae* or *cives et incolae*.[86]

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[81] Jacques (1984), 562.
[82] *CIL* XI, 5215. See Donahue (2017), 140, who argues that the term *liberi* refers to boys only.
[83] *CIL* II, 2011.
[84] *CIL* IX, 2252.
[85] *CIL* XI, 3206. See also *CIL* X, 5849: the children of the *decuriones* were invited to a public dinner with their parents, while nuts were distributed to the *pueri* of the *populus*.
[86] *Coloni et incolae*: *CIL* IX, 2252; *AE* 1975, 354; *municipes et incolae*: *CIL* X, 5853; *CIL* XI, 5722; *CIL* XI, 5693; *CIL* II, 1191; *cives et incolae*: *CIL* II, 5489 ; *CIL* II, 2100. For an exceptional case, see *AE* 2002, 1115.

The relative scarcity of inscriptions mentioning *incolae* as beneficiaries of food-related *euergetism* might be explained as a reflection of the political and social marginality of this group compared to local residents with citizenship rights. However, there are some reasons to think that this inference might be incorrect for Italian towns in the second century AD. In an earlier section we have seen that a second-century inscription from Auximum uses the term *coloni* to refer to the local citizens and *populus* to denote a wider group which must have included *incolae*. Likewise, in an inscription from Visentium, the term *populus* seems to denote people without local citizenship rights (cf. above).

A first- or second-century inscription from Forum Sempronii suggests that the term *plebs* might also have been used to refer to local *cives* and *incolae*. From this text it appears that, after the *municipes* and *incolae* had dedicated a statue to Lucius Maesius Rufus, the latter responded by providing an *epulum* and cash hand-outs on the day of its dedication.[87] Although the beneficiaries of the banquet are not described explicitly, the cash hand-outs were given to the *decuriones*, the *sexviri*, the *Augustales* and the *plebs*. Since it was normal for those who had dedicated a statue to benefit from any food benefactions and the distribution of money provided by an honorand, it seems reasonable to infer that, in this inscription at least, the term *plebs* includes both *municipes* and permanent residents without local citizenship rights.

In this context, it seems highly significant that in Italian inscriptions *incolae* never appear alongside the *populus* or the *plebs*. This basic fact has prompted Mrozek to hypothesize that, from the early second century AD and thereafter, these two terms might have included citizens and *incolae*.[88] From both a political and a juridical point of view, the tendency to group these two categories under one heading makes excellent sense because *incolae* are known to have had (limited) voting rights in local assemblies.[89]

In a nutshell it seems legitimate to conclude that in the towns of mainland Italy *incolae* were often invited to privately funded community-wide dinners. This is in line with Mackie's observation that, 'social benefits, and obligations to the community, were to a large extent determined by residence rather than citizen status'.[90] If this observation is correct, as I think it is, we must also accept the secondary inference that the epigraphic record points to a gradual broadening of the political and social concept of 'community' in which the old distinction between people with local citizenship rights and 'resident foreigners' slowly but steadily lost some of the importance it had had in the late Republic and perhaps also in much of the first century of the Principate.

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[87] *CIL* XI, 6117.

[88] Mrozek (1984a), 19. He goes on to observe that African inscriptions of the second and third century continue to distinguish between *populus* and *incolae*, suggesting that the 'social emancipation' of the *incolae* might have been a region-specific development (*ibid*. 20).

[89] De Ligt and Garnsey (2012), 94.

[90] Mackie (1983), 78.

To sum up

The epigraphic evidence relating to community-wide meals leaves no doubt that, throughout the first, second and early third centuries AD, the binary distinction between town-councillors and male citizens remained a key feature of the civic communities of the Western Roman Empire. When making arrangements for such meals, the *Augustales* also tended not to be overlooked because of their relatively high status in the community. The inclusion of other groups seems to have been optional; however, the fact that they were invited to attend public dinners demonstrates that the concept of community was fluid. Citizenship still mattered, but was no longer the sole criterion in defining a community under the Empire: status, residence and gender also played their part.

3.2 Benefaction arrangements

One of the conclusions which has emerged from the foregoing discussion is that, in the first to early third centuries AD, food-related benefactions were used to express the continuing importance of membership of local civic communities. Nevertheless, such benefactions were used as outward and visible signs to express hierarchical relationships within these communities.

Food benefactions can be categorized into two types – public dinners and food hand-outs. Being invited to attend any kind of dinner, whether an *epulum*, *cena* or a *prandium*, should be considered as having been better treatment than just receiving snacks and drinks, such as pastry (*crustulum*) and honeyed wine (*mulsum*). At first sight, this distinction provides us with a good starting point for investigating hierarchies among food recipients. However, as Mrozek has pointed out with regard to cash hand-outs, the amounts of cash which were distributed could have depended not only on social distinctions but also on the financial capability of the donors, local custom and concrete occasions.[91] This observation also applies to food-related benefactions. Consequently there might be unknown variables involved in particular food hand-outs, with nothing to do with the status of the beneficiary groups. Even if we bear this warning in mind, we can still use the information about specific food benefactions found in inscriptions for various beneficiary groups to establish whether certain social members of local civic society tended to be treated better than other groups. In other words, examining the benefactors' arrangements in this matter is still a good way to study how the concept of community was applied in practice.

[91] Mrozek (1987), 87.

3.2.1 Distinctions between different beneficiaries belonging to various status groups

Beneficiary groups	Types of Food benefactions[92]							
	Meals					Food hand-outs		
	Epulum	Cena	Prandium	Visceratio	Unspecified meal	Crustulum and/or mulsum	Panis and/or vinum	Miscellaneous
Adult male citizens	126	9	3	4	1	24	9	1
Decuriones	63	7	-	1	2	5	5	-
Augustales	24	2	-	-	1	2	4	-
Collegia	8	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Women	16	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
Children	6	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
Non-citizen residents	6	-	-	-	-	1	-	-

Figure 3.4 Distinctions between different food benefactions received by various status groups

Figure 3.4 shows how often various groups of beneficiaries were invited to public meals or received food distributions. With one interesting exception, the *populus* as a whole, the frequency with which they appear does not match the order in which various groups appeared in the inscriptions, usually listed as: the *decuriones*, the *Augustales*, the *collegia*, the *populus*, women.

[92] For a discussion on different kinds of distributions, see Mrozek (1987), 37-46.

The citizen population as a whole was often specified as the only recipient of food benefactions, which could have been either a public dinner or a food hand-out. No distinctions were made within members of this group.[93] The same applies to the *decuriones* when they were the only beneficiary group.[94] The great majority of inscriptions, around 77 percent of public dinners or food hand-outs, report that food was given to the citizen body, or decurions, or both. It is common to find the same food benefactions being provided to the *decuriones,* the *Augustales* and the *populus*, or to the *decuriones*, the local citizens and non-citizen residents, and so forth.[95] In some cases a public dinner was given without specifying specific beneficiaries.[96]

Nonetheless, there are a number of inscriptions in which multiple groups received food-related benefactions in a way which suggests a hierarchy.[97] An inscription from Tarquinii which was set up in 35 AD reports that the *decuriones* were treated to an *epulum* while the *plebs* got *crustulum* and *mulsum*.[98] Another example comes from Iuvanum. The text records that, on an occasion of a dedication, the *decuriones* and their children were provided with a *cena* whereas the *quinquennales Augustales*, their children and the *plebs* were given an *epulum*.[99] In a fragmentary epigraphic text from Ferentinum, we read that on an unknown benefactor's birthday the *decuriones* and *decemviri* and their wives, children, brothers and sisters, and the *seviri Augustales* and their wives were invited to recline together at a public dinner; *sportulae* were also given to those present; on the same day an *epulum* was held for the populace and nuts were scattered to their children.[100]

Other inscriptions refer to people with local citizenship rights receiving better meals than the *incolae*. In an inscription from Telesia, we read that the citizens (*coloni*) and their children received an *epulum*, while the non-citizen inhabitants were

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[93] E.g. *crustum* and *mulsum*: *CIL* X, 5714; *CIL* XIV, 3581; *AE* 1974, 228; *CIL* IX, 4976; *CIL* XI, 5222; *AE* 1920, 97; *cena*: *CIL* X, 4736; *epulum*: *CIL* IX, 4973; *CIL* IX, 5196; *CIL* XI, 3211; *CIL* VIII, 23862; *CIL* VIII, 14791; *ILS* 9403; *prandium*: *CIL* XI, 6161; *panis* and *vinum*: *CIL* XI, 4582.

[94] E.g. *epulum*: *CIL* VIII, 25468; *AE* 2003, 2006; *AE* 2003, 1985; *CIL* VIII, 860; *CIL* VIII, 12378; *CIL* VIII, 23991; *CIL* VIII, 26255; *CIL* II, 5492; *panis* and *vinum*: *CIL* XI, 3009.

[95] E.g. for *decuriones* and *Augustales*: *CIL* XIV, 2416; *AE* 1976, 169; *CIL* X, 1881; *CIL* XIV, 2793; *AE* 1937, 119; *CIL* IX, 4957; for *decuriones* and populace: *CIL* X, 1459; *AE* 2004, 467; *CIL* XI, 5960; *CIL* XI, 5963; *CIL* XI, 5992; *AE* 1997, 1643; *CIL* VIII, 1447; *CIL* II, 1047; *CIL* XI, 7556; *AE* 1854, 165; *AE* 1961, 53; *CIL* VIII, 15457; *CIL* II, 1441; for populace and *incolae*: *CIL* IX, 2252; *CIL* II, 1191; *CIL* II, 5489; *ILS* 3395; *AE* 1975, 354; *CIL* XI, 5722; *CIL* XI, 5693; for multiple groups: *AE* 1946, 174; *CIL* X, 333; *CIL* XI, 3206; *AE* 1954, 154.

[96] E.g. *CIL* X, 5967; *CIL* IX, 3950; *CIL* XI, 7431; *CIL* III, 2869; *AE* 1954, 243; *CIL*III, 6359; *CIL* VIII, 15578; *CIL* VIII, 15381.

[97] Van Nijf (1997), 152-156.

[98] *AE* 2008, 524.

[99] *CIL* IX, 2962. Mrozek (1987), 38, suggests that a *cena* was considered more honourable than an *epulum*.

[100] *CIL* X, 5849.

provided with *crustum* and *mulsum*.[101] Similarly, an inscription from Auximum reports that the *coloni* were treated to a *cena* but the *populus* (which must have comprised non-citizens) a less expensive *epulum*.[102] Although these examples certainly exist, they represent a small minority.[103]

Benefactors also set up funds whose income would pay for food benefactions. This was a way to ensure that the kindness and generosity of the benefactor would be regularly recalled and selected beneficiaries would, year after year, be provided with occasions for communal dining. It is interesting that in these cases the *decuriones* and the civic body were most commonly specified as the beneficiaries of such dispositions.[104] Other groups, including the *Augustales*, the *incolae*, women and children, are also attested, but only in a few cases.[105] This discrepancy seems to reveal more about who were seen as the core of the community rather than internal hierarchies.

Sportulae add another dimension to these findings. It is well known that *sportulae* were often distributed in a way commensurate to the hierarchical structures of the town.[106] Unlike food, cash could easily be quantified and distributed accurately according to social rank. For this reason, if a benefactor did want to make a distinction between different groups, cash gifts rather than food hand-outs were provided.[107]

When *sportulae* were provided in conjunction with food benefactions, the amount of cash distributed to the different groups does indeed reveal a hierarchy,[108] as do the amounts of money which were distributed to various groups of beneficiaries during dinners.[109] In some cases, the citizen population as a whole were treated to a public dinner, while the *decuriones* (and the *Augustales*) were given *sportulae*.[110] The logical conclusion is that, on these occasions, the *sportulae* would have been more valuable

[101] *CIL* IX, 2252.
[102] *CIL* IX, 5841; cf. Mrozek (1990), 36.
[103] Donahue (2017), 122, cites *CIL* IX, 3160 (from Corfinium) and *CIL* IX, 5189 (allegedly from Asculum Picenum) as additional evidence of the hierarchical arrangements by which *decuriones* were served better meals than the *populus*, but the former inscription refers to decurions, *seviri Augustales* and the *plebs universa* receiving *sportulae* at different rates at the dinner organized on the occasion of a dedication of a public statue, and *CIL* IX, 5189 is widely regarded as a forgery (Duncan-Jones (1982), 234).
[104] *Decuriones*: *AE* 1979, 147; *CIL* XIV, 350; *CIL* XIV, 2793; *CIL* X, 107; *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* XI, 4815; *CIL* XI, 5963; *CIL* VIII, 12421; *populus*: *CIL* XIV, 2827; *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* XI, 6377; *CIL* XI, 5722; *CIL* XI, 4789; *CIL* XI, 5963; *CIL* VIII, 1845; *CIL* VIII, 1887; *CIL* VIII, 11813; *CIL* VIII, 24017.
[105] *CIL* X, 5853; *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* XIV 2793; *CIL* XI, 4815; *CIL* XI, 5722.
[106] Duncan-Jones (1982), 138-144; Donahue (2017), 123.
[107] During dinners, hierarchical relationships could be expressed by assigning decurions and/or *Augustales* more sophisticated dining facilities.
[108] Sometimes it is not clear if the money given with the dinner was intended to be used to pay for the dinner or whether it was an extra cash gifts, e.g. *CIL* XI, 6117; *AE* 1976, 176.
[109] E.g. *CIL* IX, 3838; *CIL* IX, 3842; *CIL* IX, 5085.
[110] E.g. *CIL* XI, 6060; *CIL* XI, 3211; *CIL* VIII, 769; *CIL* XI, 5965.

than food benefactions and that they were gifted only to prominent groups. Nevertheless, leaving aside these pecuniary donations, it seems that hierarchy did not play a big role in arrangements for benefactions of food. Although we cannot rule out the possibility that unwritten rules dictating hierarchical arrangements did exist in practice and hence acknowledge that hierarchy was the yardstick guiding the organization of food gifts in some cases, a large number of inscriptions do not refer to privileged groups receiving preferential treatment. This omission suggests that, unlike *sportulae*, food benefactions were expected to be bestowed on the community as a whole, ideally as uniformly as possible.

3.2.2 Distinction between the two genders

Women account for only 5 percent of attested beneficiary groups. Although women seem to have received food gifts as members of the undifferentiated *populus* on at least some occasions (cf. above), this low figure shows that groups of men were deemed to have been the more important recipients. This still does not answer the question of whether male recipients were also accorded preferential treatment in food-related benefactions for recipients of either sex. This then raises the matter of whether women were more likely to have been targeted by female benefactors.

Reference	**Benefactions for women**	**Benefactions for men**	**Gender of the benefactor**
***CIL* XI, 3811**	epulum - matribus Cvir(orum) et sororibus et filiab(us) et omnis ordinis mulieribus municipib(us)	/	female
***CIL* X, 5853**	crustul(i) p(ondo) I mulsi hemin(a) - mulierib(us) nuptis	crustul(i) p(ondo) I mulsi hemin(a) - praesent(ibus) municipib(us) et incol(is), mulsum et crust(ulum) et sportul(a) HS X n(ummum) - decurionibus, crust(ulum) mulsum et HS VIII n(ummum) - puer(is) curiae increment(is) et VIvir(is) Aug(ustalibus) quibusq(ue) u(na) v(esci) i(us) e(st)	male

***CIL* XIV, 2120**	epulum - curi(a)e mulierum	nummos XXIIII - decurionibus et Augustalibus et curis	male
***AE* 1946, 174 = *AE* 1992, 244**	[epulum] - [m]ulier[ibus]	[epulum] - [decurionibus et popu]lo	female
***AE* 2001, 889**	(denarios) X[---] epulum - m[ulie]ribus	(denarios) X[---] epulum - [l]iberis viris	/
***CIL* IX, 981**	(denarios) C et e[pulum] biduo - populo utrius[que] sexus	(denarios) C et e[pulum] biduo - populo utrius[que] sexus	male
***CIL* IX, 3160**	epulantes - coniuges eorum (splendidissimum ordinem)	epulantes - splendidissimum ordinem liberosque, epulantes - populum	male
***CIL* IX, 3954**	crustu[l]um et mulsum - plebei urban[ae] utriusque sexus	crustu[l]um et mulsum - plebei urban[ae] utriusque sexus	/
***CIL* XI, 6190**	epulum - mulierib(us)	epulum - viris	male
***CIL* XI, 5693**	epulum et HS IIII(milia) n(ummum) - municipibus et incolis utriusque sexus	epulum et HS IIII(milia) n(ummum) - municipibus et incolis utriusque sexus	male
***CIL* X, 5849**	discumbentibus - [decurioni]bus et Xviris et q(uibus) u(na) v(esci) i(us?) uxoribusque ... filiabus sororibusq(ue) ... VIviris Aug(ustalibus) et uxorib(us) eorum	discumbentibus - [decurioni]bus et Xviris et q(uibus) u(na) v(esci) i(us?) ... [fili(i)s fra]tribus ... VIviris Aug(ustalibus)	/
***CIL* XI, 3206**	epulum - coniugibus (plebei)	epulum - decurionibus Augustalib(us) et plebei et liberis	female
***CIL* IX, 3171**	epul(um), (denarium) s(emis) - mulierib(us) sing(ulis)	/	female
***CIL* II, 1191**	epulo - municip(ibus) et incolis utrius sexus	epulo - municip(ibus) et incolis utrius sexus	male and female
***CIL* II, 1267**	epulo - utriusq(ue) sexus	epulo - utriusq(ue) sexus	female

***CIL* II, 1378**	epulo - utriusq(ue) sexus	epulo - utriusq(ue) sexus	male
***AE* 2006, 640**	epulo - utriq(ue) sexui	epulo - utriq(ue) sexui	male
***AE* 1976, 176**	epulum - mulieribus (HS II nummum)	epulum - decurionibus (HS VIII nummum), Augustalibus (HS VI nummum), populo (viritim HS IIII nummum)	male
***AE* 1997, 432**	epulum - mulieribus (singulis HS II)	epulum - decurionibus et Augustalibus (singulis HS VIII), Martialibus (singulis HS V), plebeis (singulis HS IIII)	male

Figure 3.5 Food benefactions for the two genders

As shown in Figure 3.5, in sixteen out of nineteen cases women and men received the same food benefactions. Various male groups, including the *decuriones*, the *Augustales*, citizens and non-citizen inhabitants, are found to have participated in public dining in the company of their womenfolk. As noted in an earlier section of this chapter, women were sometimes juxtaposed with separate male groups. In other inscriptions they appear as the wives of male beneficiaries or as the female half of the *populus*/*plebs* (or the *incolae*) *utriusque sexus*. A famous inscription from Forum Clodii records that the women were presented with pastry and wine on the birthday of Livia and that the *decuriones* and the *populus* were given the same food gifts when the statues of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia were dedicated.[111] In this case, men and women were targeted by different sponsors on two separate occasions, yet received the same kind of food hand-outs. Only two inscriptions refer to women as the sole beneficiary group,[112] and one inscription reports a male benefactor providing women with a dinner but distributing cash hand-outs to men.[113]

Most male donors provided the same food benefactions for both sexes, and even cash hand-outs of exactly the same amount.[114] When women provided benefactions, they either treated the sexes equally or provided only for other women. This evidence appears to show that, as far as food gifts are concerned, on the whole men and women were treated equally.

Against this background, it is interesting to see that differences between the two genders appear in at least some cases in which *sportulae* were distributed at privately

[111] *CIL* XI, 3303.
[112] *CIL* XI, 3811; *CIL* IX, 3171.
[113] *CIL* XIV, 2120.
[114] E.g. *CIL* IX, 981; *CIL* XI, 5693.

sponsored public meals. In one inscription from Ferentinum, which has already briefly been discussed, different beneficiary groups (*municipes*, *incolae*, *mulieres nuptae*, *decuriones*, sons and daughters of *decuriones*, *seviri Augustales*) were all given *crustulum* and *mulsum*. However, at this dinner, *sportulae* were distributed differentially, with the *decuriones* receiving 10 sesterces, their children, the *seviri Augustales* and those with the right to dine with them 8 sesterces, and those dining at the benefactor's table were given one sesterce extra.[115] There were no *sportulae* for women, citizens or non-citizen inhabitants. On another occasion, the *curia* of women of Lanuvium was offered an *epulum duplum*, while the *decuriones*, the *Augustales* and the (male) members of the other *curiae* were given 24 sesterces each.[116] In a situation analogous to what appears to have been the case in distributions designated for decurions and ordinary citizens, the cash hand-outs seem to have been used to make a distinction between men and women.

These observations show that the concept of community involved at least four different levels:

1) the core part was the adult male citizen population;
2) prominent groups within the civic body were singled out and highlighted;
3) women and children were optional recipients in terms of food benefactions;
4) non-citizen inhabitants were normally grouped with non-elite citizens (at least in Italy) and only occasionally provided with separate benefactions.

3.3 The 'concept of community': from Republic to Empire

Private expenditure on public feasts was a custom which was observed in the republican period. Hence, a brief investigation of beneficiaries in Republican times is required to complete the picture, before returning to the state of affairs under the Empire. The aim is to facilitate an insight into developing concepts of community in the imperial period.

[115] *CIL* X, 5853: *municipib(us) et incol(is) et mulierib(us) nuptis crustul(i) p(ondo) I mulsi hemin(a) / et circa triclin(ia) decurionibus mulsum et crust(ulum) et sportul(a) HS X n(ummum) / item puer(is) curiae increment(is) et VIvir(is) Aug(ustalibus) quibusq(ue) u(na) v(esci) i(us) e(st) crust(ulum) / mulsum et HS VIII n(ummum) et in triclin(io) meo ampl(ius) in sing(ulos) h(omines) HS I n(ummum)*. For a discussion of this inscription, see Fagan (2006), 378-379.
[116] *CIL* XIV, 2120. Hemelrijk (2015), 206-207.

3.3.1 Civic community under the Republic

It was not until the late Republic that the practice of offering privately sponsored public feasts began to gain popularity.[117] Although there is only a handful of evidence from this period, it is sufficient to gain an idea of which groups of participants were invited to public dinners. At this point, a note of caution should be sounded: recipients are not always specified explicitly. However, to judge from those cases for which this type of information is available, the *populus* was the group most frequently targeted by food-related benefactions.

Benefactor	**Beneficiary**	**Benefaction**	**Circumstance**	**Date**	**Reference**
Marcus Flavius	populus	visceratio	at the funeral of his mother	328-327 BC	Liv. 8.22
-	-	visceratio, epulum	on the occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius Crassus, the *pontifex maximus*	183 BC	Liv. 39.46
Titus Flamininus	-	visceratio epulumque	to commemorate the death of his father	174 BC	Liv. 41.28.11
Quintus Fabius Maximus	populus Romanus	epulum	in honour of his uncle Publius Africanus	129 BC	Cic. *Mur.* 75
στρατηγοὶ	πολῖται	ἑστιάω	when celebrating triumphs	late second century BC	Ath. *Deipn.* 5.221f.
Sulla	δῆμος	ἑστιάσεις	celebration of triumph with offerings to Hercules	81 BC	Plut. *Sull.* 35.1
Crassus	δῆμος	ἑστιάω	offerings to Hercules	70 BC	Plut. *Crass.* 2.2
Caesar	δῆμος	δεῖπνα	during his aedileship	66 BC	Plut. *Caes.* 5.5

[117] See Chapter 6.

Lucullus	πόλις, κῶμαι	ἑστιάω	to celebrate the triumph	63 BC	Plut. *Luc.* 37.4
Quintus Arrius	tot hominum milia	epulum	funeral festival	59 BC	Cic. *Vat.* 12.30-13.32
Caesar	populus	epulum	in filiae memoriam	52 BC	Suet. *Iul.* 26.2
Caesar	-	cena	celebration of his triumph	46 BC	Plin. *HN* 14.97
Caesar	-	epulum	during his third consulship	46 BC	Plin. *HN* 14.97
Caesar	populus (δῆμος)	epulum ac visceratio (ἑστιάσεις)	celebration of four triumphs (over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa)	46 BC	Suet. *Iul.* 38; Plut. *Caes.* 55; cf. Dio 43.19-22
Caesar	populus	duo prandia	after his Spanish triumph	45 BC	Suet. *Iul.* 38; cf. Dio Cass. 43.42.1;

Figure 3.6 Beneficiaries under the Republic

As mentioned earlier, under the Empire, the term *populus* was used quite ambiguously and can be contrasted to the use of *populus* in the republican period, in which it referred to the complete body of Roman citizens. The Republic was inextricably linked to the concept *res publica*, signifying (*inter alia*) the business of the *populus* as a whole.[118] The four texts mentioning the *populus* as the sole recipients of privately sponsored public banquets reflect the idea that the community was composed of the adult male citizens. The term *δῆμος* used by Greek authors appears to express the same idea. Food benefactions given by a citizen to all of his fellow citizens signified munificence bestowed on the whole civic community. On such occasions, non-citizens were excluded from receiving benefactions – and hence metaphorically from the community. At this stage, the concept of community was structured around citizenship.

3.3.2 Continuity and development in the imperial period

As shown in Figure 3.7, there are several ways in which beneficiaries in the republican and imperial periods differed. This raises the following issue: Something changed

[118] Cic. *Rep.* 1.25, *res publica res populi*.

between republican and imperial times – what does this reveal about changing concepts of community?

Attributes of beneficiaries	Beneficiaries under the Republic	Beneficiaries under the Empire
Citizenship	citizens	citizens and non-citizen residents
Gender	male	male and female
Age	adults	adults and children
Differentiation	entire citizen body	various civic groups and internal differentiation within the civic body itself
Unity	within the territory	within the territory but with a distinction between urban and rural

Figure 3.7 Comparisons between beneficiaries under the Republic and the Empire

Citizens were always deemed an important group by benefactors.[119] In the republican period, only adult male citizens were qualified to attend public feasts. Under the empire, the citizen population still occupied the core position, and the benefactions bestowed on the entire civic community were five times as numerous as those only targeting the *decuriones*. The attention paid to the entire citizenry suggests the continuity of an earlier ideal civic community.

However, the recipients were no longer restricted to adult male citizens. The term *populus* was still used in the epigraphic records in the imperial period, but its meaning began to change and it was used with increasing frequency to refer to all permanent residents of local communities who had voting rights (at least in Italy). The fact that non-citizens were also included as recipients of civic munificence in the communities of Italy and the western provinces demonstrates that those who had been excluded from the republican *populus* could now be perceived as part of the community. Under the Empire, women, and sometimes children as well, also began to be included as beneficiaries. Although the frequency of participation of women and children was low

[119] Patterson (2006), 174-176, emphasizes participants of citizen status and the idea of a civic community consisting of fellow-citizens.

compared to that of adult male citizens, these groups could now be considered to be a part of a relatively more inclusive community.

Nevertheless, within this inclusive community a clear hierarchy was discernible. The food benefactions show this in terms of frequency: while the (re-defined) *populus* did retain its place as the primary target of privately funded public food gifts, the *decuriones* were highlighted as the most prominent citizens in the community. Their appearance as a separate group of beneficiaries implies an increasingly hierarchical understanding of the civic community by the benefactors. When *decuriones* were the only beneficiaries of food-related benefactions, the benefactors were often members of the local council, suggesting they were using these benefactions to underline their membership of the local town elite.

The inclusion of other civic groups, such as the *Augustales*, *collegia*, women and children, was optional and these groups appear only in certain contexts.

In some cases, arrangements for privately sponsored public meals were made according to the social distinctions between *decuriones* and ordinary citizens, or those between *decuriones*, *Augustales* and *populus*. Nevertheless, the bulk of the evidence concerning food benefactions does not point to a strong distinction between various groups. This is an interesting difference with the distribution of cash which often still disclosed a hierarchical pattern. Consequently, it is difficult to avoid drawing the conclusion that providing members of different social groups with different sorts of food when privately sponsored food distributions were organized never became a widely accepted way of signalling status distinction within local communities.

Another interesting development concerns relationships between town-based citizens and their rural counterparts. During republican times, these two groups had been treated as members of one and the same citizen community. Although the epigraphic record of the first and second century AD leaves no doubt that country-dwelling citizens were occasionally invited to public meals provided by wealthy members of the town-dwelling elite, this same epigraphic record also carries a strong suggestion that a sense of distinction between urban and rural citizens began to emerge in this particular period. One reason which might have prompted this change is that the landowning elites in most parts of the western half of the empire were town-based. Another possible explanation is because relationships between town-dwelling elites and other urban residents were less exploitative than those which existed in rural areas. Although there are only eleven relatively certain attestations of the *plebs urbana* as recipients of privately-sponsored food benefactions, the mere existence of such texts points to an increasing awareness of the social and political distinction between urban and rural citizens.

Chapter 4

Communal dining in the associations: a miniature of public dining?

In various cities various *collegia* as did other civic groups are known to have taken part in public dining and a *collegium* could also enjoy conviviality within its own group. In fact, collective dining was one of the important activities of *collegia*.[1] Collegial dinners were essentially restrictive and exclusive. In this sense, they diverged from public banquets in the cities, which were more open and more inclusive.

While it is common to find the association of *Augustales* being invited to public banquets together with other groups of recipients, a few inscriptions refer to food benefactions being bestowed exclusively on *Augustales*. As has been discussed in Chapter 3, *Augustales* enjoyed a privileged and prominent position in the communities. In fact they sometimes used the term *ordo* to refer to themselves.[2] However, this does not mean that they were officially recognized as a separate status group ranking not far below the *decuriones*. As noted by Mouritsen, 'When the decurions mention the *seviri Augustales* in official documents it is as a *corpus*, which places them on the same footing as *collegia*.'[3] Viewed in this light, privately sponsored dining only targeting *Augustales* may be grouped together with privately funded food benefactions for *collegia*.

Collegial dining has attracted a considerable amount of scholarly attention.[4] Most of the existing literature either stresses the importance of conviviality as a part of

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[1] Liu (2009), 247-248, n.1.

[2] The term *ordo* appears in twenty-six inscriptions from nineteen different Italian towns but, as pointed out by Mouritsen (2011), 257, it is used almost exclusively by the *(seviri) Augustales* themselves. Official inscriptions commissioned by the local authorities never use the term *ordo*.

[3] Mouritsen (2011), 257.

[4] 'Collegial dining' in this study refers to dining activites taking place within the confines of the associations, including the *Augustales* and various *collegia*. Great attention has been paid to dining activites among *collegiati*. Waltzing notes that communal dining was one of main functions of associations, Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 392; for the dining places of *collegia*, see Bollmann (1998), 37-39; Dunbabin (2003a), 96-98; Ascough (2008), 33-45, divides the associational meals into different types in an attempt to achieve a better understanding of the

associational life or analyses it from a functional point of view. Far less scholarly energy has been expended on the relationship between collegial dining and public feasting. One way of studying this topic is to look at the practical aspects of dining in associations. Who, for instance, were the participants in these dinners, and do we see the same kind of hierarchical arrangements which are found in the organization of public dinners emerging? Furthermore, a limited amount of evidence provides us with some practical information about benefactors and the circumstances in which collegial dinners were held. The central question which will guide my investigation is whether or not collegial dining can be seen as a miniature replication of public dining. In other words, does collegial dining exhibit basic similarities with public dining in a civic context? Did collegial meals serve as an expression of group solidarity, but simultaneously reveal the vertical relationships between those who paid for these meals and those who ate them? Can the role of benefactors who shouldered the costs of dinners which were organized for the benefit of *collegiati* be fruitfully compared to that of those who paid for public meals attended by various groups of citizens? Or are we dealing with two different types of communal dining, each of which had its own logic and therefore displaying at least some unique features? Moreover, if some important similarities between collegial dining and public dining can be observed, what does this tell us about the role of collegial dining in the wider community?

4.1 Communal dining in the associations

The Roman West was home to a variety of associations, ranging from the *Augustales*, via the *tria collegia*, to a wide array of professional and cultic associations. The epigraphic evidence suggests that communal dining was an important activity for all these associations.

4.1.1 *Augustales*

As shown in the previous chapter, the *Augustales* often participated in public meals and, as the epigraphic record shows, they organized dinners of their own.

A good example is the following inscription from Misenum which records an *Augustalis* giving his fellow *Augustales* a feast and cash hand-outs on occasion of the dedication of a statue to the emperor Nerva:[5]

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functions of meals within associations; Liu (2009), 248-252, discusses the convivial activities in the *collegium centonariorum*; for the conviviality of professional associations in the Roman East, see Van Nijf (1997); Mrozek (1987) examines the *collegia* as benefactors and beneficiaries in city-wide feasting; Donahue (2017) discusses *collegia* participating in public feasting as well as collegial commensality.

[5] *AE* 1993, 474.

Imp(eratori) Nervae / Caesari Aug(usto) / pont(ifici) max(imo) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) / co(n)s(uli) III p(atri) p(atriae) / P(ublius) Herenn(ius) Callistus / Augustalis / nomine Augustalium / pe<c=Q>unia sua // Imp(eratore) Nerva Caes(are) Aug(usto) II[I] / L(ucio) Vergin(io) Rufo III co(n)s(ulibus) / XIIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) / cuius dedicatione / Augustalib(us) epulum / et HS XII n(ummum) viritim dedit

To Imperator Nerva Caesar Augustus, supreme pontiff, holding tribunician power, consul for the third time, father of the country, Publius Herennius Callistus, who was an *Augustalis*, [erected this statue] with his own money in the name of *Augustales*. During the consulship of the emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, who held this position for the third time, and that of Lucius Verginius Rufus, who was consul for the third time [AD 97], on the 14th day before the 1st of October [September 18], he offered a feast to his fellow *Augustales* and gave each of them 12 sesterces on account of the dedication [of this statue].

4.1.2 *Iuvenes*

An interesting inscription from Amelia refers to a *collegium iuvenum* being offered a banquet after setting up a statue for a local *quattuorvir*:[6]

T(ito) Petronio T(iti) f(ilio) / T(iti) n(epoti) Clu(stumina) Proculo / IIIIvir(o) aed(ilicia) p(otestate) IIIIvir(o) / i(ure) d(icundo) curatori lu/sus iuvenum V(ictoriae) F(elicitatis) C(aesaris) / iuvenes Aug(ustales) / ob m(erita) e(ius) qui ob / statuae dedicati/onem dedit iuve/nibus s(ingulis) HS XXX n(ummum) / adiecto pane et / vino epulantibus / l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

To Titus Petronius Proculus, son of Titus, grandson of Titus, from the Clustumina tribe, *quattuorvir* with aedilician power, *quattuorvir* in charge of jurisdiction, curator of the games for the *iuvenes* of the Victory and Good Fortune of the Emperor, the *iuvenes Augustales* [set up this statue] in recognition of his merits, and on the occasion of the dedication of the statue he gave 30 sesterces to each of the young men while they were dining, adding bread and wine. The site was made available by a decree of the town council.

[6] *CIL* XI, 4395 = *ILS* 6632. For youth organizations, see Berger (1953), 571; Kleijwegt (1994); Jaczynowska (1978); Ginestet (1991).

4.1.3 *Tria collegia*

In a famous inscription from Sentinum, the *collegia* of the *fabri*, the *centonarii* and the *dendrophori*, are grouped together and referred to as the *tria collegia principalia*. Other inscriptions use the term *tria collegia*.[7] As far as we can tell, membership of the *collegia* of the *fabri* and the *centonarii* had a professional basis, but in the case of the *dendrophori* religious identity appears to have been the primary basis of collegial life.[8] The epigraphic record leaves no doubt that communal dining was an important activity of the *collegia* which belonged to this group.

In the mid-third century AD, Caius Iulius Cocilius Hermes was a permanent *quinquennalis* of the *collegium dendrophorum* of Ostia and patron of the *collegium*. He donated 6,000 sesterces to the *collegium* on the condition that the association would use the interest (180 *denarii*) to fund a banquet on his birthday. Should the benefactor's instructions not be honoured, the sum donated would be transferred from the *collegium dendrophorum* to the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum*.[9]

An inscription from Mevania reports that a freedman Gaius Attius Januarius bequeathed 1,000 sesterces to the association of *centonarii* for the purpose of holding an annual dinner funded by the income at his gravesite on the day of the *Parentalia*.[10]

Another example comes from Tolentinum or Urbs Salvia.[11] When the carpenters' guild (*collegium fabrorum tignuariorum*) of this city, which had been established in compliance with a *senatus consultum*, erected a *schola Augusta* on land donated by Titus Furius Primigenius, who was probably the patron of the association, the latter established a foundation of 10,000 sesterces on the occasion of the dedication of this building. The *collegiati* were to use the interest on this sum to hold an annual dinner on Furius' birthday.

4.1.4 Other professional and religious associations

The title of Waltzing's *Étude historique sur les corporations professionnelles chez les Romains* suggests the existence of a clear dividing line between professional *collegia* and other types of association.[12] In reality, professional *collegia* engaged in various religious activities, and members of a professional group might decide to organize

[7] *CIL* XI 5749; cf. *CIL* V, 7905. See discussions on the three *collegia* in Liu (2009), 50-54. She notes that these three *collegia* had their own development trajectories and that lumping them together veils their particularity.
[8] Verboven (2016), 176-178.
[9] *AE* 1987, 198.
[10] *CIL* XI, 5047.
[11] *CIL* IX, 5568 = *ILS* 7256.
[12] Waltzing (1895-1900), vol. 1, 33-56.

themselves under the banner of a religious cult. Therefore any attempts to assign Roman associations to a limited number of well-defined categories are problematic.[13]

A good example of a 'professional' *collegium* whose activities included collective dinners comes from Atria, where an association of sailors (*collegium nautarum*) received 400 sesterces in order to enable them to buy roses and funerary meals.[14]

A late second-century inscription from Anagnia refers to banquets being held by an association which defined itself as a cultic *collegium*. According to this text Caius Valerius Pr[---] paid for a temple of Jovis Stator and persuaded his patroness to provide the association with a place to dine by giving the *collegiati* permission to enjoy the precarious possession of this locality.[15]

In the early third century AD, a certain Caius Caesius Eutychion gave the members of the *collegium cannophorum* of Ostia bread, wine and cash hand-outs.[16] Since the *cannophores* were involved in various rites of the Magna Mater, this *collegium* could be regarded as a 'religious association'.[17] The benefactor was exempted from the obligation to pay membership fees (*immunis*), and it is not beyond the bounds of belief that his generosity was partly inspired by the privilege this position offered.

One of our best sources for collegial dining during the first centuries of the Principate is the famous inscription which records the regulations applied to the worshippers of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium, which has variously been described as a religious association, a funerary association or as an association whose primary function was simply to socialize. This important text will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

4.2 Collegial dining in context

As noted above, the principal aim of this chapter is to explore the relationship between collegial dining and public dining. In order to lay the groundwork for a comparison between these two types of communal dining, I shall take a closer look at the practical aspects of collegial dining, including who the participants were, the dining arrangements, benefactors and the circumstances in which food donations took place.

4.2.1 Beneficiaries and benefactions

Public dining, literally speaking, should have included all the inhabitants in the same city. However, this was not always what happened in reality. Even though the scope of beneficiaries did broaden in the transition from the Republic to the Empire when the

[13] This observation also applies to the so-called 'funerary associations' of the early Empire.
[14] *CIL* V, 2315.
[15] *CIL* X, 5904.
[16] *CIL* XIV, 119.
[17] Cf. Hemelrijk (2008), 124.

beneficiaries attending city-wide dinners were made up of various civic groups, adult male citizens were the group most frequently invited to public meals. Presumably, in the eyes of most benefactors it was vital to focus on the citizen populace: they were the core component of a civic community.

In contrast, from an internal perspective, collegial meals were inclusive in the sense that all members of the association in question were invited to collegial dinners. In most cases it was the association as a whole which was the recipient of donations. Attested cases include the *Augustales* of various cities, associations of reed-bearers and tree-bearers, carpenters, rag-dealers, sailors and young men. From the evidence provided by such cases, it can be inferred that every member was entitled to receive a share.

This raises the matter of female participants in collegial dining. Unfortunately the epigraphic harvest is quite meagre. An inscription from Pisaurum records various benefactions which were bestowed on the association of worshippers of Jupiter of Latium (*Cultores Iovis Latii*). While one patron, Publius Seneka Cornelius, provided land for the erection of a building, two other patrons, Marcus Fremedius Severus and Blassia Vera, donated bread, wine and cash when this building was dedicated.[18] The final part of the inscription lists the members of the association. Although most of them were men, the names of at least three women appear.

In some cases, the benefactor reckoned on the possibility that not all of the *collegiati* would attend the dinner. For instance, when a certain Gaius Attius Januarius bequeathed a large sum of money whose income was to be used to fund an annual dinner at his tomb, he stated that the number of *collegium* members taking part in this dinner should not be fewer than twelve.[19] Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that this benefaction targeted all *collegiati*.

Unlike civic communities, which were made up of components easily distinguishable from one another, associations were composed of people with a common interest who could not be easily segmented into various sub-groups. From a financial point of view, the fact that the cost of benefactions bestowed on an association would be more affordable than those given to the whole city must have played a role. This affordability would have made it possible to include all members.

Although collegial dining was inclusive from an internal point of view, it was exclusive from the perspective of the wider civic community. For this reason sharing meals in *collegia* has been described as a kind of 'segregative commensality'.[20] Of course, this does not necessarily imply that this restrictive dining was completely segregated from external society. It has indeed been argued that 'the institutional

[18] *CIL* XI, 6310.
[19] *CIL* XI, 5047.
[20] Donahue (2003), 432-434.

framework of the *collegia* in many ways reflected that of the cities'.[21] In the previous chapter, we have already seen that hierarchical relationships between status groups were an important feature of institutional and social life in the cities of Italy and the western provinces. Did the *collegia* of the western half of the Empire exhibit internal hierarchies which mirrored those in the civic communities and, if so, how were these internal hierarchies made manifest at collegial dinners?

As various scholars have noted, membership of *collegia* included people of different ranks and statuses. However, internally members could be classified into two groups, collegial officials and regular members. Royden summarizes two types of *cursus honorum* for the members. 'The first consisted of the offices of *decurio*, *magister quinquennalis*, and *honoratus*; the second type consisted of the offices of *quinquennalis* (or *magister*) and *quinquennalis perpetuus* (or *magister perpetuus*).'[22] In addition, Royden suggests that such *cursus honorum* could also have applied to the organization of the *Augustales*.[23] Since the magistrates in his study were narrowly defined, restricted only to the chief executive officers or presidents of the *collegia*, thereby excluding other minor magistrates such as *curatores* and *quaestores*, the *cursus honorum* suggested in this case would have involved only a few distinctions. Nevertheless, these two types of *cursus honorum* found within associations remind us of those for the municipal magistrates. The collegial magistrates included both prestigious posts like *magister, magister quinquennalis* or *quinquennalis,* and lesser posts such as *curator*, *director*, *scriba* and *viator*. Hence, the presence of both *quinquennales* and the hierarchical arrangement of different positions within the *collegia* and *Augustales* bears a close resemblence to the hierarchically arranged admininstrative positions we find in the cities.[24]

Did the participants in collegial meals enjoy the same sort of communal dining as those who were invited to public dinners? On the city level, communal dining in the strict sense of the term took the form of *epula*, *cenae* and *prandia*. These meals could be provided either for a restricted group, such as the *decuriones*, or for the entire citizen community. Besides these dinners, many inscriptions refer to cakes and sweet wine being distributed to large groups of recipients. Finally, many inscriptions not only refer to food benefactions being provided on just one occasion, but to gifts of money which were to be used to defray the costs of future meals and distributions. The moment we see such benefactions targeted various groups of beneficiaries in the civic community, hierarchy begins to raise its head. In some cases only the *decuriones*, or the *decuriones* and the *Augustales*, were invited to dinner, while the remainder had to be content with snacks. Leaving food aside, we also hear of privileged groups receiving

[21] Verboven (2007), 870; Patterson (1994), 234.
[22] Cf. Royden (1988), 228.
[23] *Ibid*. 22-23.
[24] Patterson (1994), 234-235.

larger amounts of *sportulae* during public feasts.[25] Nevertheless, a considerable amount of evidence also demonstrates that food benefactions were often organized on an egalitarian basis when they were offered to (civic groups within) communities.

The associations were served the same kinds of food gifts as civic communities – communal banquets, snacks and drinks - and foundations for communal dining. Almost all inscriptions which refer to such gifts being bestowed on associations present them as having been provided for all the members of the *collegium*/*Augustales* concerned, without specifying any hierarchical distinctions among the recipients. This observation applies not only to banquets and food hand-outs but also to cash dispersions. As noted in the previous chapter, cash hand-outs were actually often used to differentiate people hierarchically. However, to judge from those inscriptions which refer to cash distributions funded alongside food gifts by benefactors, all members of the associations who received them were allotted the same amounts of cash.[26] In other words, from the perspective of an outside observer, it seems that these associations dispensed with hierarchy.

Interestingly, the by-laws of *collegia* reveal a different picture. One clue is offered by the regulations of the association of worshippers of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium.[27] These regulations prescribe that the *quinquennalis* of this association is to receive a double share in all distributions. The *scribae* and *viatores* are to receive a one-and-a-half share. Similarly, those who had performed the function of *quinquennalis* honestly were also to receive one-and-a-half share. Admittedly the evidence is cast primarily from a collegial perspective: its chief message is that those who held a dominant position within the *collegium* were entitled to special treatment.

Our information about status distinctions within *collegia* which might have found expression during privately sponsored collegial dinners is limited, only two inscriptions from Ravenna, which happen to resemble each other closely report that the revenue from cash endowments given to the *collegium fabrum* of the city was designated to pay for a dinner for the *decuriones* of this *collegium*.[28] In addition, Jinyu Liu has drawn attention to the existence of special titles, such as *duplicarius*, which almost certainly refers to those members who were entitled to receive double portions during feasts. A few epigraphic texts which refer to privileged members of *collegia* receiving larger sums of money during cash distributions support this inference.[29]

Despite the egalitarian appearance of associations when food benefactions were provided by most outsiders, the hierarchical arrangements referred to in the inscriptions from Lanuvium and Ravenna recall the similar hierarchical set-up of food

[25] See section 3.2 'Benefaction arrangements' in Chapter 3.
[26] E.g. *AE* 1993, 473; *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* X, 5968; *CIL* XI, 4391; *CIL* XI, 4395.
[27] *CIL* XIV, 2112.
[28] *CIL* XI, 127; *CIL* XI, 126.
[29] Liu (2009), 249, n.10.

distributions which took place on a city level. While the local associations appear to have contributed to the perpetuation of the dominant social order by mimicking the dining practices of civic communities,[30] the role of undifferentiated food benefactions in affirming (the importance of) membership of a community, as we have seen in public dining, can be also observed in the case of collegial dining.

4.2.2 Benefactors of collegial dining

As we have seen in the second chapter, private benefactors played an important role in sponsoring communal dining in Italian and provincial cities. These benefactors included both men and women from various social backgrounds – magistrates and members of the local town council, priests/priestesses, patrons, military personnel, members of the elite who did not hold office and freedmen/freedwomen. The majority of them belonged to local elite families.

As did public banqueting, collegial dining also depended heavily on *privata munificentia*. Did those benefactors who provided collegial dinners or the funds to pay for them belong to the same social groups as those who sponsored communal dining at city level?

Internal benefactors

As we have seen in Chapter 2, many public banquets and food distributions were funded by people holding magistracies. Likewise, many dinners which were organized for members of a particular association appear to have been donated by people holding administrative positions in that association.

Again the by-law of the association of worshippers of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium provides a good example.[31] The principal function, or functions, of this association – religious, funerary, sociable or mixed – has been endlessly debated.[32] Whatever view we choose to take on this matter, there can be no doubt that collegial dining was one of the most important activities of this *collegium* and that its office-holders were responsible for organizing this activity. One of the association's regulations provides that it is a *magister*'s duty to provide a dinner when it is his turn to do so. If he fails to observe this obligation, he has to pay 30 sesterces into the communal fund.

[30] Cf. Kloppenborg and Wilson (1996), 136.
[31] *CIL* XIV, 2112 = *ILS* 7212. For the text and translation, see Bendlin (2011), 209-215; Ascough, Harland and Kloppenborg (2012), 194-198, no.310.
[32] For the religious aspect, see Ausbüttel (1982), 27-28; for the funerary aspect, see Mommsen (1843), 98-106; for the sociable aspect, see Hopkins (1983), 213-214.

A text from Misenum provides detailed information about various benefactions bestowed by a certain Quintus Cominius Abascantus, who was life-time curator of the *Augustales*:[33]

> *Q(uinto) Cominio Abascanto / ornament(is) decurionalib(us) / honorato curatori / Augustalium perpetuo / hic statuas duas Geni(i) municipi(i) et / classis Tutelae in foro posuit quarum / dedicatione decurionib(us) sing(ulis) HS XX n(ummum) / Augustalib(us) corporatis HS XII iis qui / in corpore non sunt HS VIII ingenuis / corporatis HS VI municipib(us) HS IIII dedit / praeterea HS CX m(ilia) n(ummum) decurionib(us) / in mulsatione ipsorum et populi / XVI K(alendas) Ianuar(ias) die natalis sui itemque / Augustalib(us) corporatis HS XX m(ilia) n(ummum) dedit / uti ex incremento earum summar(um) / quod annis die supra scripto / divisio fieret ex forma ipsius / et hoc amplius HS X(milia) n(ummum) in co<m=N>paratione / vini eisdem Augustalib(us) largitus dedit /*
>
> For Quintus Cominius Abascantus, honoured with the *insignia* of decurional rank, life-time *curator* of the *Augustales*. He placed two statues – of the *Genius* of the Town and of the Protectress of the Fleet – in the forum [and] on the occasion of their dedication he gave 20 sesterces to each of the decurions, 12 sesterces to the *Augustales* formally enrolled in the association, 8 sesterces to the *Augustales* who were not enrolled in the association, 6 sesterces to those freeborn citizens who were formally enrolled in the *collegia*, [and] 4 sesterces to the townspeople. In addition, he gave the decurions 110,000 sesterces so that they and the people could drink honeyed wine on 17 December, his birthday. Likewise [he gave] 20,000 sesterces to the associated *Augustales*, so that from the interest on these amounts there would be an annual distribution [of cash] according to the stipulations he made on the aforesaid day. And over and above this, he generously gave these same *Augustales* 10,000 sesterces for procuring wine.

While the generosity of Cominius Abascantus was extended not only to the *decuriones* and *Augustales* of Misenum but also to members of other associations and the citizen body as a whole, the *Augustales* did receive a separate donation of 20,000 sesterces, the income from which was to be used to pay for an annual *divisio*, and 10,000 sesterces to buy wine.

Another inscription, also from Misenum, reports that in AD 112/113 Lucius Kaninius Hermes Senior and his sons, Lucius Kaninius Philippus and Lucius Kaninius Hermes Iunior, erected a statue of Trajan on behalf of the *Augustales*. We are also told that

[33] *AE* 2000, 344; for the English translation see D'Arms (2000b), 135.

Kaninius Hermes Senior gave the association 6,000 sesterces because Hermes Iunior had received the privilege of immunity, plus a banquet to mark the dedication of the statue and twelve sesterces per person.[34] It appears that Kaninius Philippus had been elected into the town council of Misenum, and that Kaninius Senior and Kaninius Iunior were also members of the *Augustales*.

The following inscription from Cemenelum records the contributions made by a *magister* of the *collegium dendrophorum*:[35]

> *L(ucius) Bla(esius) Iunius Cornutus / magister coll(egii) dendro/[p]hororum aram et pavi/mentum scholae et pro/navi de suo fecit / et sportulas dedit sing(ulis) / dendrophoris \|(denarios) singulos / et vinum passim divisit*
>
> Lucius Blaesius Iunius Cornutus, *magister* of the *collegium dendrophororum*, built an altar and laid the pavement of the *schola* and the *pronaos* at his own expense. He also provided hand-outs and distributed one *denarius* to each member of the *collegium* and wine to everyone.

In his capacity of *magister collegii*, Lucius Blaesius Iunius Cornutus might have felt obliged to make contributions to his *collegium*, but it is impossible to establish whether he was acting spontaneously or conforming to some unwritten rule.

A few inscriptions suggest that members of associations who did not hold offices might also furnish communal meals.[36]

An inscription from Parma reports that an *eques Romanus* Caius Praeconius Ventilius Magnus and his wife, Livia Benigna, bequeathed 35 *iugera* of garden lands, the proceeds of which were to pay for the dinners of the benefactor's *sodales*.[37] It has been suggested that the *sodales* belonged to a funerary association of which Praeconius also was a member.[38]

An inscription from Aletrium refers to a *sevir Augustalis* bequeathing a large sum of money, whose the income was to be spent on commemorative dinners:[39]

> *Q(uintus) Minucius Q(uinti) l(ibertus) Anteros VIv[ir] / Augustal(is) / hic seviris Augustal(ibus) Aletrin[at(ibus)?] / legavit HS X(milia) quoius ex red[itu] / quod annis natali suo VI[--?] / Febr(uarias) vescerentur*

---

[34] *AE* 1993, 473.
[35] *CIL* V, 7904.
[36] I use the term 'ordinary members' to refer to those members of a *collegium* whose formal role in that *collegium* is not specified.
[37] *AE* 1953, 98 = *AE* 1993, 713 = *AE* 2000, 583 = *AE* 2008, +264.
[38] Bodel (1998), 494; Donahue (2017), 238, n.310. Carroll considers Praeconius Ventilius and his wife to have been patrons of this *collegium*, Carroll (2011), 46.
[39] *CIL* X, 5809.

> Quintus Minucius Anteros, freedman of Quintus, *sevir Augustalis*, has bequeathed the *seviri Augustales* of Aletrium 10,000 sesterces for the purpose that from the income from this sum they will have an annual meal on his birthday on the 8 (?) February.

Another example comes from the Umbrian city of Mevania (modern Bevagna), where a *libertus* bequeathed money to the association of *centonarii*:[40]

> *C(aius) Attius |(mulieris) l(ibertus) / Ianuarius / VIvir s(acris) f(aciundis) VIIIIvir Val(etudinis) / hic collegio suo cento/nariorum legavit HS |(mille) ex / cuius reditu quod annis / die parentaliorum ne minus / homines XII ad rogum suum / vescerentur / cura coll(egii) cent(onariorum)*
>
> Gaius Attius Januarius, freedman of a woman, one of the *Seviri Sacris faciundis* (a priestly college) and of the *Novemviri Valetudinis*, bequeathed 1,000 sesterces to the association of the *centonarii*. No fewer than twelve men shall use the annual income to hold a banquet at his tomb on the festival of the Parentalia. This is in the care of the association of rag dealers.

As was the custom in many cities, *collegia* also co-opted patrons, a practice which can be seen as another imitation of what happened in the wider community.[41] It has been suggested that the collegial patrons were usually not members of the *collegia*,[42] but this conclusion certainly does not apply to those collegial patrons who provided food benefactions. Most of these patrons were members of those associations on which they bestowed their food benefactions.[43]

An inscription from Ostia, which has already been discussed, refers to a donation of 6,000 sesterces made by Gaius Cocilius Hermes, who was the patron and *quinquennalis perpetuus* of this *collegium*, to the *collegium dendrophorum* of Ostia. The interest of this sum (180 *denarii*) was to be used to fund an annual dinner on his birthday as well as for a distribution of *sportulae* to those who dined.[44]

In an inscription from Signia, we read that the *collegium dendrophorum* of that city set up a statue for Titus Iulius Eutyches, to thank him for *plura saepius beneficia et munificentia largitionesque*. The recipient responded by giving a banquet and distributing cash hand-outs on the occasion of the dedication of this statue.[45] It

[40] *CIL* XI, 5047 (2nd century AD); Ascough, Harland and Kloppenborg (2012), 198, no.311.
[41] For a study of the collegial patrons, see Clemente (1972). For the imitation of city, see Kloppenborg (1996), 26; Patterson (1994), 234-235.
[42] Royden (1988), 15-16; Liu (2009), 221-222; Patterson (1994), 235.
[43] For a general collection of the patrons who were also members of the *collegia* they patronized, see Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 4, 384-386.
[44] *AE* 1987, 198.
[45] *CIL* X, 5968.

appears from the text that Iulius Eutyches had fulfilled the post of director (*rector*) of the association and also was its patron.

A third example tells that the *collegium fabrum*, which was probably from Pisaurum, dedicated a statue for their patron and *quinquennalis*, Lucius Apuleius Brasida, in recompense for his extraordinary generosity towards them. In response, Apuleius Brasida and a colleague joined forces to distribute cash hand-outs and bread and wine at the dedication of the statue.[46]

External benefactors

Some *collegia* received food benefactions from people who were not members, but such texts are few in number.

In the Umbrian city of Ocriculum, an honorary inscription records that a Marcus Iulius Ulpius Cleopater provided benefactions for a *collegium*:[47]

> *Romuli / M(arco) Iulio Ulpio M(arci) f(ilio) / Velina Cleopatro pa/trono civit(atis) et collegi(i) / centonar(iorum) item amatoru/m Romuliorum patri MM(arcorum) / Claudiorum Ulpiorum Cle/opatri et Sabini eeqq(uitum) RR(omanorum) / viro optimo ob merita et / innocenti(a)e eius honoris / gratia amatores qui ad r/oburandum consensum ama/torum suorum donavit eis / HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) et ob dedicatione(m) sin/gulis discumbentibus et epul(as) / HS XXX n(ummum) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*
>
> To Marcus Iulius Ulpius Cleopater, son of Marcus, from the Velina tribe, commonly known as Romulius, patron of the city and of the *collegium* of *centonarii*, also [patron] of the *amatores Romulii,* father of Marcus Cladius Ulpius Cleopater and Marcus Claudius Ulpius Sabinus who are Roman equestrians, an excellent man, the *amatores* dedicated [this statue] on account of his merits and integrity in order to honour him. To strengthen the unanimous devotion of his *amatores*, he gave them 10,000 sesterces and, on the occasion of the dedication [of the statue], he provided banquets and distributed 30 sesterces to each of the diners. The place was given by a decree of the *decuriones*.

The text shows that Iulius Ulpius Cleopater was an external patron of the association of *amatores Romulii* and that he bestowed benefactions on this association after the *collegium* had honoured him with a statue.

An inscription from Narbo records the text of a letter dated in AD 149, which says that Sextus Fadius offered the *collegium fabrum* of Narbo 16,000 sesterces, the interest

[46] *CIL* XI, 6358 = *ILS* 6654.
[47] *CIL* XI, 7805 = *ILS* 7365

from which would be used to pay for a banquet on his birthday.[48] The superscript inscription added above Fadius' letter reveals that this benefactor had held all the official posts in *colonia* Narbonensis. The *fabri subaediani* of Narbo set up a statue for their patron Sextus Fadius Secundus Musa to acknowledge his merits. From the text it appears that Fadius' munificence was prompted by the *collegium*'s appreciation of and affection for him (*plurimis et adsiduis erga me meritis vestris* and *amori vestro*). These phrases could be construed as implying that his benefactions were of a responsive character. As a consequence, his generosity earned him an honorary statue.

Some inscriptions do not specify the relationship between the benefactor and the *collegium* concerned. An example from Tolentinum reports that a Titus Furius Primigenius donated the *collegium fabrorum tignuariorum* 10,000 sesterces, whose income was to fund an annual banquet on his birthday.[49] Presumably Furius Primigenius was the patron of the *collegium*, but the text does not explicitly say so.

At Ravenna a *decuria* of the *collegium fabrum* received donations from a certain Claudius Iustus:[50]

> *Marianae Polycarpae / Cassiae Cassianae / [3] Claudius P(ubli) f(ilius) Cam(ilia) Iustu(s) / coniug(i) sib(i) sanctissimae et P(ublio) Vario / Ariano fratri pientissimo / posuit / ob memoriam patris sui dec(uriae) VII / collegi(i) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis) HS |(mille) n(ummum) liberalitate / donavit sub hac condicione ut / quodannis rosas ad monumentum ei / spargant et ibi epulentur dumtaxat in / Idus Iulias quod si neglexerint tunc ad / dec(uriam) VIII eiusdem colleg(ii) pertinere debebit / condicione supra scripta*
>
> For Mariana Polycarpa Cassia Cassiana, his most sacred wife, and for Publius Varius Arianus, his most affectionate brother, Claudius Iustus, son of Publius, from the Camilia tribe, set up [this monument]. To honour the memory of his father, he generously gave the *decuria* VII of the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium* of Ravenna 1,000 sesterces, on condition that they will strew roses at the monument every year and will hold a banquet on 15 July precisely; but if they fail to do so, the money is to be supplied to the *decuria* VIII of the same *collegium* under the condition written above.

The funerary inscription does not specify the relationship between Claudius Iustus and the *collegium fabrum*. He might have been a patron of this *collegium* or merely an external donor. Interestingly, the purpose of the foundation he set up was to

[48] *CIL* XII, 4393.
[49] *CIL* IX, 5568 = *ILS* 7256.
[50] *CIL* XI, 132.

perpetuate the memory of his father rather than that of his wife and brother on whose tomb the text was inscribed.

The external benefactor could be an outsider who desired perpetual commemoration. In an inscription from Comum, a freedman, Publius Appius Eutyches, donated sums of money to the *collegium fabrum* and the *collegium centonariorum* the income of which was to be used to hold dinners on his wife's birthday, and on the *Parentalia* and the *Rosalia*.[51]

In an earlier section of this chapter, we encountered Titus Petronius Proculus, *quattuorvir* of the Umbrian city of Amelia and *curator* of the games for the *iuvenes*. This local magistrate provided the *iuvenes Augustales* of the city with bread and wine and gave each of them 30 sesterces on the occasion of the dedication of a statue erected by the *collegium iuvenum*.[52]

Although they are known to have done this, only a few external benefactors of *collegia* are found. Why should this be the case? Part of the answer could lie in the fact that members were more likely to have had a closer relationship with the *collegia* than non-members. Calling to mind that many of the internal benefactors occupied high positions in the internal hierarchy of the associations, it is as well to remember that the bestowal of food benefactions was an excellent way of broadcasting and reaffirming this hierarchical relationship. Despite such attempts at self-promotion, most of those who held prominent positions in associations could not aspire to prominence within the wider civic community.[53] Therefore it was logical for these people to bestow food benefactions on their fellow *collegiati*/*Augustales* rather than on other sub-groups of the civic community.

In an earlier chapter, it has been argued that most of the public dining on a city level was sponsored by local benefactors, for whom communal dining was a means by which to broadcast vertical relationships in the communities, while simultaneously affirming the continuing importance of citizen communities. The epigraphic evidence relating to benefactors sponsoring collegial dinners suggests that a similar mechanism was at work in the case of associations. The inscriptions leave no doubt that some associations did have external patrons, but these people might have been expected to provide political patronage or legal help rather than food benefactions.[54]

Benefactresses

[51] *CIL* V, 5272. Cf. Hemelrijk (2015), 190.
[52] *CIL* XI, 4395.
[53] Of course, this generalizing observation cannot be applied in a blanket fashion. For instance, Quintus Cominius Abascantus and Lucius Apuleius Brasidas were honoured with the *insignia* of decurional rank in the towns of Misenum and Pisaurum, *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* XI, 6358.
[54] Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 431-432; Royden (1988), 16.

In Roman society there was a widespread cultural expectation that it was the task of women to take care of domestic affairs. Nevertheless, some women did acquire prominent positions in civic communities.[55] In a previous chapter I have examined the evidence for female benefactors bestowing food gifts on civic communities. The focus of the following discussion will be on women providing various associations with food benefactions.

An inscription from the Umbrian town of Amelia refers to a *collegium* erecting a statue for the wife of a local *quattuorvir* and to the responsive food benefaction she provided:[56]

> *Iuliae M(arci) f(iliae) Felicitati / uxori / C(ai) Curiati Eutychetis / IIIIvir(i) magistrae Fortu/nae Mel(ioris) coll(egium) centonarior(um) / ob merita eius quo honore / contenta sumptum omnem / remisit et ob dedic(ationem) ded(it) sin/gulis HS XX n(ummum) et hoc amplius / ar<c=K>ae eorum intul(it) HS V m(ilia) n(ummum) / ut die natalis sui V Id(us) Mai(as) / ex usuris eius summae epu/lantes i<n=M> perpetuum divider(ent) / quod si divisio die s(upra) s(cripto) celebrata non / fuerit tunc pertineb(it) omn(is) summa / ad familiam publicam*
>
> For Iulia Felicitas, daughter of Marcus, wife of Caius Curiatus Eutyches, the *quattuorvir*, and *magistra* of Fortuna Melior, the *collegium centonariorum* [erected this statue] because of her merits. Pleased with this honour, she remitted all expenses and, at the dedecation, she gave each member 20 sesterces, and in addition she contributed 5,000 sesterces to their treasury, so that on her birthday, 11 May, they will forever carry out a distribution during a banquet financed from the interests of this sum; but, if the distribution is not held on the day written above, the whole sum will belong to the public slaves.[57]

Unfortunately, the nature of Iulia Felicitas' *merita* remains unspecified. It has been speculated that she was the patroness of the association.[58] Alternatively, the *centonarii* of Amelia might have honoured her in recompense for the duties she had undertaken

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[55] See Hemelrijk's works on women, e.g. Hemelrijk (2012); Hemelrijk (2004); Hemelrijk (2008); for the recent work see Hemelrijk (2015). See also Gaspar (2012); Forbis (1990); Van Abbema (2008); MacMullen (1980).

[56] *CIL* XI, 4391.

[57] For the translation, also see Gaspar (2012), 195 and Van Abbema (2008), 46.

[58] For her identity as the collegial patroness, see Liu (2009), 219; Gaspar (2012), 195; Van Abbema (2008), 46. For a study of the female power in collegial life, see Saavedra Guerrero (1991), 109-113. For female patrons of associations see Hemelrijk (2008).

as *magistra* of Fortuna Melior or perhaps simply to advertise their relationship with a powerful local family.

Only one inscription explicitly records a collegial patroness providing food benefactions for *collegiati*. An inscription from Pisaurum set up by the *cultores Iovis Latii* reports that Marcus Fremedius Severus and Blassia Vera, who were patron and patroness of this association, distributed bread, wine and 2 *denarii* to each of its members.[59]

In a previous section, two inscriptions recording the bestowal of food benefactions on the *Augustales* of Misenum have been examined. A third inscription from Misenum refers to yet another food benefaction being awarded to this association by a female *sacerdos Augustalium*:[60]

> *Cassia C(ai) fil(ia) Victoria sacerdos Augustalium pronaum cum columnis et epistyliis nomine suo et / L(uci) Laecanii Primitivi mariti sui ob eximiam eorum erga se ben<e=I>volentiam cuius dedic(atione) epulum et sing(ulis) HS XII n(ummum) dedit*
>
> Cassia Victoria, daughter of Gaius, priestess of the *Augustales*, donated the *pronaos* with the columns and *epistylia* in her own name and that of her husband, Lucius Laecanius Primitivus, because of their extraordinary kindness towards her. At its dedication she gave a banquet and 12 sesterces to each of them.

The nature of the 'extraordinary kindness' which the *Augustales* had displayed towards Cassia Victoria is not spelled out, but her election to the position of *sacerdos Augustalium* is a strong possibility. If this interpretation is correct, we are dealing with a benefaction of the 'responsive' type.

After the death of Quintus Cominius Abascantus, whom we have met in the previous section, his widow, Nymphidia Monime, erected a statue for him. On the occasion of its dedication she provided a banquet for the full membership of the *Augustales* and gave each of them 8 sesterces.[61] Since Nymphidia Monime was not a member of the association at this point, she was technically an external benefactress. However, the inscription which records these benefactions leaves no doubt that she saw herself as following in the footsteps of her deceased husband, who had been the association's president. Interestingly, another inscription, which was carved on the same statue plinth as the text commemorating the generosity shown by Abascantus and his wife, reveals that, on 3 January AD 149, Nymphidia Monime was elected to the

[59] *CIL* XI, 6310.
[60] *AE* 1993, 477.
[61] *AE* 2000, 344.

association of *Augustales* and given the right to share in all hand-outs received by them on solemn days and in all individual distributions.

An inscription from Cemenelum refers to a local benefactress donating a banquet to the *collegium centonariorum* under completely different circumstances:[62]

> *P(ublio) Etereio P(ubli) f(ilio) Q(uirina) Quadrato / Etereia Aristolais mater / statuam posuit / ob cuius dedicat(ionem) col<l=I>(egio) cent(onariorum) / epulum ex mor<e=I> ded(it) item |(denarios) L(milia) / ita ut ex usur(is) quod ann(is) in perpet(uum) / die natal(i) Quadrati V Id(us) Apr(iles) / ubi reliquiae eius conditae sunt / sacrificium facerent ansare et libo / et in templo ex more epularentur / et rosas suo tempore deducerent / et statuam tergerent et coronarent / quod se facturos receperunt*
>
> For Publius Etereius Quadratus, son of Publius, from the Quirina tribe, Etereia Aristolais, his mother, set up this statue. At its dedication she gave the *collegium centonariorum* a banquet in the customary way, and also 50,000 *denarii* for the purpose that, every year in perpetuity on the birthday of Quadratus, 9 April, they will use the interest to make a sacrifice with a drink offering where his remains lie buried, and hold a banquet in the temple in the customary way, and to bring roses on the appropriate day, and clean and wreathe the statue, as they have undertaken to do.

It appears from this text that, after the death of a certain Publius Etereius Quadratus, his mother set up a statue for him and donated a banquet to the local association of *centonarii*. In addition to this meal, the *collegium* received a sum of money the interest on which was to be used to pay for future dinners. As in the case of Iulia Felicitas, the exact nature of Etereia Aristolais' relationship with the *collegium centonariorum* is not specified, but one way of accounting for the decision to make this association responsible for the annual commemorative rituals is to assume that Quadratus had been a member of the *collegium*. The phrase *ex more* strongly suggests that providing a *collegium* with a meal on the occasion of the dedication of a statue was regarded as a customary practice, just like organizing public banquets for decurions or civic communities when public statues were dedicated.

An inscription from the town of Ulubrae refers to commemorative dinners which were to be held in a temple which the wife of the deceased had donated to the *cultores Iovis Axorani*:[63]

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[62] *CIL* V, 7906.
[63] *CIL* X, 6483.

Pro salute et red[itu] / Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) Traiani Hadri[ani] / Geminia Myrtis cum Anici[a Prisca f(ecit)] / aedem cultoribus Iovis Axo[rani ded(it)] / ut in memoriam Anici Prisci c[oniugis] / sui in ea semper epulentur

For the well-being and safe return of the Imperator Traianus Hadrianus, Geminia Myrtis, together with Anicia Prisca, had this temple built. She gave the temple to the worshippers of Iuppiter Axoranus, so that they may always hold dinners in it in memory of her husband Anicus Priscus.

It has been suggested that Anicia Prisca was the daughter of Geminia Myrtis and Anicius Priscus.[64] The inscription does not reveal why Geminia took the step of providing the worshippers of Iuppiter Axoranus with a temple in which they could hold banquets, but one possible interpretation is that Anicus Priscus had been a member of the *collegium*. Since we are not told that the two benefactresses also funded the commemorative banquets, it seems reasonable to infer that these were funded from the common treasury of the association. In any case there can be no doubt that the principal aim of the gift made by Geminia Myrtis and Anicia Prisca was to perpetuate the memory of Geminia's late husband.

Some conclusions on benefactors and benefactresses of associations

The epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that most of the food benefactions which were awarded to *collegia* and *Augustales* were donated by prominent members of these associations. There are, however, also some examples of ordinary members bestowing food benefactions on their fellow *collegiati* or *Augustales*. As is to be expected, the sums of money bequeathed or given by such modestly well-off benefactors were much smaller than those provided by those occupying prominent positions in the hierarchy of the association. Meanwhile, a few external patrons provided food benefactions in reponse to honours bestowed by their client-*collegia*. Outsiders also sponsored collegial dinners for the purpose of perpetuating their own memories or those of close relatives.

Special attention should be paid to the fact that only one collegial patroness is known to have provided food benefactions for *collegiati*.[65] Up to a point, this is similar to the pattern which emerges from inscriptions referring to female patrons of cities: only a few of these women are recorded as having provided tangible benefactions.[66] It is also rare to find a woman like Cassia Victoria who seems to have held a formal position (*sacerdos Augustalium*) in the association to which she gave a food benefaction.

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[64] Livia (1997), 197-199.
[65] *CIL* XI, 6310.
[66] Hemelrijk (2004), 220-222; Hemelrijk (2008), 125.

It was far more usual for women to come into contact with associations as outsiders. When she was granted an honorary statue by the *collegium*, the female recipient was expected to provide benefactions, as Iulia Felicitas did; and when a male relative of a woman was honoured, she could do the same thing, as Nymphidia Monime demonstrated. Perpetuating their own memories or those of their relatives appears to have been the most common reason for women to become benefactresses.[67] Some women entrusted funds to *collegia* in order to make sure that their tombs, or the tomb of a close relative, would be looked after and commemorative rites would be performed. Sometimes part of these funds was earmarked to pay for annual dinners to be held by the *collegiati* in remembrance of the benefactor or their relatives.

Communal dining could be used by high-ranking insiders to confirm their superior position. However, although it stands to reason that providing food benefactions was also a good way for both high-ranking and lower-ranking people to perpetuate personal remembrance few points should be noted here. Firstly, a local person of high social standing was more likely to bestow food benefactions on an entire local community, or on the local town council, rather than on associations. By contrast, the vast majority of those benefactors who did give food gifts to *collegia* and *Augustales* did not belong to the decurional class. This indicates that members of the decurional class and important figures in the associations displayed parallel forms of munificence in separate social universes. Secondly, while women belonging to local elite families account for a significant proportion of elite benefactors acting on a city-wide level, very few women appear to have taken on the role of collegial benefactress as an internal member. The explanation for this is that, whereas most collegial benefactors were insiders, *collegia* and *Augustales* were rarely open to women.

4.2.3 Circumstances surrounding donations

In the chapter on communal dining on a city level, a distinction has been made between four types of circumstances in which benefactors and benefactresses donated banquets or other kinds of food benefits to civic communities. These four types can be described as office-related, responsive, voluntary and testamentary. Therefore this section sets out to investigate whether these four categories can also be discerned in the epigraphic evidence relating to communal dining in the *collegia* and *Augustales*.

Office-related benefactions

Office-holders on a city level provided food benefactions when paying for the *summa honoraria*, expressing their gratitude for having been elected to offices or performing their functions and duties. Likewise, we find collegial magistrates paying *summa*

[67] For the importance of personal remembrance in the Roman world, see Champlin (1991), 155-168.

honoraria or providing benefactions *ob honorem*. An inscription from Mantua reports that three *seviri* made a joint dedication to Hercules Augustus from their *summae honorariae* which they were obliged to make for the *collegium nautarum*, and added another 2,200 sesterces.[68] In an early-third-century inscription from Aquincum (Pannonia inferior), we read that a certain Caius Iulius Severus built a fountain with his own money after having been appointed *magister* of the *collegium fabrum*.[69] But on neither of these two occasions were food benefactions provided.

Whether the food gifts given by office-holders were office-related often remain elusive. According to a second-century inscription from Aquileia, Lucius Domitius Epaphroditus who was a *decurio* in the *collegium fabrum*, dedicated a silver statue with a pedestal and spear in the first year of his presidency. It appears that he shared this duty with another colleague, Marcus Livius Tertius, shouldering half the cost. L. Domitius Epaphroditus also provided food distributions (*p[an(em) et vin(um) ---] pernas IX*) and cash for food (*cibaris aeris octonos*) on 6 July when the recipients went to the sea.[70] It has been suggested that the food gifts were probably given on the occasion of the dedication of this statue.[71] Another inscription from Cumae records that a *collegium dendrophorum* was created in accordance with a decree of the Senate. On the day of its dedication, their patron and *quinquennalis*, Lucius Ampius Stephanus, distributed food and cash hand-outs.[72] It is difficult to judge if the provision of these food benefactions fell within the scope of their (Epaphroditus' and Stephanus') duties.[73]

In the regulations of the association of the worshippers of Diana and Antinous, we read that people holding offices were responsible for providing food for the *collegiati*. For instance, any *magister* was obliged to provide a dinner when it was his turn and, if he failed to do so, he was to pay the treasury 30 sesterces; the *magistri* responsible for serving these dinners (*magistri cenarum*) were required to supply an amphora of good wine, bread, sardines, as well as see to the preparation of the couches (*stratio*) and warm water with the service.[74] Nevertheless, there is no evidence to suggest that these *magistri* were expected to pay for these dinners out of their own money. Probably *collegia* had funds for such dinners which *magistri* could have used to undertake such duties.

There seems no solid evidence of office-related food benefactions for *collegia*, for which the explanation might be that precisely because the internal regulations of

[68] *Pais* 669 = *ILS* 7265 = *RSH* 269.
[69] *CIL* III, 3580. See also *CIL* III, 4272.
[70] *CIL* V, 8251. The *collegium incrementorum cultorum Minervae* is seen as beneficiary by Goffin, see Goffin (2002), 342.
[71] Goffin (2002), 342.
[72] *CIL* X, 3699 = *ILS* 4174 = *AE* 2010, +281.
[73] Cf. *CIL* V, 7904.
[74] *CIL* XIV, 2112. Cf. Bendlin (2011), 207-296.

collegia put *magistri* under the obligation to provide meals, these dinners were not considered to be benefactions. If this hypothesis is correct, the *magistri* responsible for them would have had little reason to advertise their generosity. In the case of *Augustales*, we find evidence of food benefactions *ob honorem seviratus*,[75] but this sort of *euergetism* was directed towards the wider community rather than members of an exclusive association.

An inscription from Pisaurum records that two patrons of the *cultores Iovis Latii* distributed food and money among the worshippers.[76] Why these patrons provided benefactions cannot be determined. However, it does seem reasonable to suppose that patrons of associations would have wanted to do something for their associations, but there are no indications that they were expected to provide food benefactions. This would suggest that there was a voluntary element in food gifts provided by patrons.

Responsive benefactions

Some food benefactions bestowed on associations were given after the benefactor had been honoured by either the *collegiati* or *Augustales*. Various inscriptions refer to associations erecting a statue for a prominent member or a distinguished patron. The honoree or his/her family might respond by providing a food gift on the day on which the statue was dedicated.

A permanent curator of the *Augustales* at Misenum provided his fellow *Augustales* with a banquet and cash hand-outs after they had honoured him with a statue:[77]

> *C(aio) Iulio / Phoebo / curatori perp(etuo) / Augustales / ex aere conlat(o) // A(ulo) Cornelio Palma / Q(uinto) Sosio Senecione co(n)s(ulibus) / K(alendis) Ianuar(iis) / cuius dedicatione / Augustalib(us) epulum et / HS XII n(ummum) viritim / dedit*
>
> To Gaius Julius Phoebus, life-time curator, the *Augustales* [erected this statue] from the money which had been collected. In the consulship of Aulus Cornelius Palma and Quintus Sosius Senecio, on the first of January, because of the dedication of the statue, he gave a banquet and 12 sesterces to each of the *Augustales*.

At Eburum, a patron was granted a statue by his client *collegium*. Pleased with the honour, he reciprocated by establishing a foundation of 8,000 sesterces and by

[75] *CIL* II, 2100; *CIL* XIV, 4057 = *AE* 2001, +738.
[76] *CIL* XI, 6310.
[77] *AE* 1993, 479.

providing cash hand-outs, dinners for the associations of the *dendrophori* and the *fabri*, and a meat distribution for the *plebs*:[78]

> *L(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) / T(ito) Fl(avio) T(iti) f(ilio) Fab(ia) Silvano pat(rono) mun(icipii) / Ebur(inorum) IIvir(o) (iterum) q(uin)q(uennali) quest(ori!) ar<c=K>(ae) cur(atori) / rei frument(ariae) huic coll(egium) dend/rophor(o)r(um) ob exsimiam erg[a] / se benivolentiam(!) et spem per/[p]etuam statuam dignissim[o] / patrono posuerunt cuius sta/[t]uae honore contentus ob/tulit coll(egio) s(upra) s(cripto) HS VIII m(ilia) n(ummum) ut quodannis(!) / natalis eius die III Iduum Decembr(ium) confrequentu[r et o]b statuae d[e]/dicationem coll[egii p(atronis) s(ingulis)] HS XX nummos et / q(uin)q(uennaliciis) IIvir(aliciis) aedilic(iis) s[ingulis HS XX] n(ummos) et cete/ris condec(urionibus) sing(ulis) HS [n(ummos) XVII]IS s(ingulis) Augu[s]/talib(us) HS XII n(ummos) coll(egiis) dend[ro]phor(orum) et / fab(rum) sing(ulis) HS millenos n(ummos) [et] epul[u]m / [pl]ebeis sing(ulis) HS [n(ummos)] et viscerationem*
>
> The place was given by the decree of the decurions. For Titus Flavius Silvanus, son of Titus, from the Fabia tribe, patron of the *municipium* Eburum, *duumvir* for the second time, *quinquennalis*, quaestor in charge of the treasury, curator of the grain supply, the *collegium dendrophororum* set up this statue because of [his] remarkable kindness towards them and his lasting hope [for its well-being], for their most worthy patron. Pleased with the honour of the statue, he bestowed 8,000 sesterces on the *collegium* mentioned above so that his birthday will be celebrated each year on 11 December, and on account of the dedication of the statue, 20 sesterces were given to each patron of the *collegium*, and to each former *quinquennalis*, each former *duumvir* and each former *aedile*, 18 ½ sesterces to each of the remaining decurions, 12 sesterces to each *Augustalis*, 1,000 sesterces and a dinner (*epulum*) for the *collegium dendrophororum* and the *collegium fabrum* separately, and 1 sesterce and a meat distribution to each plebeian.

An interesting feature of this inscription is that the patron who had received the statue took the step of highlighting his gratitude not only in the *collegium dendrophorum* and the *collegium fabrum*, but also in the city of which he was patron. The inclusion of the *collegium fabrum* suggests he might have been their patron as well.

A couple of inscriptions which have already been discussed also concern responsive benefactions. For instance, when the *sacerdos Augustalium* Cassia Victoria made

[78] *CIL* X, 451.

donations to the *Augustales* at Misenum *ob eximiam eorum erga se benivolentiam*, she was responding to the decision to her election as *sacerdos*.[79] Another example is that of Titus Iulius Eutyches, who received a paid statue from the *collegium dendrophorum* of Signia, and responded by providing a banquet and cash hand-outs on the day on which the statue was dedicated.[80] Similarly, when a citizen of Amelia, Titus Petronius Proculus, was granted a public statue by the association of the *iuvenes Augustales,* he distributed food and cash hand-outs on the dedication day.[81] These examples show that responsive benefactions were triggered either by the erection of an honorary statue or by various other honours which associations were capable of bestowing. Those receiving such honours must have felt obliged to give something in return for the accolade received.

In a previous chapter, we have seen that some women belonging to elite families were granted public statues by civic communities. Interestingly, some women are also known to have been accorded public statues from *collegia*. For instance, when the *centonarii* of Amelia dedicated a statue to Iulia Felicitas *ob merita eius*, the recipient not only reimbursed the cost of the dedication but also distributed cash when the statue was dedicated. Her generosity did not stop there as she also donated the *collegium centonariorum* a sum of 5,000 sesterces, the interest on which was to be used to fund meals on her birthday.[82] It does not seem far-fetched to suppose that the example set by civic communities inspired some *collegia* to develop reciprocal relationships with female members of elite families and to acknowledge the assistance or benefactions provided by such women by honouring them with public statues.

Voluntary benefactions

To judge from the epigraphic evidence, most acts of voluntary munificence bestowed on *collegia* and *Augustales* were prompted by the donor's wish to perpetuate his or her own memory or that of one of their loved ones.

Sometimes, the commemoration was made in the form of the dedication of a statue and a one-off banquet was offered to mark the dedication, as the following inscription shows:[83]

> *] mag(istra) II(?) i<n=M> memori(am) Luriae Hygiae / filiae do(num) po(suit) cuius dedicatione col/legio epulum dedit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*

[79] *AE* 1993, 477.
[80] *CIL* X, 5968.
[81] *CIL* XI, 4395.
[82] *CIL* XI, 4391.
[83] *CIL* III, 1971.

> *magistra* for the second time[?], in memory of her daughter Luria Hygia, she set up [this statue]. On account of the dedication she gave the *collegium* a banquet. The place was made available by a decree of the decuriones.

More often benefactors established foundations from which the revenue was to be used for annual commemorative meals.

At Puteoli, Lucius Laecanius Primitivus, permanent curator of the *Augustales*, desired his birthday be celebrated in a convivial atmosphere:[84]

> *In praediis / Au[g]ustalium corporat[orum] / quae eis L(ucius) L[a]ecanius / [P]rimitivos(!) curator ipsor(um) / [p]erpetuus d[e]dit ita ut ex redi[t]u / [e]orum quodannis die natalis sui / XI K(alendas) Ian(uarias) divisio fiat et epulentur*
>
> On the estates of the *Augustales* who belong to the corporation, [the estates] which Lucius Laecanius Primitivos, their life-time *curator*, gave to them so that from the revenue of these estates an annual distribution as well as a dinner will take place on his birthday, 22 December.

Other benefactors gave *collegia* sums of cash on condition that the interest would be used to pay for annual dinners. We have already met some benefactors who adopted this course in earlier sections. For instance, Gaius Cocilius Hermes donated a sum of 6,000 sesterces to the *dendrophori* of Ostia on condition that they would use the interest from this sum to hold annual banquets on his birthday.[85] At Tolentinum, the *collegium fabrorum tignuariorum* received 10,000 sesterces from Titus Furius Primigenius on condition that they would celebrate his birthday by organizing annual banquets.[86] At Comum a certain Publius Appius Eutyches donated the *fabri* and *centonarii* of the city sums of money to enable the *collegiati* to hold dinners on his wife's birthday, and during the *Parentalia* and *Rosalia*.[87]

A funerary inscription from Ravenna reports that Lucius Fanius donated the *fabri* (during his lifetime) a large sum of money on condition that the decurions of the association would use the annual revenue not only to organize annual dinners but also to adorn the tomb of his wife (and his sons) and to perform annual sacrifices:[88]

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[84] *CIL* X, 1880.
[85] *AE* 1987, 198.
[86] *CIL* IX, 5568.
[87] *CIL* V, 5272.
[88] *CIL* XI, 127. Another inscription from Ravenna (*CIL* XI, 126) shows many similarities to this text, nurturing the suspicion that one of them might be a forgery. Cf. Orelli (1828-1856), Vol. I, 52-53.

Aconiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Salutari consor(ti) / kariss(imae) L(ucius) Fanius / v(ivus) p(osuit) hic coll(egio) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis) HS LXX(milia) n(ummum) vivus d(edit) ex quor(um) / redditu quod ann(is) decurionib(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis) in aede Nept(uni) / quam ipse extruxit die Neptunaliorum sport(ulae) |(denarii) bini dividerentur / die item sacrato apud Eleusinam deo Bacc(h)o quem ipse coluit / sacrato deae Cereri Talasio Quirinoque / et dec(urionibus) XXVIII suae |(denarii) centeni quinquageni quodann(os) darentur / deo Libero mulso et tirsis libent libamenta epulen(tur) inde sicut / soliti sunt mauso(leum) Faniorum Fanii et Italici filiorum et in quo posita est Aconia / Salutaris uxor eius rosis exornent de XXXV sacrificen(tque) de reliq(uis) ibi epulentur / ob quam liberalitatem coll(egium) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis) inter bene meritos quodann(os) rosas / Fan(iis) supra s(criptis) / et Aconiae uxori incomp(a)r(abili) mittendas sacrificiumque faciundum per magistros decrevit

To Aconia Salutaris, daughter of Quintus, his dearest wife, Lucius Fanius set up [this monument] here during his lifetime. During his lifetime he also gave the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium* Ravenna 70,000 sesterces, from the revenue of which *sportulae* of 2 *denarii* are to be distributed annually to the *decuriones* of the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium* Ravenna in the temple of Neptune erected by himself, on the day of the Neptunalia, and also on the day which at Eleusis is dedicated to Bacchus, who he has been worshipping, and which is dedicated to Ceres, Talasius and Quirinus; and [from this revenue] 150 *denarii* are to be given to the twenty-eight *decuriones*, so that they may perform libations to the god Liber with honeyed wine and *thyrsi*; then they are to adorn the mausoleum of the sons of Fanius, Fanius and Italicus, in which Aconia Salutaris his wife lies buried, with roses, as they are accustomed to do, from 35 *denarii*, and to make sacrifices; from the remaining income they are to hold a dinner in that place. Because of this generosity the *collegium fabrum* of the *municipium* Ravenna decreed that among those who deserve [to be remembered in this way?] annual roses are to be furnished for the above mentioned Fanii and Aconia, the incomparable wife, and that a sacrifice is to be performed by the *magistri*.

An inscription from Clastidium refers to a certain Marcus Labikanus Memor setting up a monument for his deceased wife and for his parents-in-law during his lifetime and entrusting the *centonarii* with the task of keeping their memory alive:[89]

[89] *CIL* V, 7357. Cf. Liu (2009), 193; Donahue (2015), 142. Cf. Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 3, 160-161.

> *Atiliae C(ai) f(iliae) / Secundin(ae) con/iug(i) castissim(ae) / pudicissimaeq(ue) / sibique o<b=P>sequentissimae / quae vixit annis XVII m(ensibus) VII d(iebus) VII item / C(ai) Atili Secundi et Serr(iae?) M(arci) lib(ertae) Valeria/nae socerorum karissimor(um) / M(arcus) Labik(anus) Memor / viv<u=O>s posuit / et in memoriam eorum rosa et / amarantho(!) et epulis perpetuo co/lendam colleg(io) centonar(iorum) Placent(inorum) / consistent(ium) Clastidi [sestertios tot dedit]*
>
> For Atilia Secundina, daughter of Gaius, his most chaste, modest and compliant wife, who lived for 17 years, 7 months and 7 days, and for Gaius Atilius Secundus and Serr(ia?) Valeriana, freedwoman of Marcus, his dearest parents-in-law, Marcus Labikanus Memor erected [this monument] during his lifetime; and in order to ensure that their memory will be celebrated forever with roses, amaranth and dinners, [he gave so many sesterces] to the *collegium* of the *centonarii* of Placentia who live in Clastidium.

In some cases, the donator added additional provisions to ensure that his wishes would be fulfilled. As we have seen, a certain Claudius Iustus gave the *decuria* VII of the *fabri* of Ravenna an endowment of 1,000 sesterces on the condition that they would hold a banquet after strewing roses on the tomb in which his wife and brother lay buried. Should the recipients fail to fulfil this obligation, the money would go to *decuria* VIII whose members would then have to comply with the same condition.[90]

As has been demonstrated in another chapter, many voluntary food benefactions provided for commemorative purposes were offered to civic communities or the decurional class of these communities. The vast majority of these food gifts were provided by people of high social standing. However, bestowing food gifts on associations for the purpose of perpetuating one's own memory or that of close relatives can be considered to have been an alternative option for moderately well-off people occupying a lower rung on the social ladder.

A few voluntary food benefactions were not provided for commemorative purposes. In an earlier section we encountered Kaninius Hermes Senior and his two sons who dedicated a statue of Trajan on behalf of *Augustales* in Misenum. On the occasion of the dedication of the statue, the *Augustales* were treated to a banquet and cash handouts.[91] According to the text, the benefactor 'fulfilled the requirements of public piety through his most generous liberality' (*largissima voluntate sua pietati publicae satisfecerit*), suggesting that we are dealing with a voluntary act of munificence. However, as has been observed in previous chapters, there was a strong social

[90] *CIL* XI, 132.
[91] *AE* 1993, 473.

expectation that the dedication of a statue would be accompanied by a dinner. It also appears from the inscription that the generosity of the Kaninii won the father and his elder son the privilege of immunity and a public shield in the temple of the *Augustales*. We do not know if the expectation of rewards had actually played a role in prompting the Kaninii to step forward, but it seems reasonable to assume that benefactors of the voluntary type might have expected to be rewarded somehow for their generosity.

Testamentary benefactions

Like most voluntary benefactions, the majority of the testamentary type was made for commemorative purposes.

A benefactor might bequeath either property or sums of money the income from which was to be used to pay for commemorative dinners. One example is that of the Roman equestrian Gaius Praeconius Ventilius Magnus and his wife, Livia Benigna, who left 35 *iugera* of productive land the proceeds of which were to be used to fund dinners for Praeconius' *sodales*.[92] Another is that of Quintus Minucius Anteros, who bequeathed a sum of money to the *seviri Augustales* of Aletrium on condition that his fellow *Augustales* would use the revenue to hold an annual dinner on his birthday.[93] Likewise, a certain Gaius Attius Januarius bequeathed the *collegium centonariorum* of Mevania 1,000 sesterces so that a banquet would be held at his tomb every year.[94]

An album of a *collegium* at Ostia, which dates to AD 140, contains seven colums of names. At the end of the second column, which lists the names of *quinquennales*, it is recorded that Aulus Egrilius Faustus left a foundation for the purpose of financing an annual dinner for the *collegiati*:[95]

> *A(ulus) Egrilius Faustus / testamento reli/qu(i)t HS IIII m(ilia) n(ummum) sub / ea condicione uti / ex usuris s(ummae) s(uprae) s(criptae) V Kal(endas) / Dec(embras) omnibus annis / epulentur*
>
> Aulus Egrilius Faustus bequeathed 4,000 sesterces in his will on the condition that from the interest on this sum they (the *corporati*) would hold a dinner on 27 November every year.

The day on which the annual dinner was to held must have been either Faustus' birthday or the anniversary of another important family event.

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[92] *AE* 1953, 98 = *AE* 1993, 713 = *AE* 2000, 583 = *AE* 2008, +264.
[93] *CIL* X, 5809.
[94] *CIL* XI, 5047.
[95] *CIL* XIV, 246 = *AE* 2000, +19 = *AE* 2001, +621.

Other inscriptions refer to sums of money being bequeathed to *collegia* for the purpose of funding meals to commemorate both the testator and other members of his family:[96]

> *G(ai!) Petroni C(ai) f(ilii) / Pob(lilia) Marcellini / inter primos colle<g=C>i/ato(!) in collegio navicula/riorum Arelicensium cui / collegio dedit legavitqu[e] / HS n(ummum) II(milia) a<d=T> sollemnia cibu[m] / et rosarum sibi et coniu[gi] / Petronia Pia pat[ri] / pientissim[o]*
>
> [Tomb] of Gaius Petronius Marcellinus, son of Caius, from the Poblilia tribe, one of the chief members in the *collegium navicularium Arelicensium*, to which *collegium* he gave and bequeathed 2,000 sesterces for a ritual meal and roses for him and his wife. Petronia Pia [set it up] for her most pious father.

A sepulchral inscription from Aquileia records a passage from the will of a certain Antonius Valens stipulating that part of the annual income from a house which the testator had bequeathed to his freedmen and freedwomen was to be given to the members of a *decuria* of the *collegium fabrum*, who were to use it to put roses on the grave of the deceased and his wife, to pour wine and to have an annual meal:[97]

> *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arcus) Anton(ius) / Valens vet(erani) / filius / oriundus / Fab(ia) <B=V>er<y=V>to / titulum pos(ui) / mihi et co(n)iugi / meae Flaviae / Crescentinae / hoc titulo meo / inserui domum / meam in qua multos / annos habitavi sicut testa/mento meo sanxi ut lib(ertis) / libertab(us)q(ue) meis posterisq(ue) eor(um) / qu<a=E>m reliquero ne veneat ne(ve) fi/ducietur ex qua reditus eius ut de(n)tur / decuriae meae XXV Maron(ianae) colleg(ii) fabr(um) XXXV / ad Parentalia XXII s(emis) sicuti mihi et co(n)iugi meae / ponatis sic tamen ut decuria mea ut vinum quod accipim(us) / de Marciani in vic(o) provi(n)c(iali) IIII Idus Mai(as) ut / ad sepulc(rum) meum profundatis mi(hi) et co(n)iugi me(ae) / et ipsi epulet(is) quod si non fecer(itis) <t=D>unc XXV dec(uria) / Apol(linaris) mi(hi) faciet*

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[96] *CIL* V, 4015.

[97] *Pais* 181 = *Pais* 1136 = *InscrAqu*, II, 2873 = *IEAquil* 280. Waltzing (1895-1900), vol. 3, 128, Waltzing has commented on the text saying that it was badly drafted and provides a version corrected by Mommsen : *Hoc titulo meo inserui, sicut testamento meo sanxi: domus mea in qua multos annos habitavi, quam libertis libertabusque meis posterisque eorum reliqui, ne veneat neve fiducietur, ex reditu eius ut dentur decuriae meae denarii XV, matronis collegii fabrum denarii XXV, ad parentalia denarii XIIS sic, uti vos decuriales mei mihi et conjugi meae rosam ponatis; item sic ut vos decuriales mei vinum, quod accipimus de Marciani taberna in vico provinc(iae ?), IIII idus Maias ad sepulcrum meum profundatis mihi et conjugi meae et ipsi epulemini; quod si non feceritis, tunc ex (denariis) XV decuria Apollinaris mihi faciet*.

> To the Spirits of the Underworld. Marcus Antonius Valens, son of a veteran, of the tribe Fabia, originating from Berytus, set up this inscription for myself and my wife, Flavia Crescentina. In this inscription of mine, I have included the provision that, as I have laid down in my testament, my home in which I lived for many years, and which I have left to my freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, may be neither sold nor mortgaged. From the income from this house, 25 *denarii* are to be given to my *decuria*, 35 *denarii* to the *matronae* of the *collegium fabrum* and 22 ½ *denarii* for the Parentalia, on condition that you [my fellow members of the *decuria*] will lay [roses] for me and my wife, and on condition that you, the members my *decuria*, will pour the wine which we receive from the shop of Marcianus in the provincial village at my and my wife's tomb on 12 May, and that you will have a banquet. Should you not do this, the *decuria Apollinaris* is to do it using the 25 *denarii*.

There is no need to explain the close similarity between food-related bequests to civic communities and these bequests to associations. Nevertheless, we have also seen that some heirs took the step of providing food gifts when executing the provisions of the wills of testators who belonged to local elites. The epigraphic evidence relating to *collegia* receiving food gifts in connection with the implementation of wills contains no examples of food benefactions provided by heirs. The explanation might be that this particular type of food benefaction was connected with other posthumous attempts to leave behind a positive image in the community, for instance, bequests ordained for the posthumous erection of public statues. Since bequests involving the posthumous erection of public statues (or public buildings) were not particularly concerned with *collegia*, it is perhaps not surprising that we do not encounter heirs providing communal meals for associations. The only example of a meal being provided for an association in connection with the erection of a statue for someone who had recently died is that of the anonymous *magristra collegii* who provided a communal meal on the day on which a statue of her deceased daughter, Luria Hygia, was dedicated, but in this case neither the reception of the statue nor the provision of a communal meal had been prescribed in a will.

4.2.4 Aims and concerns of benefactors: emic perspectives

In a previous chapter, the aims and concerns of benefactors who provided food gifts for civic communities have been examined. Were those benefactors who sponsored collegial dinners motivated by the same kinds of concerns which are encountered in inscriptions referring to privatrely sponsored meals offered to town councils or to entire civic communities? Or do we find at least some differences in those considerations which seem to have guided benefactors operating on these two levels?

Moreover, is it possible to trace a 'functional' rationale, which transcends the motives and concerns of individual benefactors, for the institution of collegial dinners?

Emotional ties with the benefactor's home community

As noted in an earlier chapter, emotional attachment to the towns from which benefactors originated appears as one of the stated reasons for the bestowal of food-related benefactions on civic communities. Since *collegia* constituted only one part of the entire civic community, it does not come as a surprise that 'love of the fatherland' never features in inscriptions referring to privately sponsored collegial meals.

From an inscription from Misenum, which has been discussed in an earlier section, it appears that when the *curator Augustalium* Quintus Cominius Abascantus dedicated statues of the *genius municipii* and the Tutela Classis, he not only presented the decurions with a gift of 110,000 sesterces, he also gave the *Augustales* 10,000 sesterces to buy wine.[98] However, while Abascantus was clearly keen to demonstrate his close attachment to the *municipium*, his separate gift to the *Augustales* must have been motivated by his personal connection with this particular group of recipients.

In a text from Castellum Elefantum (Numidia), the *collegia* appear as the recipients of a distribution of wine which was made when a privately sponsored statue of the *genius* of the settlement was dedicated:[99]

> *Genio kast(elli) Elefant(um) / sacrum / Clodia Donata Properti / Crescentis uxor sta/tuam Geni(i) patriae ka[s(telli)] / Elef(antum) cum base quam / de sua liberalitate / ad ornandum kastel(lum) / pollicita ex HS VIII(milibus) n(ummum) / sua pecunia constituit / ad cuius dedicationem / sportulas \|(denarios) singulos / et vinum per collegia / ad {a}epulandum dedit / d(onavit) d(e)d(icavit)*
>
> Sacred to the *genius* of Castellum Elefantum. Clodia Donata, wife of Propertus Crescens, after generously promising a statue of the *genius* of her town, Castellum Elefantum, with a pedestal, for the purpose of adorning the *castellum*, erected it at her own expense at a cost of 8,000 sesterces. For the dedication of the statue she provided cash hand-outs of 1 *denarius* per person and wine through the *collegia* for dining.

While the cash hand-outs seem to have been intended for the entire community, the distribution of wine referred to in this text was made 'through the *collegia*', and it was these *collegia* which were expected to organize dinners on the day on which the statue was dedicated.

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[98] *AE* 2000, 344.
[99] *ILAlg* II, 3, 10120 = *ILS* 6865 = *AE* 1900, 37 = *AE* 1900, +195

Religious beliefs

A significant proportion of private associations defined themselves in religious terms. Famous examples include the *cultores* of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium and the *cultores* of Jupiter Latius at Pisaurum. In view of this, it is not surprising to discover that communal meals were organized on days which were of special significance in the cults of the deities worshipped by these associations. One of the by-laws of the *cultores Dianae et Antinoi* stipulates that the *cultores* will dine together on the birthday of Diana and on that of Antinous.[100]

Some gods did not have official feast days, but this fact did not keep associations devoted to the worship of these gods from combining ritual activities with dinners. In an inscription from Caposele (Lucania) which has been dated to the first century AD we read that a certain Lucius Domitius Phaon donated the *collegium* of Silvanus property so that the income from the estates would be used to perform sacrifices on five different dates. Each of these sacrifices was to be followed by a banquet.[101]

In other cases, the day on which the members of a cultic association were to have their privately sponsored dinner was the benefactor's birthday rather than a day of general cultic signficance, but even these dinners could be held in the sanctuary of the *cultores*. Therefore an inscription from Truentum stipulates that the *cultores Herculis* are to worship and to have an annual dinner in the temple of Hercules on the birthday of Tiberius Claudius Himerus (the son of the benefactress):[102]

> *Ob merita / Claudiae Hedones et memori/am Ti(beri) Claudi Himeri fili(i) eius / cultores Herculis universi iu/rati per I(ovem) O(ptimum) M(aximum) Geniumque Imp(eratoris) / Caesaris Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) / Ger(manici) ita censuerunt / placere sibi posterisque suis / uti quodannis in perpetuum / VI Idus Febr(uarias) natale Ti(beri) Clau/ di Himeri colerent vesce/renturque in templo Her/culis quod si ita non / fecissent tunc eo an/no quo cessatum fuisset / hi cultores Herculis qui / in titulo marmoreo scri/pti sunt posterique eorum / inferrent cultoribus / imaginum Caesaris n(ostri) qui / sunt in vico strament(orum) annuos HS CC n(ummum) / item [//] / mat[*
>
> On account of the merits of Claudia Hedone and in memory of her son, Tiberius Claudius Himerus, all worshippers of Hercules, swearing by Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the *genius* of *imperator* Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, decreed thus: they decide for themselves and their

[100] *CIL* XIV, 2112.
[101] *CIL* X, 444 = *ILS* 3546. For a translation, see Ascough, Harland and Kloppenborg (2012), 193, no.308. The dates referred to in the inscription include the Rosalia, the dedication day of the *collegium* and the birthday of the empress, Domitia, but none of these dates had any specific significance in the cult of Silvanus. See Dorcey (1992), 88.
[102] *ILS* 7215.

> descendants that every year in perpetuity on 8 February, the birthday of Tiberius Claudius Himerus, they will worship and feast in the temple of Hercules. Should they fail to do so, in the same year in which they stop, those worshippers of Hercules whose names are written in the marble inscription, and their descendants, will pay the worshippers of the statues of our Caesar who live in the *Vicus Stramentarius* 200 sesterces annually …[103]

Some benefactors who gave *collegia* which were not devoted to the cult of any particular deity food gifts also prescribed that these communal meals should be combined with sacrifices or other ritual acts. As mentioned earlier, a certain Lucius Fanius laid down that the annual income generated by the 70,000 sesterces he gave to the *collegium fabrum* of Ravenna was to be used not only for the purpose of commemorating his wife and organizing a communal dinner but also for making libations to the god Liber.[104]

Imperial power

A significant number of benefactors who provided food gifts for civic communities did so in connection with other benefactions highlighting their concern for the well-being of the emperor or other members of the imperial house. The epigraphic evidence shows that this type of behaviour closely parallelled that of the *collegia* and *Augustales*.

One illustration is provided by the inscription from Caposele recording the foundation established for the *collegium Silvani* by Lucius Domitius Phaon (cf. above). The five days on which the members of this association were to make sacrifices and organize dinners include the birthdays of the emperor Domitian and his wife.[105] In an earlier section of this chapter we have also met Publius Herennius Callistus, an *Augustalis* from Misenum, who dedicated a statue to the emperor Nerva and provided a meal and cash hand-outs to his fellow *Augustales*.[106] Another citizen of Misenum, Lucius Kaninius Hermes, put up a statue of the emperor Trajan and organized a banquet to mark its dedication.[107] At Ostia Caius Caesius Eutyhion donated a silver statue representing the emperor Caracalla and distributed bread, wine and 1 *denarius* to the *cannophori* on the dedication day.[108]

Celebration of birthdays and perpetuation of memories

[103] Cf. Van Abbema (2008), 45.
[104] *CIL* XI, 127.
[105] *CIL* X, 444.
[106] *AE* 1993, 474.
[107] *AE* 1993, 473.
[108] *CIL* XIV, 119.

In the section on voluntary benefactions in Chapter 2, it has already been noted that many of these benefactions were made for the purpose of turning the birthday of the benefactor, or that of a close relative of the latter, into a public occasion. Again the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that these goals were also pursued by those benefactors who bestowed food gifts on associations.

To cite a few examples: after Titus Furius Primigenius had donated a plot of land to the *collegium fabrorum tignuariorum* of Urbs Salvia (or Tolentinum) for the construction of a *schola*, he gave 10,000 sesterces on the day on which the *schola* was dedicated on condition that the *collegiati* would use the annual income to have an annual banquet on his birthday.[109] At Misenum, the *curator Augustalium*, Lucius Laecanius Primitivus, gave the *Augustales* estates in order to provide them with an annual source of revenue to be used to fund an annual dinner on his birthday.[110] At Aletrium Quintus Minucius Anteros left money to the *seviri Augustales* of that town, expressing the wish that his fellow *seviri Augustales* would use the yearly income yielded by this sum to hold an annual dinner on his birthday.[111] At Amelia Iulia Felicitas donated 5,000 sesterces to the treasury of the *collegium centonariorum* to make it possible for the *centonarii* to feast on her birthday.[112] Yet another example comes from the by-laws of the *collegium* of the *cultores* of Diana and Antinous, one of whose provisions stipulates that this *collegium* is to organize dinners on the birthday of their patron, Lucius Caesennius Rufus, and on those of his father, mother and brother.[113]

Like some benefactors who proivded for entire civic communities, some of those who bestowed benefactions on associations erected statues representing deceased relatives and organized one-off dinners to mark the occasion of their dedication. One such benefactor was the widow, Nymphidia Monime, who erected a statue for her deceased husband and distributed food and cash to the *Augustlaes* at its dedication.[114] Similarly, an anonymous *magistra* of a *collegium* at Salona offered the *collegiati* a dinner when a statue put up in remembrance of her daughter was dedicated.[115] At Ulubrae, Geminia Myrtis and Anicia Prisca erected a temple for the well-being of the emperor Hadrianus, but donated it to the worshippers of Iovis Axoranus so that they might have annual dinners in it in memory of her deceased husband.[116]

Besides these examples, there is a considerable amount of epigraphic evidence of benefactors bestowing cash gifts on associations to ensure that annual commemorative

[109] *CIL* IX, 5568.
[110] *CIL* X, 1880.
[111] *CIL* X, 5809.
[112] *CIL* XI, 4391.
[113] *CIL* XIV, 2112.
[114] *AE* 2000, 344.
[115] *CIL* III, 1971.
[116] *CIL* X, 6483.

rites and meals would take place at their own tombs or those of their close relatives who had recently died.

At Clastidium Marcus Labikanus Memor erected a funerary monument for his wife and his parents-in-law and gave the local *centonarii* a sum of money on condition that they would use the annual revenue to embellish the tomb with roses and amaranth and hold a commemorative dinner.[117] At Ravenna Claudius Iustus endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of his father by establishing a foundation of 1,000 sesterces for the *decuria* VII of the *collegium fabrum* and instructing its members to strew roses and have a dinner every year.[118] According to a funerary inscription from Atria, a certain Quintus Titius Severus donated 400 sesterces to the *collegium nautarum* in memory of his father, stipulating that its members were to use this money in perpetuity to lay roses on the grave and to hold a commemorative meal.[119] We have also met Gaius Attius Januarius from Mevania who bequeathed 1,000 sesterces to the *collegium centonariorum* in order to make it possible for the *collegiati* to hold annual banquet at his tomb.[120] Yet another example comes from Arilica, where Gaius Petronius Marcellinus established a foundation of 2,000 sesterces for the *collegium naviculariorum* so that they could make offerings of food and roses for himself and his wife.[121]

4.2.5 Etic perspectives on collegial dining in Italy and the western provinces

The epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that the dining practices of *collegia* were organized along hierarchical lines. These arrangements served not only to advertise distinctions in wealth and social status among the members of a particular association but simultaneously helped to reinforce them. It is difficult not to have the impression that the associations of early-imperial Italy and the western provinces replicated the hierarchical structures of Roman society on a lower social level. The most plausible explanation of this is that the existence of status distinctions was widely seen as an entirely natural social phenomenon.

Since the prominent position of the *Augustales* was affirmed in community-wide banquets, the egalitarian arrangements made by their benefactors, the majority of whom were internal members, can be interpreted as an endeavour to follow the example set by the decurions who provided food benefactions for their colleagues in the local council free of any hierarchical distinctions.

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[117] *CIL* V, 7357.
[118] *CIL* XI, 132.
[119] *CIL* V, 2315.
[120] *CIL* XI, 5047.
[121] *CIL* V, 4015.

Unlike local town councils, most associations were open to moderately well-off people, and nor were they restricted to freeborn people. They also accepted freedmen and sometimes even slaves.[122] Nevertheless, the evidence of the sum expected to be paid for monthly membership fees would seem to suggest that membership of these associations did not extend to the poorest sections of the urban population. Reviewing these indications, the *collegia* can be described as an intermediate status group. The epigraphic evidence of cash distributions organized along hierarchical lines in which members of *collegia* received larger hand-outs than ordinary members of the urban *plebs* confirms this assessment. Building on these observations, commensality within the *collegium* can be extrapolated not only as an effective means of cementing social solidarity among the *collegiati* but also as a way of expressing membership of a social sub-group which was widely recognized as one of the building blocks of local society. In this sense too, the practice of collegial dining helped to perpetuate the social and political structures of an increasingly hierarchical society.

4.3 Conclusions

Participation in collegial dinners was restricted to members of those associations who organized or had such meals bestowed on them. Up to a point, this does not differ much from the situation we have encountered in the case of public dinners provided for entire civic communities. In the latter case, however, much more variation can be observed; some such events were organized exclusively for *decuriones* but others were organized for all people with local citizenship rights or even for citizens and resident non-citizens. Part of the explanation for this variation must be that collegial dinners would have been much cheaper, making it easy to afford to include all members. Nevertheless, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that, from a functional point of view, privately sponsored public dinners served a wider variety of purposes than meals provided for associations. It seems plausible to argue, for instance, that those public dinners which were provided for *decuriones* only served to underline the benefactor's membership of the local elite, whereas communal meals which were organized for all citizens were public advertisements of the superior moral qualities of the local aristocrats and of the interest they took in the well-being of the entire civic community. In contrast to these distinctions on the basis of exclusivity and inclusivity, there is no evidence for collegial dinners being organized just for *magistri* of associations.[123] Hence collegial dinners were more inclusive than many public dinners.

[122] Kloppenborg (1996), 23. For a discussion of the membership in western *collegia*, see Ausbüttel (1982), 34-48.
[123] There are rare exceptions referring to collegial dinners for decurions, cf. *CIL* II, 126; *CIL* II, 127.

In inscriptions referring to public banquets, associations are usually recorded as undiffentiated entities, with all *collegiati*/*Augustales* receiving exactly the same amounts of food and cash. However, as soon as we zoom in on the internal structures, we find ourselves in a hierarchical world (particularly in the case of *collegia*) in which office-holders and former office-holders received larger portions than ordinary members. The existence of these internal distinctions points to fractal-like social structures in which the status distinctions embedded in the society as whole were reproduced in lower-ranking social groups.

In an earlier chapter, we have seen that most benefactions offered to entire civic communities were provided by internal benefactors who were members of local elite families. Likewise, the epigraphic evidence suggests that internal benefactors also provided most of those food-related benefactions which were bestowed on associations. The explanation must be that in both cases food gifts were used by internal benefactors for reasons of status: to gain prominence, affirm elevated positions and reaffirm the vertical relationships embedded in their communities. In contrast to this status-consciousness, most of those benefactions which were provided by external patrons seem to have been triggered by the bestowal of honours on these benefactors.

Both in the case of civic communities and in that of associations, a significant number of food-related benefactions were provided by women. In an earlier chapter it was noted that the only evidence of a city patroness bestowing a food-related benefaction on a civic community refers to a benefaction being provided by the wife of a patron. However, the only collegial patroness who is explicitly said to have bestowed a food-related benefaction (Blassia Vera) seems to have been a patroness in her own right. Other women furnished associations with banquets in memory of deceased relatives who had probably been members of them. Unlike male benefactors of associations, benefactresses who bestowed food gifts were rarely insiders, for the obvious reason that few women were admitted to associations. Very few exceptions are found only among the *Augustales*, one of which concerns Cassia Victoria, who is explicity referred as *sacerdos Augustalium*. Another benefactress, Nympidia Monime, was adlected into the association *Augustalium* after providing its members with a meal on the occasion of the dedication of a statue representing her late husband. The latter had been the association's president.

In my discussion of food-related benefactions which were awarded to civic communities, I have distinguished between office-related, responsive, voluntary and testamentary benefactions. While there is a considerable amount of evidence of *magistri*, *quinquennales* and other office-holders of associations making benefactions, there seems to be a lack of solid evidence of such people making office-related food benefactions. The explanation might be that most meals organized by collegial *magistri* were paid for from the treasuries of the associations concerned, leaving little room for food-related benefactions *ob honorem*. When they were made by the

Augustales, the food benefactions *ob honorem seviratus* appear to have imitated those *ob honorem* held on the municipal level. It therefore comes as no surprise that they targeted the wider community.

The other three types (responsive, voluntrary and testamentary) are widely attested in the case of associations. It should not come as a surprise that the vast majority of those benefactors who are recorded as having given or bequeathing food gifts to associations were of less elevated social standing than those who operated at community level. Nonetheless, the concerns and considerations which prompted people to bestow food-related benefactions on associations appear to have been very similar to those which can be identified in the case of benefactors who bestowed food on decurions or citizen communities. This is another clear instance of social practices which governed the behaviour of town elites being replicated by less well-off members of society.

Chapter 5

Geographical distribution of privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman West

In the present chapter and the next, the practice of privately sponsored communal dining will be examined on the macro level, that is by looking at the geographical distribution of the epigraphic evidence of public and collegial dinners in the western half of the Roman empire and at changes over time. The main question which will occupy us is: How was the practice of communal dining distributed and what were the reasons for this distribution? Locating the evidence of communal dining on the map of the imperial territories helps to trace interactions between cities in mainland Italy and urban communities in Spain and North Africa as well as any differences between the regions.

5.1 The geographical distribution of privately sponsored public dining

5.1.1 Regional differences: distribution in Italy and the western provinces

The geographical distribution of Latin inscriptions

Although Latin inscriptions constitute a phenomenon of major cultural importance in the western half of the Empire, their geographical distribution is uneven. Scholars have explored the issue of setting up inscriptions from various perspectives.[1] As noted by

[1] E.g. Woolf (1996) treats the diffusion of Latin inscriptions as the embodiment of the expansion of Roman society; Meyer (1990) takes epitaphs as evidence of the spread of Roman citizenship; Mouritsen (2005) proposes that there was no 'universal' epigraphic practice but instead multiple habits throughout the Empire; Mann (1985) demonstrates that there might have been a lack of 'epigraphic consciousness' among the local inhabitants on the British

Patterson, the number of inscriptions from a particular site which has been published depends on a whole range of factors, among them 'the subsequent history of the site, the circumstances of its rediscovery, and the extent to which epigraphic enthusiasts in the area have preserved and/or recorded the texts'.[2] Despite the operation of these and other factors which will inevitably affect the discovery and accessibility of epigraphic material,[3] it is generally agreed that the geographical distribution of published inscriptions does give a good impression of regional variations in epigraphic densities.[4]

It is generally accepted, for instance, that the density of inscriptions in Italy is higher than in the western provinces. It is also clear that dramatic differences in the number of inscriptions per square kilometre existed even in Italy. More than thirty-five years ago Duncan-Jones demonstrated that epigraphic density is highest in *regio* I (Latium and Campania), second-highest in *regio* VI (Umbria), third-highest in *regio* IV (Samnium) and so forth. The lowest density is to be found in *regio* III (Lucania and the region of the Brutii). The overall pattern mirrors regional differences in urban densities.[5]

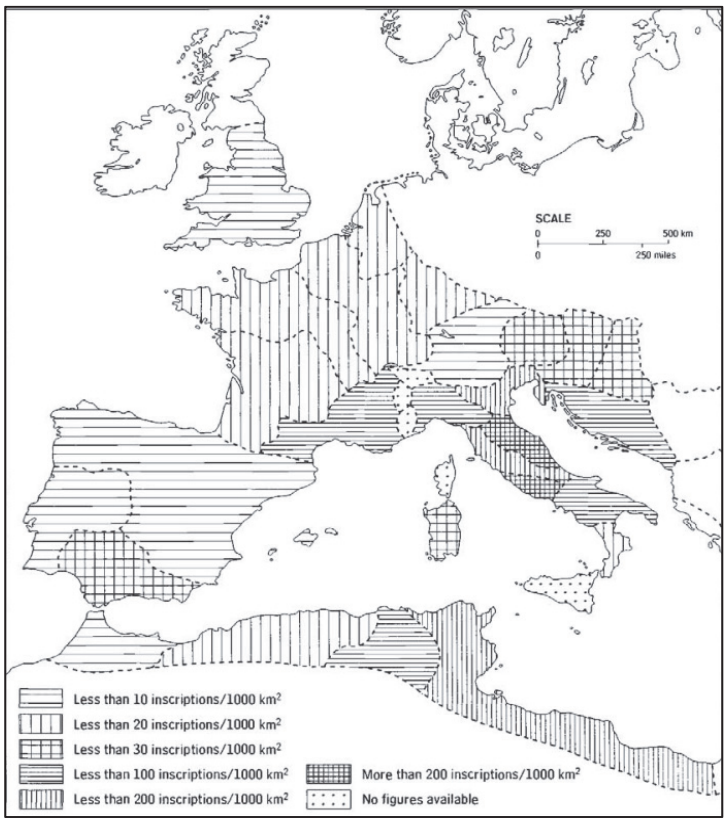


Figure 5.1 Epigraphic density in the western provinces

In his book on Roman Gaul, Greg Woolf maps variations in epigraphic density in the western provinces (Figure 5.1).[6] It can be seen that the average density in Africa Proconsularis matches that of various Italian regions and that Numidia, Dalmatia and

frontier; for a summary and review see Bodel (2001), 6-10; Hemelrijk (2015) discusses the epigraphic habit in relation to its indication for a certain phenomenon, 31-35.

[2] Patterson (2006), 119.

[3] For analyses of factors which affected the formation of the epigraphic records of Italian towns, see Patterson (2006), 119-125; Woolf (1996), 36; Duncan-Jones (1982), appendix 13; Hemelrijk (2015), 33.

[4] For the distribution and density of Latin inscriptions, see Harris (1991), 265-268; Woolf (1990), 200-204; Woolf (1996), 36-37; Cooley and Burnett ; Laurence, Esmonde Cleary and Sears (2011), 310-311.

[5] Duncan-Jones (1982), 339. Cf. Harris (1991), 265-267. For variations in urban densities, see Jongman (1988), 68-70; De Ligt (2012), 212-213 and 231.

[6] Woolf (1998), 82.

Narbonensis have also yielded a relatively large number of inscriptions per square kilometre. Lower densities are found in Pannonia, Noricum, Baetica and Sardinia, Mauretania Caesariensis and the three Gauls. The epigraphic densities in Lusitania, Tarraconensis, Britannia, Raetia and Mauretania Tingitana have the lowest number of inscriptions per square kilometre.

Geographical distribution of epigraphic evidence for privately sponsored public dining

To judge from published inscriptions found in the western half of the Roman Empire, the practice of privately sponsored public dining was unevenly spread (Figure 5.2).

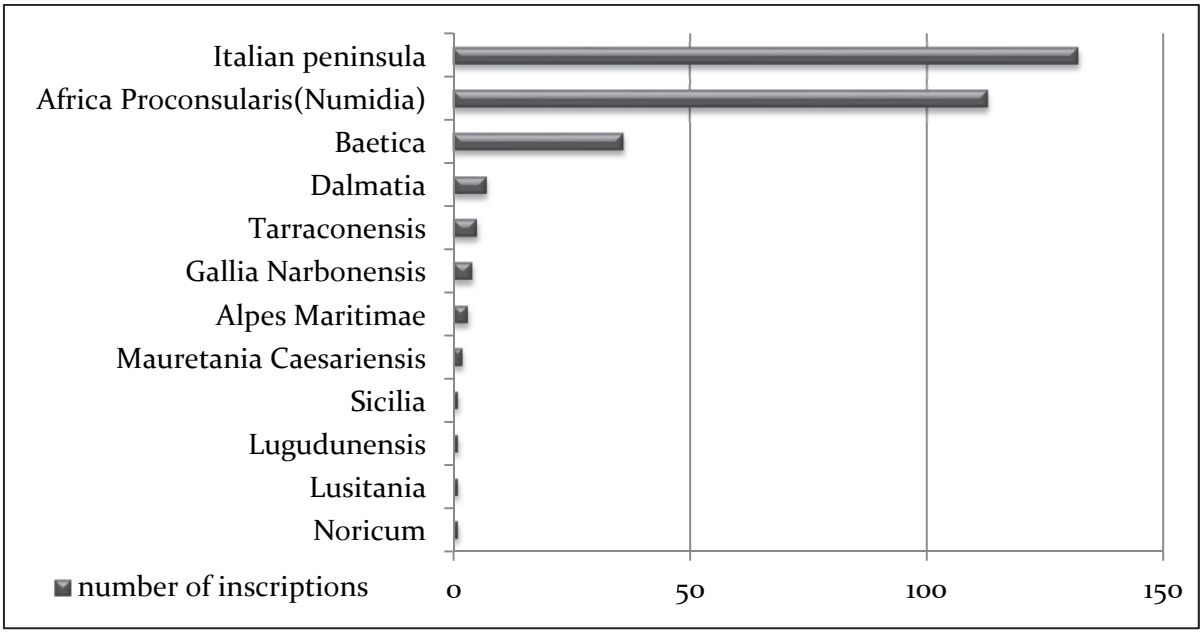


Figure 5.2 Distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in the western empire

On Map 5.1 below, it can be clearly seen that this practice is recorded most frequently on the Italian Peninsula, Africa Proconsularis and Baetica. Closer inspection reveals that the distribution in Italy itself was uneven.[7] It clustered in the central part of Italy, especially in *Regio* I (Latium and Campania), *Regio* IV (Samnium) and *Regio* VI (Umbria), broadly according with the distribution pattern of all published inscriptions.[8] Far fewer epigraphic texts referring to public dining have been found in Cisalpine Gaul and southern Italy.[9] In Africa Proconsularis and Numidia, fifty-nine

[7] Here my focus is on mainland Italy. The only one inscription found in Tyndaris (Sicily) is not taken into account in the statistical analysis. Cf. Donahue (2017), 214.
[8] Latium and Campania (*Regio* I, 22 cities), Samnium (*Regio* IV, 11 cities), Picenum (*Regio* V, 5 cities), Umbria (*Regio* VI, 20 cities), Etruria (Regio VII, 10 cities).
[9] Liguria (*Regio* IX, 1 city), Venetia and Histria (*Regio* X, 2 cities), Transpadana (*Regio* XI, 1 city), Apulia (*Regio* II, 3 cities and 1 *pagus*), Bruttium and Lucania (*Regio* III, 6 cities).

cities have produced evidence of privately sponsored dinners targeting civic communities (or local town councils).[10] Most of this evidence comes from the north-eastern coast facing the Italian Peninsula. Of the three Spanish provinces, Baetica has yielded a much larger number of inscriptions referring to public dinners than either Tarraconensis or Lusitania.[11] The practice was also found in Gallic provinces, but only sporadically.[12] A mere handful of inscriptions have been preserved in Dalmatia, in the Alpes Maritimae and in Noricum.[13] In the rest of the Western Empire, comprising Gallia Belgica, Britannia, the two Germaniae and the Pannonian provinces, not a single inscription referring to a privately sponsored public dinner has yet been discovered. The distribution map shows that the custom of public dining was distributed primarily in those regions which bordered the Mediterranean Sea. Very little evidence has been found in the frontier provinces.

Map 5.1 The communities of Italy and the western provinces which produced inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining

In those places in which no evidence is found, 'no evidence' by no means excludes the possibility that privately sponsored public dinners were ever held there. Nevertheless,

[10] Africa Proconsularis (Numidia) (59 cities), Mauretania Caesariensis (2 cities).
[11] Baetica (29 cities), Lusitania (1 city), Tarraconensis (4 cities).
[12] Gallia Narbonensis (3 cities), Lugdunensis (1 city).
[13] Dalmatia (6 cities), Alpes Maritimae (2 cities), Noricum (1 city).

there are some strong reasons to think that the geographical spread of the epigraphic evidence does reflect the reality of cultural practices. In Roman Gaul, for instance, twenty cities have produced more than 100 inscriptions. These cities line the valleys of the Rhone, the Saône and the Meuse. The number of cities in which more than fifty inscriptions have been found exceeds forty, and these cities are scattered across eastern Gaul.[14] Yet not a single inscription referring to privately sponsored public meals has been found to the north of Lugdunum. This is unlikely to be sheer coincidence.

A comparison with the distribution of Latin inscriptions

In the Italian Peninsula, it appears that the distribution of inscriptions referring to public dining largely conforms to the epigraphic density in different regions of Italy but the situation does not seem to have applied in the western provinces. A comparison between epigraphic density and the number of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining shows the following patterns:

Province	**Density of inscriptions (number/1,000 square km)** [15]	**Number of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining**
Africa Proconsularis (Numidia)	127.3 (94.3)	113
Dalmatia	62.7	7
Narbonensis	55.6	4
Pannonia	28.7	-
Noricum	24.8	1
Baetica	21.7	36
Sardinia	20.2	-
Mauretania Caesariensis	18.9	2
Belgica and Germany west of the Rhine	18.3	-

[14] Woolf (1998), 84-85.
[15] Harris (1991), 268, Table 4.

Aquitania	11.2	-
Lugdunensis	10.3	1
Lusitania	9.6	1
Tarraconensis	7.8	5
Britannia	5.7	-
Raetia	5.2	-
Mauretania Tingitana	3.3	-

Figure 5.3 Comparison between epigraphic density and the number of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in selected western provinces

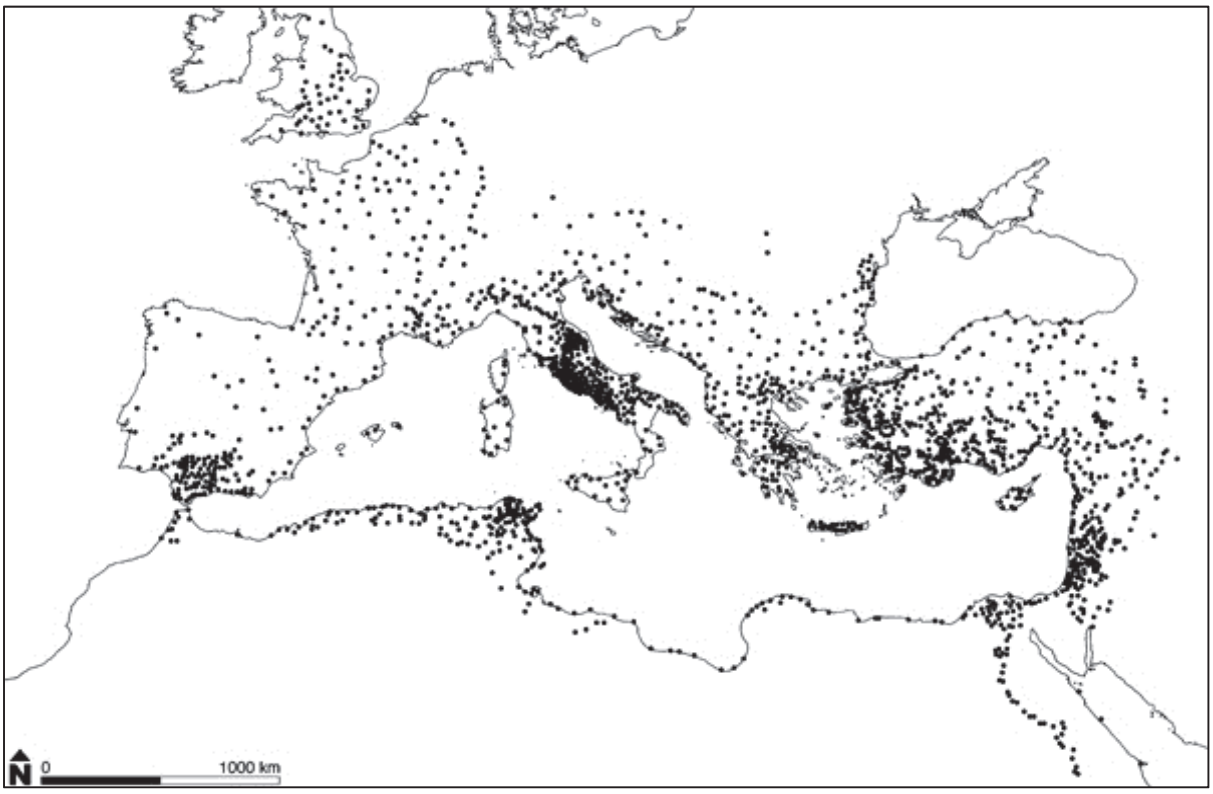
Obviously, in the western provinces variations in the number of inscriptions referring to public dining do not always correspond to variations in epigraphic density. For instance, the comparative result from Dalmatia is remarkable. As Harris has observed, as the provincial capital of Dalmatia Salona has made a great contribution to the total amount of epigraphy of that province.[16] However, none of the seven inscriptions concerning public dining which have been found in Dalmatia comes from Salona. In the three Spanish provinces, Baetica has produced fewer inscriptions per square kilometre than either Dalmatia or Narbonensis. Yet it has the third largest number of inscriptions referring to public dining after Italy and Africa Proconsularis. On the Iberian Peninsula, the epigraphic density in Baetica is about three times higher than that in Tarraconensis. Nevertheless the number of Baetican inscriptions mentioning privately sponsored public meals is almost seven times higher than in Tarraconensis.

Urbanization

Since epigraphy was primarily an urban phenomenon, variations in urban density are likely to have played a role in the distribution of inscriptions. As can be observed from Maps 5.1 and 5.2, the areas in which the epigraphic evidence of public dining was most concentrated are also the most densely urbanized regions. Writing of Italy, Jongman points out that the three regions with the highest epigraphic densities (Reg. I, IV and

[16] Harris (1991), 267.

VI) also were the regions with the highest number of towns per square kilometre.[17] The geographical distribution of inscriptions containing information about privately funded public dinners mirrors these patterns, with privately sponsored public dinners being recorded in twenty-two cities of *Regio* I, eleven cities of *Regio* IV and twenty cities of *Regio* VI.



Map 5.2 Distribution of urban centres in the Roman Empire[18]

However, the distribution of inscriptions referring to public dining in the western provinces is not a perfect match for the pattern of urbanization. On the one hand, a comparison between the evidence of public dining and patterns of urbanization shows that these sources have been predominantly located in the most densely urbanized areas of the Roman West.[19] Nevertheless, it remains striking that public dining does not feature in any inscription from the Germanic provinces, Britain or northern Gaul, and only in a few inscriptions from Tarraconensis and Lusitania. This is all the more surprising as in all of these provinces urban centres were founded and civic

[17] Jongman (1988), 68-70; cf. Bekker-Nielsen (1989), 25. Patterson (2006), 123, points out that the variations in the density of inscriptions between different areas of Italy correspond to the different densities of urban settlement.
[18] Russell (2013), 65, Fig. 3.8.
[19] For the relations between urbanization and economic development, see Morley (2011), 143-160; Wilson (2011), 161-195.

monuments constructed, some of them at least with money provided by private munificence.

Woolf summarizes the characteristics of the geographical distribution of Latin inscriptions. He indicates that in the western provinces, highly urbanized and highly militarized areas had the largest clusters of epigraphy and highlights a couple of common features of urban and military societies.[20] Nevertheless, it can be seen that the geographical distribution of inscriptions concerning public dining is at odds with this general pattern. It is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the geographical spread of privately sponsored public dining simply does not match the geographical patterning of urbanization. Therefore, in addition to regional variations in epigraphic density and in the density of towns, other factors should be taken into account.

Public dining and 'Romanization'

In his path-breaking monograph on the origins of provincial civilization in Gaul, Greg Woolf surveys the results of more than a century of research on the geographical spread of Roman-style institutions, names, language, citizenship, architecture, metalwork and ceramics. As he notes on the basis of these studies, 'the West is seen as more Romanized than the East; the Mediterranean world more Romanized than temperate Europe, southern Gaul more Romanized than northern Gaul, Italy more Romanized than the provinces, and cities more Romanized than the countryside.'[21] He continues by applauding the basic mapping exercises as immensely valuable tools but denies that they can be used to delineate the contours of 'Romanization', especially when the aim is to judge various provincial cultures against the standard of a supposedly pure Roman culture.

While there is every reason to subscribe to Woolf's doubts about the explanatory value of the term 'Romanization', it is indisputable that certain aspects of the (dynamic) civic culture which are encountered in the towns of mainland Italy did not spread across all provinces of the Roman empire with the same intensity.[22] The geographical distribution of the epigraphic evidence relating to privately sponsored public dinners strongly suggests that this practice did reach some provinces in the western half of the Roman empire but not others. In line with Woolf's approach, it would be wrong to jump to the simplistic conclusion that the north-western and the Danubian provinces were 'less Romanized' than the Mediterranean provinces of the Empire. It could be more convincingly claimed that although cultural interactions took place in every part

[20] Woolf (1996), 37; Bodel (2001), 8-10.
[21] Woolf (1998), 6.
[22] The term 'Romanization' has attracted controversy, for the discussions around it, see Bénabou (1976); Barrett (1997); Millett (1990); Woolf (1992); Woolf (1998); MacMullen (2000); Webster (2001); Mattingly and Alcock ; Mattingly (2002); Mattingly (2004); Keay and Terrenato (2001); Hingley (2005) van Dommelen and Terrenato (2007); Roth, Keller and Flaig (2007); Revell (2009) and Naerebout (2013).

of the Western Empire, the results of these contacts were widely divergent. The limited geographical spread of the practice of public dining is one illustration of these geographical discrepancies.

It is not always easy to identify those factors which might explain why certain elements of Roman culture were adopted in some areas but not in others. Literary sources refer to certain types of communal feasting in parts of Gaul before the Roman conquest and these feasts are also thought to have played an important role in various societies of Iron Age Britain.[23] Despite these remarks, there is no epigraphic evidence which refers to wealthy benefactors sponsoring public dinners in any city of northern Gaul or southern Britain. In the case of Britain, it has been suggested that after the Roman conquest power remained concentrated in the hands of a small oligarchic elite who did not feel any need to compete among themselves by hosting displays of private *euergetism*.[24] Although this theory is no more than a hypothesis, it does provide a convincing explanation of the total absence of evidence of privately sponsored public dinners.

Considering the situation in the frontier provinces, it might be suggested that the dominant role of the army and the persistence of various existing cultural habits produced forms of cultural interaction resulting in a very partial adoption of euergetic practices. It has been observed, for instance, that in Germania Inferior and Superior many gifts to communities were offered by military personnel and that those members of civic communities who stepped forward as benefactors preferred to spend their money on sacred buildings and statues. In these areas benefactors might not have felt any need to fund public meals for civic communities.[25]

We must also not overlook the possible impact of colonization.[26] In the late Republican period and the first decades of the Principate, large numbers of colonies were founded outside Italy.[27] Since the vast majority of the colonists who settled in these colonies originated from Italy, it does not seem implausible to speculate that colonization contributed to the spread of Roman and Italian cultural habits to parts of North Africa, Spain and southern Gaul.

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[23] Ath. *Deipno*. 4.152B-C: Posidonius depicts a Gallic banquet; 4.152D-E: Posidonius tells the story of Lovernius who offered wine and food during a political campaign. For communal feasting in Iron Age Gaul and southern Britain, see e.g. Poux (2004a); Poux (2004b); Fichtl (2013); Van der Veen (2007).

[24] Millett (1990), 82-83.

[25] *Ibid*.

[26] For debates about colonization, see e.g. Salmon (1969); Sommella (1988); Oakley (1993); Van Dommelen (1998); Torelli (1999); Fentress (2000); Hurst and Owen (2005); Purcell (2005); Terrenato (2005); Bradley and Wilson (2006); Broadhead (2007); Sewell (2010); Stek and Pelgrom (2014).

[27] For lists of provincial colonies and *municipia* in the time of Augustus see Brunt (1971), 589-607; Keppie (1983), esp. 49–58.

Figures 5.4-5.7 show the locations of the Caesarian and Augustan colonies in North Africa and Spain as well as those North African and Spanish towns in which epigraphic evidence of privately funded communal dinners has been detected.

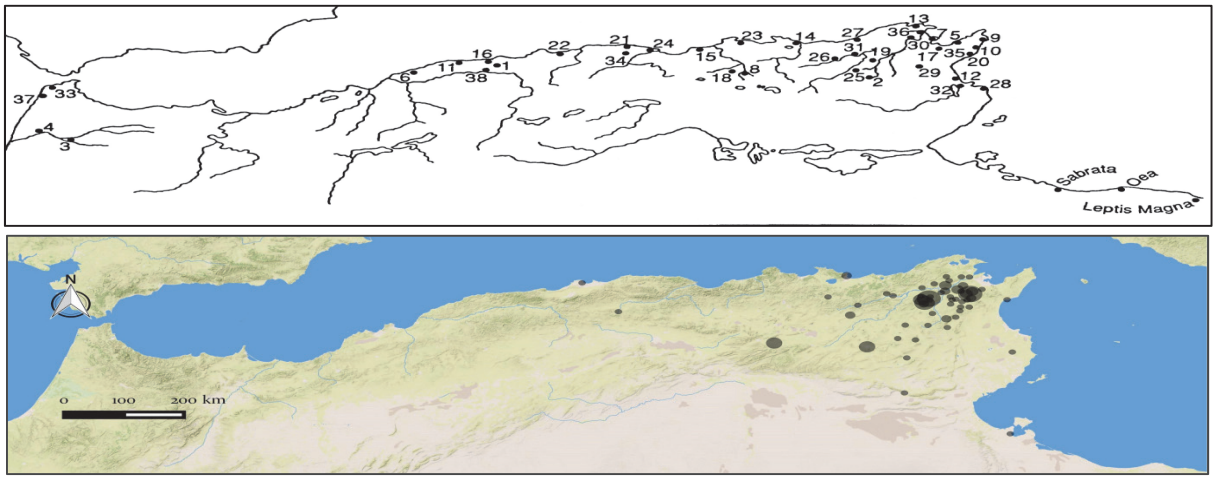

Figure 5.4 Distribution of Caesarian and Augustan colonization in Africa[28] (above)
Figure 5.5 Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in Africa (below)

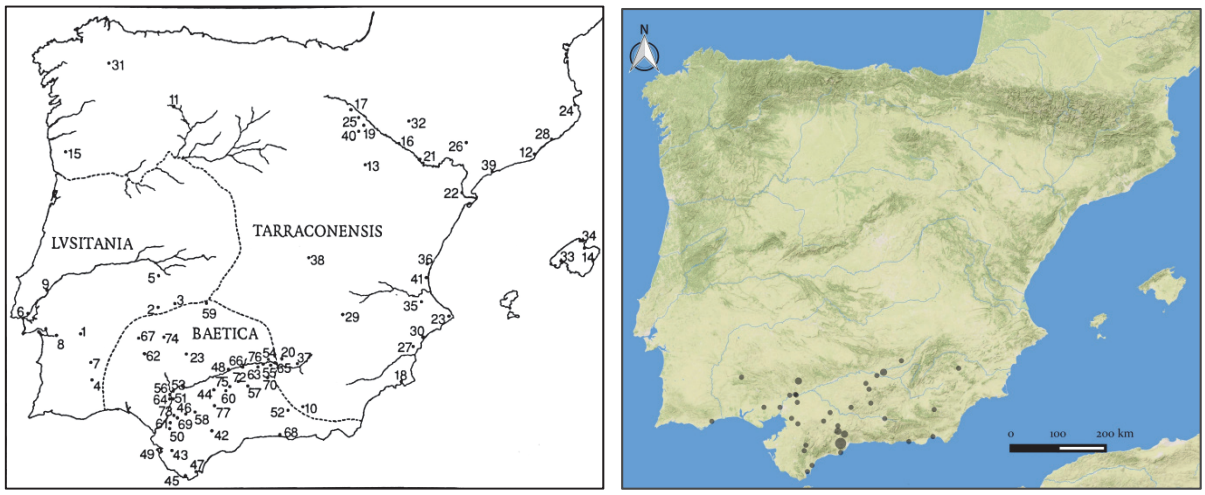

Figure 5.6 Distribution of Caesarian and Augustan colonization in Spain[29] (left)
Figure 5.7 Distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in Spain (right)

At first sight the maps suggest that in Roman North Africa and Spain the practice of privately sponsored public dining was found mainly in those areas which had the largest concentrations of Caesarian and Augustan *coloniae* and *municipia*. Nevertheless, only six North African and three Spanish towns in which evidence of public dining has been discovered can be shown to have received colonists during the second half of the

[28] MacMullen (2000), 32.
[29] *Ibid*. 52.

first century BC.[30] It is also noteworthy that, out of four Gallic and six Dalmatian towns in which epigraphic evidence of public dinners has been discovered, six were Caesarian or Augustan colonies (four in Gaul and two in Dalmatia). These data clearly show that the practice of privately funded dining was by no means confined to Caesarian or Augustan colonies, but also that these colonies are likely to have played at least some part in the dissemination of this practice.

Food-related benefactions and other types of civic munificence

The provision of public dinners is only one example of 'private munificence for public benefit'.[31] This simple observation makes it possible to deepen our analysis by asking some further questions. How did civic munificence develop in different regions of the Roman West? To what extent did the overall atmosphere of civic munificence affect the propensity to pay for public dinners? Why is the evidence of privately sponsored public dinners found only in particular regions, whereas civic munificence is attested over far larger areas?

It stands to reason that the area which was in proximity to the imperial centre was most likely to have been exposed to Roman culture. The upper class of the Italian communities probably took emperors as their role models and bestowed benefactions on their own cities.[32] Richard Duncan-Jones has conducted a detailed study on private munificence in Italy. On the basis of the collection of a variety of public donations, he suggests that civic munificence became 'a regular feature of municipal life under the early Empire in Italy'.[33] Interestingly, his survey reveals strong regional variations within Italy itself. As noted above, there are notable concentrations of evidence of public dining in those areas in which the number of inscriptions per square kilometre is highest, but this observation also applies to evidence of other types of civic munificence. For instance, *Regio I* and *Regio VI* not only yielded concentrations of inscriptions referring to privately funded public dinners, but have also produced similar concentrations of epigraphic evidence of other benefactions.[34] Therefore it would seem feasible to conclude that privately sponsored public dinners were associated with an environment which favoured and encouraged munificence. Intriguingly donors from different regions seem to have preferred different types of benefactions. As Duncan-Jones observes, the evidence of *sportulae*, games and feasts is

[30] See towns with an asterisk in Appendix IV.
[31] Lomas and Cornell (2003), 1. Civic munificence here means that personal wealth was expended to provide benefactions for the public.
[32] Keppie (1983), 114-122; for local benefactors imitating the policies of Augustus, see Nicols (2014), 108-115.
[33] Duncan-Jones (1965), 189-306; for donations in the Italian communities, see also Duncan-Jones (1982), 120-237; Andreau (1977), 157-209; Mrozek (1968), 156-171; Mrozek (1972a), 294-300; Mrozek (1987), Mrozek (1972b), 30-54.
[34] Duncan-Jones (1965), Table, p.233 and Duncan-Jones (1982), Table 17, 359.

concentrated in central and southern Italy, whereas foundations tended to have been clustered in northern Italy.[35] It is also interesting to discover that, while various north Italian inscriptions refer to distributions of *panis et vinum* taking place on the occasion of the dedication of statues, not a single inscription from this region records distributions of *crustulum et mulsum*.[36]

In North Africa and Spain, civic munificence was also well developed. A good deal of evidence of private donations can be found in Africa Proconsularis, Baetica and Tarraconensis. The range of privately funded benefactions in these regions is similar to that which can be observed Italy.[37] However, although Africa Proconsularis and Baetica have produced large amounts of epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored public dinners, that from Tarraconensis is limited to four towns. All of these were situated in the border region between Tarraconensis and Baetica.[38] Hence, there can be little doubt that the practice of public dining was more deeply rooted in Baetica than in any other part of the Iberian Peninsula, but the reason or reasons for this concentration remain elusive. In addition to this, a closer examination of the evidence from Baetica and Tarraconensis reveals some intriguing differences with mainland Italy. As Melchor Gil has observed, many distributions of *epula* and *sportulae* are often referred to in the epigraphic records of the Iberian Peninsula, but not a single inscription from Baetica, Tarraconensis or Lusitania refers to distributions of *crustulum et mulsum* or of *panis et vinum*. Furthermore, the only inscription which refers to meat distributions (*viscerationes*) is the *Lex Irnitana*.[39]

In the north-western provinces, the evidence for public dining is scanty. We can be certain that this was not because potential benefactors were in short supply. As Drinkwater's investigation of personal wealth in the three Gauls shows, there were undoubtedly some men who possessed considerable wealth and their expenditure on civic munificence can even be compared to the sums spent in Africa.[40] Likewise, the sumptuous villas which have been found in Britain and Gaul demonstrate that the level of personal wealth was not low.[41] One reason for the lack of relevant evidence might be that a dynamic munificent environment was lacking.

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[35] Duncan-Jones (1982), 359-360.
[36] Goffin (2002), 154.
[37] For munificence in Africa, see Duncan-Jones (1963), 159-177; Duncan-Jones (1962), 47-115; Duncan-Jones (1982), 63-119; for munificence in Spain, Melchor Gil (1993); Melchor Gil (1994). A case study of a Spanish benefactor has been conducted by Duncan-Jones (1974b), 79-85; Curchin (1983), 227-244; Mackie (1990), 179-192.
[38] Melchor Gil (1992), 377.
[39] *Ibid*. 377-378.
[40] Drinkwater (1979), 237-242.
[41] For villas in Britain and Gaul, see Percival (1976); Rivet (1969); Haselgrove (1995); Smith (1982); Habermehl (2013).

Duncan-Jones points out that the donations found in Narbonensis 'more than equal those from the three Gauls'.[42] At first sight, this clue seems to suggest that food-related benefactions were less likely to be found in those places where civic munificence was less developed. However, this hypothesis founders on the fact that there is a considerable amount of epigraphic evidence of civic munificence in the northern provinces.

The difference is that the epigraphic records from the north-western provinces point to the conclusion that most private money in the form of benefactions was spent on public buildings. In Roman Britain, private benefactors preferred to spend their money on sacred buildings and statues. A similar preference emerges from the epigraphic records of the two *Germaniae*, although benefactors in Germania Superior also donated public squares and baths. In the three Gauls wealthy individuals donated a wide variety of public and religious buildings, including sanctuaries, squares, baths and spectacle buildings.[43]

Focusing on benefactresses, Hemelrijk points out that the capacity of women to contribute to civic life was particularly influenced by 'the spread of Roman citizenship and Roman civil law'. Her analysis of the geographical dispersion of inscriptions referring to female benefactors shows that the relevant evidence is concentrated in Roman Italy, North Africa and Spain.[44] Therefore it comes as no great surprise that the inscriptions referring to public dinners sponsored by women are also concentrated in these areas.

It seems fair to conclude that the epigraphic evidence of benefactors or benefactresses tends to come from areas which have also produced evidence of other types of private benefactions, such as donations of public buildings, temples or statues. What is more difficult to explain is why many regions in which private individuals are known to have erected various public or scared buildings at their own expense have *not* yielded any evidence of privately sponsored public meals. Why, for instance, were wealthy citizens in Narbonensis and southern Lugdunensis more inclined to spend money on public dinners than their counterparts in other parts of Gaul? And why does Baetica yield far more inscriptions referring to privately sponsored dinners than Tarraconensis?

Local political cultures

As has been discussed, private munificence was not completely absent in the north-western provinces. Frézouls' work on *euergetism* and urban construction in the three

[42] Duncan-Jones (1981), 219.
[43] Blagg (1990), 13-31; Millett (1990), 82-83; Frézouls (1984), 27-54; Drinkwater (1979), 238-239.
[44] Hemelrijk (2015), 20-25. For civic participation of women in the western cities, see a series of articles in Hemelrijk and Woolf (2013); Hemelrijk (2015); Nicols (1989), 117-142; Donahue (2004b), 873-891; Gaspar (2012).

Gauls and Germanies and Blagg's study on architectural munificence in Britain show that architectural monuments were financed by private benefactors in these regions.[45] In Britain and the two *Germaniae*, benefactors showed a clear preference to donate religious buildings, and only a few members of local elites chose to spend their money on public squares or baths. In the three Gauls architectural benefactions were more varied, with entertainment buildings, baths, fora and other non-religious buildings accounting for more than half of all privately funded public building projects. Blagg also suggests that in Britannia 'corporate munificence, rather than individual benefaction, was the rule in the larger urban building projects'.[46]

In any attempt to account for these patterns, it is important to remember that private munificence could be driven by a number of different desires and considerations, not all of which were equally relevant in all communities. Therefore one possible reason for the existence of region-specific forms of civic munificence might have been that the various provinces and regions of the western half of the Roman Empire had distinct political cultures.

While the civic communities of mainland Italy were oligarchical in the sense that at any particular moment wealth and power were concentrated in the hands of a limited number of families, there is also a substantial amount of evidence to suggest that these families were locked in competition for power and social prestige.[47] In addition to this, it was possible for upwardly mobile outsiders to gain access to these town elites. For instance, although the town councils of Italy did not admit wealthy freedmen, these restrictions did not apply to their descendants.

Another defining feature of the civic elites of mainland Italy was that they were operating in the context of local citizen communities which expected them to bear the interests of their fellow citizens in mind. In practical terms, this meant that members of the elite were expected to demonstrate their love of their home-towns by providing all kinds of benefactions for their local communities. In their turn, the latter were expected to reward deserving members of the elite by bestowing various honours on them. It stands to reason that, in these societies, it made perfect sense for wealthy citizens to affirm their elevated positions in the civic society by bestowing food gifts on their fellow citizens.

During the final decades of the Republic and the first decades of the Principate, colonization helped to spread this political culture to the coastal districts of North Africa, to various parts of the Iberian Peninsula and to Gallia Narbonensis. Simultaneously, Roman conquest prompted indigenous elites to embrace the Roman concept of *humanitas*, which was expressed not only in new forms of domestic architecture and far-reaching changes in patterns of consumption but also in the

[45] Frézouls (1984); Blagg (1990).
[46] Blagg (1990), 28.
[47] Farney (2007); Bradley (2015); Hölkeskamp (2010).

transformation of townscapes. Nevertheless, it must never be lost sight of the fact that the western provinces comprised a large number of different societies with very different constellations of political, social and economic power. Disparities were if anything strengthened because the concept of *humanitas* was inherently vague and flexible.[48] Against this background, it is understandable that elite adaption to the requirements of *humanitas* would have been a highly selective process which threw up a complicated patchwork of region-specific patterns of behaviour.

In his book on Roman Britain Millett observes that, 'power was in the control of a small oligarchy'. Therefore competition was not necessary since 'power was already theirs and remained with their families'.[49] As noted above, the elites of various towns in Roman Britain can be shown to have erected sanctuaries at their own expense. On the basis of Millett's observations, it could be suggested that in this particular province private expenditure on architectural benefactions was principally driven by competition with neighbouring settlements rather than by competition for power and status among members of the same town elite.[50]

The epigraphic evidence about local magistrates might provide another window onto the levels of local competition. In a forthcoming study of the distribution of inscriptions recording magistrates in the north-western provinces, Pellegrino shows (Figure 5.8) that, in Britain and many parts of the three Gauls and Germania Inferior, few magistrates appear in the epigraphic record.[51] Up to a point this dearth of epigraphic references can be accounted for as a reflection of the low epigraphic densities which have been observed in these regions. However, it does not exclude the possibility that the low number of inscriptions which have been found in these areas could also be a mirror of a lack of interest among local elites to advertise their achievements and benefactions by inscribing them in stone. On this view, both the low number of inscriptions referring to local magistrates and the dearth of inscriptions can generally be interpreted as an indication of a low level of competition among local elites.

[48] Woolf (1998), 55-60; Hingley (2005), 62-64; Bauman (1996), 13-14.
[49] Millett (1990), 82.
[50] *Ibid*.
[51] Pellegrino (forthcoming). The schematic maps in figures 5.8 and 5.9 show the main patterns of the distribution of magistrates and different offices in the north-western provinces.

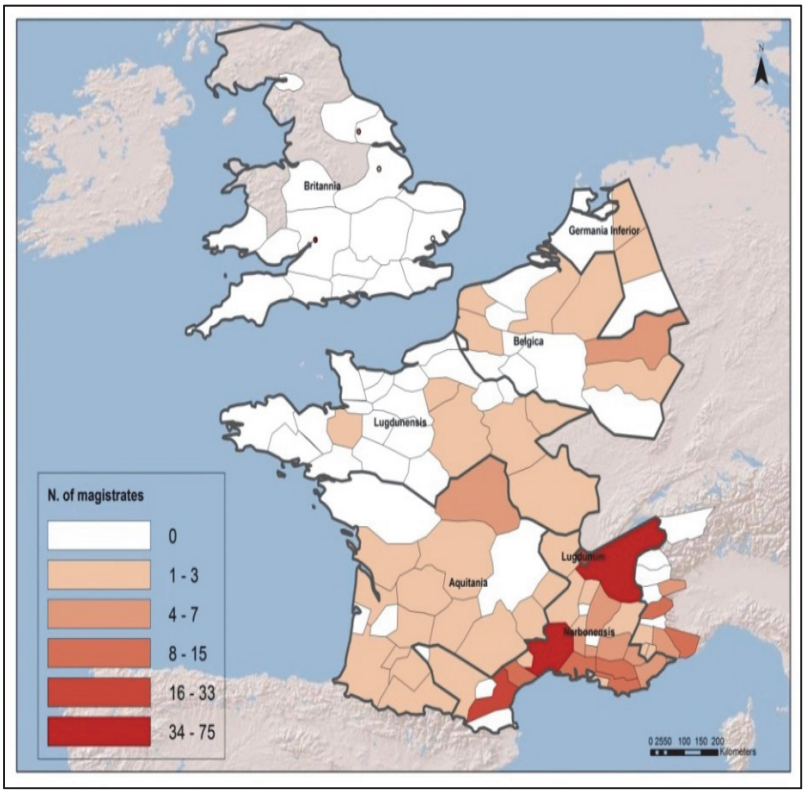

Figure 5.8 Distribution of inscriptions recording magistrates in the north-western provinces (courtesy of Frida Pellegrino)

If we zoom in on the epigraphic evidence of various civic magistracies and of members of local town councils, some interesting discrepancies between regions can be observed. As Figure 5.9 shows, in Britannia, Belgica and Germania Inferior, the usual civic offices are not fully attested. In Aquitania and Narbonensis, all magistracies can be found. In the south-eastern part of Lugdunensis, references to decurions or town councils predominate, but the pattern is clearly more diverse than in the northern and north-western parts of this province.[52] In those areas in which the full range of offices had not been installed, it might have been easier to obtain the highest office, while in those areas in which a relatively complete *cursus honorum* prevailed, the level of intra-elite competition could have been higher. Interestingly, these regional divergences seem to correspond to other differences in the adoption of 'Roman' patterns of behaviour. Aquitania, for instance, was quicker to adopt Roman institutions, suggesting that in this region local elites could have competed for power and status by vying to obtain Roman magistracies. Similarly, the higher number of private donations referred to in the epigraphic record from Narbonensis (cf. above) might be interpreted as reflecting competition for power and status in a society in which the concentration of wealth and power had progressed to a lesser degree than in northern Lugdunensis and in Gallia Belgica.

[52] Pellegrino (forthcoming).

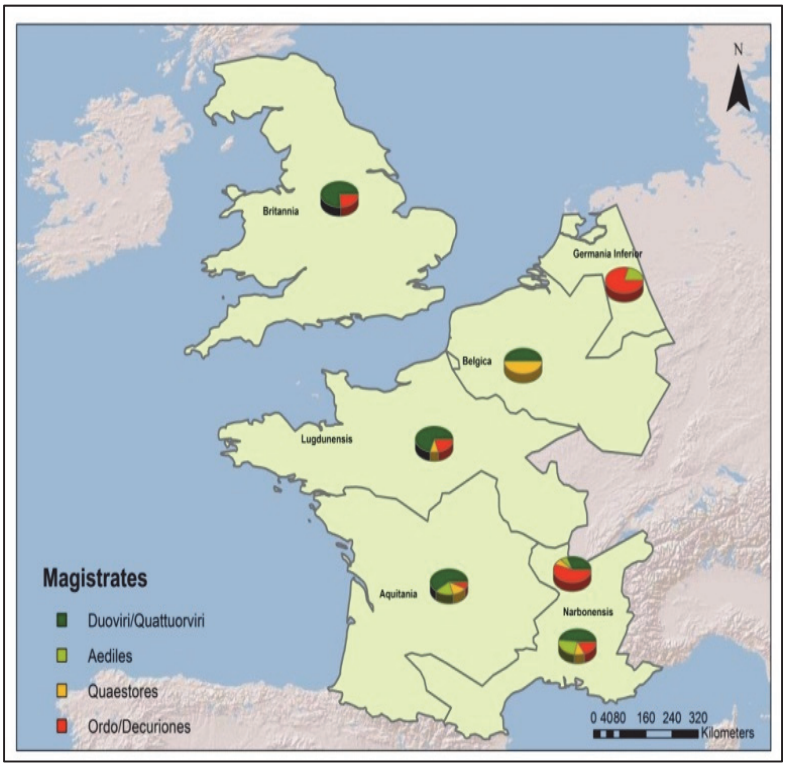

Figure 5.9 Pie charts showing the proportion of different offices attested in the north-western provinces and in Lugdunum (courtesy of Frida Pellegrino)

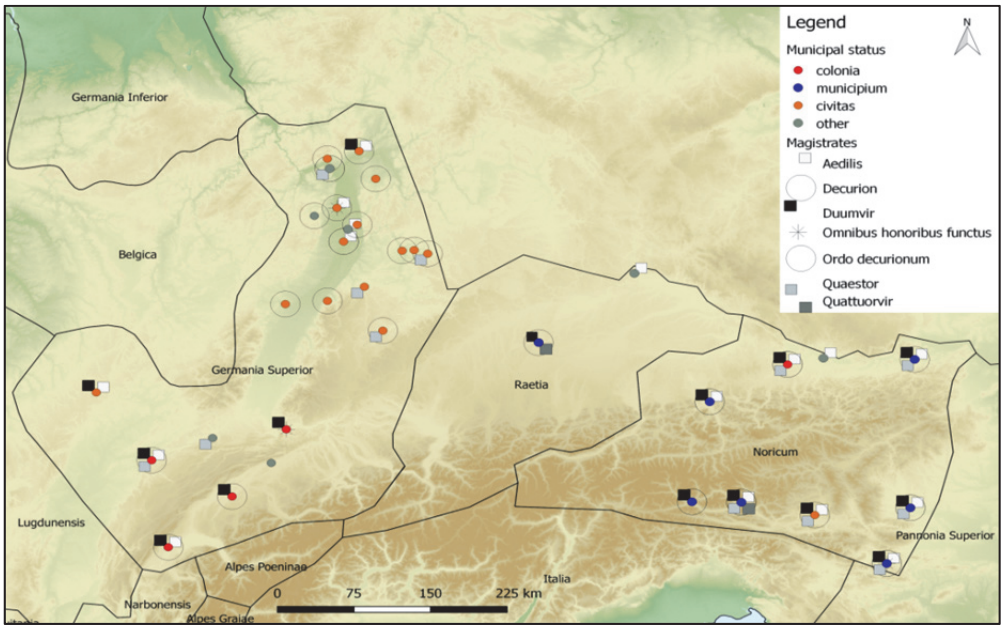

Figure 5.10 Distribution of magistrates in the northern Alpine regions

Similar observations can be made about the northern Alpine regions (Figure 5.10).[53] In these areas evidence of magistrates comes from a limited number of agglomerations. A

[53] Pazmany (forthcoming). The map of the northern alpine regions is courtesy of Karolien Pazmany.

slightly better representation of the main offices can be found only in several towns in Noricum and Germania Superior. Since Noricum has a relatively high epigraphic density, the low number of epigraphically attested magistrates could suggest that local elites were disinclined to promote themselves by putting up inscriptions, again suggesting a low level of peer competition.

These ideas can also be applied to the Iberian Peninsula. As Figure 5.11 shows, epigraphic attestations of magistrates are widely distributed throughout the Spanish provinces and the representation of the *cursus honorum* is more complete than in the north-western provinces. Nevertheless, it also appears that most of the evidence is concentrated in Baetica, whereas in central, northern and western Spain there are many towns in which inscriptions mentioning magistrates have not been found. Generally speaking, higher numbers of attestations of magistrates in Spain could be interpreted as a reflection of a deeper penetration of Roman models of political, civic and cultural behaviour, with the Roman-type being pursued as the ideal vehicle by which to express power and identity. The internal differences between the Spanish provinces could suggest different levels of local competition.

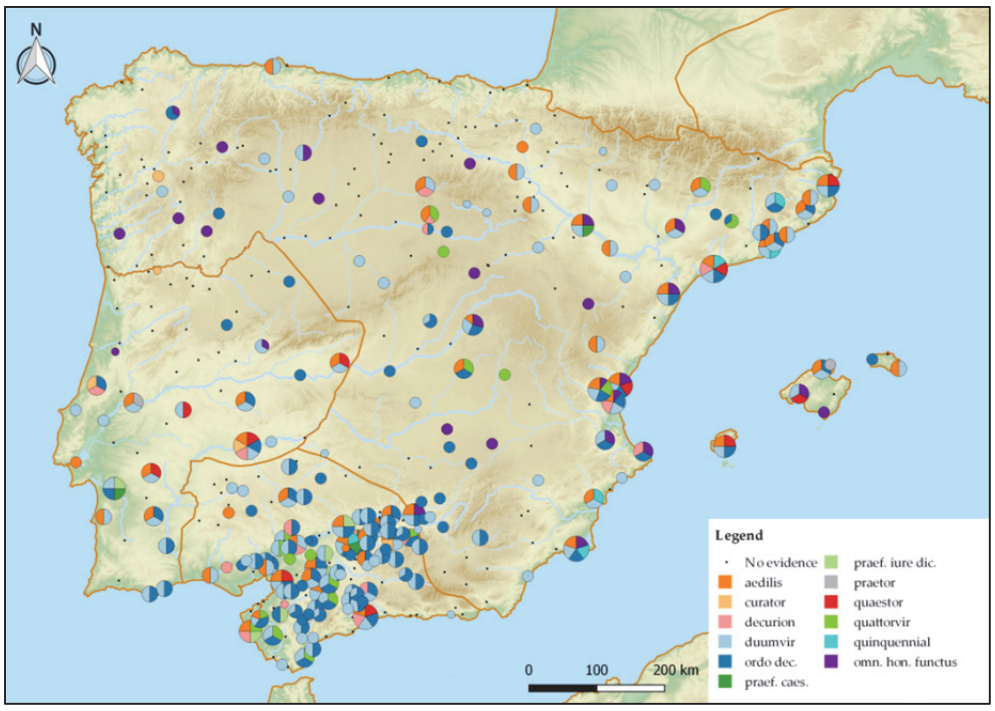

Figure 5.11 Distribution of magistrates in Spain[54]

Obviously this model cannot explain everything. For instance, as Géza Alföldy's has demonstrated in a study on the local elites of Tarraco, Barcino and Saguntum, in each of these cities complex power relations existed between local aristocrats and upwardly

[54] The map of the Iberian Peninsula is courtesy of Pieter Houten.

mobile, wealthy newcomers.[55] These are just the circumstances in which evidence of a fairly intense level of competition for magistracies and status could be expected to be found and, if my general line of reasoning is correct, this competition should have been reflected by a fairly high number of epigraphic references to private benefactions. Up to a point Melchor Gil's inventory of (non-religious) buildings erected by private benefactors confirms the correctness of this hypothesis, with published inscriptions from Tarraco, Barcino and Saguntum referring to five privately funded construction projects.[56] However, as has been demonstrated in an earlier section of this chapter, only a few inscriptions from Hispania Tarraconensis refer to privately sponsored public dinners, and none of these inscriptions comes from Tarraco, Barcino or Saguntum. Of course, it would be unwise to rule out the possibility that future excavations will unearth new inscriptions containing information about privately sponsored *epula* in the coastal cities of Tarraconensis, but it remains unlikely that such discoveries will be found in such numbers that they would completely obliterate the contrast between Tarraconensis and Baetica. One possible explanation of this contrast is that Baetica had a higher concentration of Caesarian and Augustan colonies (cf. above). Other factors being equal, this might have favoured the establishment and persistence of 'Italian' practices. During the first centuries of the Principate, emulation of such practices by the non-colonial communities might have generated the emergence of a distinctively 'Baetican' political culture in which members of local elites were expected to organize public meals for their fellow citizens. However, it must be admitted that this is no more than a hypothesis which cannot easily be substantiated with any hard evidence.[57]

5.1.2 City differences: distribution in western towns

The foregoing discussion has focused on regional distribution patterns of inscriptions referring to privately funded food gifts and on some possible explanations of the deviations between these patterns. While the regional patterns are an undeniable reality, it should be borne in mind that food-related benefactions varied not only between regions but also from town to town. In what follows, the geographical distribution patterns revealed by the epigraphic record will be refined by zooming in on the relationship between city size and published evidence for privately sponsored public meals.

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[55] Alföldy (1984), 193-238.

[56] Melchor Gil (1993), 463-464. Two inscriptions referring to the distribution of *sportula* and oil are found in Barcino, see Melchor Gil (1992), 398.

[57] Cf. Melchor Gil (1992), 377: "Creemos que el gran desarrallo de los *epula* en las ciudades de la Bética debe responder a un mayor arraigo de este tipo de celebraciones, por causas que desconoscmos."

Privately sponsored public dinners: large, medium-sized and small towns

Epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored public dinners has been found in 191 cities in Italy and the western provinces. In 138 of these cities only one inscription has been discovered; twenty-nine places have produced two inscriptions and twelve places three inscriptions. Only thirteen towns have yielded more than three epigraphic references to privately funded public meals (Figure 5.12).[58]

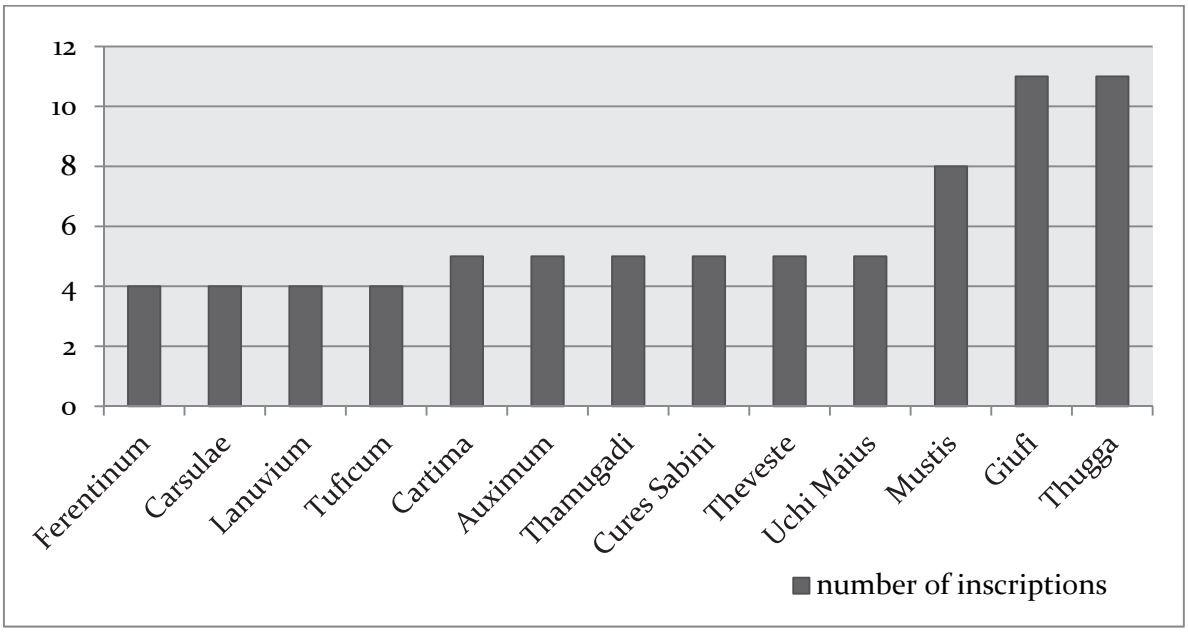

Figure 5.12 Cities yielding more than three (>3) inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining

Archaeological data allow us to estimate the size of 147 towns in which privately sponsored public meals are recorded. More than half of these towns (85) appear to have to have occupied areas of less than 20 hectares. [59] Of these eighty-five small towns, forty-seven were situated in the Italian Peninsula, most of them in central or southern Italy.

If we focus on the first region of Roman Italy (Latium and Campania), a slightly different picture emerges (Figure 5.13). Although small towns are well represented, the practice of public dining is particularly well attested in medium-sized towns. Large towns are heavily under-represented.

[58] See Appendix IV.

[59] For the sizes of the urban settlements in Italy, see De Ligt (2012), Appendices I and II; for the sizes of other related settlements in the Roman West, see the forthcoming dissertations of Houten, Hobson, Pazmany, Donev and Pellegrino.

Size[60]	Number of cities in *Regio* I (Proportion)	Number of cities yielding inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in *Regio* I (Proportion)
Large (>40 ha.)	14(17.5%)	2(9.09%)
Medium-sized (20-40 ha.)	19(23.75%)	7(31.82%)
Small (<20 ha.)	47(58.75)	13(59.09)

Figure 5.13 Comparison between the number of cities and the number of cities with attestations of privately sponsored public dining in terms of size in *Regio* I

If we apply the same type of analysis to other regions of central and southern Italy, it appears that in the third region (Bruttium and Lucania), the fourth region (Samnium) and the fifth region (Picenum), public dinners were most likely to have been provided in small towns.[61] In the sixth region (Umbria), this practice is most frequently attested in medium-sized towns. In the seventh region (Etruria), the evidence of privately sponsored public dinners is spread evenly between medium-sized and small towns.[62] Most of this evidence comes from the southern half of the seventh region. In the

[60] For figures, see De Ligt (2012), Appendix II.

[61] The table shows the comparison between the number of cities and the number of cities producing evidence of privately sponsored public dining in terms of size in *Regiones* II, III, IV, V, VI and VII.

	Large (>40 ha.)	Medium-sized (20-40 ha.)	Small (<20 ha.)
***Regio* II**	5	8	60
***Regio* II with evidence**	1	1	2
***Regio* III**	8		24
***Regio* III with evidence**	-	-	6
***Regio* IV**	-	7	30
***Regio* IV with evidence**	-	2	9
***Regio* V**	2	6	16
***Regio* V with evidence**	1	1	3
***Regio* VI**	2	12	34
***Regio* VI with evidence**	1	10	8
***Regio* VII**	1	19	27
***Regio* VII with evidence**	-	4	6

[62] The proportions of small and medium-sized towns in the seventh region are 57.4%(27/47) and 40.4%(19/47); the proportions of small and medium-sized towns with the inscriptions of public dining in the seventh region are 60%(6/10) and 40%(4/10).

second region (Apulia), only four settlements have produced evidence of privately sponsored public meals. Of these settlements Beneventum was large, but Compsa and Rudiae are likely to have been small. The fourth settlement is the *Pagus Veianus* in the territory of Beneventum.[63]

In Cisalpine Gaul, which was composed of *Regiones* VIII, IX, X and XI, no epigraphic evidence of privately funded public meals has been discovered in the eighth region. In the ninth region only Dertona, a medium-sized town, has yielded evidence, while the evidence from *regio* X comes from Patavium, one of the largest cities of Cisalpina, and Concordia, which was medium-sized. In the eleventh region only the medium-sized town of Comum has produced evidence of public dining. The dearth of epigraphic data from the northern regions suggests that this practice was less common in these areas.

In Africa Proconsularis relevant inscriptions have been found in fifty-nine settlements. Apart from twenty-six places whose sizes remain unknown, there are twenty settlements which occupied less than 20 hectares, six towns occupying between 20 and 40 hectares and seven cities occupying more than 40 hectares. In Mauretania Caesariensis, one town in which privately sponsored public meals are attested occupied approximately 30 hectares and the other occupied ca. 20 hectares. In Spain forty-two inscriptions referring to public dining have been found. More than 85 percent of these come from twenty-nine towns in Baetica, including seven small towns, four medium-sized towns and four large ones. In Lusitania public dinners are attested in one large town. Tarraconensis has yielded only five inscriptions, three of which originate from two small settlements.

In the provinces with fewer inscriptions, small towns are represented in Alpes Maritimae and Dalmatia, whereas in Noricum, Lugdunensis and Narbonensis the epigraphic evidence comes from medium-sized and large cities.

In the areas covered by my investigations, thirteen agglomerations have produced more than three inscriptions, and the size of eleven of these agglomerations can be estimated with a reasonable degree of confidence. It appears that they include four small towns and two medium-sized towns in Italy, and two small towns, one medium-sized town and two large towns in Africa Pronconsularis.[64]

City size and private munificence on public dining

My investigations into the relationship between city size and privately sponsored public dinners suggest that such dinners were especially likely to have been sponsored in small and medium-sized towns.

Why are large cities under-represented among those urban centres in which privately funded public meals are recorded? As John Patterson notes in a recent book,

[63] See De Ligt (2012), Appendix II, 327, 330, 331.
[64] See Appendix IV.

in large towns wealth was not concentrated only in the hands of the traditional leading local notables; other non-elites were offered opportunities to become affluent in such towns. These upstarts also stood a chance of being accepted as members of the *Augustales* or even of the local council. In contrast, most small towns offered fewer opportunities for ordinary people to become wealthy.[65] Other things being equal, one would expect to find more evidence of benefactions in those towns in which potential benefactors were more numerous. However, this is not the case as our findings to do with the distribution of food-related benefactions across towns categorized into various size-brackets are not consistent with Patterson's analysis.

From the practical point of view, one way of accounting for the frequent occurrence of privately sponsored food gifts in small and medium-sized towns is by focusing on the cost factor. As Duncan-Jones points out, it would have been more expensive for donors to distribute *sportulae* in a large town.[66] However, this does not tie in with the epigraphic evidence collected by Duncan-Jones which also shows that benefactors in large towns were actually willing to spend large sums of their money on other types of benefactions, such as construction projects, which were far more expensive than the distribution of food gifts.[67] From this it can be inferred that the relative dearth of evidence for food-benefactions in large towns cannot be attributed to the higher costs of organizing public dinners in such towns.

In my view a more convincing explanation of the relative dearth of epigraphic evidence of food-related benefactions in large towns can be found by taking a closer look at the epigraphic evidence of private expenditure on building projects and games and by comparing the patterns revealed by this evidence to those which can be observed in the case of food gifts.

Benefaction	Privately sponsored public dining	Building works and restorations	Games
Large town	6	10	4
Medium-sized town	27	17	4
Small town	47	11	1
Region I	22	13	4
Region II	4	1	1
Region III	6	1	1
Region IV	11	4	-

[65] Patterson (2006), 270-271.
[66] Duncan-Jones (1982), 360.
[67] Duncan-Jones (1982), 157-162, 200-203. According to the costs of erecting buildings and restorations collected by Duncan-Jones, the average cost was about 222,435 sesterces. The average cost on games was about 65,775 sesterces and that on the distributions (feasts, refreshments and oil) was about 16,030 sesterces.

Region V	5	-	-
Region VI	20	4	2
Region VII	10	4	-
Region VIII	-	-	-
Region IX	1	-	-
Region X	2	7	1
Region XI	1	4	-

Figure 5.14 Comparison between the number of different benefactions in attested Italian towns in terms of town size[68]

Benefaction	Privately sponsored public dining	Building works and restorations	Games
Large town	6/41(14.63%)	10/41(24.39%)	4/41(9.76%)
Medium-sized town	27/105(25.71%)	17/105(16.19%)	4/105(3.81%)
Small town	47/270(17.41%)	11/270(4.07%)	1/270(0.37%)

Figure 5.15 Comparison between the number of different benefactions in attested Italin towns in proportion to the total number of towns of different sizes[69]

Figure 5.14 shows the number of privately funded building projects (including restoration projects) and games in Italian towns belonging to various size brackets. The aggregated data (Figure 5.14), particularly from the percentage of different benefactions in different- size towns (Figure 5.15), make it immediately apparent that, while relatively few benefactors erected (or repaired) public buildings in small towns and even fewer of them organized games, food-related benefactions were bestowed on many small Italian communities. In the large towns, the balance between construction projects and food gifts is reversed: whereas privately funded food gifts are recorded in six inscriptions from large towns, there are ten records referring to building and restorations projects being carried out in towns which occupied at least 40 hectares. In terms of the medium-sized towns, it appears that the benefactors also preferred food-related benefactions to buildings. Interestingly, privately sponsored games are also

[68] The evidence here includes only size-identifiable towns. The data on privately sponsored public dining are based on my database; the statistics on the benefactions of building works and games come from the collection of Duncan-Jones (1982), 157-162, 200-201.

[69] For town size figures in Italy, see De Ligt (2012), Appendices I and II. De Ligt groups the large and medium-sized towns in Lucania and Bruttium together (8 towns) and I have included two large and three medium-sized towns as it is difficult to categorize the rest with any accuracy.

more frequently attested in large towns than in smaller communities, despite the fact that small communities were far more numerous. The obvious explanation of this pattern is that large towns were more likely to have had benefactors who were sufficiently wealthy to shoulder the costs of more expensive benefactions.

In this discussion, it should be remembered that at least some members of the elite regarded privately funded public buildings as more valuable than other benefactions. Cicero, for instance, argued that, although hand-outs of money or food could bring instant gratification, expenditure on public constructions would earn the donor the gratitude of posterity.[70] Cicero's viewpoint might help to explain why benefactors from large towns gave priority to public works. Although it does seem likely that benefactors in smaller towns shared the cultural preferences of the elite of the large urban centres, if benefactors operating in small towns were on average less wealthy than those belonging to the local elites of large cities, it would have made perfect sense for them to opt to erect fewer public buildings and to organize more public meals.

Privately sponsored public dinners	North Africa	Spain
Large town	7	5
Medium-sized town	6	4
Small town	20	9

Figure 5.16 Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored public dining in North African and Spanish towns belonging to various size brackets

In the case of many towns in Roman North Africa and Spain, the archaeological evidence is often not good enough to permit even a rough estimate of their physical size. However, even if the number of towns which can be assigned to broadly defined size brackets is small, it is still possible to examine how many references to public dinners appear in the epigraphic records of large, medium-sized and small towns. As in Italy, the frequency of such public dinners is higher in small and medium-sized towns than in large ones.[71]

In Gallia Narbonensis public dining practice is attested in three towns – two large ones (Nemausus, Aquae Sextiae) and one medium-sized (Arelate) town. In Lugdunensis only the provincial capital of Lugdunum has yielded evidence of a privately sponsored public meal. In Noricum the only evidence comes from the provincial capital of Virunum. In Alpes Maritimae a *pagus* at Ascros was the recipient of a privately funded meal and a city-wide distribution of food hand-outs is known to

[70] Cic. *Off.* 2.17.60.

[71] In the North African towns which produced more than 2 relevant inscriptions, 7 are small and medium-sized communities and 2 are large towns, see Appendix IV.

have taken place in the former provincial capital of Cemenelum (modern Cimiez), a small town.[72] In addition to these, inscriptions referring to food benefactions have been found in six small towns of Dalmatia, most of which were situated on the coast facing the Italian Peninsula. The epigraphic evidence from the remaining western provinces is too sporadic to permit any meaningful conclusions, but it might not be a coincidence that privately sponsored public meals are recorded in three provincial/former provincial capitals.

5.2 The geographical distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining

During the past twenty years dining within *collegia* has received a considerable amount of scholarly attention.[73] The *Augustales* also enjoyed commensality among themselves. Although the *Augustales* differed from the professional and religious *collegia*, it can be observed that private munificence expended on communal meals for them was very similar. This section focuses on the geographical distribution of privately sponsored dinners for the *collegia* and *Augustales* in the Western Empire. As in my discussion of public dining, my aim is to present a general picture of the geographical spread of private munificence on collegial dining and to explain those patterns which can be discerned. From the outset, it is worth noting that the amount of epigraphic evidence of collegial meals is much smaller than that available for public dining. Consequently the basis for an attempt to reconstruct geographical patterns is far from ideal and that any attempt to account for these patterns must be regarded as tentative.

5.2.1 Distribution of collegial dining in western regions and towns

My investigations have revealed only forty-six inscriptions from Italy and the western provinces containing information on privately sponsored collegial dining.[74] As Map 5.3 and Figure 5.17 show, collegial dining is attested in only a few regions. Almost all of the evidence (39 inscriptions) comes from the Italian Peninsula. Within this area northern and central Italy, the first region in particular, are well represented, but very few inscriptions referring to collegial meals have been detected in southern Italy. There are also only a few inscriptions from Alpes Maritimae, Numidia, Dalmatia, Narbonensis and Lugdunensis.

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[72] *AE* 1961, 169; *CIL* V, 7905.
[73] E.g. Ascough (2008); Liu (2009), 248-252; Donahue (2017), 126-139; Smith (2003), 87-131; Van Nijf (1997), 149-188; Dunbabin (2003a), 97-99; Fisher (1988), 1199-1225.
[74] The figures are derived from epigraphic references to communal dinners/food distributions among members and to cash endowments for such food gifts.

Map 5.3 The communities of Italy and the western provinces which produced inscriptions referring to privately sponsored collegial dining

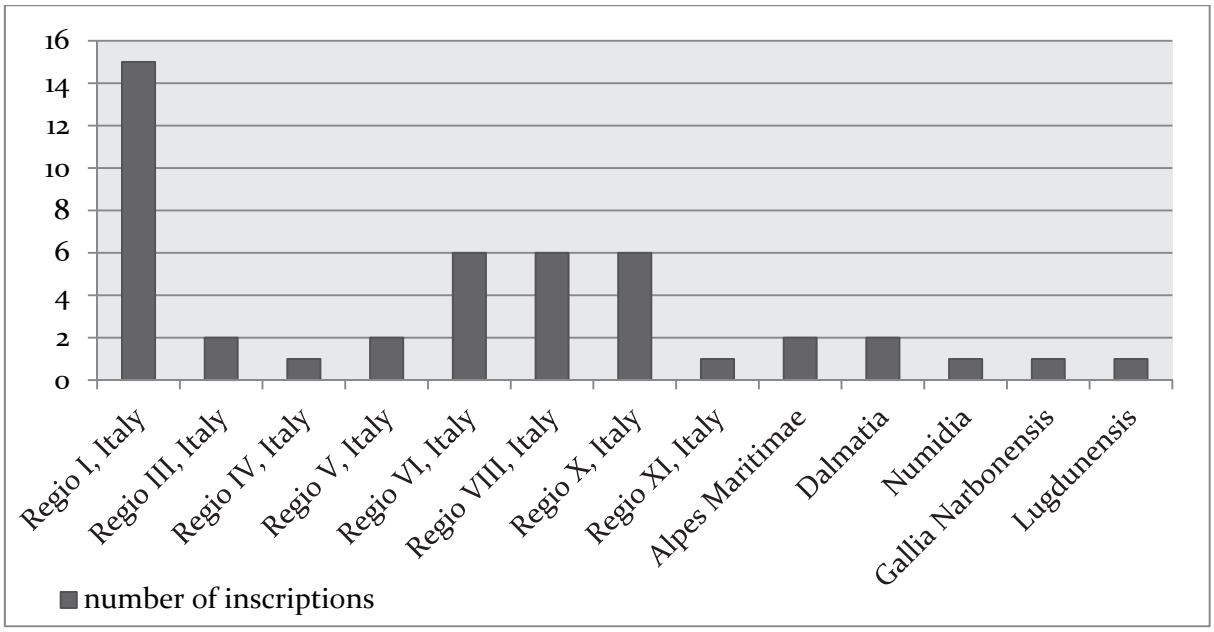


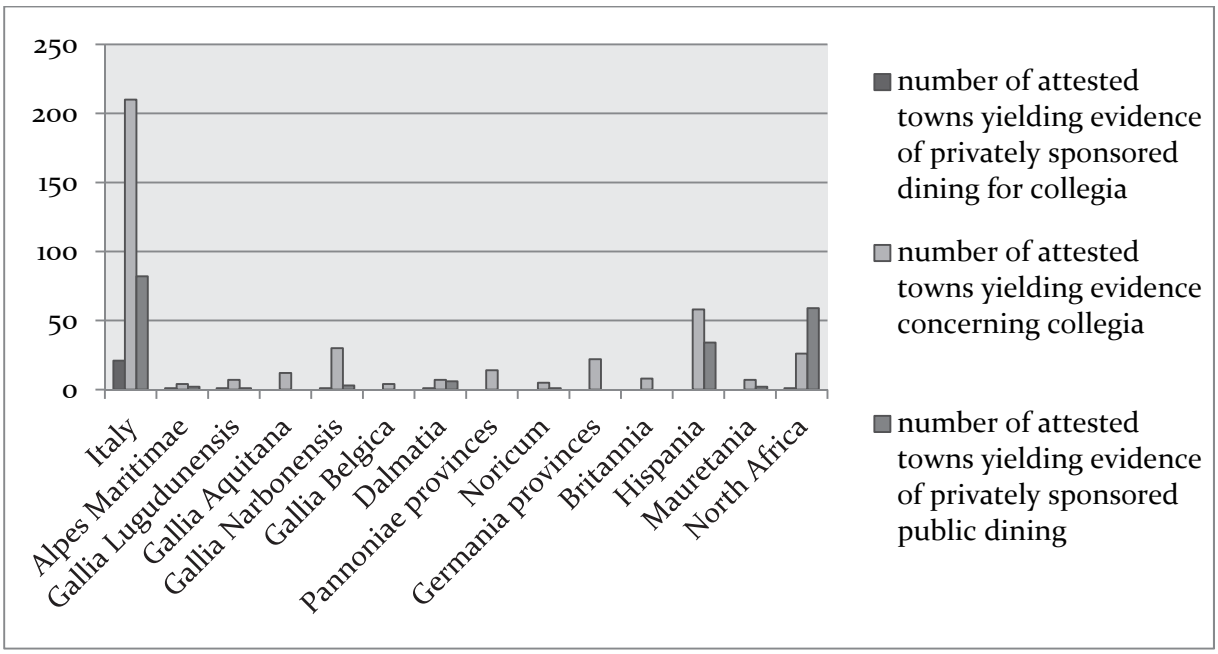
Figure 5.17 Distribution of inscriptions concerning privately sponsored collegial dining in different regions

It is immediately apparent that the practice of collegial dining was less widely distributed than privately sponsored public dining. What is particularly striking is that the Iberian Peninsula, which has yielded many inscriptions referring to public dining, has not produced a single piece of evidence of private benefactors bestowing food gifts on associations. In the case of Roman North Africa, the evidence of privately sponsored collegial dining consists of just one inscription.

In total twenty-nine Italian and provincial towns have yielded evidence of food gifts targeting associations, and eleven of these towns have also produced evidence of privately funded public meals.[75] In twenty towns, the evidence consists of a single inscription. Only Pisaurum, Ameria, Aquileia, Arilica, Salona and Cemenelum have produced two inscriptions each, while three inscriptions recording privately sponsored collegial dinners have been found at Ravenna, five at Ostia and six at Misenum. Of the twenty-five towns whose size can be estimated, ten are small, eight medium-sized and seven large.

5.2.2 Contextualization of geographical distribution

It is a safe assumption that inscriptions referring to privately sponsored collegial dining are more likely to be found in those regions in which the associations were widely distributed. As the investigations of Waltzing and various later scholars have shown, most of the epigraphic evidence relating to *collegia* comes from the towns of Roman Italy (Figure 5.18). Therefore it is not surprising that the bulk of the evidence of privately sponsored collegial dinners also comes from this area.



[75] See Appendix V.

Figure 5.18 Comparison of the number of towns in terms of yielding evidence referring to *collegia*, privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and to privately funded public dining[76]

Thirty per cent of all Italian inscriptions referring to privately sponsored meals exclusively targeting *collegia* come from *Regiones* VIII, X and XI. It cannot be a coincidence that *Regio* X is responsible for the largest amount of epigraphic references to *collegia*.[77] *Regiones* VIII and XI have also produced a fairly large number of inscriptions referring to *collegia*. By contrast, *Regio* IX has yielded little epigraphic evidence of the existence of *collegia* and no evidence of collegial dining.

Thanks to the outstanding work of Jinyu Liu, the *collegia centonariorum* can be used as a case study here. There are seven inscriptions recording benefactors shouldering the cost of privately communal dinners in the *collegia centonariorum*.[78] These inscriptions come from Reg. VI (2 inscriptions), Reg. VIII (2), Reg. X (1), Reg. XI (1) and Alpes Maritimae (1). From Liu's study of distribution of the *collegia centonariorum*, it appears that the *collegia centonariorum* are best attested in Italy, especially in Umbria, Venetia, Transpadana and Aemilia. It is precisely these regions which have also produced most of the evidence of benefactors organizing dinners for the *centonarii*.[79] The only town in the province of Alpes Maritimae in which the *centonarii* were offered a communal meal by a benefactor is Cemelenum, in which the activities of the *collegia centonariorum* are well documented.[80]

On the basis of the evidence contained in the collegial by-laws, particularly the regulations of the *collegium Dianae et Antinoi* from Lanuvium, communal banqueting has been viewed as one of the primary activities of *collegia*.[81] The patterns revealed by my investigations suggest that this conclusion does not necessarily apply to privately sponsored collegial dinners. Of course, there is a theoretical possibility that large numbers of non-Italian benefactors did bestow food-related benefactions on associations but that these benefactions were never recorded. Nevertheless, it seems more likely that Italian benefactors would have been more inclined to target *collegia*, perhaps for the reason that in the towns of mainland Italy associations were more

[76] For the geographical distribution of inscriptions referring to *collegia* in the Roman West, see Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol.3. His collecition contains 890 relevant (890), 766 from Rome, 190 from Gaul, 165 from the Balkan and Danube regions, 99 from North Africa, 55 from the Spanish provinces, 40 from Germania and 11 from Britain; cf. Ausbüttel (1982), 32-33. For the supplement of towns in which inscriptions have recently been found, see Mennella and Apicella (2000); Santero Santurino (1978), 150-181; Rodríguez Gutiérrez, Tran and Soler Huertas (2016), 359-367; Liu (2009), Appendix B and Verboven (2012), 34-46.
[77] For the number of *collegia* in various Italian regions, see Waltzing (1895-1900), vol.3, 392-519.
[78] *CIL* XI, 5047; *CIL* XI, 4391; *CIL* V, 7357; *CIL* XI, 1027; *CIL* V, 2176; *CIL* V, 5272; *CIL* V, 7906.
[79] Liu (2009), 30, Chart 1.1.
[80] *Ibid*. 31, Chart 1.2.
[81] *CIL* XIV, 2112 = *ILS* 7212.

highly valued as constituent elements of civic communities than in other parts of the Western Empire.[82]

One way of putting this hypothesis to the test is to compare the spatial distribution of the evidence of privately sponsored collegial dining with that referring to *collegia* as recipients of community-wide meals.[83] The basic idea behind this exercise is that, if *collegia* were regarded as important building blocks of local society in certain areas, they should appear not only as recipients of food-gifts specifically targeting their organizations but also among those sub-groups which benefited from food-gifts bestowed on entire communities.

The epigraphic evidence confirms the theory that benefactors were more likely to spend money on meals for *collegiati* only in those areas in which the *collegia* also appear as one of the groups targeted by benefactors providing public meals for entire communities. Of the ten inscriptions mentioning *collegia* as beneficiaries of food gifts bestowed on communities, five have been found in Italian towns.[84] Two come from Cemenelum, one of the few non-Italian towns in which a private benefactor is known to have spent money on a meal for *collegiati*.[85] The other three come from Arelate, Nemausus and Thamugadi.[86] Although the amount of evidence is not exactly overwhelming, this pattern is strikingly similar to that which emerges from the epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored collegial dinners.

In an article which appeared in 2005, Jinyu Liu discusses some of the epigraphic evidence of *collegia* in the Iberian Peninsula. The basis of her discussion is Chapter 74 of the *lex Irnitana* which stipulates that, no one is to take part in an illegal gathering in that municipium or to hold a meeting of a society or college for that purpose or to conspire that it be held or to act in such a way that any of these things occur. Anyone who acts contrary to these rules is to be condemned to pay 10,000 sesterces to the *municipes* of the *Municipium Flavium Irnitanum* and the right of action, suit and claim of that money and concerning that money is to belong to any *municeps* of that *municipium*.[87] According to Liu this provision reflects concerns about the potentially disruptive nature of meetings organized by *collegia*. In the final part of her

[82] This observation applies particularly to those collegial dinners which were funded by external benefactors, but perceptions of the importance of *collegia* as building blocks of civic society could also have influenced choices made by wealthy members of associations. Three inscriptions from Roman Spain refer to *seviri* bestowing food benefactions. Two of these benefactions targeted *cives et incolae* (*CIL* II, 5489; *CIL* II, 2100), and the third is simply described as an *epulum* (*CIL* II, 1944).

[83] For the participation of *collegia* in public feasting in the Roman West see Donahue (2017), 126-130; in the Roman East see Van Nijf (1997), 156-188.

[84] *CIL* IX, 3842(Antinum); *AE* 2000, 533(Carsulae); *CIL* X, 451(Eburum); *CIL* X, 5796 (Verulae); *CIL* IX, 2553 (Fagifulae).

[85] *CIL* V, 7920; *CIL* V, 7905.

[86] *CIL* XII, 697 (Arelate); *CIL* XII, 5905 (Nemausus); *AE* 1954, 154 (Thamugadi).

[87] For text, see González and Crawford (1986), 193. For discussion see Liu (2005), 285-316.

contribution, she asks whether the relative dearth of Spanish inscriptions referring to *collegia* can be attributed to restrictive municipal policies in regard to associations. She goes on to argue that the existence of such a connection is highly unlikely and that the relative lack of epigraphic references to *collegia* in Roman Spain can be more plausibly attributed either to the absence of 'a strong associative tradition' or to the 'low level of epigraphic culture'.[88]

Since the Iberian Peninsula has yielded approximately 120 epigraphic references to *collegia* (cf. above), the 'dearth' of epigraphic evidence is less dramatic than Liu's arguments might suggest. Nevertheless, it is still very striking that the Iberian Peninsula has failed to produce a single inscription referring to a privately sponsored collegial meal. Bearing in mind my interpretation of the epigraphic evidence from Italy, this striking fact could be interpreted as a reflection of the existence of a region-specific political culture in which *collegia* were not regarded as obvious targets of food-related benefactions.

In the African provinces, the epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored collegial meals consists of a single inscription from Numidia. Nevertheless, these provinces provide a fairly large amount of evidence of food benefactions being bestowed on *curiae* or *curiales*.[89] As Duncan-Jones has demonstrated, the African *curiae* appear to have been dining clubs which also took care of the burial of their members, much like *collegia* did in other parts of the Empire. Another similarity between *curiae* and associations is that members had to pay an entry-fee.[90] In other words, the membership of the African *curiae* did not extend to all the plebs.[91]

The epigraphic record of the North African provinces provides abundant evidence of *curiae* participating in community-wide meals organized by wealthy benefactors and also of *curiae* receiving cash endowments whose the income was to be used for annual dinners.[92] Therefore, the almost complete absence of epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored collegial dinners in Roman Africa can be safely attributed to the fact that in this part of the Empire the local *curiae* were regarded as more obvious target groups for such benefactions. As Waltzing and other scholars have demonstrated, there is plenty of evidence of the existence of *collegia* in Africa Proconsularis and other parts of Roman North Africa, but the epigraphic evidence leaves no doubt that these private associations did not play the same role in local political life as did the *collegia* of various towns in mainland Italy.[93] Once again we seem to be dealing with a regional

[88] Liu (2005), 310.
[89] For the African *curiae*, see Kotula (1968), Kotula (1980). The origin of these *curiae* is controversial, see Whittaker (2000), 545 (Roman); Fantar (2011), 456 (Punic).
[90] Duncan-Jones (1982), 278-279.
[91] *Ibid*. 280-282; Mrozek (1993), 117
[92] Duncan-Jones (1982), 102-104.
[93] For the *collegia dendrophorum* of Roman North Africa see Liu (2009), 32.

political culture which displays at least some features which are without parallel in other parts of the Western Empire.

It has to be pointed out that all evidence (8 inscriptions) referring to the commensality of the *Augustales* also comes from Italy, particularly from Misenum (6 items).[94] Since many pieces of evidence of *Augustales* taking part in community-wide meals are concentrated in mainland Italy,[95] we again encounter a situation similar to that found in the case of *collegia*. As the associations of *Augustales* are widely attested in the western half of the Empire, it should not be assumed that it is purely by accident that all the evidence referring to privately sponsored dinners for *Augustales* is only found in Italy. This prompts us to hypothesize that exclusive food benefactions for *Augustales* were probably also a manifestation of the increasing importance of these associations as building blocks in local society. If we look at the identity of these benefactors, all of them had a relationship to the *Augustales* as they were either fellow members or those close to them. In other words, provisions of food gifts could have been considered as an effective way of highlighting the importance of membership of themselves by these 'insiders'.

5.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, I have attempted to reconstruct the geographical distribution of private munificence on public and collegial dining in Italy and the western provinces. The distribution maps show uneven patterns across the western regions. The epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored public dinners is concentrated in Italy, Africa Proconsularis and Baetica. Probably this finding is connected to the relatively high epigraphic densities which characterize these areas and perhaps also to the density of the urban networks of these regions and the presence of numerous Roman colonies. However, the distribution of evidence of public dining is not completely consistent with the distribution of Latin inscriptions. Some other provinces have also produced high epigraphic densities, but these inscriptions have provided little or no evidence of public dining. From this it can be inferred that regional differences in the distribution of political, social and economic power as well as region-specific processes of adaption to the requirements of Roman *humanitas* caused the spread of the custom of private expenditure on public or collegial dining to some areas, but also in the failure of these practices to take root in other parts of the Western Empire.

As a specific act of munificence, privately sponsored public dining seems to be a product of good development of civic munificence. However, the evidence from the western provinces leaves no doubt that private munificence could and did take many

[94] Misenum: *AE* 1993, 473; *AE* 1993, 474; *AE* 1993, 477; *AE* 1993, 479; *AE* 2000, 344; *CIL* X, 1880. Aletrium: *CIL* X, 5809. *Reate*: *CIL* IX, 4691.
[95] See 'Beneficiaries' in Appendix I.

different forms depending on the local or regional distribution of power. Whereas the local elites in the north-western provinces seem to have been firmly entrenched, thereby obviating the need for intra-elite competition through benefactions, the towns of the Mediterranean zone seem to have been characterized by a more dynamic competition for power and status. This distinction helps to explain why Spain and North Africa have produced large numbers of inscriptions referring to privately funded public dinners. However, within these larger regions further discrepancies can be discerned. It seems clear, for instance, that the town elites of Baetica were in the habit of spending some of their money on public dinners, whereas the elites of Tarraconensis preferred to erect public or religious buildings.

A closer look at the distribution on a town level shows that, in those areas which have yielded abundant evidence of privately sponsored public dinners, most of the epigraphic material comes from medium-sized or small towns. The most probable explanation of this pattern is that medium-sized and small towns tended to have fewer wealthy benefactors capable of shouldering the cost of expensive building projects. Therefore, it was more common for benefactors in such towns to spend their money on public meals, which were far less expensive than public construction projects.

In the case of privately sponsored collegial dining, the epigraphic record is concentrated in mainland Italy. One way of accounting for this pattern is to assume that *collegia* and *Augustales* played a more prominent role in the public life of the civic communities of Italy than in those of Spain or North Africa. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the evidence of *collegia* and *Augustales* participating in community-wide meals is also concentrated in mainland Italy. In Roman Africa, many of the activities undertaken by *collegia* in Italian towns, including communal dining, were performed by the *curiae*. Although *collegia* undoubtedly existed in the North African towns, the epigraphic evidence suggests that wealthy citizens who bestowed food-related benefactions on civic communities or sub-divisions of these communities preferred to target *curiales* rather than *collegiati*. Like the various other regional peculiarities which have been discussed in this chapter, these distinctions indicate the existence of region-specific types of munificence which were associated with regional political cultures.

Chapter 6

Chronological distribution of privately sponsored communal dining in the Roman West

The earliest evidence showing the existence of private munificence bestowed for the purpose of communal dining can be dated to the republican period. On a broader scale, the first three centuries AD witnessed its rise and decline, but these developments over time can be explored in more detail. This chapter deals with the chronology of the distribution of privately sponsored communal dining in Italy and the western provinces.

The first point which has to be made is that the availability of the inscriptions which lie at the foundation of this research is linked to changing epigraphic habits.[1] However, I hold the view that the chronological distribution of private munificence extended to public and collegial dining, although based on epigraphic evidence, is more than just a reflection of the epigraphic habit; it is also the embodiment of some historical realities. To this end, this chapter will attempt to account for the chronological distribution patterns of the evidence for privately sponsored public and collegial dining in the first three centuries AD. A closer look at the changes in this practice over time provides a window which allows us to observe what economic, social and political changes were taking place in imperial society.

With this aim in mind, the chapter turns first to the literary sources in order to sketch a background to the chronological developments in Rome – which will then serve to provide a context for the developments visible in the epigraphical sources in Italy and the western provinces.

[1] On the 'epigraphic habit' during the imperial period, see MacMullen (1982); Meyer (1990); Woolf (1996); Beltrán Lloris (2014).

6.1 The emergence of privately sponsored public banquets in Republican Rome

In Republican Rome, public banquets or club dinners were not uncommon, as Varro asks: *Quotus quisque enim est annus, quo non videas epulum aut triumphum aut collegia non epulari*?[2] During the Republican period, the organization of public banquets or a distribution of food gifts on a large scale was an event which was usually associated with military victories or funerals.[3] The literary sources mention this munificence as an illustration of a positive character trait of the benefactor in question.

Victories

Feasting was part and parcel of the celebration of a Roman victory. The earliest sources reporting on military victories attest to the fact that food and drinks were prepared for the army. In a fictitious story which is set in the eighth century BC, Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates that, when Romulus and his army returned to Rome in triumph, they were welcomed outside the city by the citizens and their wives and children. Upon entering the city, the army found that tables loaded with wine and food had been placed outside the most distinguished houses.[4] This idea can also be found in Dionysius' no doubt equally fictitious account of the triumph of Valerius Publicola, whose army was served wine and food in 509 BC.[5] Drawing on earlier writers, Livy reports that when Quinctius Cincinnatus and his troops held a triumph after defeating the Aequians in 458 BC, 'there was not a house in Rome which did not have a table spread with food before its door, for the entertainment of the soldiers who regaled themselves as they followed the triumphal chariot [...].'[6] Another story from Livy seems rather more trustworthy: after the troops of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus had defeated a Carthaginian army near Beneventum in 214 BC, the people of Beneventum feasted these troops as they entered the city.[7] In all these stories private citizens offered victorious armies food and drink.

In addition, the victorious leader might provide a banquet for the Senate or for other members of the elite. This occasion usually followed the sacrifice on the Capitoline Hill. According to Dionysius, Valerius Poblicola organized a banquet for

[2] Varro *Rust*. 3.2.16, *Sed propter luxuriam, inquit, quodam modo epulum cotidianum est intra ianuas Romae*.
[3] Purcell (1994), 685-686; D'Arms (1998), 35; Donahue (2017), 59-62.
[4] Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 2.34.2.
[5] *Ibid*. 5.17.2.
[6] Livy 3.29.5.
[7] *Ibid*. 24.16.16-19.

senators after his triumphal parade of 509 BC,[8] and we are told by Appian that, after the triumphal procession of 201 BC, Scipio banqueted his friends at the temple of the Capitol.[9] As Polybius explains, a triumph needed the consent of the Senate and, once approval had been given, a sum of money was handed over to cover the expenses incurred.[10] Hence it is impossible to say with any certainty whether the public banquets which were held after triumphal parades were paid for by the victorious commander or by the state. Nevertheless, these sorts of banquets targeting the Senate or other elite groups can be seen as forerunners of the imperial Senate's banquets on the Capitol and of the public banquets for the municipal *decuriones*.

As far as can be determined, the *populus* was not invited to public banquets held to celebrate triumphs until the Late Republic. In the triumphs of the first century BC, we find a connection between the offerings to Hercules (from the tithe of the booty) and public banquets for the people.[11] Athenaeus reports that Marius sent skins of (unknown) animals to Rome to be dedicated in the temple of Hercules, where commanders banqueted the citizens when celebrating their triumphs.[12] He also refers to the early-first-century BC Greek philosopher Posidonius who said that, when a banquet was held in the precinct of Hercules in Rome, it was provided by a general on the occasion of the celebration of a triumph.[13] Plutarch tells us that Sulla feasted the people with sumptuous provisions for many days after making offerings to Hercules.[14] In his *Life of Crassus*, we read that a sacrifice was made to Hercules and a feast was given to the people,[15] and in his *Life of Lucullus* he reports that Lucullus served up a magnificent feast for the city of Rome and the surrounding *vici* when he celebrated a triumph in 63 BC.[16]

Julius Caesar's public banquets for the people were considered to have been particularly impressive.[17] Following the triumphal parade held to commemorate his victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa, Caesar feasted the people on 22,000 *triclinia* in 46 BC.[18] To celebrate the Spanish triumph in 45 BC, he offered the public

[8] According to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom*. 5.17.2, Valerius Poblicola offered the Senate a banquet. For a senatorial banquet at the triumph of Aemilius Paullus in 167 BC, see Livy 45.39.13 and Beard (2007), 262.
[9] App. *Pun*. 66.
[10] Polyb. 6.15.
[11] Marzano (2009).
[12] Ath. *Deipn*. 5.221f.
[13] *Ibid*. 4.153c. Kidd (1988), 282-283, suggests such banquets were for elites.
[14] Plut. *Sull*. 35.1.
[15] Plut. *Crass*. 2.2; 12.2. Marzano (2009), 84, mentions that, in this case, the banquet was not given as part of a triumphal celebration, but used to counterbalance Pompey's propaganda on Hercules.
[16] Plut. *Luc*. 37.2-4.
[17] For the impact of Caesar's feasts on municipal elites, see D'Arms (2000a).
[18] Plut. *Caes*. 55.

duo prandia.[19] Caesar's munificence is said to have filled the populace with gratitude.[20] Once again it should be noted that the triumphal feasts for the populace could have been paid for with public funds as the generals footed the bill with the spoils of war – which were, theoretically, public funds. Nevertheless, this tradition of munificence can be taken as a forerunner of privately sponsored public dining.

In the turbulent final decades of the Republic, investment in large-scale feasts by successful military commanders became a way of displaying and accruing yet more personal power. Generosity in the form of arranging public banquets was established not only a feasible but also an acceptable way of displaying benevolence and patronage.[21] Caesar, for example, has been considered as being successful in exploiting public banquets to achieve his political goals.[22] Whereas the generals of earlier generations had organized banquets for members of the elite, the military politicians of the Late Republic began to display themselves as worthwhile patrons of large numbers of ordinary citizens.

Funerals

Funerary banquets staged for the populace were also held in the Republican era. It was customary to give a funeral banquet (e.g. *silicernium* and *novendialis cena*) to honour the dead,[23] but invitations were usually confined to relatives and friends of the deceased. On the occasion of the burial of prominent members of society, funerals could be accompanied by public dining.[24] Initially such public meals took the form of a distribution of the flesh of the sacrificial animals. Livy, for example, refers to a certain Marcus Flavius who distributed *visceratio* to people at his mother's funeral in 328/327 BC.[25] He also mentions that in 183 BC, on the occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius Crassus, who had been *pontifex maximus*, a large-scale distribution of meat took place.[26]

Later on proper funerary feasts seem to have become a fashion. In the literary sources we read that, upon the death of his uncle Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus in 129 BC, Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus gave the Roman people a funerary banquet to honor him.[27] Seventy years later, in 59 BC, Quintus Arrius

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[19] Suet. *Iul*. 38. For the venue of the *prandia*, see D'Arms (1998), 40-41, suggesting that they were held in Caesar's *Horti trans Tiberim*.
[20] Plut. *Caes*. 5.5.
[21] D'Arms (1998), 36, quotes Cic. *Mur*. 73 which indicates that the Roman *plebs* counted the public feast as part of its rightful due.
[22] D'Arms (1998); D'Arms (2000a), 196-197.
[23] Varro *Sat. Men*. 53.306.
[24] Kajava (1998), 115.
[25] Livy 8.22. For *visceratio*, see Kajava (1998), 109-131.
[26] Livy 39.46.
[27] Cic. *Mur*. 75; Val. Max. 7.5.1.

organized a funerary festival which included a public dinner in memory of his father.[28] Taking this tradition one step further, Caesar organized gladiatorial games and a feast for the people in commemoration of his daughter.[29]

The appearance of large public banquets organized by powerful generals and politicians is likely to have been associated with a change in political culture. The social tensions between the ordinary citizens and the senatorial elite and the conflicts between the *populares* and *optimates* may underlie the different behavioral patterns which can be observed among generals of the Late Republic. Compared to the commanders of earlier generations, who identified with the interests of the political and social elite and therefore arranged elite banquets on the Capitol, some later military politicians were more interested in the accumulation of personal influence and actively sought the support from the common people.

Commenting on Caesar's munificence, Cicero writes that, 'by shows, buildings, largesses, banquets he had conciliated the ignorant crowd'.[30] Although Zvi Yavetz argues that Caesar's use of public feasts to gain popular support was nothing new,[31] Pliny the Elder states that Caesar was the first to take advantage of public banquets.[32] This point is also driven home by the fact that this privately sponsored public dining for citizens of Italian and provincial communities in the western provinces is attested only after the age of Caesar.[33] This strongly suggests that Caesar set an example which was followed by private benefactors in local communities.

6.2 Emperors and munificence in imperial Rome

During the first centuries of the Empire, the emperors' munificence towards Roman citizens living in Rome took many forms, including providing public dining for the people. Meanwhile, local elites financed public dinners in communities of Italy and the western provinces. Before proceeding with an investigation of privately sponsored public dinners in Italian and western provincial communities, I shall present a brief survey of the imperial household's munificence in the form of public feasts in the city of Rome

Royal feasting was common in the ancient world, for instance, at courts of the Persian, Macedonian and Hellenistic kings.[34] The Roman emperors' public banquets might have been (partly) influenced by this custom. However, a more likely explanation is that they just adopted and continued the customs established by the

[28] Cic. *Vat.* 12.30-13.32.
[29] Suet. *Iul.* 26.2.
[30] Cic. *Phil.* 2.116.
[31] Yavetz (1983), 167.
[32] Plin. *HN* 14.66.
[33] D'Arms (2000a), 197.
[34] See Vössing (2004), 63-91; Briant (1989), 35-44; Wilkins (2013), 163-172.

late Republican politicians and generals.[35] Ancient literature provides the most important information about public banquets held by the Roman emperors.[36] However, the sources which refer to imperial munificence are often short on hard facts and not always credible. Far more than they had done in the Republic, food and food customs served as a *topos* which ancient authors could use to delineate more sharply the character traits of the emperors they portrayed. Nonetheless, leaving their individual prejudices aside, the way authors of the imperial period depict feasting does help to give us an idea about perceptions of the emperors' public feasts and of the public image emperors sought to project by such displays of their munificence.

To judge from the information provided by Suetonius and Cassius Dio, during the Julio-Claudian period public banqueting was still associated with triumphal celebrations, but there is some evidence which suggests that Octavian/Augustus and his successors organized banquets on the occasion of important events in their personal lives or in that of family members. In 39 BC Octavian provided a great feast after he had shaved off his beard for the first time.[37] According to Cassius Dio, Octavian was granted the privilege of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter after his victory over Sextus Pompey in 36 BC.[38] One year later, Octavian is said to have authorized Antony to hold banquets with his wife and children in the temple of Concord.[39] Following the victory at Actium, he made dedications to Apollo of Actium and distributed food during the subsequent quadrennial musical and gymnastic contest.[40]

After assuming the title Augustus, the first emperor continued to organize public banquets to mark special moments in his life. Dio states that, from 12 BC onwards bachelors and spinsters were allowed to watch spectacles and to enjoy banquets with the other citizens on the birthday of Augustus. Their attendance had previously been forbidden.[41] We are also told that Augustus forbade public banquets on his birthday during a grain shortage.[42]

The tradition of celebrating military victories with public dinners seems to have been upheld by Tiberius, and in fact our sources also refer to two occasions on which he did this while Augustus was still emperor. According to Dio, Tiberius feasted the Roman people in 9 BC after defeating the Dalmatians and the Pannonians; Livia and

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[35] Vössing (2004), 277.
[36] For taking food in Roman literature as an approach by which to interpret the Romans' attitudes, see Gowers (1996).
[37] Cass. Dio 48.34.3. The first time of shaving usually took place when a young Roman assumed the *toga virilis*, but Octavian waited until the age of 24.
[38] *Ibid*. 49.15.1.
[39] *Ibid*. 49.18.6.
[40] *Ibid.* 51.1.2.
[41] *Ibid.* 54.30.5.
[42] *Ibid.* 55.26.3.

Julia provided a dinner for the women.[43] Suetonius tells us that Tiberius entertained the Roman people at a thousand tables to celebrate his triumph over Germany in AD 12.[44] Caligula is said to have organized banquets for the senators and their wives and he also did this for the people after he was made consul.[45] Dio depicts Caligula's relationships with the populace as tense,[46] but this did not stop him feasting them to celebrate the birthday of Drusilla.[47] According to Suetonius, Caligula not only gave cash hand-outs to people but twice provided lavish banquets for the senators and equestrians, in which he included their wives and children.[48] He also showered gifts and offered the spectators food when sponsoring stage-plays (*ludi scaenici*).[49] In his account of the life of Claudius, Suetonius mentions that he constantly gave public feasts for 600 people at one time.[50] In Dio we read that, on one occasion, the same emperor banqueted the senators and their wives as well as the equestrians and the tribes in the Circus.[51] In his *Life of Nero*, Suetonius writes that his public dining was limited to food hand-outs (*sportulae*).[52] However, Dio refers to Nero providing a costly public banquet.[53] We are told by Tacitus that Nero often held banquets in public places and treated the whole city as his palace, but this reference is to his private banquets or parties.[54] For the turbulent year 68/69 AD few relevant records survive, but Tacitus reports that Otho once gave the noble men and women a great banquet.[55]

During the first ten years of the Flavian dynasty, public feasts organized by emperors are well-attested. According to Suetonius, Vespasian often held formal and sumptuous feasts.[56] In the *Bellum Judaicum*, Josephus mentions that Vespasian furnished the multitude with public feasts after his arrival in Rome.[57] Domitian seems to have made a change in the custom of public dining. According to Suetonius, he put an end to the public food hand-outs (*sportulae*) which had been introduced by Nero and revived the tradition of formal dinners.[58] Suetonius tends to emphasize Domitian's enthusiasm for providing the populace with various kinds of entertainment and public

[43] *Ibid.* 55.2.4.
[44] Suet. *Tib*. 20.
[45] Cass. Dio 59.7.1.
[46] *Ibid*. 59.13.3-6.
[47] *Ibid*. 59.13.8-9.
[48] Suet. *Calig*. 17.2.
[49] *Ibid*. 18.2.
[50] Suet. *Claud*. 32.
[51] Cass. Dio 60.7.4.
[52] Suet. *Ner*. 16.2; cf. *ibid*. 11.2.
[53] Cass. Dio 62.15.1.
[54] The public surroundings were purely for his own amusement, see Tac. *Ann*. 15.37; Suet. *Ner*. 27.
[55] Tac. *Hist*. 1.81.
[56] Suet. *Vesp*. 19.1.
[57] Joseph. *BJ* 7.73.
[58] Suet. *Dom*. 7.1; Suet. *Ner*. 16.2.

feasts. For example, during the shows organized to celebrate the Festival of the Seven Hills, the emperor organized a lavish banquet and handed large baskets of food out to the senators and the equestrians, and smaller ones to the common people.[59] Dio mentions that Domitian held a banquet at public expense, which was considered to be a funeral banquet for those who had died in Dacia and in Rome by the general public.[60]

For the period from Nerva to Antoninus Pius, the evidence of emperors organizing public dinners is limited to two snippets of dubious reliability contained in the *Historia Augusta*.[61] According to this late source, Hadrian provided banquets for senators (there is no mention of the populace) and Antoninus Pius for his friends.[62] The same source also reports that Pertinax lived simply and set boundaries on the previously unlimited imperial banquets.[63] In his account of the year AD 217, Dio reports that Opellius Macrinus declared his son, Diadumenianus, joint Augustus, seizing upon the occasion to appease the soldiers by dispersing favours among them. Eager to widen his support base, he also provided the people of Apamea with a banquet which cost 600 sesterces per head.[64] Dio records that Elagabalus provided a public banquet for the people of Rome also at a cost of 600 sesterces per head on the occasion of his marriage to Cornelia Paula.[65] He is also said to have been the first Roman emperor to have served fish-pickle mixed with water at a public banquet.[66] In the *Historia Augusta*, we read that Severus Alexander did entertain at state-dinners but in a simple fashion.[67] Information about public feasts held by Gallienus and Carus can also be found in the *Historia Augusta*. We are told that these emperors feasted mainly for their own amusement.[68]

As has been discussed, the narratives about the emperors' public feasting are often light on details. We cannot say for certain that the imperial munificence spent on public feasts was an institutionalized practice. Nevertheless, some cautious conclusions can be drawn. To judge from the surviving evidence, the emperors of the first century AD showed more interest in holding public feasts than those of the second century. The first four emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty systematically supported public feasts. Nero's reign seems to have been something of a turning-point as he focused on his personal enjoyment and confined public feasting to food hand-

[59] Suet. *Dom*. 4.5. See also Mart. *Epigr*. 8.50.
[60] Cass. Dio 67.8-9.
[61] For the doubtful reliability of much of the material contained in the *Historia Augusta*, see Benario (1980), Meckler (1994). See also Syme's works on the *Historia Augusta*, Syme (1968), Syme (1971), Syme (1983).
[62] SHA *Hadr*. 22.4-5; SHA *Ant. Pius*. 11.4.
[63] SHA *Pert*. 8.9.
[64] Cass. Dio 79.34.3.
[65] *Ibid*. 80.9.2.
[66] SHA *Heliogab*. 29.5.
[67] SHA *Alex. Sev*. 34.8.
[68] SHA *Gallieni Duo* 9.3-4 and 16; SHA *Carus, Carinus, Numerian* 17.2-3.

outs. Following this change in policy, imperial munificence on communal feasts was greatly reduced, and it was not until Domitian's time that grand banquets were revived. In the second century, the emperors' enthusiasm for funding public banquets appears to have diminished. From the sources it appears that, although a larger number of banquets were provided in the third century, the few sources for this period stress the frugality displayed by the various emperors. Another development can be extrapolated in terms of the occasions on which public feasts were provided: Augustus, Tiberius and Caligula are said to have feasted the people to celebrate victories or imperial birthdays. From Claudius onward, the occasions on which public feasts were provided became more diffuse.

6.3 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining in Italy and the western provinces

When were privately sponsored public dinners first organized outside of the city of Rome? It is almost impossible to give a date which is accurate and correct. One reason for this situation is that the surviving sources tend to focus largely on events and developments in Rome. It is hard to trace changes in political and social practices in the other Italian cities as the sources are simply not there. P. Lucilius Gamala from Ostia has been considered to be the first individual to provide public feasts on the municipal level in the late republican or the early Augustan period.[69] Although the date of the inscription which contains information about the munificence he bestowed on the Ostians is debatable, this is the first documented example of a public dinner being organized outside Rome. Taking this case as a starting point, the central concern of the remainder of this chapter is to find out about the chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining and how changes in this practice can be accounted for.

6.3.1 Patterns of the chronological distribution

Unquestionably the use of the epigraphical data is often problematic, especially when it involves the issue of dating individual inscriptions.[70] Consular dates and imperial titulatures are helpful in determining a precise date or at least the identity of the reigning emperor. However, more often than not a particular inscription can only be dated to a roughly hundred-year period and some only to a period of two or three

[69] D'Arms (2000a), 192-200. The date of the inscription (*CIL* XIV, 375) is debatable; the commonly accepted date assigns Gamala's activities to the late republican period, cf. Zevi (1973). For other discussions of this inscription see e.g. Meiggs (1973), 493-502 and Salomies (2003), 133-157.

[70] For dating Latin inscriptions of the imperial period and the problems involved, see Cooley (2012), 398-434; Liu (2009), 37 and note 15.

centuries. Despite this problem, those epigraphic sources whether they can be dated precisely or only roughly are still a valuable aid in exploring the chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining. In what follows, two graphs are established to illustrate long-term distribution trends: one is century based; the other is based on the reigns of the emperor.

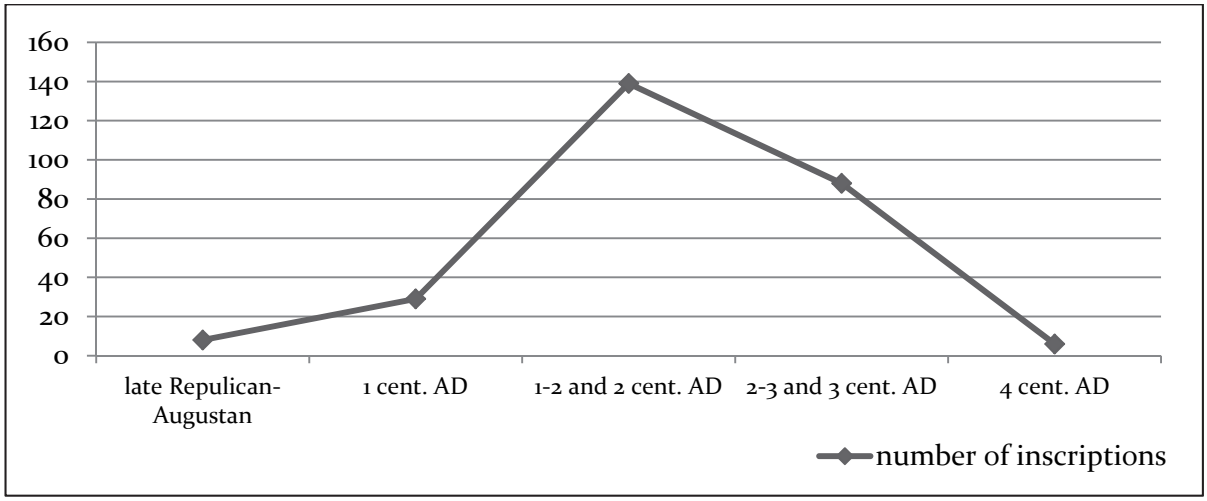

Figure 6.1 Chronological distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining over the centuries

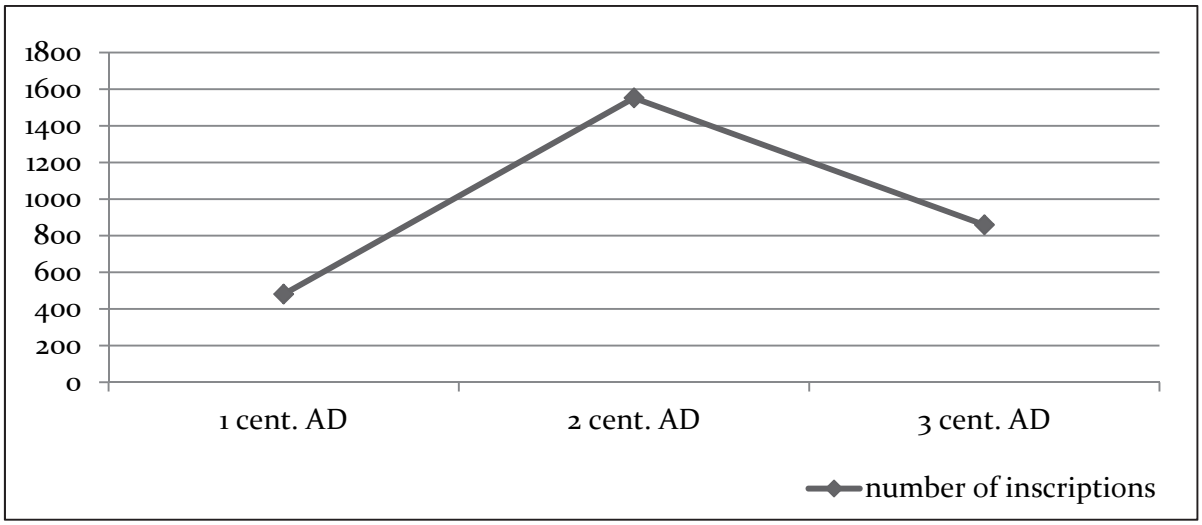

Figure 6.2 Chronological distribution of Latin inscriptions over the centuries[71]

Figure 6.1 shows how the epigraphic evidence of public dining is distributed in the first four centuries AD. The curve shows a slow growth in the number of relevant inscriptions from the early days of the Empire, followed by a sharp increase in the next period. After peaking in the second century, there is a dramatic decline throughout the third century and the graph bottoms out in the fourth century. A similar trend can be observed in the chronological distribution of Latin inscriptions in the first three

[71] The graph is made based on the data from Mrozek (1988), 63; cf. Mrozek (1973), 116.

centuries AD (Figure 6.2). Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that, whereas the number of Latin inscriptions in the second century is about three times larger than that of the first century, epigraphic references to privately sponsored public dining dated to the second century are nearly four times more numerous than attestations in the first century. If we take only those inscriptions that can be precisely dated into consideration, irrespective of the smaller number, a more detailed distribution pattern can be observed, as shown in Figure 6.3.

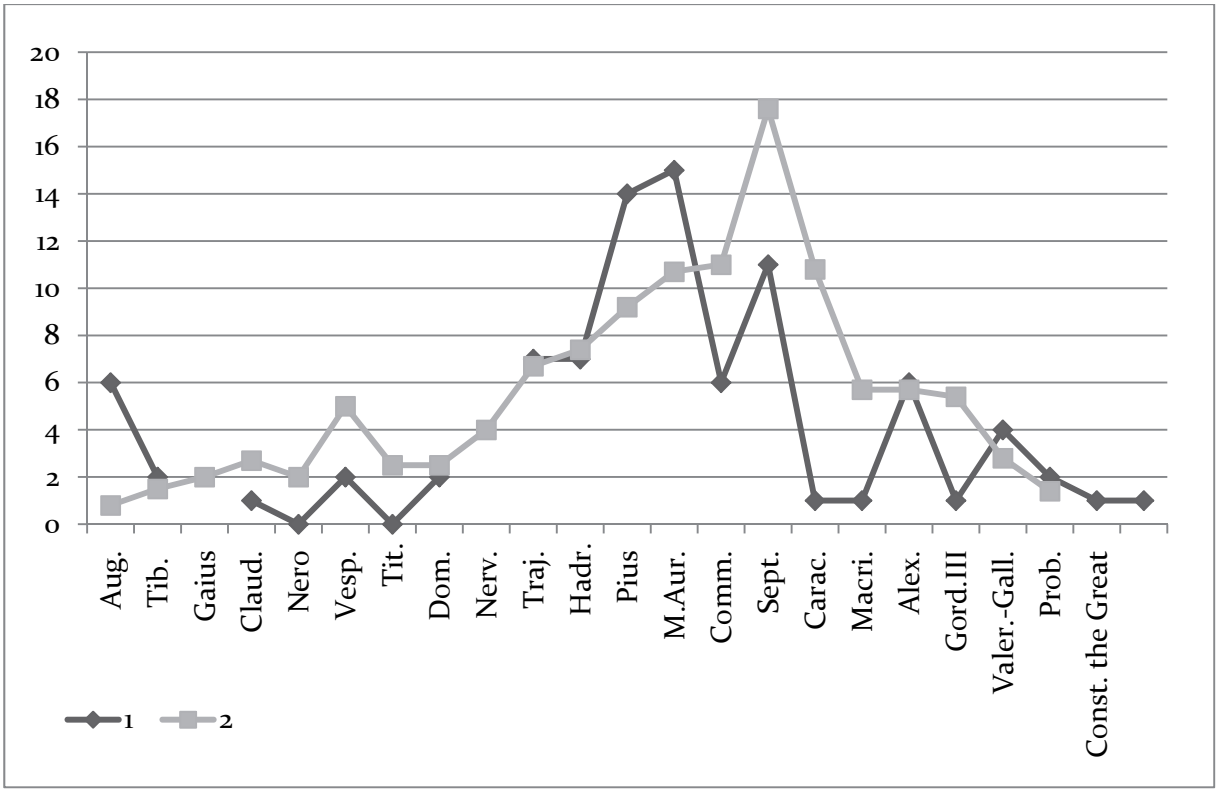

Figure 6.3 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining by emperor's reign and a comparison with the epigraphic habit (1=number of inscriptions of privately sponsored public dining under the reign of the emperor; 2=number of inscriptions per year under the reign of the emperor)[72]

Curve 1 indicates that, during the first century of the Principate, from the Julio-Claudians through the Flavians, the number of relevant inscriptions is small. An increase can be observed from the reign of Trajan and the graph peaks under Marcus Aurelius. After this the number of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public meals decreases but does show an increase under Septimius Severus and another slight increase under Severus Alexander. Curve 2 is an illustration of the epigraphic habit. It is clear that the distribution pattern of privately sponsored public dining is not perfectly consistent with epigraphic habit. It is not surprising to find that most of the

[72] The trendline of the epigraphic habit is based on the data from Mrozek (1973), 114.

relevant inscriptions stem from the second and early third century AD, when the epigraphic output reached its peak. However, it is striking that, although the reign of Septimius Severus witnessed the highest yield of inscriptions, the number of inscriptions documenting privately sponsored public dining did not peak in this period. The number of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public meals peaks under Marcus Aurelius, at which time the total number of inscriptions in general had not yet reached its maximum. Do these findings prove that the chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining is not merely an illustration of the epigraphic habit? Before this question can be answered, the practice of privately sponsored public meals has to be contextualized.

6.3.2 Chronological distribution in Italy and the western provinces: regional differences

Figure 6.4 shows the time distributions of the epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored public dining in various parts of the western half of the Empire. Strikingly each region has its own unique distribution pattern. Nevertheless it is possible to extrapolate a general trend: such dinners did not become popular before the second or third century AD. The evidence from Italy spans the longest period; North Africa and Spain come second and third. A handful of inscriptions from Dalmatia can be dated between the late first century to the third century. The pattern in Spain appears consistent with that of Italy, except that the former is confined to a more limited period. The amount of evidence from North Africa grows in the first two centuries, as it does in Italy. It should be noted that, when the Italian evidence began to decline in the early third century, growth was still maintained in the African provinces. Only in the second half of the third century do we see a downward trend in the number of North African inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dinners.

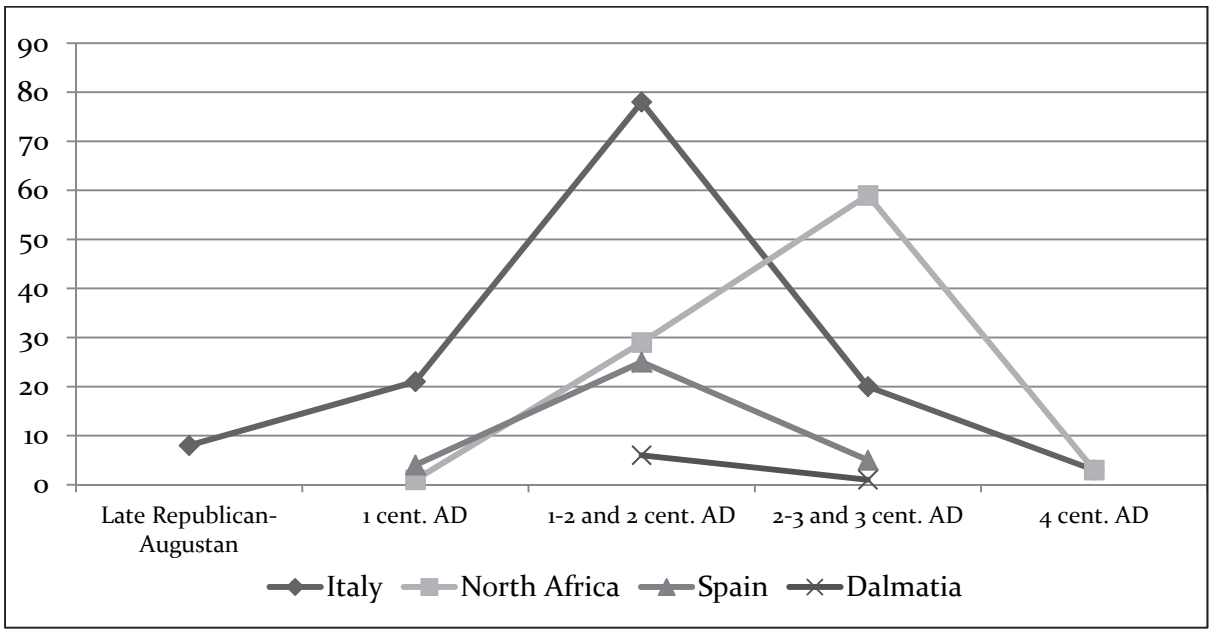

Figure 6.4 Chronological distribution by regions (1)[73]

A bar chart representing the same data shows the same pattern but allows a somewhat more precise analysis (Figure 6.5).

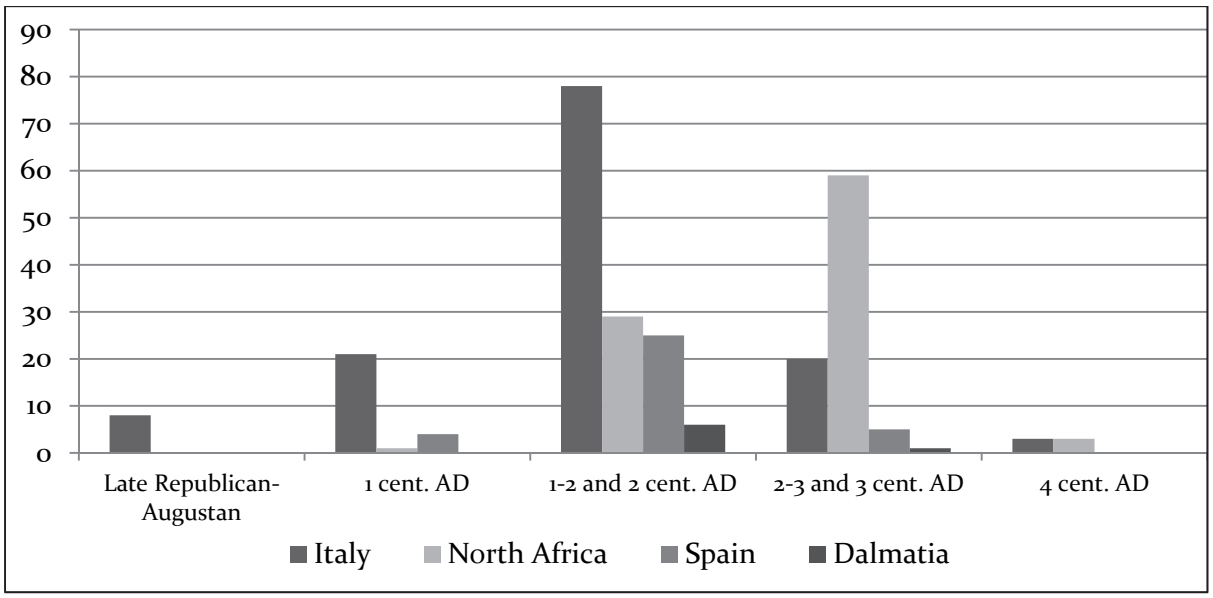

Figure 6.5 Chronological distribution by regions (2)

Both graphs confirm that the practice of privately sponsored communal dining spread first to the Italian Peninsula and only later to the western provinces. As mentioned

[73] This graph shows only the provinces which have yielded relatively ample evidence. Here, North Africa refers to Africa Proconsularis, Numidia and Mauretania Caesariensis; Spain means the whole of Baetica, Lusitania and Tarraconensis. Those provinces with little dated evidence, e.g. Noricum, Sicilia, Gallia Narbonensis and Alpes Maritimae, are not included.

above, P. Lucius Gamala from Ostia is thought to have been the first to have provided public dinners in an Italian city other than Rome.[74] The short distance between Ostia and Rome means that it is unsurprising to find the first municipal inscription recording private munificence in the former city: as Meiggs puts it 'the influence of Rome should be paramount at Ostia'.[75]

From the first century, evidence of privately sponsored public meals begins to appear in various western provinces, and this trend continues in the second and early third century. Throughout the western half of the Empire, the practice appears to have withered in the fourth century with only occasional findings in Italy and North Africa.

6.4 Contextualization of the development and decline of privately sponsored public dining

What historical reality might lie concealed behind the chronological distribution observed above? Why does a great number of inscriptions referring to private munificence expended on public dining come from the second century? Why did the third century see a remarkable decline? Why did the practice appear in Italy earlier than the western provinces and remain popular in Africa for longer than in Italy?

6.4.1 Comparison between different benefactions

Before examining various factors which might be held responsible for long-term trends in the amounts of surviving evidence for privately sponsored public dining, I shall provide a synchronic comparison between *euergetism* in the form of food and the other kinds of benefactions donated by individuals.

The aim of this exercise is to compose a more comprehensive picture of civic munificence in the Western Empire and to show to what extent it is related to epigraphic habit. Moreover, placing the epigraphic evidence of communal dining within the wider context of civic munificence makes it possible to gain some insights into the similarities and differences between the chronological development of a variety of benefactions, thereby helping us to see what was remarkable in the development of food-related benefactions. Two kinds of benefactions have been selected: privately sponsored public buildings and distributions of *sportulae*. The former was a more permanent form of *euergetism* than the provision of public dinners, while the latter is interesting because it is so closely connected to food gifts. A methodological point which should be made beforehand is that the three kinds of benefactions have all been mainly recorded in epigraphic sources and hence could have been affected by the same epigraphic habit. Nevertheless, as will be shown, the

[74] D'Arms (2000a), 197.
[75] Meiggs (1973), 13.

epigraphic evidence of these types of munificence shows somewhat different chronological distribution patterns, which provide some clues for a discussion about historical realities.

A variety of public buildings were paid for by private benefactors.[76] Figure 6.6 shows a comparison of the chronological distribution of privately financed public building on a provincial level (between Africa and other western regions excluding Rome).[77] Although the evidence from non-African areas is not complete, the comparison is sufficient to suggest two different trends: whereas private munificence related to public building in Italy (excluding Rome) and various western provinces experienced a general decline from Trajan onwards, the epigraphic evidence from Africa shows an increase in the period between Trajan and Caracalla.[78] It seems that paying for privately sponsored public buildings remained popular in Africa for longer than it did elsewhere in the West.[79] This observation appears to be consistent with our previous findings: the practice of privately sponsored public dining continued to thrive in Africa during the early third century, whereas it had declined in other regions.

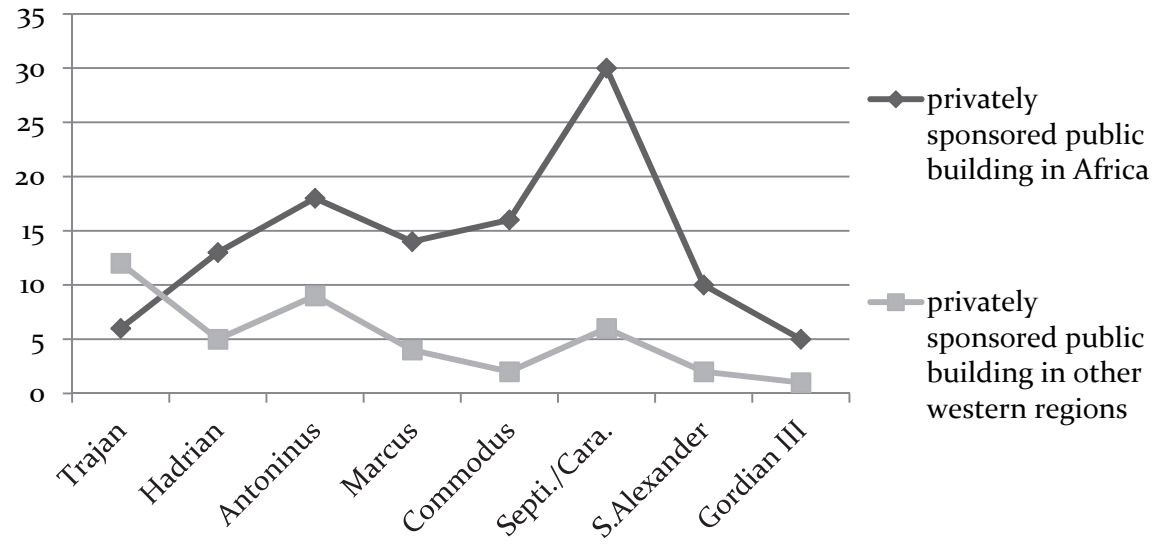

Figure 6.6 Comparison of chronological distribution of privately sponsored public dining between North Africa and other western regions

[76] Lomas (2003), 28-45; Blagg (1990), 13-31; Holleran (2003), 46-60; Horster (2015), 515-536; Jouffroy (1986); Frézouls (1984), 27-54; Duncan-Jones (1982), 90-93, 157-162.
[77] The two sets of data are from Duncan-Jones (1962), 77; cf. Duncan-Jones (1982), 352. Duncan-Jones mentions the collection of evidence in other western provinces is incomplete. Jouffroy (1986) provides a more complete catalogue of public buildings; however, he does not survey buildings paid for by benefactors.
[78] Duncan-Jones (1962), 55.
[79] *Ibid*. 51, indicates that in the later second/early third century civic munificence in Africa continued to flourish, even when we see the beginnings of a decline in other parts of the Empire.

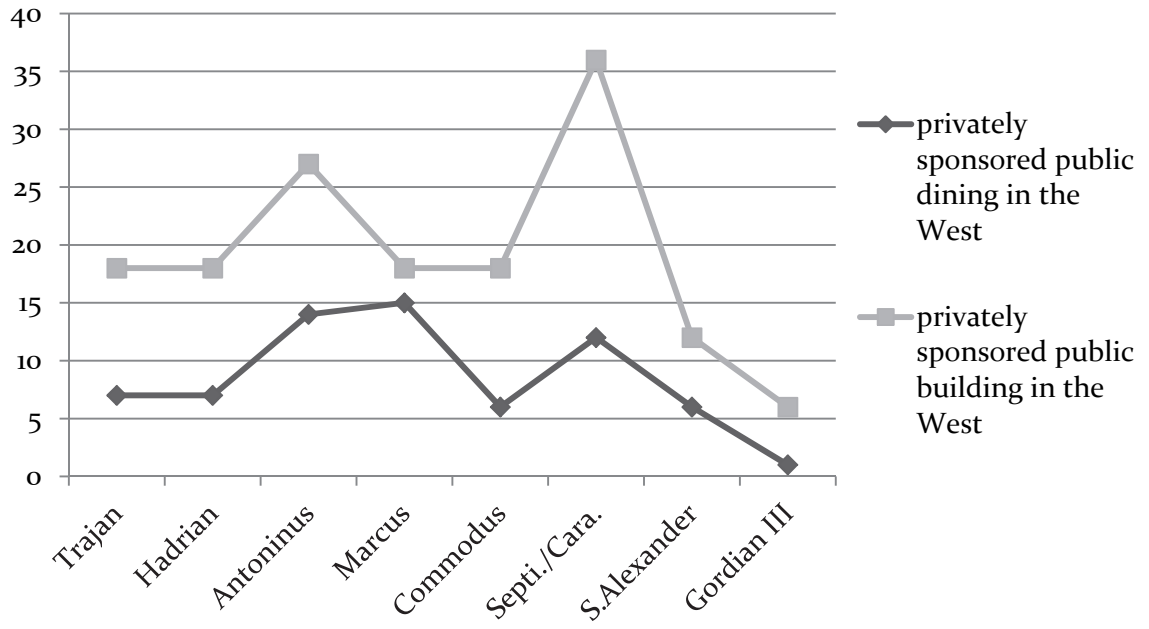

Figure 6.7 Comparison of chronological distribution between privately sponsored public dining and public building in the Roman West

Figure 6.7 shows a comparison between private expenditure on public building and on public dining (as shown above in Figure 6.3). The two curves of the developments through time do display similarities: both of them show an increase in the late first century, a gradual development during the second century and a decline after the early third century. In contrast, the two graphs peak in different periods: while public dining reached its highest level under Marcus Aurelius with a small revival under the Severan emperors, public building did reach a peak under Antoninus Pius but rose even higher under the early Severan emperors. This raises the question of why particular sorts of benefaction were more popular at different times.

Distributions of cash hand-outs (*sportulae*) were similar to privately funded public meals in that both types of benefactions were one-off activities. A comparison (Figure 6.8) between cash hand-outs (of known amounts) and food benefactions in Italy,[80] shows that the most popular period for both kinds of benefactions was the second century (although the sources do indicate that providing food gifts occurred over a longer period of time). Pertinently, the popularity of food-related benefactions peaked under Antoninus Pius whereas *sportulae* under Marcus Aurelius.

[80] The epigraphic evidence of specific sums of money being given as *sportulae* was collected by Duncan-Jones (1982), 188-198 and 353, Table 14. In Duncan-Jones' catalogue of *sportulae* from North Africa, there are only nine items which can be dated to a particular emperor. All these items belong to the period from Antoninus Pius to Gallienus. Because of the smallness of this sample these texts have not been used here.

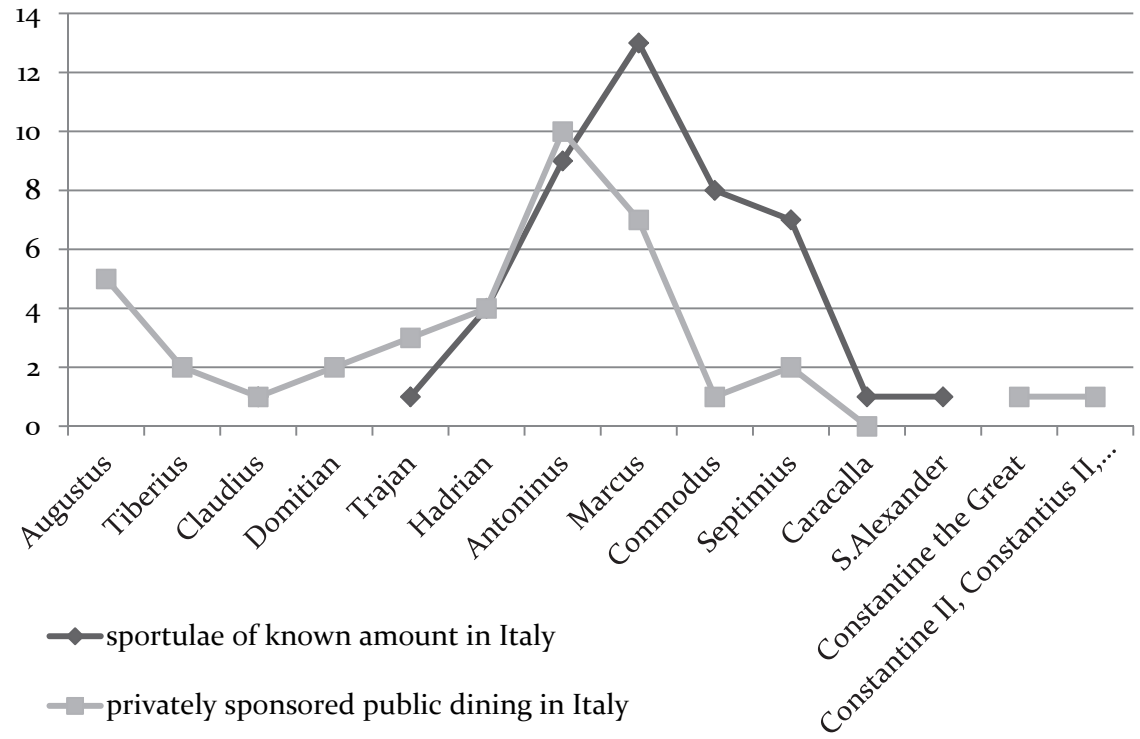

Figure 6.8 Comparison of chronological distribution between distributions of *sportulae* and privately sponsored public dining in Italy

Because the African provinces have yielded few datable inscriptions mentioning *sportulae*, they have been excluded from the graph. However, the datable North African inscriptions also show that *sportulae* were most often distributed between the second and the mid-third century. This once again suggests that private munificence became more popular in Africa in this relatively late period.

A comparison with chronological trends in the Roman East is instructive. In her study of Roman theatre dedications, Sturgeon examines the practice of theatre dedications in the western and eastern halves of the empire. She concludes that most of the theatres were paid for by private donors and should be dated to the second century AD.[81]

In his monograph on *euergetism* in Roman Asia Minor, Zuiderhoek has investigated various types of benefactions. His reconstruction of the chronological developments in civic munificence broadly matches the patterns in the West.[82] His findings indicate that munificence boomed in the second and early third century. Although he recognizes that the amount of surviving evidence must have been influenced by the epigraphic habit, he argues that his findings conform to chronological patterns exhibited by other archaeological findings of the period. As

[81] Sturgeon (2004), 424-425.
[82] Zuiderhoek (2009), 18-19, Figure 1.2 and 1.3; Appendix 3.

erecting inscriptions to record munificence was closely related to the practice of *euergetism* itself, the rise and fall of the number of inscriptions is likely to be indicative of the evolution of this practice.[83]

Although various types of privately sponsored benefactions show a similar general trend during the first three centuries, plenty of interesting features can still be identified: even though the second century saw a number of peaks for different benefactions, these peaks occurred at different points in time for each kind of benefaction and also at different moments in various regions. One-off benefactions – gifts of food and *sportulae* – seem to have reached their peak earlier than privately financed public buildings. Interestingly, the distribution of *sportulae* began later but reached a higher peak than that of public dinners/food hand-outs in Italy. Taking regional differences into account, it appears that the popularity of private munificence was at its highest in Italy at an earlier moment than in Africa. These region-specific patterns suggest that we are looking at historical developments, not just at illusions created by the epigraphic habit.

6.4.2 Economic growth, inequality and munificence

An absolutely essential prerequisite for displaying munificence was the possession of personal wealth. If we accept this truism, we would expect to find a connection between the proliferation of private munificence in the context of public dining (and other kinds of benefaction) and the augmentation of wealth which is known to have occurred among the elite during the High Empire. Numerous studies and debates have been concerned with economic growth and growing economic inequality during imperial times.[84]

There is little doubt that local elites in the communities of the Western Empire grew wealthier. In his study of elite wealth in the Eastern Empire, Zuiderhoek examines the 'big' gifts made during the imperial period and observes that their number peaked in the second century. He also points out a dramatic increase in the number of eastern elite members who could meet the entry requirements for the Roman Senate, the equestrian order and high provincial offices during the second century.[85] All these indicators imply an increase in elite wealth during that period.

[83] Zuiderhoek (2009), 21.

[84] It is generally accepted that the peace restored by Augustus and the subsequent *pax Romana* lay at the basis of economic growth under the Principate, see Garnsey and Saller (2015), 78. Possible causes related to economic growth have been examined: demographic change, urbanization, technology and legal institutions. For a recent overview of the development of Roman economy, see Garnsey and Saller (2015), 88-90. For a good discussion of increasing elite wealth in the first to fourth centuries AD see Hopkins (2002), 207.

[85] Zuiderhoek (2009), 57-59. His data on the senators from the East are based on the collection of Halfmann (1979). For the analysis of recruiting provincials into the Senate, see Hammond (1957), Hopkins (1983), Vol. 2, 184-193 and 200 for the table on origins of known senators.

Similarly, the increase in the number of privately funded public buildings and other 'big' gifts which can be observed in the western half of the Empire in the second century compared to the first and the third century strongly suggests that the elites in the communities of the western half of the Empire also accumulated wealth in this period.

The increase in wealth among the elite would undeniably have enabled benefactions. However, money alone was not enough. There had to be a motivation to generate particular benefactions in practice.[86] As discussed in the previous chapter, differences in regional/local political cultures could account for the different patterns and levels of elite expenditure on public amenities and occasions. However, at least in those parts of the Empire in which local elites were expected to demonstrate their concern for the well-being of their fellow-citizens, the new accumulation of wealth provided new opportunities to engage in benefactions which would be bestowed on local communities. Because benefactors who took good care of their fellow citizens were rewarded with various honours, such munificence helped to affirm the elite's elevated position in local civic community. Public dining in particular was a way to bring the community together and benefit everyone alike. In short, public munificence was an effective way of converting economic capital into social and political capital.

6.4.3 Changes in the political culture

The evolution of private munificence expended on public dining largely depended on developments related to the local elite. Therefore an analysis of developments in the structure of local politics is an aid to understanding the evolutions which took place in public dining.

In his study of the urban aristocracies of the Roman Empire, Peter Garnsey observes that serving in local government was an opportunity 'voluntary and sought-after' during the early empire, but was later made compulsory and widely shunned from the late-third or early fourth century onwards. Writing of the financial pressure related to office-holding in the cities, he points:

> We are faced therefore with something of a paradox. Detailed evidence has been presented which suggests that the expenses of the decurionate were increasing by the first half of the second century AD and that financial distress was not absent from the ranks of decurions. At the same time

[86] Possible ways to dispose of the surplus wealth, as suggested by Duncan-Jones, include wealth accumulation, spending on luxury items, legacies to friends and relations and providing donations for the public and this last choice would pay off. See Duncan-Jones (1963), 161-162.

> inscriptions indicate that voluntary expenditure by local benefactors reached a high point in both quantity and value in the same period.[87]

Garnsey's investigations reveal that the financial burdens attached to the office of local council had increased by the first half of the second century – but this did not cause a decline. In his view, the flourishing of munificent practices in this period can be explained as 'a result of the operation of natural factors such as the growth of wealth and the pressure of competition for office'.[88]

In the long run, however, we do see a decline which can be related to the changing position of local decurions in the administration of the Empire. The strengthening of the centralized imperial power system and the imposition of new financial burdens and heavy responsibilities undermined the power and status of the local councillors.[89] Enticingly, those working in the imperial service were exempt from financial obligations towards the city.[90] In a nutshell, it became less attractive to hold local office and members of the local elite began to seek positions in the imperial administration. This ambition had negative consequences for their role as benefactors, including benefactions related to public dining.

The political context of elite munificence in the second and early third centuries AD

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the popular election of the magistrates and, directly or indirectly, of the councillors, gradually fell into abeyance in the second century AD. Nevertheless, this did not mean that the ideal of the citizen community lost its importance in this period. Even if local assemblies were reduced to a passive role, ideally the local citizen body continued to be perceived as a source of legitimacy for magistrates and town councillors. This helps to explain why private munificence on public buildings and on public meals peaked in the second and early third century. It does not seem unduly speculative to suggest that the gradual devaluation of popular elections prompted members of the elite to look for alternative ways of reaffirming the significance of the citizen body thereby demonstrating their unwavering concern for the well-being of the community as a whole and for all citizens who constituted that community. While shouldering the costs of public buildings was an effective way of demonstrating concern for the civic community as a whole, organizing a public meal

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[87] Garnsey (1998), 14.
[88] Garnsey (1998), 14; on 15 he also indicates that, 'if their decline, and that of the whole order, was slow, this was because economic conditions were relatively favourable and the political situation stable in the Antonine period.'
[89] Ward-Perkins (1998), 375-376.
[90] Millar (1986), 306-307, argues that local wealth was not taken by the central government, 'but the cities were unable to tap it for their communal needs' because of the immunity rules.

for all people having local citizenship rights was an excellent way of symbolically underlining the enduring importance of membership of the local civic community.

Another important development which took place during the first-to-third century AD was a gradual differentiation within town councils. Of course, there had always been significant distinctions in wealth among members of local town councils. A very good example is the literary and epigraphic references to the 'first ten councillors' (*decemprimi*) in various Italian and Sicilian cities. These references begin to appear as early as the late-republican period. From the second half of the first century AD, we begin to find references to 'the first ten' (*dekaprotoi*) or 'the first twenty' (*eikosaprotoi*) in the eastern half of the empire. It has been plausibly suggested that such groups were the forerunners of 'the first members of the town council' (*principales*) whom we meet as a privileged group in Late Antiquity.[91]

In his book on Late Antiquity, Peter Brown puts forward the suggestion that, in the age of the Antonines, although the elite competed with their peers, they also adhered to a 'model of parity' thereby avoiding unnecessary tensions among themselves.[92] Organizing a public meal for *decuriones* was an effective way of advertising social superiority without jeopardizing elite solidarity.

It appears that strong incentives for munificence could only make sense in 'an age of equipoise'.[93] As long as local citizen communities remained the principal social settings in which honour and legitimacy could be won, local elites continued express social superiority and allegiance to civic values through civic munificence. The decline in municipal munificence was the outcome of a transformation in political cultures, both at the imperial centre and on the local level.

Oligarchization and female benefactors

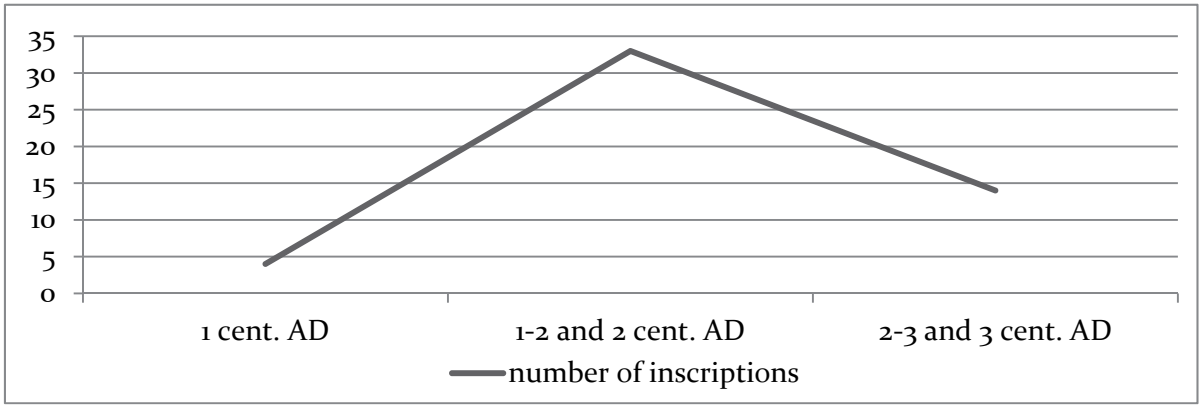

Figure 6.9 Chronological distribution of inscriptions referring to benefactresses of public dining

[91] De Ste Croix (1981), 471.
[92] Brown (1978), 34-38.
[93] *Ibid*. 34.

The epigraphic evidence of female benefactors providing public meals also reached its peak during the second century (Figure 6.9). What is the explanation behind the development of female munificence in the second century? It is possible that elite women aqcuired greater fortunes in this era of economic growth and increasing social inequality. However, wealth alone is not enough to explain the increase in benefactions provided by women.[94]

In her study of women's civic activities in the Greek East, Van Bremen points out that female participation in civic life was an outcome of multiple factors, including 'family tradition, the preservation of status, political ambitions and ideological developments'.[95] She argues that civic ideology played a big role in the Hellenistic period: citizenship and civic duty underlay the behaviour of individual citizens and this included women. From the late Hellenistic period onwards, when local societies became more oligarchical, prominent women began to be presented as members of the elite families, and this trend continued during the first centuries of the Principate.[96] Throughout this period, elite women were allowed, even expected, to spend money on civic *euergetism*. They sometimes did so in conjunction with their husbands or sons, but Van Bremen also gives examples of female benefactors acting independently. Similarly, Hemelrijk observes that female munificence in the cities of Italy and the western provinces was often conducted independently of male relatives.[97]

As society became more oligarchical, we see a rise in both male and female munificence. For both sexes we see a peak in the second century. As did their male counterparts female benefactors were demonstrating elite allegiance to core civic values, but they were also sending out another message: in the increasingly oligarchical communities of the second and early third century AD local politics was becoming a family affair.

Regional differences

General trends aside, private munificence on public dining did not develop at the same pace in each region. The earliest evidence comes from mainland Italy in the late Republican period and the early days of the Principate. The evidence from the western provinces is found in the first three centuries AD. As has been noted, the practice seems to have flourished in North Africa longer than it did in Italy.[98] Duncan-Jones states that African inscriptions which can be dated to the reigns of particular emperors,

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[94] See Van Bremen (1996), 202-236, who questions the extent to which women could dispose of their wealth.

[95] *Ibid*. 299. MacMullen (1980), 209, remarks that election of priestesses was related to economic power, social connections, family background and even personal qualities.

[96] Van Bremen (1996), 300-301.

[97] Hemelrijk (2015), 178-179.

[98] For a chronological distribution of other benefactions in Africa and Italy, see Duncan-Jones (1982), 350-357.

are heavily concentrated in the second and early third century.[99] His statistics also show that North Africa has far more buildings which can be dated by emperor than Italy and that the erection of public buildings in the African provinces peaked under Septimius Severus.[100] Since public dinners were often an integral part of the dedication of buildings, this building boom helps to explain why inscriptions referring to privately sponsored dinners also peak in the early third century. More generally, the combined archaeological and epigraphic evidence suggests that, compared to other parts of the Empire, North Africa had an unusually vibrant civic life under the Severan dynasty.[101]

This hypothesis is corroborated by looking at changes in the composition of the Roman Senate. The first time at which provincials accounted for a larger portion of senators (57 percent) than Italians (43 percent) was during the reign of Septimius Severus. Moreover, commencing in the reign of Antoninus Pius the number of senators from Africa had begun to surpass the number from the other western provinces. From the late second century to the third century, African senators were a dominant factor in the Senate.[102] As does the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from North Africa, this trend suggests wealth and prosperity flourished among the African elites in the second and third centuries.

6.4.4 Social and political changes in the later Empire

From the mid-third century to the fourth century – coping with financial pressure arising from unrest – the imperial authorities exercised more control over the local administration and established a more centralized government supported by an expanded imperial bureaucracy. One outcome of these changes was that there was more imperial intervention in local affairs, a situation which made assuming local office less attractive. The increased burdens and responsibilities imposed on the local councillors produced a growing disinterest in holding local offices among the elites. Their attempts to secure exemption from financial obligations by seeking a position in the imperial bureaucracy, mentioned earlier in this chapter, exacerbated the deterioration of local councils. This whole chain of events had a negative effect on the number of local benefactors, including those who would pay for public dining.

As Peter Brown has noted long ago, it is too simple to see the imperial court, the imperial administration and the army of the third century as 'forces that came to impinge from the outside on the life of the traditional urban classes'. He points out that, 'the style of urban life, the life of the upper classes of the Roman world did not collapse under pressure outside: it exploded'.[103] Instead of collapsing under the weight

[99] *Ibid*. 351.
[100] *Ibid*. 352.
[101] Lassère (1977).
[102] Hammond (1957), 77-81; for a table showing the comparison, see Hopkins (1983), Vol. 2, 200.
[103] Brown (1978), 45.

of external pressures, many prominent members of local elites took advantage of the new career opportunities offered by the expanding imperial administration.[104]

However, even if new career opportunities for municipal aristocrats were an important part of the picture, indisputably the second half of the third century witnessed the breakdown of those mechanisms by which members of the local elites had once channelled their ambitions in their own cities. Part of the reason for this change of heart was that those who managed to obtain lucrative positions in the growing bureaucracy began to identify their status and power with the positions they enjoyed in the imperial government.[105]

This shift in perception meant that the old 'give-and-give-in-return' model of power and benefactions lost much of its attraction. Powerful members of local elites could now be granted official powers by the emperor and derive their prestige from their new positions. The upshot was that both the recognition of local communities and local peer competition were drained of most of their previous importance.

Leaving aside these political and social developments, the rise of Christianity might have contributed to the decline in specific types of munificence, among them the provision of public meals at private expense.[106] It is possible to suggest, for instance, that the use of privately sponsored pubic meals as a way of affirming the continuing importance of membership of local communities lost much its original attraction in an age in which Christians began to feed poor town-dwellers from religiously inspired charitable motives rather than because they were in pursuit of public statues or other rewards so important to the political culture of the first to early third centuries AD.

6.5 Chronological distribution pattern of privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and *Augustales*

Collegial banquets were familiar features of daily life during the Republic, as the first section above and the following remark from Varro demonstrate: *collegiorum cenae, quae nunc innumerabiles excandefaciunt annonam macelli*.[107] A votive inscription set up by the Faliscans who settled in Sardinia also offers evidence of collegial banqueting in the republican period.[108] However, in view of the fact that only a small amount of inscriptional evidence contains information about private munificence expended on

[104] Cf. Melchor Gil (1994), 77-81; Melchor Gil (1994), 212, 'La decadencia y desaparición del evergetismo debe relacionarse con una serie de cambios operados en la estructura del Imperio y en la mentalidad de sus élites.'
[105] Brown (1978), 48.
[106] For a discussion of the decline in civic munificence, see Zuiderhoek (2009), 154-157.
[107] Varro, *Rust*. 3.2.16.
[108] *CIL* XI, 3078 = *CIL* XI, 7483 = *CIL* I, 364 = *ILS* 3083 = *ILLRP* 192. The date of this inscription is suggested to be around the 2nd century BC, see Dyson and Rowland (2007), 139; Bakkum (2009), 499, indicates it 'can be dated to the second half or even the last quarter of the second century'.

collegial dining, any attempt to reconstruct the chronological distribution of this practice can be no more than tentative. This observation is also valid for the period of the Empire. Keeping this in mind, it is possible to make some cautious observations about chronological developments.

The pattern (Figure 6.10) presented by the datable inscriptions closely resembles the chronological pattern of public dining: the number of epigraphic references increases between the first century and the second century and declines from the third century and thereafter. However, when the inscriptions referring to collegial meals are arranged according to the reigns of individual emperors (implying a further reduction in the amount of data), some differences in the chronological distributions of epigraphic references to privately sponsored public dining and privately funded collegial meals can be observed.

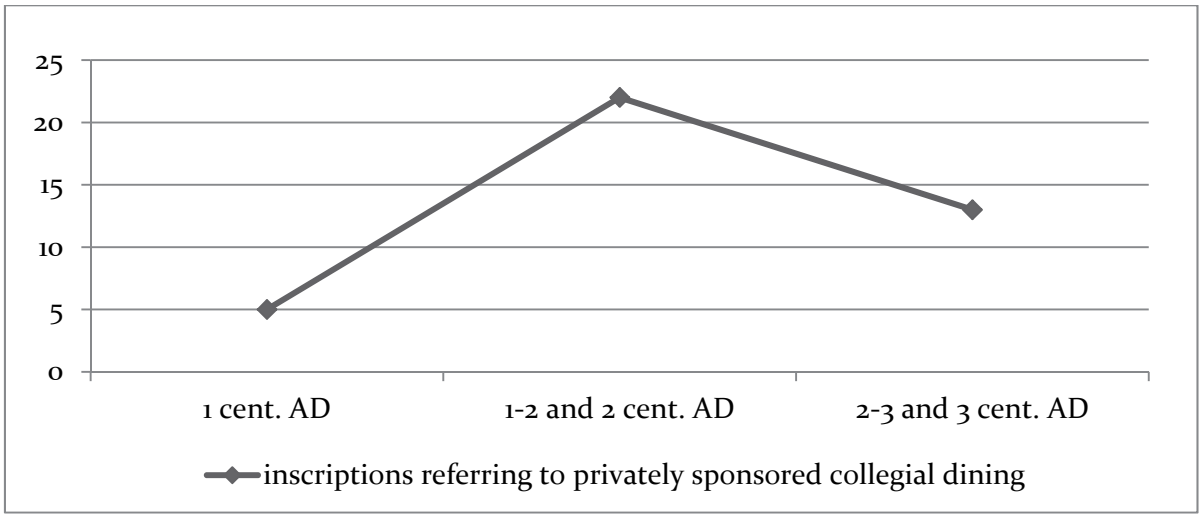

Figure 6.10 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining over the centuries

As the sample is so small, it is impossible to argue that the evidence offers a true reflection of the historical evolution of privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and the *Augustales*, but general trends can be extrapolated. As can be seen in Figure 6.11, the small amount of surviving evidence relating to privately sponsored collegial dining is concentrated in a short period, the majority dating to the period between Nerva and Marcus Aurelius.

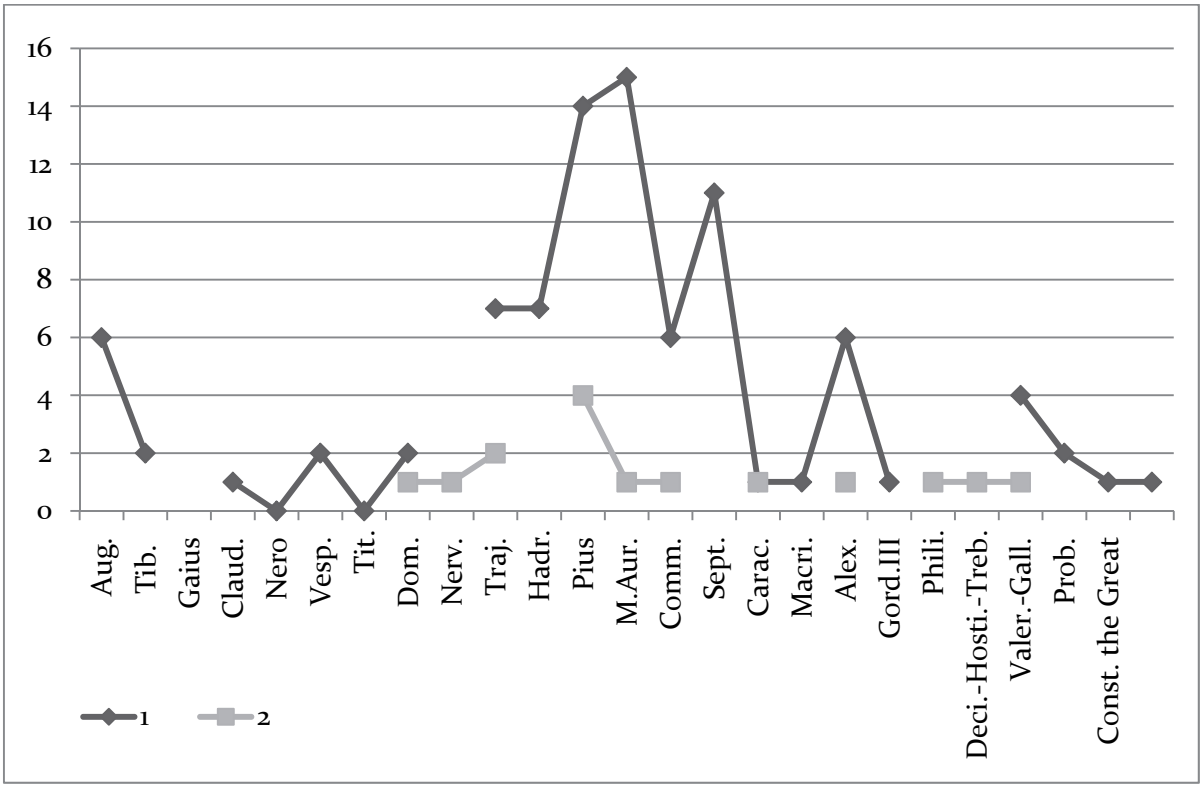

Figure 6.11 Chronological distribution of privately sponsored collegial dining by emperor's reign and a comparison with that of private munificence on public dining[109]

It seems reasonable to assume that the factors which influenced public dining, discussed above, also affected collegial dining, but below I shall focus on a number of aspects specifically related to the *collegia* and *Augustales*.

6.6 Contextualization of privately sponsored collegial dining

The way in which privately sponsored collegial dining developed should be seen as closely related to historical developments regarding these associations. What attitudes did the authorities adopt towards them? Why did *collegia* and the *Augustales* receive food-related benefactions from private munificence in certain periods? To what extent did the practice of privately sponsored public dining influence private munificence towards associations?

6.6.1 Chronological developments

Collegia in the Roman Republic

[109] 1=number of inscriptions concerning private munificence on public dining under the reign of the emperor; 2= number of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored collegial dining under the reign of the emperor.

Although the *collegia* certainly had a long history in Roman society, it is very difficult to obtain a clear picture of their origins. Some classical texts date the origins of some *collegia* to the regal period: their connection with King Numa can be found in the narratives of Plutarch and Pliny the Elder, while Florus proposes another candidate – King Servius Tullius.[110] It is impossible to verify the reliability of these stories and, as Gabba suggests, these stories were created in a period in which steps were being taken to abolish *collegia*, indicating that they should be seen as attempts to bolster the legitimacy of private associations with pseudo-historical arguments.[111] To judge from a provision contained in the Law of the Twelve Tables, *collegia* enjoyed a great deal of autonomy in the early days of the Republic.[112] The Senate's decision to repress the Bacchic clubs in 186 BC indicates that, in this period, the authorities did have certain kinds of *collegia* in their sights, but there is nothing to suggest that all private associations were seen as disruptive.[113] This leniency changed in the final decades of the Republic, a time at which the *collegia* were becoming embroiled in political struggles.[114] This development prompted the government to adopt a more restrictive policy, as exemplified by the *Senatus consultum de collegiis* of 64 BC and the *Lex Iulia de collegiis*.[115] Julius Caesar ordered the dissolution of all *collegia* with the exception of those of ancient origin.[116]

In Italy and the western provinces it has been suggested that the oldest *collegia* were of the 'Campanian-Delian' type which were known to have been flourishing in Campania and on Delos in the late second and early first century BC. A few comparable *collegia* emerged in the Iberian Peninsula and Gallia Narbonensis around the same time.[117]

Collegia under the Principate

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[110] Plut. *Num*. 17.2-3; Pliny the Elder, *HN* 34.1, 35.159; Flor. 1.6.3.
[111] Gabba (1984), 85.
[112] *Dig.* 47.22.4: the members of the same association had the right to make any agreement they had wished provided that they did nothing in violation of the public law and it may have been taken from the enactment of Solon. De Robertis (1971), 41-55. Examining the freedom of *collegia* during the Republic, Linderski compares two different views and supports that the development of the *collegia* was not suppressed until the last century of the Republic, see Linderski (2013), 203.
[113] For the Bacchanalian affair, see North (1979), 85-103; Gruen (1990), 34-78. This action did not seem to have an adverse impact on other *collegia*, see Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 97. For the attested republican associations, see Liu (2013), 353.
[114] Taylor (1949), 44; Taylor (1948), 327-330.
[115] For the abolition of *collegia* by the Roman Senate in 64 BC, see Asconius, *Pis*. 8. Linderski (2013), 204-210, discusses the legislation concerning the *collegia* in 64 BC. For the *Lex Iulia*, see *CIL* VI, 2193. For the legislation on *collegia* in the Roman Republic, see Liebenam (1890), 16-29; Waltzing (1895-1900), Vol. 1, 78-113.
[116] Suet. *Iul*. 42.3.
[117] Verboven (2012) 23-24.

Adhering closely to Caesar's policies, Augustus ordered the dissolution of *collegia* with the exception of those which could be classified as '*antiqua et legitima*'.[118] In this period, usefulness to the state (*utilitas civitatis*) seems to have become a criterion for granting approval to *collegia*. Linderski says that this criterion was introduced by the *lex Iulia de collegiis*, but Cotter suggests that the credit should go to Augustus.[119] On the basis of the laws passed against *collegia* in the late Republic and the early days under Augustus, Richardson argues that 'in times of factionalism and strife *collegia* tended to be permitted, but in times when reconstruction and consolidation were important, *collegia* were restricted.'[120]

This observation also seems to apply to the period after Augustus. Whether on imperial, provincial or municipal level, imperial wariness and vigilance of *collegia* can be detected in literary sources, municipal statutes and official correspondence with the emperor. According to Cassius Dio, Claudius dissolved those *collegia* which had been re-introduced by Caligula.[121] Tacitus tells us that, under Nero, the illegal *collegia* of Pompeii were dissolved after violence had broken out at a gladiatorial show.[122] During the reign of Domitian, a municipal charter from Spain, the *Lex Irnitana*, stipulated that illegal gatherings or illicit meetings held by *collegia* were placed under a total ban.[123] Furthermore, the correspondence between Trajan and Pliny the Younger clearly demonstrates the emperor's vigilance against any disturbances which could potentially be caused by *collegia*.[124] In one of his letters, the emperor commented that, 'Whatever title we give them and whatever our object in bestowing it, men who are banded together for a common end will all the same become a political association before long'.[125]

In spite of the rigorous scrutiny imposed on them by the authorities, no absolute and complete ban was imposed on *collegia*. In fact, various groups obtained permission to form *collegia*.[126] In chronological terms, inscriptions referring to c*ollegia* are not well attested in Italy until the late first century; more evidence was generated during the

[118] Suet. *Aug*. 32.1. For an understanding of *antiqua* and *legitima*, see Liu (2009), 100-101; cf. De Ligt (2000), 244: 'The ancient ones that had been exempted by Caesar and those that had been newly established in accordance with the *lex Iulia*.'
[119] See Linderski (2013), 209; Cotter (1996), 78. Liu suggests that, 'it does not necessarily imply that the association had to assume specific duties assigned by the state or the city', see Liu (2013), 354-355.
[120] Richardson (1996), 93.
[121] Cass. Dio 60.6.6.
[122] Tac. *Ann.* 14.17.
[123] *AE* 1986, 333, *rubrica* 74. For translation and commentary of the law, see González and Crawford (1986).
[124] Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 10.33, 10.34.
[125] *Ibid*. 10.34.
[126] De Ligt (2000), 246-247; Verboven (2016), 186. For a list of *collegia* which were granted imperial or senatorial authorization, see Liu (2009), 105.

second and early third century.[127] In total there are forty datable inscriptions referring to privately sponsored dining for the *collegia* and *Augustales* together (36 of which were found in Italy).

As conjectured by Verboven, the near-universal absence of *collegia* in the epigraphic record of the Julio-Claudian period might be an indication that the associations were neither very affluent nor very prominent in this period. Alternatively, their awareness of the distrust in which they were held by the elite might have dissuaded associations from advertising their activities too widely. With these ideas in mind, Verboven argues that *collegia* began to acquire prominence in the Roman cities during the Flavian period and peaked in the Antonine period.[128] If this view is accepted, the higher number of epigraphic references to *collegia* in the mid-second century AD is more than just a mirror of the epigraphic habit, it also points to a real trend. In similar vein, Patterson has suggested that *collegia* became 'increasingly respectable' during the second century AD.[129]

References to privately sponsored collegial dining begin to appear in the late first century. In the second century the importance of *collegia* in the civic communities was recognized, prompting non-members to pay the *collegiati* attention. Bearing this assertion out, most of the inscriptions referring to the participation of *collegia* in public dinners also date from the second or third centuries AD.[130] Even if the amount of evidence is limited, it seems unlikely that it is merely a coincidence that the inclusion of *collegia* as participants in privately funded public dinners happened to reach a zenith in the period in which privately sponsored collegial dining became more visible. One possible explanation is that the participation of associations in public dinners inspired *collegiati* to emulate this practice within their own organizations.

The Augustales under the Empire

Evidence of privately sponsored dining targeting *Augustales* only is found exclusively in Italy and is concentrated in the late first century and the second century AD.[131]

Scholars have examined the use of various titles related to the *Augustales* chronologically.[132] Leaving this discussion and that of the (re)organization of the *Augustales* under different reigns aside, we are left with the question of how the chronological distribution of the evidence of privately funded meals to which only *Augustales* were invited can be accounted for. There are only eight datable inscriptions

[127] Patterson (1994), 236; Liu (2008b).
[128] Verboven (2016), 193.
[129] Patterson (1994), 236.
[130] Second or third century: *CIL* IX, 3842; *AE* 2000, 533; *CIL* X, 451; *CIL* V, 7905; second century: *CIL* X, 5796; *CIL* IX, 2553; *AE* 1954, 154; *CIL* XII, 5905; late first century: *CIL* XII, 697; late first to third century: *CIL* V, 7920.
[131] For *Augustales* taking part in public dinners with other civic groups, see Chapter 3.
[132] Taylor (1914); Mouritsen (2006), 247-248.

reporting eleven benefactors providing food gifts for the *Augustales*, and nine of the benefactors mentioned in these inscriptions were actual members of this group.[133] Although this sample is extremely small, the most plausible explanation of this generosity is that these benefactors were following the example of prominent decurions who organized public meals for other members of the town council. If this view is accepted, it is perhaps no coincidence that both types of communal dining peaked in the same period.

6.6.2 Concluding observations

The inscriptional evidence relating to collegial dining is found over a shorter period of time than the epigraphic evidence of privately sponsored public dining. In the interpretation of this pattern, the gradual loosening of legal restrictions on *collegia* and the increasingly important role of associations as widely recognized building blocks of local communities have been important considerations. From the time of Caesar onwards, the government probably never allowed *collegia* to develop without proper supervision. Although this scrutiny will have hampered collegial activities, the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that some (legal) *collegia* did still benefit from private munificence to pay for their commensality, especially in the second century AD.

It is a plausible assumption that the increasing prominence of *collegia* drew the attention of potential external benefactors who not only regarded *collegiati* as deserving recipients of privately funded public dinners but also bestowed exclusive benefactions on these associations. In the case of the *Augustales*, the very limited amount of evidence allows no more than the inference that prominent members of these associations followed the example set by members of the local town council in organizing dinners for *Augustales* only.

Taking of the relatively large number of inscriptions from Italy into consideration, it might be suggested that the practice of privately funded collegial dining was influenced by the specific political culture(s) which existed in Italy. Compared to the situation in other regions, it seems that these associations played a relatively prominent role in the civic communities of this particular part of the empire. The fact that a significant number of Italian benefactors had begun to invite *collegiati* and the *Augustales* to privately sponsored public dinners signals the social recognition of these groups as constituent elements of civic communities. Their enhanced civic and political status implied by this development might have prompted external benefactors to bestow their favour on *collegiati* or *Augustales* as the only recipients of benefactions and also have encouraged the internal members of the associations to emulate the benefactions of civic elites on a smaller scale.

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[133] *AE* 1993, 474; *AE* 193, 472(father and two sons); *AE* 2000, 344 (a couple); *CIL* V, 5809; *AE* 1993, 479; *CIL* X, 1880; *AE* 1993, 477; *CIL* IX, 4691.

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter has investigated the developments and changes in private munificence expended on public and collegial dining over time. The practice of privately sponsored public dining emerged in the republican period and grew in popularity under the Empire. While the emperor monopolized food-related benefactions in the city of Rome, local benefactors played a big role in benefiting the communities in Italy and the western provinces.

The core issue put forward at the very beginning of this chapter is: To what extent did chronological distribution of private munificence on public dining reflect the evolution of this practice? When the evidence is arranged on a century-by-century basis, the chronological distribution of inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dinners closely mirrors the epigraphic habit but when the dateable inscriptions are grouped by emperors some interesting differences do come to light. More differences are also revealed when a comparison is made between privately funded food benefactions and other types of private munificence. These discrepancies suggest that the chronological distribution of the evidence of privately sponsored public dinners cannot be entirely attributed to the epigraphic habit.

It would seem that the increase in the number of references to privately funded public meals in the first two centuries AD was likely to have been the outcome of socio-political developments. In part because the voting rights of local assemblies were beginning to fall in abeyance, local elites started looking for alternative ways of affirming their allegiance to core civic values, such as the importance of local citizenship rights and the expectation that members of the political and social elite would take care of their less well-off fellow-citizens. There are also indications that local elites were becoming increasingly differentiated in terms of their wealth. This helps to explain the appearance of privately funded public dinners for decurions, which can be seen as an effective way of simultaneously expressing the social superiority of the benefactor and his (or her) allegiance to the principle of elite solidarity.

In the later Empire, although the expansion of the imperial bureaucracy increased financial pressure on local communities, it also created new career opportunities for enterprising (and wealthy) members of local elites. The decay of privately sponsored public dining and other types of munificence can be explained as a reflection of a gradual loosening of ties between the wealthiest members of the municipal aristocracy and the communities from which they originated.

Privately sponsored dining for *collegia* and *Augustales* is sparsely attested. The most of the few surviving sources are concentrated in the second century, with sporadic attestations in the late first and the third centuries. Despite the government's cautious attitude towards *collegia*, the evidence relating to privately sponsored dinners

organized for *collegiati* confirms that private associations acquired greater social prominence in the second century AD, particularly in Italy. This is an indication of the development of a regional political culture in which associations were regarded as important building blocks of local society.

Conclusion

Roman dining activities which took place in a public or a collegial context have been paid increasing attention over the past decades. Few efforts, however, have been made to present particularities of public feasts or collegial meals sponsored by private munificence in various parts of the Empire. Despite the importance of previous studies such as those by Donahue, Mrozek and Melchor Gil, they have still not explained why privately sponsored communal dining appears to have been a popular form of *euergetism* in certain parts of the empire. They have also paid little attention to the differences in the chronological distribution in these areas. One of the aims of this book has been to explain why the practice of privately sponsored communal dining gained popularity in Italy, Spain and North Africa, particulary in the second and early third century AD, but not in other parts of the western half of the Roman Empire.

One of the factors which has hindered a comprehensive understanding of the motivations behind providing food-related benefactions has been that the relationship between benefactors and beneficiaries has not been investigated in sufficient depth. Although the variety in the identities of the benefactors has been remarked on by most historians, if we want to identify how benefactors were connected with the targeted communities, a distinction between local benefactors and those originating from outside the community is a prerequisite. In Chapter 2, I have calculated the share of local benefactors and used this to identify the major group of them who footed the bill for food-related benefactions bestowed on communities or specific groups within these communities. Even though the information in our sources does not allow a complete reconstruction of the identities of all benefactors, it has been made clear that the members of local elite families accounted for the vast majority of benefactors who shouldered the costs of public dinners.

Although the occasions on which public feasts were provided by private benefactors have been mentioned in previous literature, so far no in-depth analysis of the circumstances in which such donations were made has been attempted. A detailed examination of the epigraphic evidence reveals subtle differences between office-related, responsive, voluntary and testamentary food gifts. The concerns which prompted benefactors to bestow their generosity in the form of public meals varied from occasion to occasion. Pertinently, it is impossible to pinpoint the underlying reasons behind the persistence of privately sponsored public dining across three

centuries without looking at developments and changes in the social and political life in the cities of early-imperial Italy and the western provinces.

The vast majority of office-related food benefactions were lavished on people who had local citizenship rights. Viewed from the political angle, this can be seen as an outcome of the development of oligarchical political life in the cities. Even though the role of local assemblies in popular elections was gradually eroded and local elite families monopolized the highest offices, the ideal persisted that the local citizen body was still the source of political legitimacy and provided the context in which political and social prominence could be achieved. Along with the devaluation of local elections (and their eventual disappearance), public feasts or food distributions provided by the local elite when they were elected to magistracies, entering or holding such offices became a highly effective way of affirming the continuing importance of membership of the citizen body and of legitimizing their political and social dominance in the eyes of non-elite citizens.

The presence of responsive benefactions demonstrates the existence of a reciprocal relationship between a prominent citizen and the community. When the circumstances required it, honorees were expected to reciprocate the bestowal of a public honour and, in practice, any further food-related benefactions which primarily targeted the decurions, or the entire citizen body or both helped to continue to maintain the benefactor's elevated position in the communities.

Previous studies have related the motives behind munificence on food gifts to elite peer competition, the perpetuation of civic memories or attempts to strengthen the existing social order. Importantly, when these voluntary food benefactions were bestowed, they could be in the form of celebrations of the benefactor's birthday or important family anniversaries and a marking of the dedication of statues for family members. This finding indicates that, in an increasingly oligarchical society, the boundary between the public and private life of prominent citizens was becoming blurred.

If we take the recipients of such munificence into account, it is evident that the vast majority of voluntary food benefactions still targeted people with local citizenship rights or decurions or both. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that voluntary benefactions were as much 'political' as 'office-related' food gifts. By transforming personal birthdays and important family events into public occasions, the local elite expressed the idea that the community was being governed, and ought to be governed, by a small group of elite families whose biological continuity and prosperity were a matter of public concern. However, although the political aspects of voluntary food gifts are undeniable, a significant minority of other civic groups such as *Augustales*, women and children also received voluntary food benefactions, indicating that voluntary benefactions ought to be distinguished from office-related gifts.

An examination of testamentary benefactions also reveals that the entire citizen body and decurions remained the favoured target groups of beneficiaries. While the posthumous arrangement of food-related benefactions could help to affirm the deceased's elevated position in the community after death, additional food gifts provided by heirs and other people when they fulfilled the provisions laid down in a will can be seen as a way of claiming or broadcasting political and social prominence in the community by making a display of generosity.

Like male benefactors, a big proportion of female benefactors also belonged to local elite families. Their acts of munificence, either on their own or as co-donors, demonstrate that in an increasingly oligarchical society local politics was becoming a family affair. Female members were allowed, or even expected, to advertise the superiority of elite families and contribute to perpetuating and legitimizing collective elite rule. It is also noteworthy that a significant minority of women were targeted as recipients of community-wide meals. This can be seen as a recognition of the importance of women in perpetuating the elite families and the local citizen community.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, not all of different groups of community residents would invariably participate in public feasts at the same time. The binary distinction between decurions and the citizen body is a prominent feature between the recipients of all kinds of food benefactions. While affirming the continuing importance of citizen communities, particularly town-dwelling citizens, wealthy citizens also did not hesitate to put great efforts into highlighting their rightful place among the local elite by targeting the decurions exclusively. Meanwhile, other status groups, including *Augustales*, *collegia*, women, children and resident non-citizens, also began to be included as recipients of civic munificence. This change can be seen as catering to the demands of the local elite for a large audience to achieve public recognition and advertise their superior status. These observations indicate that a hierarchical yet inclusive community came into being.

While social distinctions between decurions and ordinary citizens, or between decurions, *Augustales* and *populus*, can be detected in the reception of food benefactions, the bulk of epigraphic references to privately sponsored food benefactions do not strongly demonstrate hierarchical arrangements between various groups. This observation also applies to the arrangements between men and women. As I have argued, bestowing food-related benefactions was an excellent way of underscoring the importance of membership of the civic community. However, although food gifts were rarely used to underline social distinctions, there is ample evidence of cash distributions (*sportulae*) being used to signal hierarchical relationships within communities.

Most scholars have observed that the epigraphic record referring to privately sponsored public dinners is concentrated in Italy, Spain and North Africa. However,

the concentration of epigraphic references to this practice in Italy, Baetica and Africa Proconsularis raises the question of why this form of *euergetism* was fairly highly developed in these regions but failed to take a real hold in other parts of the Western Empire? As we have seen in Chapter 5, private munificence took many different forms. Region-specific preferences for particular euergetic practices would seem to have reflected the existence of a variety of regional political cultures. Although private expenditure on sacred or public buildings is attested in the north-western provinces, it appears that many of these edifices were not erected for the purpose of benefiting the civic communities as whole. In these parts of the Empire, the firmly entrenched position of a small oligarchy seems to have obviated much of the need to provide benefactions for legitimizing elite rule and affirming core civic values.

In contrast, a distinct political culture held sway in the communities of Italy and within its context local elites competed for prestige and honour, striving in the hope that they should live up to the ideal of civic community. A similar dynamic political culture also appears to have characterized many communities in various parts of Spain and North Africa, probably as a result of an earlier presence and a higher concentration of Caesarian and Augustan colonies founded in these areas. A close inspection of the epigraphic evidence reveals further distinctions within these large regions. For instance, benefactors from North Italy showed a preference for *panis et vinum* rather than *crustulum et mulsum*, and the local elite of the Iberian Peninsula were in the habit of providing *epula* rather than food hand-outs. It is also possible to detect a specific 'Baetican' social-political context in which members of the town elite were expected to provide public meals for their fellow citizens, whereas the local elite of the neighbouring province of Tarraconensis preferred to spend money on public or religious buildings.

On an urban level, privately sponsored public dinners often took place in medium-sized or small towns. One plausible explanation is that in smaller towns there were probably fewer benefactors with the financial wherewithal to fund expensive building projects. Going a step farther, it might be suggested that a specific political culture was to be found in medium-sized and small towns in which food benefactions played an important part in local political and social life.

Any study which attempts to reconstruct the chronological development of euergetic practices in the Empire will have to face possible inherent distortions created by empire-wide and regional 'epigraphic habits'. Bearing this in mind, I have tried to demonstrate that the chronological distribution pattern of evidence of privately sponsored public dining should not be seen just as a reflection of the epigraphic habit but as a real social custom (Chapter 6).

In an attempt to account for the increase in the number of inscriptions giving evidence of privately funded public meals from the first to the second century, the accumulation of wealth among the elite during the high Empire can be seen as one of

the prerequisites before local elites could engage in *euergetism*. The motivation for them to have actually adopted a particular form of euergetic practice, as I have argued, should be understood as a response to the socio-political developments in the first two centuries AD. As has been highlighted in various chapters, the gradual erosion of the voting rights of local assemblies might have increased the social and political significance of euergetic practices. In this context, food benefactions targeting civic communities can be seen as a particularly effective way of expressing elite allegiance to civic values and of legitimizing elite rule in the eyes of non-elite citizens. Meanwhile, increasing differentiation among local town-councillors could have prompted local elites to provide public banquets for decurions, which can be seen as an effective means of simultaneously displaying the benefactor's social superiority and his or her allegiance to the principle of elite solidarity.

The decline in inscriptions referring to privately sponsored public dining in the late third and the subsequent fourth century reflects a fall in the number of food benefactions being bestowed on the communities. While it has been plausibly argued that the disappearance of *euergetism* must have been related to the changes in the structure of the Empire and in the mentality of the elites, this book goes a step farther and relates the changes in elite mentality towards *euergetism* to concomitant changes in the political context. The changes in the political and social structures in the later Empire resulted in the destruction of earlier local political cultures. The old mechanism by which local elites had channelled their ambitions into their communities was broken down by the expanding imperial bureaucracy. New career opportunities in the imperial bureaucracy contributed to loosening the ties between the wealthiest elites and their communities and resulted in the loss of importance of civic communities as the only legitimate source of power and honour on the municipal level. These changes taken together undermined the base of *euergetism*, ultimately destroying the practice.

Another observation concerns regional differences. Various regions of the western half of the Empire displayed distinct chronological trajectories of this euergetic practice. Although the earliest evidence comes from mainland Italy, the practice of privately sponsored public dining appears to have persisted longer in North Africa than in Italy. Part of the explanation must be that, during a building boom of the late second and early third century, more public dinners were probably offered to mark the dedications of buildings. Nevertheless, the more enduring prosperity of the African local elite should be seen as a factor which ensured the longevity of *euergetism* in this specific region.

Among various sub-groups within the local communities which received food gifts from private benefactors, members of different associations were exclusively targeted by some benefactors (Chapter 4). Even though *collegiati* were often targeted as undifferentiated entities from an outsider's point of view, some collegial by-laws

regarding food arrangments confirm that the status distinctions which existed in the wider community was also replicated on a lower social level. In view of the fact that most public feasts and collegial dinners were provided by internal benefactors, it seems fair to argue that food benefactions were effectively employed by prominent 'insiders' to achieve prominence and advertise the vertical relationships within either a wider community or lower-ranking groups.

In comparison to the occasions on which donations were made as identified in the case of community-wide meals, there seems to be no solid evidence of office-related food benefactions for associations. On the one hand, the duties of organizing collegial dinners assigned to *magistri collegii* made it improper for office-holders to advertise such obligatory generosity; on the other hand, the meals which were the responsibility of the *magistri* were probably paid for out of the collegial treasury, leaving little room for food benefactions *ob honorem*. The concerns and aims revealed on the other three occasions (responsive, voluntary and testamentary) are very similar to those identified in instances of privately sponsored public dining.

It is noteworthy that epigraphic references to privately sponsored dinners for *collegia* are attested only in certain regions (Chapter 5) and are concentrated in a limited period of time (Chapter 6). As I have argued, it should not be seen as a coincidence that such collegial meals are found in the same regions in which *collegia* are known to have taken part in community-wide feasts and in a period in which privately sponsored public dinners were at the peak of their development. Notably the epigraphic record referring to both privately sponsored dinners targeting *collegia* exclusively and *collegia* participating in community-wide meals is concentrated in mainland Italy. This observation permits the inference to be made that *collegia* probably played a more prominent role in the political and social life of the civic communities of Italy than in those of the western provinces. The chronological pattern corroborates this inference. It seems that precisely because of the increasing prominence of *collegia* in the second century, external benefactors were prompted to target them as a status group in the community-wide meals which were sponsored and hence to take the trouble to provide exclusive benefactions for them. Meanwhile, (prominent) members of associations could have also felt compelled to affirm the importance of their membership by emulating such practices on a more modest scale.

Inscriptions referring to privately sponsored food benefactions targeting *Augustales* only are very sparse. However, the epigraphic record available indicates a practice similar to privately sponsored dining for *collegia*. One difference is that all benefactors who decided to shower food gifts on the *Augustales* only were members of these associations or were close relatives of members. As far as can be determined, *Augustales* appear to have adopted egalitarian food arrangements. In this regard they could have been following the example set by the decurions who provided undifferentiated food benefactions for other town-councillors. Likewise, the epigraphic

record referring to food benefactions exclusively targeting *Augustales* is attested only in Italy, with a notable concentration in the second century. This finding also indicates the signs of the development of a regional political culture in which both *collegia* and *Augustales* were recognized as important building blocks of local society.

It seems fair to conclude that the popularity of privately sponsored communal dining was rooted in specific social and political cultures in the cities of Italy, Baetica and Africa Proconsularis. Therefore region-specific differences in political cultures and long-term changes in these region-specific cultures are key to understanding not only the long persistence of privately sponsored communal meals but also their ultimate disappearance.

Appendix I
Epigraphic references to privately sponsored public dining

Note: For detailed information about the identity of benefactors, see Appendix III. For those who were holding or had been elected to one or various magistracies and/or priesthoods, 'office-holder' is used to indicate their identity. In the 'categories of food benefactions', I give classifications (office-related, responsive, voluntary, testamentary[1]) on the basis of key phrases or occasions which are to my mind the most plausible categorization. A single slash indicates any relevant information is unavailable; uncertain cases are marked with a question mark. Recipients of cash hand-outs are seen as recipients of food benefactions if both were given simultaneously, but such cases are marked with an asterisk. The asterisk is also used to indicate other cases in which the beneficiaries were not explicitly specified. All dates are AD unless otherwise specified.

Site	Date	Benefactor	Identity	Beneficiaries	Food benefactions	Categories of food benefactions	References
Aletrium (Reg.I)	157	/	/	*popu]lo*?	*panis et v[inum]*	/	*AE* 1998, 303

[1] As we have defined in Chapter 2, those food benefactions which were not prescribed in a will yet provided by the heirs or other people when fulfilling the provisons of the testament are considered as testamentary.

Anagnia (Reg.I)	161-200	Marcus Aurelius Sabinianus	*libertus Augg., patronus civitatis*	**decur(ionibus), sexv(iris), pop(ulo)*	*epul(um)*	responsive: *s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) A(nagninus) … ponend(am) censuer(unt)*	*CIL* X, 5917 = *ILS* 1909
Anagnia (Reg.I)	180-195	Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias	*stolata femina*	**omnib(us), decurionibus, sevir(is), popul(o)*	*epulum*	responsive: *s(enatus) p(opulus)q(ue) Anagnin(us) statuam ponendam censuerunt*	*CIL* X, 5918 = *ILS* 406
Bovillae (Reg.I)	138-175	/	/	**dec(urionibus) et Aug(ustalibus)*	*[e]pul(um)*	/	*CIL* IX, 2416
Casinum (Reg.I)	c.90-100	Ummidia Quadratilla	senatorial	*[decurionibus et popu]lo et [m]ulier[ibus*	*[… epulum]*	voluntary: *theatr]um [impensis(?) patri]s sui [exornatum(?) vetus]tate [collapsum Casinatibus su]a pec(unia) [res]titu[it*	*AE* 1946, 174 = *AE* 1992, 244 = *AE* 2013, +115
Ferentinum (Reg.I)	2nd cent.	/	/	*d]ecur(ionibus), [--- seviris Au]g(ustalibus) et q(uibus) u(na) v(esci) [i(us) e(st) ---]*	*[--- HS --- n(ummum) et cenam adie]ctam*	responsive: *honore co]ntentu[s*	*AE* 1982, 312
Ferentinu	2nd	/	/	*populo, pueris*	*populo fieri [epulum]*	voluntary :	*CIL* X, 5849

m (Reg.I)	cent.			*[decurioni]bus et Xviris et q(uibus) u(na) v(esci) i(us?) uxoribusque [fili(i)s fra]tribus et filiabus sororibusq(ue) simul [discumben]tib(us) item VIviris Aug(ustalibus) et uxorib(us) eorum	et pueris nuces, [discumben]tib(us)	die natalis sui	= *ILS* 6269
Ferentinum (Reg.I)	early or mid-2nd cent.	Aulus Quinctilius Priscus	office-holder	praesent(ibus) municipib(us) et incol(is) et mulierib(us) nuptis... decurionibus ... puer(is) curiae increment(is) et VIvir(is) Aug(ustalibus) quibusq(ue) u(na) v(esci) i(us) e(st), puer(is) plebeis sine distinctione	ex quor(um) reditu de HS IV m(ilibus) CC ... crustul(i) p(ondo) I mulsi hemin(a) ... mulsum et crust(ulum) ... crust(ulum) mulsum, nucum sparsion(em) mod(iorum) XXX et ex vini urnis VI potionum	voluntary: annis VI Id(us) Mai(as) die natal(i) suo perpet(uo) daretur	*CIL* X, 5853 = *ILS* 6271 = *AE* 1992, 252

				libertatis			
Ferentinum (Reg.I)	2nd cent.	Lucius Pacuvius Severus	office-holder	*municeps*	*mulsum crustula*	voluntary	*CIL* X, 5844 = *ILS* 6270 = *CLE* 1506
Fidenae (Reg.I)	105	Blastus Eutact[ianus(?)], Secundus, Italia	*seviri, magistra of the Bona Dea*	**senatus Fidenatium (and perhaps other citizens?)*	*epulum*	office-related[2]: *ob honorem V[Iviratus]... ob magis[t]erium B(onae) [D(eae)]*	*CIL* XIV, 4057 = *AE* 2001, +738
Formiae (Reg.I)	1st cent.	/	/	*decur(ionibus)*	*vescentib(us)*	/	*CIL* X, 6073 = *ILS* 6284
Forum Popilii (Reg.I)	20 BC-AD 20	Lucius Papius Pollio	office-holder	*colonis Senuisanis et Caedicianeis omnibus, colonis Senuisanis et Papieis*	*mulsum et crustu(lu)m, cenam*	testamentary: *ex testamento*	*CIL* X, 4727 = *CIL* I, 1578 = *ILS* 6297
Gabii (Reg.I)	168	Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus	*negotiator sericarius* (probably freedman)	*decur(iones) et VIvir(i) Aug(ustales)*	*HS X m(ilia) n(ummum) rei publ(ica) Gabinor(um) intulit ita ut ex usuris eiusdem summae ... publice in triclinis suis epulentur*	voluntary: *quodannis IIII K(alendas) Octobr(es) die natalis Plutiae Verae filiae suae*	*CIL* XIV, 2793 = *ILS* 5449

[2] There is no doubt that *seviratus* is different to the municipal *cursus honorum*. However, the former seems to be viewed as analogous to the latter in a wider sense. Therefore food benefactions *ob honorem seviratus* are grouped as office-related in this study.

Herculaneum (Reg.I)	1st cent.	/	/	*decurion[ibus ---] [po]pulo*	*mulsum et crustum*	/	*CIL* X, 1459
Herculaneum (Reg.I)	11-14	AAuli Lucii Proculus et Iulianus	/	*decurionibus et Augustalibus*	*cenam*	voluntary	*AE* 1979, 169
Herculaneum (Reg.I)	1st cent.	[L(ucius) Mam]mius Maximus	/	*[populo]*	*[populo epulum dedit]*	voluntary: *macellu[m] [cum o]rnamentis et me[r]itor[is sua pec(unia) f(aciendum) c(uravit)]*	*CIL* X, 1450 = *CIL* X, 1701 = *ILS* 5581
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	27 BC-AD 14	Marcus Valerius	office-holder	*populo*	*viscerati(onem)*	voluntary	*CIL* XIV, 2121 = *ILS* 5683
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	81	[--- Er]os P(ublius) Tettiu[s ---] [-- H]ymeneus L(ucius) Siciniu[s ---]	*VIviri [et Augustales]*	*populo*	*[mulsum et crustul]um*	office-related: *ob comitia tribunicia Caesaris divi f(ilii) Domitiani Aug(usti)*	*CIL* XIV, 2096 = *AE* 1952, 172
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	118-119	/	*eq(uus) p(ublicus)*	*senatui Augusti et curialibus*	*epulum*	voluntary: *ob honorem togae virilis*	*AE* 1994, 345
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	175-225	Gaius Sulpicius Victor	*patronus municipi(i)*	*curi(a)e mulierum*	*epulum duplum*	responsive: *s(enatus) p(opulusque) L(anuvinus)... ponendam*	*CIL* XIV, 2120 = *ILS* 6199 = *AE* 2005, 309

						censuerunt	
Misenum (Reg.I)	148-149	Quintus Cominius Abascantus	*curator Augustalium perpetuus*	*decurionib(us) … et populi*	*HS CX m(ilia) n(ummum) … in mulsatione*	voluntary: *XVI K(alendas) Ianuar(ias) die natalis sui*	*AE* 2000, 344 = *AE* 2003, +279 = *AE* 2004, +423 = *AE* 2007, +359
Ostia (Reg.I)	late 1st cent. BC	Publius Lucilius Gamala	office-holder	*colonis, coloni[s] Ostie(n)sibus bis*	*epulum trichilinis CCXVII, prandium bis*	voluntary?	*CIL* XIV, 375 = *CIL* I, 3031a = *ILS* 6147 = *AE* 2000, +263 = *AE* 2014, +22
Ostia (Reg.I)	mid-2nd cent.	Fabia Agrippina?	senatorial	*decurio[nes*	*sestertium [---] centen[a milia n(ummum)] … deder[at ut ex eius] summae usu[ris … [t]er in ann[o] decurio[nes c]enar[ent*	testamentary: *testament[o s]uo deder[at … Maia[s ---] quod annis ludi eder[entur in] memori[am] Aemiliae Agrippinae [---] suae*	*CIL* XIV, 350 = *CIL* XIV, 4450 = *AE* 2014, +269
Ostia (Reg.I)		Claudia Secundina	decurial?		*epulum*	voluntary	*AE* 1989, 127

Praeneste (Reg.I)	1st-2nd cent.	Corellia Galla Papiana	decurial?	*coloniae Menturnensi et municipio Casini*	*coloniae Menturnensi HS C(milia) et municipio Casini HS C(milia) ita uti ... crustulum et mulsum*	testamentary: *testamento ... VII Idus Mart(ias) natali suo quodannis*	*CIL* XIV, 2827 = *ILS* 6294
Privernum (Reg.I)	137	Titus Flavius Scopellianus	office-holder	*populo*	*crustu[m] et mulsum*	responsive: *Privernates cenam ... d[and(am) et] st[a]tuam ponendam [fec]er[unt(?) ... ob merita eius*	*AE* 1974, 228
Puteoli (Reg.I)	1st cent.	]s Phileros	*Aug]ustalis*	*populo*	*crustum et mulsum*	voluntary?	*CIL* X, 1887
Puteoli (Reg.I)	165	Lucius Licinius Primitivus	*curator Augustal(is) perp(etuus)*	*decurionib(us) et Augustalib(us)*	*epulum*	responsive: *Augustales corpor(ati) ob perpetuam et plurifariam munificentiam eius et quod res negotiaque eorum integre administret*	*CIL* X, 1881 = *ILS* 6328
Signia (Reg.I)	early or mid-1st cent.	Marcus Hordeonius Rufus	office-holder		*epul[u]m*	office-related: epulum was probably given when he was holding the	*CIL* X, 5967

						post of *IIIIvir iure dicundo*	
Sinuessa (Reg.I)	43	Publius Crusius Germanus	/	*decurionibus pagi Sarclani*	*HS II(milia) uti ex usuris eius … quodannis in pago vescantur*	voluntary: *K(alendis) Aprili(bu)s natali suo*	*AE* 1979, 147
Sinuessa (Reg.I)	early or mid-1st cent.	Marcus Cacius Cerna	office-holder	*populo Sinues(sanorum)*	*cenam publice*	voluntary: *natali suo*	*CIL* X, 4736
Sora (Reg.I)	1st cent.	three sons (heirs) of Marcus Baebius Secundus	decurial	*populo*	*crustum et mulsum*	testamentary: *ex testament(o)*	*CIL* X, 5714 = *ILS* 6290 = *AE* 1985, 267
Surrentum (Reg.I)	early 1st cent.	Lucius Cornelius [M--]	office-holder	*populo* *decurionib(us)*	*crustulum et mulsum populo* *decurionib(us) magnam cenam*	voluntary: *togae vir[ilis die]* office-related: *ob honor[em IIvir(atus?)]*	*CIL* X, 688 = *EAOR* 8, 8
Tusculum (Reg.I)	131	Marcus Pontius Felix	office-holder, senator	*po[pu]l[o*	*epu]lu(m) et mul[sum]*	responsive: *municipes et incol(ae) ex a(ere) c(ollato)*	*CIL* XIV, 2636 = *ILS* 6209

Verulae (Reg.I)	197	Lucius Alfius Valentinus	office-holder	*dendrophor(is)*[3]	*pane et vino*	responsive: *ordo seviralium et Augustalium ob merita eius*	*CIL* X, 5796 = *ILS* 6268 = *AE* 1964, +107
Beneventum (Reg.II)	1st -2nd cent.	/	/	*[ple]bi*	*[mulsum] e[t] crust[um*	voluntary?	*AE* 1925, 112
Beneventum (Reg.II)	2nd - 3rd cent.	/	/	*[l]iberis viris m[ulie]ribus*	*epulum*	/	*AE* 2001, 889
Beneventum (Reg.II)	98-138	Marcus Nasellius Sabinus and Nasellius Vitalis	*praef(ectus) coh(ortis), Aug(ustalis)*	*paganis*	*epulantib(us) hic paganis annuos (denarios) CXXV dari iusserunt*	voluntary: *in perpetuum VI Id(us) Iun(ias) die natale Sabini*	*CIL* IX, 1618 = *ILS* 6507
Compsa (Reg.II)	2nd - 3rd cent.	/	office-holder	*populo utrius[que] sex{s}us(!)*	*e[pulum] biduo*	responsive: *ple<b=P>s urban[a aere] conlato*	*CIL* IX, 981
Pagus Veianus (Reg.II)	167	Gaius Safronius Secundus	office-holder	*pag(o)*	*epulum*	voluntary	*CIL* IX, 1503 = *ILS* 6508
Rudiae (Reg.II)	117-138	Marcus Tuccius Augazo	freedman? (his son was an office-holder)	*decur(ionibus), Augustalibus, Mercurialib(us) item populo viritim*	*HS LXXX(milia) n(ummum) ut ex reditu eorum … viscerationis*	voluntary: *die natalis fili(i) sui*	*CIL* IX, 23 = *ILS* 6472
Atina	late 2nd	Aulus	/	*decurionibus et*	*crust(u)lum et*	voluntary:	*CIL* X, 333 =

[3] Although food distributions were only provided for the *dendrophori*, the act of private munificence is considered as having taken place in public as these food gifts were given in conjunction with cash hand-outs for the decurions, *seviri* and *Augustales*, *dendrophori* and *populus*.

(Reg.III)	cent.	Antonius Horus		*Augustalib(us) et populo*	*mulsum*	*aedem Matri Magnae et porticum qui(!) est ante aedem et cellam sacerd(otis) a{b} solo pec(unia) sua fec(it)*	*InscrIt*, 3, 1, 127 = *ILS* 5418
Blanda Iulia (Reg.III)	late 2nd cent.	Marcus Arrius Clymenus	office-holder	**decurionibus, Aug(ustalibus), populo, mulieribus*	*epulum*	responsive: *populus ex aer(e) conlato ob munifice/ntiam eius posuit*	*AE* 1976, 176 = *AE* 1979, +194 = *AE* 1992, 315 = *AE* 1999, +543
Cosilinum (Reg.III)	late 1st cent. BC – early 1st cent. AD	] Gratus	/		*epulo*	voluntary: *balneum sua pecunia fecerunt*	*AE* 1969/70, 178 =*InscrIt* 3, 1, 209
Croton (Reg.III)	2nd – early 3rd cent.	Gaius Futius Onirus	office-holder	*decurionibus*	*HS X(milia) n(ummum) ut ex usuris eorum … epulan/tes confrequentetis*	voluntary: *annis VII Idus Apriles natale filiae meae*	*CIL* X, 107 = *ILS* 6466
Croton (Reg.III)	2nd cent.	Futia Longina	equestrian	*decurionibus Augustalibus*	*[e]pulantibus*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a public statue for her son	*CIL* X, 110 = *AE* 2008, +438
Eburum (Reg.III)	late 2nd – early	Titus Flavius Silvanus	office-holder	*[pl]ebeis*	*viscerationem*	responsive: *coll(egium)*	*CIL* X, 451 = *InscrIt* 3, 1, 5

	3rd cent.					*dendrophor(or)r(um) ... statuam dignissim[o] patrono posuerunt*	= *AE* 1989, 187
Petelia (Reg.III)	138-161	Manius Megonius Leo	office-holder	*decurionibus*	*HS C m(ilia) n(ummum)... ut ex usuris semissibus eius pecuniae... epulantibus*	testamentary: *ex testament... die natalis mei*	*ILS* 6468 = *AE* 1894, 148
Alba Fucens (Reg.IV)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	/	*plebei urban[ae] utriusque sexus*	*crustu[l]um et mulsum*	/	*CIL* IX, 3954
Alba Fucens (Reg.IV)	168	Pr[---] / C(aius) Ama[redius ---]	decurial?		*[epulum ...]*	voluntary	*CIL* IX, 3950 = *CIL* VI, 859
Amiternum (Reg.IV)	338	/	/	*plebi urban(a)e*	*epulum convivii panem et vinum tauros II[3] verbeces XV, arcae eorum folles n(umero) [---] ex quorum usuris per [singu]los annos convivium*	voluntary?	*CIL* IX, 4215
Amiternum (Reg.IV)	325	Caius Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius	*patronus*	*cives et ordinem*	*epulis*	voluntary	*SupIt* 9, A, 34 = *EAOR* 3, 47 = *AE* 2002, +68

Antinum (Reg.IV)	late 2nd cent.	Quintus Novius Iucundus	office-holder	*dec(urionibus), sexvir(is), plebi*	*epul(antibus)*	responsive: *ordo decurionu[m] et sexvirum ex aere collato ob merita eius*	*CIL* IX, 3838
Antinum (Reg.IV)	late 2nd cent.	Sextus Petronaeus Valerianus Antinus	office-holder	*decurionibus, seviris Aug(ustalibus), collegium dendrophorum, plebi urbanae*	*epulantibus*	responsive: *collegium dendrophorum ex aere collato patrono merenti posu{a}erunt*	*CIL* IX, 3842
Cliternia (Reg.IV)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Caius Herennius Philon	*sevir Augustalis*	*c(ivibus)*	*crust(ulum) mu[lsumq(ue)*	voluntary	*CIL* IX, 4168 = *EAOR* 3, 24
Corfinium (Reg.IV)	3rd cent.	]ASA[---]	office-holder	*splendidissimum ordinem liberosq(ue) et coniuges eorum sed et populum* *decurionibus discumbentibus et liberis eorum ... sevir(is) Augustal(ibus) ... plebei unversae*	*public(e) epulantes* *decurionibus discumbentibus et liberis eorum ... sevir(is) Augustal(ibus) vescent(ibus) ... plebei unversae epulantibus*	responsive: *splendidissimus ordo consentiente populo tabulas patrocinales a{h}eneas liberisq(ue) eius offerri censuerunt qui accepto honore* responsive: *ob merita ordo populusque Corfiniensium (!) ... ex pecunia publica poni censuerunt*	*CIL* IX, 3160 = *ILS* 6530

Corfinium (Reg.IV)	late 2nd cent.	Quintus Avelius Priscus Severius Severus Annavus Rufus	office-holder	*universis civibus*	*frequentesque epulationes*	voluntary ?	*AE* 1961, 109 = *AE* 1994, +542
Corfinium (Reg.IV)	120-150	Capria Quinta	decurial?	a public meal (2 sest. each for *mulieres*)	*epul(um)*	voluntary: *mater posuit quae ob dedicationem statuar(um) filiorum suorum*	*CIL* IX, 3171
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	173	Baebia Pontias	*optima femina*	*viritim(*decurio nes, seviri, plebs)*	*clustrum et mulsum*	responsive: *honore contenta*	*CIL* IX, 4970 = *ILS* 6559
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	161-180	[---]vius Pri[---]	office-holder	*[po]p(ulo)*	*clustrum et mulsum*	responsive: *[decu]riones ... p[ubl(ica)] [pecu]nia posuerunt*	*CIL* IX, 4976
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	147	Quintus Veranius Asclepiades and Quintus Veranius Sabinus	*seviri Augustales*	*decurionibus et populo*	*clustru[m] et mulsum*	office-related: dedicating a monument to Marcus Aurelius	*CIL* IX, 4957

Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Cocceia Vera	/	*[decuriones] et sevirales*	*ita ut ex usura eius summa[e ---]... [decuriones] in publico decem trichilini[s ---] et sevirales duobus trichili[nis epularentur*	voluntary: *die natali eiu[s*	*CIL* IX, 4971 = *ILS* 6560
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	2nd cent.	Labeo	office-holder	*populo*	*epulum*	office-related: *secund[o] [quattuorvira]tu*	*CIL* IX, 4973 = *AE* 1953, +66
Fagifulae (Reg.IV)	140	Quintus Parius Severus	office-holder	**decur(ionibus) et Augustal(ibus), Mart(ialibus), plebei*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honor(em) quinquen(nalitatis)*	*CIL* IX, 2553 = *AE* 2006, 362
Fagifulae (Reg.IV)		/	office-holder	*universis discum(bentibus) *decuri(onibus) et Aug(ustalibus), Martial(ibus), plebeis, mulierib(us)*	*epul(um)*	responsive: *ob honores datos sibi*	*AE* 1997, 432

Iuvanum (Reg.IV)	1st cent.	/	/	*decurionibus et fili(i)s* *quinq(uennalibus) Aug(ustalibus) et fili(i)s et plebi*	*cenam* *epulum*	/	*CIL* IX, 2962
Iuvanum (Reg.IV)	2nd cent.	]sidius Vin[---]	*patronus*	**decurionibu[s, Augustalibus], plebei*	*epu[lum*	responsive: *[de]curiones et [municipes dedicav][e]runt... h[onor(e) usus*	*AE* 2004, 467
Reate (Reg.IV)	1st – 2nd cent.	Titus Fundilius Geminus	*sevir Augustalis*	*populo*	*epulum*	responsive: *Augustales patrono et quinq(uennali) perpetuo opime merito*	*CIL* IX, 4691
Telesia (Reg.IV)	27 BC-AD 14	Quintus Fillius Rufus and Quintus Agrius Celer	office-holder	*colonis*	*ut ex eo vectigale quotannis colonis mulsum et crustum*	office-related	*CIL* IX, 2226 = *ILS* 5595
Telesia (Reg.IV)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Lucius Manlius Rufio	*sevir*	*colonis Telesinis et liberis eorum* *incolis*	*epulum colonis Telesinis et liberis eorum* *incolis crustum et mulsum*	voluntary	*CIL* IX, 2252

Trebula Mutuesca (Reg.IV)	1st – 2nd cent.	] Q(uintus?)	/	*popu[lo*	*epulum*	/	*CIL* IX, 4898
Asculum Picenum (Reg.V)	late 1st BC – early 1st AD	Lucius Cossinius Curvus	office-holder	*[po]pulo*	*epulum*	office-related?	*CIL* IX, 5196 = *AE* 2000, 467
Auximum (Reg.V)	2nd cent.	Vibia Marcella	*flamina August(arum)*	*colon(is) pop(ulo)*	*cenam colon(is), epul(um) pop(ulo)*	voluntary: *marito omnibus exemplis de se bene merito et in dedic(atione) statuae*	*CIL* IX, 5841 = *AE* 2001, +912
Auximum (Reg.V)	159	Caius Oppius Leonas	*sevir et Aug(ustalis)*	*colonis*	*cenam*	voluntary: *Aesculapio et Hygiae sacrum*	*CIL* IX, 5823
Auximum (Reg.V)	138-161	Marcus Oppius Capito Quintus Tamudius Milasius Aninius Severus	office-holder	*col(onis)*	*cenam*	responsive: *coloni ob merita eius*	*CIL* IX, 5831 = *ILS* 6572
Auximum (Reg.V)	early or mid-2nd cent.	Leonas	*lib(ertus)*	*colonis*	*cenam*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue set up for his patron	*CIL* IX, 5833 = *ILS* 1059

Auximum (Reg.V)	mid-2nd cent.	Caius Oppius Bassus	office-holder	*col(onis)*	*cenam*	responsive: *centuriones leg(ionis) II Traianae Fortis optimo et dignissimo*	*CIL* IX, 5840 = *ILS* 2085
Firmum Picenum (Reg.V)	early 1st cent.	Quintus Terentius Senecinous Fannianus	office-holder	**coloni et incolae*	*epulo*	office-related	*AE* 1975, 354 = *AE* 1978, 291
Interamnia Praetuttiorum (Reg.V)	2nd cent.	/	/	**dec(urionibus), se[vi]r(is) et Aug(ustalibus), ple[be]i*	*epul(antibus)*	/	*CIL* IX, 5085
Ostra (Reg.V)	2nd cent.	Quintus Precius Hermes	father of an office-holder	*viris et mulierib(us)*	*epulum*	responsive: *municipes quo honore accepto*	*CIL* XI, 6190
Ameria (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	/	office-holder		*bis epu[lum;* *[et HS --- ut]... [--- epulanti]b(us) in perpetuum*	responsive: *[...] ob merita* (set up the statue) voluntary: *die natalis sui... in perpetuum*	*CIL* XI, 4404
Asisium (Reg.VI)	1st cent.	Gal(eo) Tettienus Pardalas and Tettiena Galene	ex-slaves?	**decurionibus, sexvir(is), plebei*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of buildings (*tetrastylum*) and statues	*CIL* XI, 5372 = *ILS* 3398

						his father-voluntary: *epulum frequenter dedit*;	
Camerinum (Reg.VI)	late 2nd cent.	Caius Veianius Rufus and his father	Rufus was an officer-holder	**municipes Camertes*	*epulum*	Rufus-responsive: *municipes Camertes ob plurim(a) et maxima benef(icia) patris eius et ips(ius) in se conlata*	*CIL* XI, 5635 = *ILS* 6640
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Gaius Tifanus Agricola	office-holder	*dec(urionibus), popul(o)*	*dec(urionibus) cenam … popul(o) clust(rum) et mulsum*	responsive: *populus Cars(ulanorum) ex aere conlato*	*AE* 2000, 531 = *AE* 2005, 463 = *AE* 2012, +109
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Egnatia Co[---]	*mater*	*viriti[m *decur(iones) et Aug(ustales) [---] et plebs urb[ana]*	*epulum*	responsive : *ex aere con[lato] decur(ionum) et Aug[ustal(ium)] et plebis urb[anae]*	*AE* 1996, 647
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Gaius Tifanus Agricola	office-holder	**decur(ionibus), sexvir(is), iuvenib(us), colleg(iatis), populo*	*epulantibus*	responsive : *matronae et libertin(ae) ex aere conl(ato)*	*AE* 2000, 533 = *AE* 2005, 464 = *AE* 2012, +109
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Titus Flaminius Maius	*Vivir Aug(ustalis)*	**decurion(ibus), Augustalib(us), populo*	*pane et vino*	responsive : *municipes … statuam ex aere collato poni desideraverunt*	*CIL* XI, 4582
Forum	late 1st	Lucius	military	**decurionib(us),*	*epulum*	responsive:	*CIL* XI, 6117

Sempronii (Reg.VI)	– early 2nd cent.	Maesius Rufus	officer	*sexviris et Augustalib(us), plebi*		*municipes et incolae ob merita eius* dedicated a statue to Rufus	
Fulginiae (Reg.VI)	193-235	Publius Aelius Marcellus	external patron	*decurionibus et liberis eorum*	*panem et vinum*	responsive: *splendidissimus ordo Foro Flam(iniensium)* decreed to set up a statue for Marcellus	*CIL* XI, 5215 = *ILS* 2650
Fulginiae (Reg.VI)	1st – 2nd cent.	Titus Galerius Epaphroditus	*Vivir Aug(ustalis)*	*populo*	*crustu[m] et muls(um)*	voluntary ?	*CIL* XI, 5222
Fulginiae (Reg.VI)		/	/		*epulu[m*	/	*CIL* XI, 5227
Mons Fereter (Reg.VI)	148	/	senatorial ?	**decurio]nibus, Viviris et Augustal(ibus), [ple]bei*	*[funeratici ad divisi]onem epularum HS CC(milibus) divisione mulsa[rum et panum suff]icientium HS C(milibus)*	testamentary	*CIL* XI, 6481
Ocriculum (Reg.VI)	late 2nd cent.	Sextus Aufidianus Celer	office-holder	*populo*	*mulsum et crustulum*	voluntary	*CIL* XIV, 3581 = *CIL* XI, 4081 = *InscrIt* 4, 1, 39 = *AE* 1968, 162
Pisaurum	2nd	Gaius Titius	office-holder	*populo*	*decies centena*	testamentary:	*CIL* XI, 6377

(Reg.VI)	cent.	Valentinus			*mil{l}ia num(mum) dedit ita ut per sing(ulos) annos ex sestertiorum CCCC(milium) usuris populo epulum*	*testamento*	= *EAOR* 2, 9 = *Pisaurum* 88
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	late 2nd – early 3rd cent.	Titus Caedius Atilius Crescens	office-holder	**cives amici et amatores eius*	*pane et vino cum epul(o)*	responsive: *cives amici et amatores eius* dedicated a statue for him	*CIL* XI, 6362 = *ILS* 7364 = *Pisaurum* 73
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Caius Aufidius Verus	office-holder	**decurionibus, Augustal(ibus), plebei*	*pane et vino*	responsive: *plebs urbana ob merit(a) eius ex aere conlato*	*CIL* XI, 6360 = *Pisaurum* 71
Pitinum Mergens (Reg.VI)	early or mid-2nd cent.	Eutyches	*lib(ertus)*	*decurionib(us) et plebei*	*crus[tu]lum et mulsum*	voluntary: *224opulo optimo ob merita*	*CIL* XI, 5960
Pitinum Mergens (Reg.VI)	late 2nd cent.	Licinia	/	*decuri[ones et plebs] urbana*	*am[plius HS 3 m(ilibus) n(ummum)] ex quorum reditu ... epularentur*	voluntary : *quodannis K(alendis) Iun[iis die natali] Rufi fili(i) sui*	*CIL* XI, 5963
Pitinum Mergens (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Gaius Messius Zosimus	*[sevir] Augustalis*	**decurionibus, plebeis*	*epulas et [vis]cerationem*	responsive: *[decuri]ones et plebs urban(a) ob merita*	*CIL* XI, 5965

Pitinum Pisaurense (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Gaius Caesidius Dextrus	office-holder	*decurionibus VI(vi)r(is) Aug(ustalibus) 225opul urb(anae), populo item plebi*	*epulas,* *populo item plebi pane(m) et vinum*	responsive: *munic(ipes)* set up a statue for Dextrus	*CIL* XI, 6033
Sentinum (Reg.VI)	81-96	Gaius Aetrius Naso	*equus publicus*	*municipib(us) Sentinatib(us)*	*epulum quod XVII K(alendas) Germanicas / daretur HS CXX legavit*	testamentary: *testament... epulum quod XVII K(alendas) Germanicas daretur HS CXX legavit*	*CIL* XI, 5745 = *ILS* 6644
Sestinum (Reg.VI)	198-211	Lucius Dentusius Proculinus	office-holder	*sevir(is) et pleb(ei)*	*pane et vino*	responsive : *IIIIIIviri Aug(ustales) et plebs urb(ana) ob pleraq(ue) merita eius patrono*	*CIL* XI, 6014 = *ILS* 6645
Spoletium (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Gaius Torasius Severus	office-holder	*decuriones, Viviris Aug(ustalibus) et compit(alibus) Larum Aug(ustorum) et mag(istrorum) vicorum*	*HS CCL(milia) ex quorum reditu... decuriones in publico cenarent ... Viviris Aug(ustalibus) et compit(alibus) Larum Aug(ustorum) et mag(istrorum) vicorum HS CXX(milia) ut ex reditu eius summae*	voluntary: *ad celebrandum natalem fili(i) sui in publicum*	*CIL* XI, 4815 = *ILS* 6638

					eodem die in publico vescerentur		
Spoletium (Reg.VI)	1st cent.	/	*trib(unus) mil(itum)*	*municipib(us)*	*HS MD(milia) n(ummum) ut ex reditu eius summae… {a}epulum et crus[t(ulum)] et mulsum daretur*	testamentary: *legavit testament… natale suo*	*CIL* XI, 4789
Suasa (Reg.VI)	1st – 2nd cent.	Caius Iulius Tertius	*sexvir*	*populo*	*prandium*	office-related: *munerI functus*	*CIL* XI, 6161
Tifernum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	early 2nd cent.	Lucius Aconius Statura	decurial	*decurionibus et plebi*	*epulum*	testamentary: *ex 226opulous226 eius*	*CIL* XI, 5992 = = *IDRE* 1, 125
Tifernum Tiberinum (Reg.VI)	104	Pliny the Younger	external patron		*epulo*	responsive: *ut referrem gratiam, templum pecunia mea exstruxi*	Pliny, *Ep.* 4.1.6
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	/	*[m]unicipes in[colae][que]*	*[--- re]ditu …vescer[entur]*	voluntary: *quod [annis] [n]atali suo*	*CIL* XI, 5722 = *AE* 2006, +243 = *AE* 2013, +475
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	180-192	Lucius Tifanius Felix	*A[ug(ustalis)*	*universos*	*honesta epulatione*	voluntary	*CIL* XI, 5716 = *EAOR* 2, 17 = *AE* 2004, +535
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	141	Sextus Aethrius Ferox	military officer	*municipibus et incolis utriusque sexus*	*epulum*	responsive: a 226opulo statue was set up for him *dec(reto)*	*CIL* 11, 5693 = *ILS* 2666

						dec(urionum) et 2270pulous227 plebis ob merita eius	
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Lucius Gresius Proculus	office-holder	*civib(us)*	*epul(um)*	office-related : *inter cetera tempore magist(ratus) sui*	*CIL* XI, 5717 = *ILS* 6643
Urvinum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Gaius Clodienus Serenus Vesnius Dextrus	office-holder	*municipibus*	*epulas*	responsive: *plebs urbana* set up a statue for this prominent citizen	*CIL* XI, 6060
Urvinum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	1st cent.	Lucius Vettius Statura	office-holder	*municipibus*	*epulum*	office-related : *cum quinquennalis esset annuum se epulum municipibus suis daturum pollicitus est*	*CIL* XI, 6054
Vettona (Reg.VI)	4th cent.	/	/	*ordinibus*	*epula et ce[nas*	voluntary?	*CIL* XI, 5170
Ager Viterbiensis (Reg.VII)	2nd cent.	Marcus Aurelius Marcellus	office-holder	*decurionibus*	*pane(m) vinu(m)*	responsive: *splendid(issimus) ordo ex sportul(is) 2270pulou mer(ita) eius statuam ponendam censuer(unt)*	*CIL* XI, 3009 = *ILS* 6595
Capena (Reg.VII)	256	Iulia Paulina	office-holder	*decur(ionibus) et municipibus*	*bis epulum*	responsive: *decuriones item municipes* set up a	*AE* 1954, 165 = *AE* 1982, 267

						statue for her	
Ferentium (Reg.VII)	early 1st cent.	Sextus Hortensius Sextus Hortensius Clarus	*mag(ister) Lar(um)*		*crustulum et epul(um)*	office-related ?	*CIL* XI, 7431 = *AE* 1911, 184
Ferentium (Reg.VII)	late 1st cent. BC – early 1st cent. AD	Aulus Salvius Crispinus	office-holder	*municipibus*	*cena et viscera*	voluntary ?	*CIL* I, 2634 = *AE* 1978, 305 = *AE* 2000, 567
Forum Clodii (Reg.VII)	18	Quintus Cascellius Labeo	/	*decuriones et populus*	*cenarent*	voluntary: *impensam Q(uinto) Cascellio Labeone in perpetuu(m) pollicenti ut gratiae agerentur munificentiae eius*	*CIL* XI, 3303 = *ILS* 154
Forum Clodii (Reg.VII)	174	Lucius Cascellius Probus	office-holder	*municipibus;* *viritim*	*epulum;* *epulum*	responsive: *adlectus in ordine(m) q[uin]quennalium … ob honorem sibi;* responsive: *decuriones et 228opulous Foroclodienses praef(ecturae)*	*CIL* XI, 7556 = *ILS* 6584

						Claudiae ob merita eius dignissimo	
Heba (Reg.VII)	1st – 2nd cent.	Quintus Peternius Amphio	*Vivir August(alis)*	*po(pulo)*	*cru(stulum) et mul(sum)*	voluntary	*AE* 1920, 97 = *AE* 1981, 342
Nepet (Reg.VII)	late 2nd cent.	Otacilia Comice	wife of an office-holder	*populo*	*epulum*	responsive: *plebs Nepesina ex aerI co[ll(ato)]* dedicated a statue for her husband	*CIL* XI, 3211
Nepet (Reg.VII)	98-117	Flavia Inventa and Ulpia Procula	wife and daughter of a *lib(ertus) Aug(usti)*	*decurionibus Augustalib(us) et plebei coniugibusq(ue) et liberis*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication for their husband and father	*CIL* XI, 3206
Nepet (Reg.VII)	2nd cent.	Nestor	*Aug(ustalis)*	*municipibus Nepesinis*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue he set up himself	*CIL* XI, 3214
Tarquinii (Reg.VII)	35	Marcus Tarquitus Priscus and his son Marcus Tarquitus Etruscus	office-holders	*decurionibus ... [et plebei*	*decurionibus epulum [et plebei crustu]lum et mulsum*	office-related ?	*AE* 2008, 524 = *AE* 2011, +89
Veii (Reg.VII)	mid-3rd cent.	Caesia Sabina	decurial	*matribus Cvir(orum) et*	*epulum*	voluntary	*CIL* XI, 3811 = *ILS* 6583 =

				sororibus et filiab(us) et omnis ordinis mulieribus municipib(us)			*AE* 2005, 524
Visentium (Reg.VII)	1st – 2nd cent.	Marcus Mina[tus Gallus]	office-holder	*vicanis, populo*	*vicanis epulum, populo crustulum et mulsum*	responsive : *[--- sui h(onoris) c(ausa)]*	*AE* 1974, 329 = *AE* 1980, 428
Visentium (Reg.VII)	1st – 2nd cent.	Marcus Minatus Maternus	decurial	*populo*	*crustulum et mulsum*	responsive : *patris sui h(onoris) c(ausa)*	*CIL* XI, 2911 = *ILS* 3796a
Volsinii (Reg.VII)	1st – 2nd cent.	[---]cius Quadratus and L(ucius) A[---]rius Clemens	/	*vicanis*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*CIL* XI, 2998
Dertona (Reg. IX)	22 BC	/	/	**col(oniae)*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of the restored constructions	*CIL* V, 7376
Concordia (Reg.X)	late 1st – early 2nd cent.	Marcus Acutius Noetus	*Aug[u]st(alis)*	*[c]ol(oniae) C[oncord(iae)*	*c[enam(?)] et epulum*	testamentary: *test]a[m]ento*	*CIL* V, 1897 = *CIL* V, 1898 = *CIL* V, 1899 = *CIL* V, 1900 = *CIL* V, 8664
Patavium	140-160	Caius	*veteranus*	*paganis*	*HS n(ummum)*	voluntary:	*CIL* V, 2090

(Reg.X)		Vettonius Maximus		*Misquilen(sibus)*	*DCCC dedit ex cuius summ(a)e reditu rosam ne minus ex HS n(ummum) XVI posuisse vellint et reliquum quot est ex usuris escas rosales et vindemiales*	*inque memoriam sui*	= *ILS* 8371
Comum (Reg.XI)	111-114	Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger)	imperial magistrate	*[p]leb(is) urban(ae)*	*HS XVIII(centena) LXVI(milia) DCLXVI rei [p(ublicae) legavit quorum inc]rement(a) postea ad epulum*	testamentary: *t(estamento)*	*CIL* V, 5262 = *ILS* 2927
Tyndaris (Sicilia)	1st – 2nd cent.	Sextus Nonius Albanus	/		*e[pul]um*	voluntary: *o[pt]imae uxori fecit*	*AE* 1989, 338h
Ascros (Alpes Maritimae)	3rd cent.	Maturius Fuscus	*emeritus*	*pagum*	*epulavit*	voluntary	*AE* 1961, 169 = *AE* 2004, 867
Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae)		/	/	*recumbentibus *decurionib(us), Vivir(is) Aug(ustalibus) u[rb]anis [e]t of[f]icialib(us)*	*panem et vinum*	/	*CIL* V, 7920 = *IANice* 78
Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Quintus Domitius [---]n(us)	office-holder	*decurio]nibus et IIIIIIviris*	*ep[ulum*	responsive: *civitas Cemene[l(ensium)]* set up a statue for	*CIL* V, 7905 = *IANice* 64a

						him	
Acruvium (Dalmatia)	1st – 2nd cent.	Gaius Cipius Aper	/		*epulo dedicari*	testamentary: *t(estamento)*	*CIL* III, 1710
Asseria (Dalmatia)	113	Lucius Laelius Proculus	/		*epuloque dedicari*	testamentary: *t(estamento)*	*CIL* III, 15021 = *CIL* III, 15034 = *AE* 1908, 193
Municipium S[](Dalmatia)	late 2nd cent.	Sextus Aurelius Lupianus	*principes*	**decuriones collegae et populares et peregrini incolae*	*epulo dedicata*	responsive: *decuriones 232opulou et populares et 232opulous232 incolae civi optimo ob merita pos(uerunt)*, presumably Lupianus paid for the *epulum*	*AE* 2002, 1115 = *AE* 2005, 1183
Risinium (Dalmatia)	late 1st – early 2nd cent.	Quintus Manlius Rufus and Statia Fida	*decurio*		*epulo*	testamentary: *232opulous232 … epulo dedicari … mater adiecit HS XXXV(milia) et summae operi et epulo relictae*	*CIL* III, 1717
Narona (Dalmatia)	280	Marcus Aurelius Valerius	*v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*	*civibus*	*epulum*	voluntary	*CIL* III, 1805 = *ILS* 5695
Nedinum	1st – 2nd	Sextus	office-holder		*epuloque dedicari*	testamentary:	*CIL* III, 2869

(Dalmatia)	cent.	Octavius Constans				*t(estamento)*	
Risinium (Dalmatia)	114-117	Caius Statius Celsus	*(centurio) leg(ionis)*		*epulo*	testamentary: *t(estamento)*	*CIL* III, 6359 = *ILS* 2665 = *IDRE* 2, 305
Virunum (Noricum)	5	Gallus	/		*v(inum) cr(ustum)*	voluntary?	*AE* 1954, 243
Lugdunum (Lugdunensis)		Caius Gentius Olillus	*magister pagi*	*honoratis praesentib(us)*	*[e]puli*	office-related: *in honor(em) pagi Condat(ensis)*	*CIL* XIII, 1670 = *ILS* 7036
Aquae Sextiae (Narbonensis)	1st cent.	/	*sevi]r Aug(ustalis)*		*HS XXX(milia) n(ummum) dedit [---] [--- ex quorum] usuris ... vescenti[bus*	voluntary : *XV K(alendas) De[c]emb[res ---] [--- quotannis]*	*CIL* XII, 530
Arelate (Narbonensis)	1st cent.	Gaius Iunius Priscus	office-holder	*decur(ionibus)] , corpo]r(ibus) it(em) IIIIII[vir(is) Aug(ustalibus)]*	*epulum*	office-related	*CIL* XII, 697 = *ILGN* 109 = *EAOR* 5, 7 = *AE* 1965, 270
Nemausus (Narbonensis)		/	/	*dec[uri]onibus Nemausensium et ornamentar[iis]*	*singulis (2330pulous) V ita ut in 2330pulo vescerentur*	voluntary?	*CIL* XII, 3058
Nemausus (Narbonensis)	2nd cent.	/	/	*decurionibus, collegiis ... IIIIIIvir(is) c[orpor(atis) ---]*	*epulo*	voluntary ?	*CIL* XII, 5905
Auzia (Mauretani	mid-3rd cent.	Lucius Cassius	*decurio*	*per magg(istros)*	*natalis mei edere*	testamentary: to commemorate	*CIL* VIII, 9052

a Caesariensis)		Restutus				himself and his wife	
Icosium (Mauretania Caesariensis)	74-76	Flaviu[s ---]ni[n]us	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem pontificatus*	*CIL* VIII, 20853 = *AE* 1896, 115 = *AE* 1897, +36
Thamugadi (Numidia)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	military officer	*decurionibu]s et curiis item dendro[phoris ---]*	*epulis*	voluntary ?	*AE* 1954, 154
Thamugadi (Numidia)	198-211	Lucius Licinius Optatianus	office-holder	*curiis*	*epul(is)*	office-related: *ob honorem fl(amonii) p(er)p(etui)*	*CIL* VIII, 17829 = *ILS* 434
Thamugadi (Numidia)	198-211	Gaius Papirius Fortunatus	office-holder	*cu[ri]is*	*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem duumviratus*	*AE* 1901, 191
Thamugadi (Numidia)	196-211	Marcus Pompeius Pudentianus	office-holder	*curiis*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honorem flamoni(i)*	*AE* 1941, 46 = *BCTH* 1941/42, 102
Thamugadi (Numidia)	mid-2nd cent.	Annia Cara and Annia Tranquilla	Cara : *flaminica*	*curiar(um)*	*epulo*	voluntary : *adiecta de suo aede ex HS IIII(milibus) CCCC dedicaver(unt)*	*CIL* VIII, 17831 = *ILS* 5400
Theveste (Numidia)	180-182	Salvianus	office-holder	*[--- curiis et Augu]stalib(us)*	*epulum*	office-related?: *[--- ob honorem*	*CIL* VIII, 16530

						d]ec(urionatus?)	
Theveste (Numidia)	2nd or early 3rd cent.	Quintus Crepereius Rufinus	office-holder	*populo*	*vinum*	responsive : *curiae universae et Augustales sum(p)tu proprio posuerunt cuius honoris remunerandi causa*	*CIL* VIII, 16556 = *ILS* 6839
Theveste (Numidia)	late 2nd or 3rd cent.	Lucius Aemilius Felix	/	*concuriales eius*	*ex quorum usuris ... epulentur*	voluntary: *die natalis sui*	*CIL* VIII, 1845 = *CIL* VIII, 16501 = *ILS* 6837
Theveste (Numidia)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Titus Flavius Caelestinus	office-holder ?	*Cur[iis*	*summam] HS L(milia) n(ummum) ... [... ut ex] usuris eius [quotannis epularentur]*	voluntary : *nata[li suo]*	*CIL* VIII, 1887 = *CIL* VIII, 16510 = *AE* 1977, 859
Theveste (Numidia)	163-165	[Q(uintus) Titinius Securus]	office-holder	*curiis? Et Augustal]ibus(?)*	*epulum*	office-related?: *ob honorem? ---*	*AE* 1933, 233
Agbia (A.P.)	138-161	Cincius Victor	*patronus*	*universis civibus;* *universis civibus*	*epulum;* *[ep]ulum*	voluntary?: after being appointed *patronus* of his town responsive : *fil(ium) eius ex consensu et favorae patronum*	*CIL* 08, 1548 = *CIL* VIII, 15550 = *ILS* 6827

						expostulassent et fecissent	
Ain Ghechil (A.P.)		Gaius Mutilius Felix Annaeianus	*adsertor publicus*	*d(ecurionibus)*	*epulo*	testamentary: *ex testamento*	*CIL* VIII, 23823 = *ILS* 4450
Al Minshar (A.P.)	161-169	Agrius Samsera	*decurio*	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honorem decurionatus sui*	*CIL* VIII, 25468 = *ILTun* 1221 = *AE* 1904, 83
Althiburos (A.P.)		/	/	*curialib(us)*	*epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 16473
Aradi (A.P.)	180-192	/	/	*populo*	*[epu]lum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 23862
Avedda (A.P.)		/	/	*ordini*	*epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 14371
Avitta Bibba (A.P.)		/	office-holder		*[ep]ulo*	office-related: *[ob honorem f]laminatus*	*CIL* VIII, 12278
Bisica (A.P.)		/	/	*civesque et populos universos non solum propriae urbis verum etiam vicinarum*	*epulis*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 23880 = *ILTun* 666
Capsa (A.P.)	280	Turius Verna[---]	office-holder	*[civibus(?)]*	*epulu[m*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 100 = *CIL* VIII, 11228
Cillium	314 or	Quintus	/	*curiis*	*epu[lum*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 210

(A.P.)	later	Manlius Felix Receptus					= *CIL* VIII, 11299 = *ILS* 5570
Chaouat (A.P.)	238-244	/	office-holder	*curiis et 237opulous populo*	*epulum*	office-related: *ex 237opulous237 pecunia hon[oraria ---] [--- promiserat]*	*CIL* VIII, 25371 = *ILS* 5472
Chidibbia (A.P.)	late 2nd – early 3rd cent.	/	/	*civi[bus*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*AE* 2003, 2005
Chidibbia (A.P.)		Gaius Pleminius	*heres* and *coniunx*	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	testamentary: *ex testamento*	*AE* 2003, 2006
Choud el Batel (A.P.)		/	/		*epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 25847
Dar-el-Acheb (A.P.)	late 2nd cent.	/	/	*univ]er[sis civibus*	*[epulum]*	voluntary: *in [amorem] civitatis su[a]e*	*AE* 1904, 115
Furnos Minus (A.P.)	early 3rd cent.	Lucius Octavius Felix Octavianus	office-holder	*populo*	*epulum*	responsive: *universus 237opulous ex aere conlato statuam posuit*	*CIL* VIII, 25808b = *ILS* 9403 = *AE* 1909, 162
Furnos Minus (A.P.)		Gentius Proculus Rogatianus	office-holder	*decurionibus et curiis omnibus*	*epulum*	voluntary?: in memory of another *flamen perpertuus* (?)	*AE* 1961, 53
Gigthis (A.P.)	161	Quintus Servaeus Marcer	/		*ep[ul]um*	office-related: *ob hon[orem mu]lt[ipl]icata*	*CIL* VIII, 22709 = *ILTun* 26

						pec[unia ---]	
Giufi (A.P.)	3rd cent.	Publius Pompeius Geminus and Caius Areius Rogatus	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	office-related: they made a joint dedication to the *Genius* of the *ordo decurionum*	*AE* 2003, 1985
Giufi (A.P.)	early 3rd cent.	Publius Titius and [Q(uintus)] Severius Verus	office-holders	*decurion[ibus*	*epulum*	office-related: benefactions were probably given when they were holding the post of aedile	*CIL* VIII, 860
Giufi (A.P.)		/	/	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 867 = *CIL* VIII, 12374
Giufi (A.P.)		Lucius Publicius Optatus and Publius Goddaeus Rufinus	office-holders	*ordini*	*epulum*	office-related: *aediles inlata r(ei) p(ublicae) s(umma) h(onoraria) sua liberalitate fecerunt*	*CIL* VIII, 12378
Giufi (A.P.)	231	Marcus Areius Optatus and Quintus Minucius Secundus	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	office-related: *multiplicata summa honoraria aedilitatis suae*	*ILAfr* 294
Giufi (A.P.)	233	Quintus Cervius Lucretius	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulum*	office-related: benefactions were probably provided	*CIL* VIII, 23991 = *ILS* 5776 =

		Maximus and Gaius Geminius Victoricus				when they were holding the post of aedile	*ILTun* 750
Giufi (A.P.)	early 3rd cent.	Decimus Fundanius Primianus and Annius Memmianus	office-holders	*decurionib(us)*	*epulas*	office-related: *ob honorem aedilitatis*	*CIL* VIII, 858 = *ILS* 5073
Giufi (A.P.)		Publius Iddibalius Victorinus and Marcus Domitius Victor	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulas*	office-related: two *aediles* made a joint dedication when they were holding the post	*CIL* VIII, 859 = *CIL* VIII, 12376
Giufi (A.P.)		Quintus Cervius Tertullus Felix Celerianus and Publius Cornelius Dativus	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulas*	office-related: two *aediles* made a joint dedication when they were holding the post	*CIL* VIII, 861 = *CIL* VIII, 12379
Giufi (A.P.)		Marcus Cimbrius Saturninus	office-holder	*ordini*	*epulas*	office-related: *ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et IIviratus sui*	*CIL* VIII, 862 = *CIL* VIII, 12382 = *ILS* 6821
Giufi (A.P.)		Gaius	office-holder	*ordini*	*epulas*	office-related:	*CIL* VIII, 863

		Gemnius Felix				*ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et IIviratus sui*	
Gor (A.P.)	late 2nd or 3rd cent.	Maria Victoria and Ofelius Primus	decurial	*ordini*	*epulum*	responsive: *ordo de publico statuam ei decrevisset Maria Victoria fil(ia) heres eius titulo et loco contenta*	*CIL* VIII, 12422
Gor (A.P.)	3rd cent.	Publius Ligarius Potitus	*decurio*	*decurionibus*	*ex eius summae reditum id est usurae … epulo*	voluntary: *die XVI Kal(endas) Ian(uarias) natalis eius*	*CIL* VIII, 12421 = *ILS* 5071 = *ILTun* 766
Gori (A.P.)	late 2nd – 3rd cent.	Maria [---]C[---] and Marius / [---]	parents of a *decurio*	*decurionibus*	*(denarios) mille pol(l)icitus est [---] ex reditu eorum … epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue for their son	*ILTun* 769 = *AE* 1928, 26 = *AE* 1992, +1829 = *AE* 1999, +1755
Hippo Regius (A.P.)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Aurelius Honoratus	office-holder	*decurio[nibus item curiis omnibus] et Augustalibus*	*dedit illatis(?) HS] C mil(ibus)… epula[---]*	testamentary: *testa[mento dedit illatis(?) HS] C mil(ibus) in die natali uxoris suae*	*AE* 1958, 144
Hippo Regius (A.P.)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Vibia Sev[era]	/	*Aug[ustali]bus (decurionibus sportu[las])*	*[---] HS ep[ul]andi gratia Aug[ustali]bus quodannis*	voluntary: *filiae suae perpetuo memoriam*	*AE* 1955, 152
Limisa		/	/	*populo*	*vinum*	/	*AE* 2004,

(A.P.)							1700 = *AE* 2008, +101
Macomades (A.P.)	265	Gaius Valerius Valentinus	/	*popularib[u]s, sa[c]erdotibus*	*ex HS LXVII mil(ibus) D n(ummum)... popularib[u]s epulo ... etiam perpetuo epulo annuo sa[c]erdotibus*	voluntary?	*AE* 1905, 35
Mactaris (A.P.)	180-192	Gaius Sextius Martialis	military officer	*curialibus*	*epulaticium ex usuris*	voluntary: *ob memoriam fratris sui ... die natali fratris sui*	*CIL* VIII, 11813 = *ILS* 1410 = *AE* 1899, 112 = *AE* 1992, +1774
Madauros (A.P.)	3rd cent.	[[T(itus) [F]lav[ius ---]]]	office-holder	*cur[iis*	*[... epulum?]*	responsive: *ordo sp[lendidissimae] col(oniae) Ma[daurensium] et p[opulus statuam] suis su[mptibus posuerunt]*	*AE* 1931, 41
Madauros (A.P.)	2nd or 3rd cent.	Quintus Obstorius Honoratus	office-holder	*curiis*	*epulum*	office-related: *in eum honorem fl(amonii) p(er)p(etui)*	*ILAlg* 1, 2130 = *AE* 1919, 44
Municipium	late 3rd or 4th	Quintus Vetulenius	office-holder	*univers(a)e plebi*	*epulu(m) per tridu(um)*	office-related?	*CIL* VIII, 23965 = *AE*

Aurelium Commodianum (Bou Cha, A.P.)	cent.	Urbanus Herennianus					1894, 51
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (Bou Cha, A.P.)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	*decurio*	*condecurionibus suis*	*epulum*	/	*ILTun* 746
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (Bou Cha, A.P.)		/	office-holders	*decurionibus*	*epulas*	office-related?	*CIL* VIII, 23966
Municipium Septimium (Debbik, A.P.)	181	Quintus Secundus	an honorary office-holder	*[populo*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honor(em) XIpr(imatus)... ex HS IIII mil(ibus) n(ummum) legitimis ampliata pecunia*	*CIL* VIII, 14791 = *ILS* 6808 = *ILTun* 1283
Musti (A.P.)	187-188	Gaius Orfius Luciscus	office-holder	*curiis et Cerealicis*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 16417 = *AE* 1968, 609 = AE 1991, 1678 = *AE* 2011, +1526 = *IMustis* 14

Musti (A.P.)	222-235	Iulia	office-holder	*curi]ae honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e, curiis*	*curi]ae honestiss(imae) Aug(ustae) classi prim(a)e ...ex cuius usuris annuis redac[tis] omnib(us) annis in perpetuum epularetur, epulumq(ue) decedens ob dedi[c(ationem)] curiis*	office-related: *ho]nestae memoriae flaminica*	*AE* 1968, 588 = *IMustis* 20
Musti (A.P.)	late 2nd cent.	Lucius Iulius Titisenus Rogatus Kappianus	/	*populo*	*epulum*	testamentary: *testamento suo*	*CIL* VIII, 1574 = *CIL* VIII, 15576
Musti (A.P.)	217-218	Lucius Nonius Rogatianus Honoratianus with his wife (Orfia Fortunata) and two sons (Nonius Orfianus and Nonius Fortunatus)	office-holder	*curiis*	*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem flamoni[i per]petui*	*AE* 1968, 591
Musti	after	Gaius	/	*[univer]sis*	*[epulis]*	voluntary:	*CIL* VIII,

(A.P.)	238	Cornelius		*popularibus*		*[in] memoriam quond(am) soceri sui [et ob eximiam in r(em) p(ublicam) adfe]ctionem Mustitanis*	1577 = *CIL* VIII, 15572
Musti (A.P.)		/	/	*populo*	*epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 1587 = *CIL* VIII, 27441
Musti (A.P.)	218-222 or 222-235	Maria Lucina and sons	office-holder	*civibus*	*epulis*	office-related: *ob honor(em) eiusd(em) [--- promisissent*	*CIL* VIII, 1578
Musti (A.P.)	2nd or 3rd cent.	/	/		*ex quorum usuris quodannis ob diem dedicationis epulum*	/	*CIL* VIII, 15578
Numlulis (A.P.)	c.170	Lucius Memmius Pecuarius Marcellinus	decurial	*populo*	*epulum*	office-related: *promisisset et ob honorem flamoni(i) Iuniae Saturninae uxoris suae*	*CIL* VIII, 26121 = *AE* 1892, 145
Numlulis (A.P.)	124	Rogatus	/		*epul(atus)*	/	*CIL* VIII, 15381
Pagus Suttuensis (A.P.)	early 2nd cent.	Sextus Pullaienus Florus Caecilianus (cf. *CIL* VIII, 26615)	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related?	*CIL* VIII, 26419

Pupput (A.P.)		/	/	*curialibus*	*[epulatio]nes*	/	*ILAfr* 315
Qasr al Hadid (A.P.)	late 2nd -3rd cent.	/	office-holder	*universo populo*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honorem] flamoni(i)*	*CIL* VIII, 11998 = *ILS* 5072 = *ILTun* 610 = *AE* 1941, +157 = *AE* 1999, +1755
Seressi (A.P.)	late 2nd – 3rd cent.	Armenia Auge and Bebenia Pauliana	decurial?	*municipib(us)*	*epulum*	testamentary: *Testamento*, to celebrate the dedication of the arch bequeathed by their son and brother	*CIL* VIII, 937 = *CIL* VIII, 11216
Sidi Naui (A.P.)	196	Marcus Salvius Celsus Pinarianus	decurial?	*universis civibus*	*epulum*	office-related: to accomplish the promise made by his grandfather	*CIL* VIII, 754 = *CIL* VIII, 12218 = *CIL* VIII, 23107 = AE 1894, 64
Simitthus (A.P.)		/	/	*curia Caelest(ia)*	*epulantur*	testamentary: *test]amen[to suo] curiae [Caeles]tiae HS X [m(ilia) n(umum) le]gavit … curia Caelest(ia) … natali eius XI K(alendas) April(es)*	*CIL* VIII, 14613 = *ILS* 6825 = *AE* 1955, +126

					epulantur		
Soltane (A.P.)	162	Coclius Saturninus Golicus	office-holder		*epulum*	office-related: *ob [hon]orem flamoni(i) p(er)[p(etui)]*	*ILAfr* 303 = AE 1909, 160
Sululos (A.P.)	200-211	Caius Trebius Cornelianus	decurial?	*decurionib(us) et omnib(us) c]ivibus*	*ep[ulo*	office-related: *ob receptum [i]n ordinem decurionum... filiolum*	*AE* 1997, 1643 = AE 2003, +1890
Sutunurca (A.P.)	146	Germanus	/	*populo*	*viscerationem*	office-related: *ob honorem flam(onii) perp(etui) Quintae f(iliae) suae*	*ILAfr* 300
Sutunurca (A.P.)	146	Aufidius Felix Felicionis ?	office-holder		*visce[rationem*	office-related: *h]on(oraria) summa dec(urionatus)*	*CIL* VIII, 24003 = *AE* 1896, 75 = *AE* 1993, 1736
Sutunurca (A.P.)	2nd or 3rd cent.	[---]nanius Abonius	office-holder	*universis*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honorem flaminat[us] sui p[erp(etui)] et decurionatus fili(i) sui*	*ILAfr* 304
Thabarbusis (A.P.)	early 3rd cent.	Quintus Flavius Lappianus	equestrian	*civibus*	*epulo*	responsive: *populus Thabarbusitanus statuam ... obtulit ...*	*AE* 1960, 214

						Lappianus reddita omni pecunia solo honore contentus	
Thagaste (A.P.)	late 2nd – 3rd cent.	Marcus Amullius Optatus Crementianus	equestrian	*curiis*	*epulas vini*	responsive: *ordo splendidissimus Thagastensium conlata certatim pecunia*	*CIL* VIII, 5146 = *ILAlg* 1, 876
Thibicaae (A.P.)	3rd cent.	Lucius Plancius Victorianus and Gaius Volussius Statianus	office-holders	*civibus*	*epulum*	office-related: *multiplicatis summis honorari(i)s aedilitatis suae*	*CIL* VIII, 769 = *CIL* VIII, 12224
Thibursicum Bure (A.P.)	4th cent.	Sextius Rusticus Valianus	senatorial	*unive[rsis civibus]*	*epulas*	/	*CIL* VIII, 1447 = *CIL* VIII, 15256
Thigibba Bure (A.P.)	222-235	Caius Caelius Felix	office-holder	*universis civibus*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob mis(s)iliorum aeditionem et qu(a)esturae summam facturum se promiserat ampliata pecunia*	*AE* 1999, 1845 = *AE* 2003, +1890
Thubba (A.P.)		/	office-holder	*populo*	*amplius [ep]ul[um]*	office-related: *[ob honorem] decuriona[tus atque ob] honor(em) aedili[tatis*	*CIL* VIII, 14296

Thuburbo Maius (A.P.)	2nd cent.	Marcus Fannius Vitalis	office-holder	**rei p(ublicae)*	*epulum*	office-related: *o[b ho]norem flam(inatus)*	*CIL* VIII, 853 = *CIL* VIII, 12370 = *AE* 1942/43, 102 = *ILTun* 692
Thuburnica (A.P.)		Quintus Furfanius Martialis	office-holder		*epul(um) bis*	office-related: *ob decus [q]uinq(uennalitatis)*	*CIL* VIII, 25703-4 = *AE* 1891, 119
Thugga (A.P.)	214	Gabinia Hermiona	decurial/equestrian	*decurionibus*	*ex] HS C m(ilibus) n(ummum) … epulum*	testamentary: *testamen[to suo*	*CIL* VIII, 1483 = *CIL* VIII, 15505 = *CIL* VIII, 26650 = *ILAfr* 527 = *Dougga* 39 = *AE* 1997, 1654 = AE 2007, 1741
Thugga (A.P.)	138-161	Iulia Paula Laenatiana	office-holder	*[universo populo]*	*epulum*	office-related: *ob honorem flaminatus sui perp[etui*	*CIL* VIII, 1491 = *CIL* VIII, 26525 = *ILAfr* 522
Thugga (A.P.)	264	[---]s Felix Iulianus	office-holder	*decurionibu[s*	*epulum*	office-related: *ex summa fla[monii perpetui ---]dit*	*CIL* VIII, 10620 = *CIL* VIII, 15521 = *CIL* VIII, 26559 = *ILTun* 1416 = *Dougga* 62

Thugga (A.P.)	c.205	Asicia Victoria	office-holder	*curiis*	*HS C mil(ibus) n(ummum) patriae suae donaverit ex [quorum reditu... e[pulum*	office-related: *summa[m] flamonii perp(etui) sui honorar[iam ampliatam] etiam filiae [su]ae ... ob flam(onium)] HS C mil(ibus) n(ummum) patriae suae donaverit*	*CIL* VIII, 26591 = *ILTun* 1427 = *Dougga* 73
Thugga (A.P.)		/	/		*[epulum]*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 26608
Thugga (A.P.)	c.164-168	Lucius Calpurniu[s ---]	/	*universis*	*vinum*	office-related?: *ex prom]issis HS C mil(ibus) a[diectis H]S L m[il(ibus)]*	*CIL* VIII, 15528 = CIL VIII, 26527 = *ILTun* 1404 = *AE* 1899, 214
Thugga (A.P.)	2nd cent.	Publius Marcius Quadratus	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem flaminatus sui perpe[tui]*	*CIL* VIII, 26606 = *ILTun* 1434 = *ILS* 9364 = *Dougga* 33
Thugga (A.P.)	late 2nd cent.	Publius Ma[r]cius [Quadrat]us	office-holder	*[decu]rion[ib(us)]*	*[ep]ul[o]*	office-related: *ob honorem fl]a[minatus sui per]pet[ui*	*CIL* VIII, 1498 = *CIL* VIII, 26528
Thugga (A.P.)	222-235	Quintus Gabinius Rufus Felix	decurial		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem parentum su[oru]m*	*CIL* VIII, 1500 = *CIL* VIII, 1501 =

		Beatianus				(it probably refers to his father who had been elected *flamen perpetuus*, *patris ob] honorem flamonii perp[etui]*)	*CIL* VIII, 1502 = *CIL* VIII, 15509 = *ILAfr* 514
Thugga (A.P.)	261	Botria Fortunata	office-holder	*[universo popul]o*	*[e]puli[s]*	office-related: *ob summam honoris flaminatus*	*CIL* VIII, 1505 = *CIL* VIII, 15510 = *CIL* VIII, 26558 = *ILAfr* 530 = *Dougga* 40
Thugga (A.P.)	222-235	Quintus Gabinius Rufus Felix Beatianus	decurial?		*epulo*	testamentary	*CIL* VIII, 26458
Thysdrus (A.P.)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	/	*populo*	*epulum*	voluntary: *natalibus filiarum suarum*	*CIL* VIII, 22856 = *ILTun* 106
Tichilla (A.P.)	2nd or 3rd cent.	/	/	*[p]opulo*	*epulas*	/	*CIL* VIII, 1361 = *CIL* VIII, 14884a
Tuccabor (A.P.)	177-180	Caius Volcius Quietus	/	*congentilibus et sacerdotib[us]*	*viscerationem et epu[lum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of an altar, probably for the imperial cult	*CIL* VIII, 1321 = *CIL* VIII, 14853
Tuccabor	2nd or	/	office-holder	*populo;*	*populo epulum;*	office-related:	*CIL* VIII,

(A.P.)	3rd cent.			*dec(urionibus)*	*epul(um) dec(urionibus)*	*honorem fl(amoni) p]erp(etui) …[legitim]am promisisset multiplicata pecunia*; office-related: to display more generosity following benefactions *ob honorem*	1323 = *CIL* VIII, 14855
Tuccabor (A.P.)	mid – late 2nd cent.	]ianus	/	*[populo]*	*[epulu]m*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 14856
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	late 3rd cent.	/	office-holder	*populo et decurionib[us*	*epulum*	responsive?: *in honorem [---]* (following the conferment of an unknown honor)	*CIL* VIII, 15457 = *CIL* VIII, 26277 = *CIL* VIII, 26278
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/; Pullaienus Bassus	/	**patria* **cives*	*epulum ter;* *epulo quarto*	voluntary: *Genium patriae statuis adornasset et epulum ter dedisset* voluntary: *ut adfectibus civium pareret*	*CIL* VIII, 26279 = *AE* 1908, 268
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	3rd cent.	Quintus Apronus Vital	/	**rei p(ublicae)*	*in epu[lationem ---] sui HS II mil(ia)*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 26239 = *ILS* 9398 = *AE*

							1907, 91
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	4th cent.	/	*patronus*	*ci[vi]bus*	*epulas*	voluntary: *frequentissi[ma]s votis propriis*	*CIL* VIII, 26280
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	197	Gaius Lucilius Athenaeus	office-holder	*decurionib(us)*	*epulo*	office-related: *depensis in curam s(upra) s(criptam) quam ipse gessit HS XII mil(ibus) n(ummum) summae suae honorariae*	*CIL* VIII, 26255 = *ILS* 9401 = *AE* 1908, 263
Ureu (A.P.)	late 2nd cent.	/	/	*curialib(us) et universis civibus*	*epulum*	responsive: *splendidissimus et flo[re]ntissimus ordo bene merito civi decrevit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*	*AE* 1975, 877
Uthina (A.P.)	late 1st – early 2nd cent.	Gaius Egnatius Cosminus	office-holder	*curi(i)s*	*curi(i)s singulis annuos (denarios) LXXV dedit ut … in publico vescantur*	testamentary: *testamento suo legavit … ut natali eius*	*CIL* VIII, 24017
Vallis (A.P.)	late 2nd or early 3rd cent.	Gaius Egnatius Felix	office-holder	*populo*	*ep[u]lum*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 14783 = *ILS* 5075
Vallis (A.P.)		Lucius Sallu[stius]	*decurio*	*[univer]sis condecurion[ibus*	*[epulum]*	/	*CIL* VIII, 1284 = *CIL*

		Maxima[					VIII, 14782
Vallis (A.P.)	late 3rd cent.	/	/	*curiam suam*	*epulavit*	/	*ILTun* 1282 = *AE* 1931, 32
Vazi Sarra (A.P.)	208-209	Publius Opstorius Saturninus	office-holder	**patriae suae*	*epulum*	office-related: *triplicata summa fl(amonii) p(erpetui)... ampliata liberalitate*	*CIL* VIII, 12006
Vazi Sarra (A.P.)	211	Publius Opstorius Saturninus	office-holder		*[e]pulum*	office-related: *[t]ripli[cata sum]m(a) fl(amonii) p(erpetui) HS III mil(ia) n(ummum) ... pollicitus fuisset ampliata liberalitate*	*CIL* VIII, 12007
Zama Regia (A.P.)	after 138	Gaius Pescennius Saturus Cornelianus	office-holder		*epulum bis*	office-related: *ob h[ono]rem flam(onii)*	*CIL* VIII, 12018 = *ILS* 4454 = *ILTun* 603
Zawiet el Laala (A.P.)	3rd cent.	/	office-holder	*universis curis*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*CIL* VIII, 12434
Zucchar (A.P.)	late 2nd or 3rd cent.	Lucius Sesenna Bassus	/	**decurionibus, curialib(us)*	*ex reditu ... epulationis*	testamentary: *testament ... die natali suo*	*CIL* VIII, 924 = *CIL* VIII, 11201 = *ILTun* 783 = *ILS* 5494
Abdera (Baetica)	1st – 2nd cent.	[---]lia Anulla	office-holder		*[e]pulo*	office-related: *sacerdo[s divae*	*CIL* II, 1979 = *IRAlmeria*

						Aug(ustae)] [basili]cam cum hypa[ethro ---]	2 = *HEp* 1990, 22 = *HEp* 1997, 17 = *HEp* 1999, 64
Arucci (Baetica)	2nd cent.	Baebia Crinita	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related: *sacerdoti quae templum Apollinis et Dianae dedit*	*CIL* II, 964 = *CILA* 1, 5 = *ILS* 5402
Barbesula (Baetica)	98-117	Fabia Fabiana and Fulvia Honorata	decurial?		*epul(o)*	testamentary: *ex testamento*	*CIL* II, 1941 = *HEp* 2006, 264
Batora (Baetica)	167-172	Annia Severa	decurial		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem pontifica[tus] mariti*	*CIL* II, 5, 59 = *CILA* 3, 1, 69
Callet Gaditanus (Baetica)		[--- Agr]ippa	decurial		*[epulo]*	responsive: *h(onore) [u(sus)] [im]pensam [remisit epulo]*	*CILA* 2, 3, 967 = *HEp* 1997, 904
Canania (Baetica)		Lucius Attius Vetto	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related: benefactions were probably given when he was holding the office of *duumvir*	*CIL* II, 1074 = *ILS* 5544
Carmo (Baetica)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Lucius Aemilius Pudens	office-holder at Munigua	*utriusq(ue) sexus*	*epulo*	voluntary?	*CIL* II, 1378 = *CILA* 2, 4, 1072 = *AE* 1972, 267
Carteia	1st – 2nd	Fabia Fabiana	/		*epulo*	voluntary:	*AE* 1974, 384

(Baetica)	cent.				to celebrate the dedication of a statue with jewelry ornaments for Diana Augusta	= *AE* 1975, 496
Castilleja de la Cuesta (Baetica)	mid-2nd cent	Cornelia Fabulla	decurial	*epul(o)*	voluntary: *patri pientissimo et optimo posuit*	*CIL* II, 1258 = CILA 1, 84
Cartima (Baetica)		*heres* of Lucius Porcius Victor	/	*epulo*	testamentary: *testamento*	*CIL* II, 1949
Cartima (Baetica)	1st cent.	*heredes* of Vibia Rusticana	/	*[e(pulo)]*	testamentary: *suo et uxoris suae nomine … testamento*	*CIL* II, 1952
Cartima (Baetica)	70-79	Iunia Rustica	office-holder	*epulo*	office-related?	*CIL* II, 1956 = *ILS* 5512
Cartima (Baetica)	after 69	Valeria Situllina	office-holder	*epulo*	voluntary?	*CIL* II, 5488
Cartima (Baetica)		heres of Lucius Porcius Victor	/	*epulo*	testamentary: *testamento*	*CIL* II, 1951
Cisimbrium (Baetica)	late 1st or early 2nd cent.	Flavia Valeriana	decurial	*epulo*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of buildings and statues donated by her grandfather	*CIL* II, 5, 294 = *CIL* II, 2098 = *ILS* 5356

Iliberris (Baetica)	late 1st to 2nd cent.	Patricia	office-holder	*populo*	*[epulo]*	office-related: *[ob ho]norem sacer[dotii]*	*CIL* II, 5, 631 = *CIL* II, 5514 = *CILA* 4, 15
Ilipula Minor (Baetica)	2nd cent.	Caius Cordius Fontanus	/		*epuloq(ue)*	responsive: *honore usus impensam remisit epuloq(ue) dato*	*CIL* II, 5, 896 = CIL II, 1469 = CILA 2, 4, 1198
Iliturgi (Baetica)	1st – 2nd cent.	Sextus Quintius Fortunatus	*sevir*	*civibus et incolis*	*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem VIvir(atus)*	*CIL* II, 7, 28 = *CIL* II, 7, 29 = *CIL* II, 2100 = *ILS* 3395 = *CILA* 3, 1, 224
Iporca (Baetica)		Cornelia Prisca	/	*pleb(i) et ordini*	*epulo*	testamentary: *testamento suo*	*CIL* II, 1047 = *CILA*, 2, 4, 1048
Municipium Lunense (Baetica)	late 2nd cent.	Quintus Lepidius?	/		*epulo*	/	*CIL* II, 1647 = *CILA* 3, 7
Munigua (Baetica)	second half 2nd cent.	Quintia Flaccina	office-holder (cf. *AE* 1966, 183)		*epu[l]o*	office-related: a silver statue of the *[Genius M]unicipi(i) [cum] exe[d]ra et aede*	*CILA* 2, 4, 1058 = *AE* 1972, 270 = *HEp* 1997, 916 = *AE* 2003, +841
Munigua (Baetica)	second half 2nd cent.	Quintus Aelius Vernaclus	/ (*amicus et heres*)	*utriq(ue) sexui*	*epulo*	voluntary: *in honorem et memoriam Quintiae M(arci) f(iliae)*	*CILA* 2, 4, 1055 = *AE* 1966, 183 = *AE* 2006,

						Flaccinae Munig(uensis) flaminic(ae) divar(um) Aug(ustarum) splend(issimae) provinc(iae) Baetic(ae)	640
Murgi (Baetica)	second half 1st cent.	Lucius Aemilius Daphnus	*sevir*	*civibus et incolis*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of baths donated by him	*CIL* II, 5489 = = *IRAlmeria* 43 = *HEp* 13, 9
Naeva (Baetica)	early 2nd cent.	Lucius Aelius Aelianus and Egnatia Lupercilla	office-holder and his wife	*municipib(us) et incolis utriusque sexus*	*epulo*	office-related: benefactions were probably given when Aelianus was *duumvir*	*CIL* II, 1191 = *CILA* 2, 1, 272 = *AE* 1958, 39 = *HEp* 1990, 624 = *HEp* 1993, 336 = *HEp* 1998, 396
Nescania (Baetica)	late 2nd cent.	Fabia Restituta	/	*decurionibus et filiis eorum*	*epulo*	responsive: *ordo Nescaniensium statuam poni iussit et decrevit Fabia Restituta mater honore accepto impensam remisit epulo dato*	*CIL* II, 5, 847 = *CIL* II, 2011

Nescania (Baetica)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Aelia Optata	/	*decurionibus*	*epuloque*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue for her son	*CIL* II, 5, 849 = *CIL* II, 5492
Ocurri (Baetica)	2nd cent.	Postumius Optatus	/		*epulo*	voluntary: *in honorem perpetuum municipii sui reliquit pro meritis eius*	*CIL* II, 1338
Osqua (Baetica)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Gaius Licinius Agrippinus	/		*epulo*	voluntary: *pater statuam … d(edicavit)*	*CIL* II, 5, 737 = *AE* 1981, 506
Osqua (Baetica)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Gaius Licinius Agrinus	decurial		*epulo*	voluntary: *f(ilius) optimo patri*	*CIL* II, 5, 736 = *CIL* II, 2030 = *ILS* 5488
Ostippo (Baetica)	2nd – 3rd cent.	/	/	*or[dini et] plebi*	*ep(ulo)*	/	*CIL* II, 5, 985 = *CIL* II, 1441 = *CILA* 2, 4, 1129
Ostur (Baetica)	134	Suconia Rustica	/	*utriusq(ue) sexus*	*epulo*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue set up by her husband	*CIL* II, 1267 = *CILA* 1, 81
Saepo V()(Baetica)		Pomponia Rosciana	office-holder		*epulo*	responsive: *ordo splendidissimus municipi(i) Victric(is)*	*CIL* II, 1341

						Saeponensium decrevit accepto loco statuam in foro sua pecunia posuit epulo dato	
Salpensa (Baetica)	1st or 2nd cent.	[---]IA Celerina	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honorem sacerdoti(i)*	*CIL* II, 1278 = *CILA* 2, 3, 951
Singilia Barba (Baetica)	2nd cent.	L(ucius) Clodiu[s --- M]ontanus	decurial		*epulo*	office-related: *ob honor(em) [---]latus*	*CIL* II, 5, 794 = *HEp* 1995, 572
Suel (Baetica)	1st cent.?	Lucius Iunius Puteolanus	*VIvir Augustalis*		*epulo*	voluntary	*CIL* II, 1944 = *ILS* 6914
Tucci (Baetica)	late 2nd cent.	Lucretia Campana	office-holder		*epulo*	office-related (testamentary): *t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit) … ob honor(em) pontificatus*	*CIL* II, 5, 69 = *CIL* II, 1663 = *ILS* 5080 = *CILA* 3, 2, 420
Asso (Tarraconensis)	117-138	Lucius Aemilius Rectus	*patronus* of Asso		*epulo*	testamentary: *testamento suo rei pub(licae) Assotan(orum) fieri iussit epulo annuo adiecto*	*CIL* II, 5941 = *ILS* 6954 = *HEp* 2011, 405 = *AE* 2011, +583
Castulo (Tarraconensis)	first half 2nd cent.	Cornelia Marullina	/	**civitatem Castulonensium*	*epulo*	voluntary: Marullina's generosity won her son a public statue	*CILA* 3, 1, 101 = *AE* 1958, 4

Castulo (Tarraconensis)	1st – 2nd cent.?	Quintus Torius Culleo	*proc(urator) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Baet(icae)*	*populo*	*epulo*	voluntary	*CIL* II, 3270 = *CILA* 3, 1, 91 = *AE* 1975, 526
Ilugo (Tarraconensis)	late 1st – early 2nd cent.	Annia Victorina	decurial?		*epulo*	voluntary: *ob memoriam mariti et f(ilii)*	*CIL* II, 3240 = *CILA* 3, 1, 245 = *ILS* 5764
Tagili (Tarraconensis)	late 1st – early 2nd cent.	Voconia Avita	/		*epulo*	voluntary	*AE* 1979, 352 = *IRAlmeria* 48
Balsa (Lusitania)	late 2nd cent.	Manlia Faustina	decurial		*epulo*	voluntary: *soror fratri piissimo*	*CIL* II, 4990 = *CIL* II, 5162

Appendix II
Epigraphic references to privately sponsored collegial dining

Privately sponsored dining for *collegia*

Site	Date	Benefactor	Identity	Beneficiaries	Food benefactions	Categories of food benefactions	References
Cumae (Reg.I)	251	Lucius Ampius Stephanus	*sacerdos Matri deum, quinquennalis dendrophorus*	*dendrophori*	*panem vinum*	office-related?	*CIL* X, 3699 = *ILS* 4174 = *AE* 2010, +281
Lavinium (Reg.I)	227	Gaius Servilius Diodorus	*v(ir) e(gregius), proc(urator), praef(ectus), trib(unus)*	*collegi[o(?) den]drophororum*	*HS XX(milia) n(ummum), ut ea qu[an]titas conlocetur et eius summae usurae quicunces ... epulari publice*	voluntary: *die pr(idie) Iduum Nov[em]brium natalis mei*	*AE* 1998, 282 = *AE* 2000, +243
Ostia (Reg. I)	212	Caius Caesius Eutychion	*immunis*	*k(annophoris!) O(stiensibus)*	*pan(em) vin(um)*	voluntary?	*CIL* XIV, 119

Ostia (Reg.I)	256	Caius Iulius Cocilius Hermes	*patronus, quinquennalis perpetuus collegii*	*col(legium) den(drophorum) Ost(iensium)*	*(denariis) CLXXX usuras eorum epulentur*	voluntary: *die natalis sui*	*AE* 1987, 198
Ostia (Reg.I)	140	Aulus Egrilius Faustus	*quinquennalis*	*corporati*	*ex usuris s(ummae) .. epulentur*	testamentary: *testamento reliqu(i)t HS IIII m(ilia) n(ummum) … uti ex usuris s(ummae) s(uprae) s(criptae) V Kal(endas) Dec(embras) omnibus annis epulentur*	*CIL* XIV, 246 = AE 2000, +19 = *AE* 2001, +621
Ostia (Reg.I)		/	/	*qui in eo collegi[o sunt ---]*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*CIL* XIV, 4557
Ostia (Reg.I)	143	Publius Sextilius Agripp[a]		*qui in collegio es[sent]*	*ex us[uris] summae… epularentur*	voluntary: *die natali{s} su[i]*	*AE* 1940, 62
Signia, Reg. I	3rd cent.	Titus Iulius Eutyches	*patronus et rector collegii, quinquennalis*	*colleg(ium) dend(rophororum) Sign(inorum)*	*epulum*	responsive: *ex aere collato statuam collegium dendrofor(um) posuerunt*	*CIL* X, 5968 = *ILS* 6272
Caposele (Reg. III)	81-96	Lucius Domitius Phaon	/	*collegium Silvani*	*ex reditu eorum fundoru(m) … epulandum*	voluntary	*CIL* X, 444 = *ILS* 3546 = *AE* 2005, +97b

#Eburum (Reg.III)	late 2nd – early 3rd cent.	Titus Flavius Silvanus	*pat(ronus) mun(icipii) Ebur(inorum), IIvir (iterum), q(uin)q(uennalis), quaest(or) arc(ae), cur(ator) rei frument(ariae)*	*coll(egiis) dend[ro]phor(orum) et fab(rum)*	*epul[u]m*	responsive: *coll(egium) dendrophor(o)r(um) ob exsimiam erg[a] se benevolentiam et spem per[p]etuam statuam dignissim[o] patrono posuerunt … honore contentus*	*CIL* X, 451 = *InscrIt* 3, 1, 5 = *AE* 1989, 187
Castrum Truentinum (Reg.V)	97-102	Claudia Hedone	/	*cultores Herculis*	*vescerentur*	voluntary	*ILS* 7215
Tolentinum (Reg.V)	first half 2nd cent.	Titus Furius Primigenius	patron of the *collegium*?	*colleg(ium) fabror(um) tignuar(iorum)*	*HS X(milia) n(ummum) ded(it) ex cuius summ(ae) redit(u) … epulentur*	voluntary: *die natalis sui*	*CIL* IX, 5568 = *ILS* 7256
Ameria (Reg.VI)	second half 2nd cent.	Titus Petronius Proculus	*IIIIvir aed(ilicia) p(otestate), IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), curator lusus iuvenum V(ictoriae) F(elicitatis)*	*iuvenes Augustales*	*pane et vino epulantibus*	responsive: *iuvenes Aug(ustales) ob m(erita) e(ius)* erected a statue for him	*CIL* XI, 4395 = *ILS* 6632 = *AE* 2003, +29

			C(aesaris)				
Ameria (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Iulia Felicitas	*uxor IIIIviri, magistra Fortunae Melioris, patrona* of the *centonarii?*	*coll(egium) centonarior(um)*	*ex usuris eius summae epulantes*	responsive: *coll(egium) centonarior(um) ob merita eius* erected a statue for her	*CIL* XI, 4391 = *AE* 2011, +191
Mevania (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Gaius Attius Januarius	*libertus, VIvir s(acris) f(aciundis), VIIIIvir Val(etudinis)*	*collegium centonariorum (ne minus homines XII)*	*ex cuius reditu … vescerentur*	testamentary: *legavit HS (mille) ex cuius reditu quod annis die parentaliorum ad rogum suum vescerentur*	*CIL* XI, 5047 = AE 2004, +38
Ocriculum (Reg.VI)	247-248	Marcus Iulius Ulpius Cleopater	*patronus civit(atis) et collegi(i) centonar(iorum) item amatorum Romuliorum*	*amatores Romulii*	*epul(as)*	responsive: *ob merita et innocenti(a)e eius honoris gratia amatores*	*CIL* XI, 7805 = *ILS* 7365 = *AE* 1899, 93
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	2nd cent.	Marcus Fremedius Severus and Blassia Vera	*patroni*	*cultores Iovis Latii*	*panem et vinum*	voluntary	*CIL* XI, 6310 = *ILS* 3082 = *Pisaurum* 21
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	180-191	Lucius Apuleius Brasida	*VIvir Aug(ustalis) ornament(is) decurional(ib*	*colleg(ium) fabr(um)*	*pane et vin(o)*	responsive: *colleg(ium) fabr(um) patrono et quinq(uennali) ob*	*CIL* XI, 6358 = *ILS* 6654 = *Pisaurum* 69

			us) honor(ato), patronus et quinq(uennalis) of *colleg(ium) fabr(um)*			*eximiam eius erga se liberalitatem*	
Brixellum (Reg.VIII)	2nd cent.	Filetus	*libertus*	*collegium centonariorum Brixellanorum*	*epul(a)e*	voluntary?	*CIL* XI, 1027 = *ILS* 6671
Clastidium (Reg.VIII)		Marcus Labikanus Memor	/	*colleg(ium) centonar(iorum)*	*epulis*	voluntary: *in memoriam eorum*	*CIL* V, 7357
Parma (Reg.VIII)	1st – 2nd cent.	Gaius Praeconius Ventilius Magnus and Livia Benigna	equestrian	*sodalibus suis*	*hortulorum haec iugera XXXV ita ut reditus eorum in cenis*	testamentary: *... in perpetuum legavit*	*AE* 1953, 98 = *AE* 1960, 249 = *AE* 1962, +161 = *AE* 1993, 713 = *AE* 2000, 583 = *AE* 2008, +264
Ravenna (Reg.VIII)	1st – 2nd cent.	Claudius Iustus	/	*dec(uria) VII collegi(i) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis)*	*HS |(mille) n(ummum) donavit ... epulentur*	voluntary: *ob memoriam patris sui*	*CIL* XI, 132 = *ILS* 7235
Ravenna (Reg.VIII)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Lucius Fanius	/	*decurionib(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis)*	*ex quor(um) redditu ... de reliq(uis) ibi epulentur*	voluntary: to commemorate his wife	*CIL* XI, 127

Ravenna (Reg.VIII)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Lucius Publicius Italicus	/	*decurionib(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) m(unicipii) R(avennatis)*	*ex quor(um) reditu ...epulentur*	voluntary: to commemorate his wife	*CIL* XI, 126 (cf. *CIL* XI, 127, one of them might be a forgery)
Altinum (Reg.X)	1st cent.	Lucius Ogius Patroclus	*patronus*	*col(legium) cent(onariorum)*	*ex reditu eor(um)... escae*	testamentary: *hortos cum aedificio huic sepult(o)... ut ex reditu eor(um) largius rosae et esc(a)e patrono suo et quandoque sibi ponerentur*	*CIL* V, 2176 = *ILS* 8369
Aquileia (Reg.X)	3rd cent.	Marcus Antonius Valens	*veterani filius*	*decuriae meae, Maron(ianae) colleg(ii) fabr(um)*	*ex qua reditus eius ...epulet(is)*	testamentary: *sicut testamento meo*	*Pais* 181 = *Pais* 1136 = *InscrAqu* II, 2873 = *IEAquil* 280
Aquileia (Reg.X)	2nd cent.	Lucius Domitius Epaphroditus	*decurio in col[leg(io) fabr(um)]*	*coll(egium) fa[br(um) (?[co]lleg(ium) incrementoru[m] [c]ultorum Minerva[e])*	*p[an(em) et vin(um) ---] pernas IX*	office-related?: *is anno primo magisteri sui imaginem ar[genteam] cum base et hasta pro parte dimidia coll(egio) fa[br(um) dedit] isdem pridie Nonas Iulias ad*	*CIL* V, 8251 = *Pais* 117 = *AE* 1995, 573

						mare euntibus p[an(em) et vin(um) ---] pernas IX et cibaris aeris octonos d[edit]	
Arilica (Reg.X)	second half 2nd cent.	Gaius Petronius Marcellinus	*inter primos in collegio navicularioru m Arelicensium*	*collegium naviculariorum Arelicensium*	*HS n(ummum) II(milia) ad sollemnia cibu[m] et rosarum*	testamentary: *legavitqu[e] HS n(ummum) II(milia) ad sollemnia cibu[m] et rosarum sibi et coniu[gi]*	*CIL* V, 4015 = *ILS* 6711
Arilica (Reg.X)	second half 2nd cent.	Publius Virucate Maxim[i]nus et Tertius	/	*coll(egium) n(autarum) V(eronensium) A(relicae)*	*ex reditu eius quondannis rosas eis deducantur et cibos ponendum secus veterem consuetudinem*	voluntary: *parentib(us) b(ene) m(erentibus) quorum ob memor(iam)*	*CIL* V, 4017 = *ILS* 8372
Atria (Reg.X)		Quintus Titius Severus	/	*col(legium) naut(arum) m(unicipii) A(triae)*	*s(estertios) n(ummum) CCCC ad rosas et escas*	voluntary: in memory of his father	*CIL* V, 2315 = *AE* 2007, +571
Comum (Reg.XI)	2nd cent.	Publius Appius Eutyches	/	*c(ollegii) f(abrum) c(entorariorum)*	*ex cuius summae reditu … lectist(ernium) ex |(denariis) CCL ponant sport(ulas) |(denarios) CCL inter praesent(es)*	voluntary: to commemorate his wife	*CIL* V, 5272 = *AE* 2004, +161

				sibi divid(ant) oleum et propin(ationem) per rosam praebeant		
Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae)		Lucius Blaesius Iunius Cornutus	*magister coll(egii) dendro[p]hororum*	*coll(egium) dendro[p]hororum*	vinum	office-related?	*CIL* V, 7904 = *IANice* 71a
Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae)	2nd – 3rd cent.	Etereia Aristolais	*mater*	*coll(egium) cent(onariorum)*	*epulum, |(denarios) L(milia) ita ut ex usur(is)... ex more epularentur*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue for her son and to commemorate his son	*CIL* V, 7906 = *ILS* 8374 = *IANice* 71b
Narbo (Gallia Narbonensis)	149	Sextus Fadius Secundus Musa	*omnibus ho[norib(us)] in colonia N[arbo]nens[i fu]nctus, patronus*	*collegium fabrum*	*ut usuras eius summae... epulantes in perpetuum*	responsive: *plurimis et adsiduis erga me meritis vestris... amori vestro*	*CIL* XII, 4393 = *ILS* 7259 = *AE* 1978, 461 = *AE* 1992, 1225
Ambarri (Lugdunensis)		Marcus Rufius Catullus	*curator n(autarum) Rhod(anicorum)*	*omnibus Tricontis* (probably referring to a club of boatmen)	*cenam*	testamentary	*CIL* XIII, 2494 = *ILS* 9439
Castellum Elefantum (Numidia)	late 2nd – early	Clodia Donata	/	*collegia*	*vinum per collegia ad epulandum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a	*ILS* 6865 = *AE* 1900, 37 = *AE* 1900,

	3rd cent.					statue of the *Genius* of her town	+195
Salona (Dalmatia)	2nd – 3rd cent.	?	*magistra*	*collegium*	*epulum*	voluntary: *in memori(am) Luriae Hygiae filiae*	*CIL* III, 1971
Salona (Dalmatia)		/	/	*colle[gium]*	*[e]pulum*	/	*AE* 1994, +1346

Privately sponsored dining for the *Augustales*

Site	**Date**	**Benefactors**	**Status**	**Beneficiaries**	**Food benefactions**	**Categories of food benefactions**	**References**
Aletrium (Reg.I)	first half 1st cent.	Quintus Minucius Anteros	*l(ibertus), VIv[ir] Augustal(is)*	*seviris Augustal(ibus) Aletrin[at(ium)]*	*HS X(milia) quoius ex red[itu] ...vescerentur*	testamentary: *legavit HS X(milia) quoius ex red[itu] quod annis natali suo*	*CIL* X, 5809
Misenum (Reg.I)	97	Publius Herennius Callistus	*Augustalis*	*Augustales*	*epulum*	voluntary?	*AE* 1993, 474 = *AE* 1994, 426f = *AE* 2007, +359 = *AE* 2007, 414
#Misenum (Reg.I)	148	Quintus Cominius Abascantus, Nymphidia Monime	*curator Augustalium perpetuus,* wife (adlected to the association of *Augustales* later)	*Augustalib(us) corporatis viritim*	*epulum*	voluntary: to celebrate the dedication of a statue for her husband	*AE* 2000, 344 = *AE* 2003, +279 = *AE* 2004, +423 = *AE* 2007, +359

Misenum (Reg.I)	112-113	Lucius Kaninius Hermes Senior, Lucius Kaninius Philippus, Lucius Kaninius Hermes Iunior	*Augustales*(Kaninius Senior and Iunior), *decurio* (Kaninius Philippus)	*Augustales*	*epulum*	voluntary: *largissima voluntate sua pietati publicae satisfecerit*	*AE* 1993, 472 = *AE* 1993, 473 = *AE* 1996, 424 = *AE* 2007, +359
Misenum (Reg.I)	99	Caius Julius Phoebus	*curator perp(etuus)*	*Augustales*	*epulum*	responsive: *Augustales ex aere conlat(o)*	*AE* 1993, 479 = *AE* 2007, +359 = AE 2007, 415
Misenum (Reg.I)	165-175	Cassia Victoria	*sacerdos Augustalium*	*Augustales*	*epulum*	responsive: *ob eximiam eorum erga se benivolentiam*	*AE* 1993, 477 = *AE* 2007, +359
Misenum (Reg.I)	2nd cent.	Lucius Laecanius Primitivos	*curator [p]erpetuus*	*Augustales*	*ut ex redi[t]u ...epulentur*	voluntary: *die natalis sui*	*CIL* X, 1880 = *ILS* 6328a
#Reate (Reg.IV)	1st – 2nd cent.	Titus Fundilius Geminus	*VIvir Aug(ustalis), mag(ister) iuv(enum), patronus et quinq(uennalis) perpetuus*	*Augustales*	*HS XX(milia) dedit ut ex reditu eius summae ...vescerentur*	voluntary: *die natali suo*	*CIL* IX, 4691

# indicates that the inscription contains information about privately sponsored public dining and collegial dining.

Appendix III
Benefactors of public dining

Note: 'Members of the local elite' refers to those holding various magistracies (including *duumviri*, *quattuoviri*, *quinquennales*, *curatores*, *aediles*, *quaestores*, *praefecti*, *decuriones*, etc.) and priesthoods (such as *pontifices*, *flamines*, *sacerdotes*, *augures*, etc.), civic patrons, former army officers (e.g. *tribuni militum*, *centurioni*) and those who were not office-holders but were members of local elite families.

Members of the local elite

Men (N = 159)

Site	Name	Public offices and Status	References
Ferentinum (Reg.I)	Aulus Quinctilius Priscus	*IIIIvir aed(ilicia) potest(ate), IIIIvir iure dic(undo), IIIIvir quinq(uennalis) adlecto ex s(enatus) c(onsulto), pontif(ex), praef(ectus) fabr(um)*	*CIL* X, 5853 = *ILS* 6271 = *AE* 1992, 252
Ferentinum (Reg.I)	Lucius Pacuvius Severus	*[IIII]vir aed(ilicia) pot(estate), IIIIvir [i(ure) d(icundo), I]IIIvir quinq(uennalis) censor(ia)[potest(ate), pontif]ex, praef(ectus) fabr(um)*	*CIL* X, 5844 = *ILS* 6270
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	Marcus Valerius	*aed(ilis), dict(ator), praef(ectus) iuventutis*	*CIL* XIV, 2121 = *ILS* 5683
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	/	*praef(ectus) iuventutis, eq(uus) p(ublicus)*	*AE* 1994, 345
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	Gaius Sulpicius Victor	*patronus municipi(i)*	*CIL* XIV, 2120 = *ILS* 6199 = *AE* 2005, 309
Ostia (Reg.I)	Publius Lucilius Gamala	*aed(ilis) sacr(is) Volc(ani), [a]edilis, [p]ontifex, IIvir censoriae pot(estatis) quinquennal(is), cura[tor] pecuniae publicae*	*CIL* XIV, 375 = *CIL* I, 3031a = *ILS* 6147 = *AE* 2000, +263 = *AE* 2014, +22

Privernum (Reg.I)	Titus Flavius Scopellianus	*IIvir [i]terum, pr(aetor) IIvir quinq(uennalis), patronus colon(iae)*	*AE* 1974, 228
Signia (Reg.I)	Marcus Hordeonius Rufus	*augur, IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*	*CIL* X, 5967
Sinuessa (Reg.I)	Marcus Cacius Cerna	*IIvir, trib(unus) mil(itum), praef(ectus) fabr(um)*	*CIL* X, 4736
Sora (Reg.I)	Marcus Baebius Sabinus	decurial	*CIL* X, 5714 = *ILS* 6290 = *AE* 1985, 267
Sora (Reg.I)	Marcus Valerius Septiminus	decurial	*CIL* X, 5714 = *ILS* 6290 = *AE* 1985, 267
Sora (Reg.I)	Marcus Valerius Secundinus	decurial	*CIL* X, 5714 = *ILS* 6290 = *AE* 1985, 267
Surrentum (Reg.I)	Lucius Cornelius [M--]	*flamen Romae Ti(beri) Ca[es(aris) Aug(usti)], augur, aed(ilis), IIvir qu[inquenn(alis), praef(ectus) fabr(um) bis*	*CIL* X, 688 = *EAOR* 8, 8
Tusculum (Reg.I)	Marcus Pontius Felix	*senator, aedil(is) munic(ipii)*	*CIL* XIV, 2636 = *ILS* 6209
Verulae (Reg.I)	Lucius Alfius Valentinus	*IIvir II q(uin)q(uennalis), p(atronus) m(unicipii) V(erulani), curat(or) rei p(ublicae) col(oniae) Casinatium et patronus*	*CIL* X, 5796 = *ILS* 6268 = *AE* 1964, +107
Compsa (Reg.II)	/	*IIIIvir, ae[dilis, IIII]vir q(uin)q(uennalis), q(uaestor) [pec(uniae) publ(icae), qua]est(or) aliment(orum), [sacerd(os)], XVvir Matri[s deum]*	*CIL* IX, 981
Pagus Veianus (Reg.II)	Gaius Safronius Secundus	*aed(ilis), decur(io) Beneventi pag(i) Ve[i]ani, curat(or), patronus*	*CIL* IX, 1503 = *ILS* 6508
Blanda Iulia (Reg.III)	Marcus Arrius Clymenus	*IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), q(uaestor) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae)*	*AE* 1976, 176 = *AE* 1979, +194 = *AE* 1992, 315 = *AE* 1999, +543
Croton (Reg.III)	Gaius Futius Onirus	*iterum IIvir*	*CIL* X, 107 = *ILS* 6466
Eburum (Reg.III)	Titus Flavius Silvanus	*pat(ronus) mun(icipii) Ebur(inorum), IIvir II q(uin)q(uennalis), qu(a)est(or) arc(ae), cur(ator) rei frument(ariae)*	*CIL* X, 451 = *InscrIt* 3, 1, 5 = *AE* 1989,

			187
Petelia (Reg.III)	Manius Megonius Leo	*aed(ilis), IIIIvir leg(e) Cor(nelia), q(uaestor) p(ecuniae) p(ublicae), patronus municipii, IIIIvir q(uin)q(uennalis)*	*ILS* 6468 = *AE* 1894, 148
Alba Fucens (Reg.IV)	Pr[---] / C(aius) Ama[redius ---]	decurial?	*CIL* IX, 3950 = *CIL* VI, 859
Amiternum (Reg.IV)	Caius Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius	*patronus*	*SupIt* 9, A, 34 = *EAOR* 3, 47 = *AE* 2002, +68
Antinum (Reg.IV)	Quintus Novius Iucundus	*p(atronus) m(unicipii), cur(ator) Kalend(arii), omnibus oneri(bus) honoribusqu[e] perfunctus*	*CIL* IX, 3838
Antinum (Reg.IV)	Sextus Petronaeus Valerianus Antinus	*IIIIvir iur(e) dicund(o)*	*CIL* IX, 3842
Corfinium (Reg.IV)	]ASA[---]	*sacer[dos ---], pontifex, curator Kalendar(ii) rei public(ae), aedil(is), praef(ectus), IIIIvir, IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo)*	*CIL* IX, 3160 = *ILS* 6530
Corfinium (Reg.IV)	Quintus Avelius Priscus Severius Severus Annavus Rufus	*flamen divi Augusti, patronus municipi(i), primus omnium Corfiniensium quaestor rei publicae, IIIIvir, aedilis, IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), IIIIvir quinq(uennalis), pontif(ex) Laurenti(um) Lavinati(um)*	*AE* 1961, 109 = *AE* 1994, +542
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	[---]vius Pri[---]	*[IIIIvi]r iur(e) dic(undo) Curibus [Sa][bin]is III, praef(ectus) iur(e) dicu[ndo], [quae]stor alimentor(um)*	*CIL* IX, 4976
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	Labeo	*[IIIIvir iure dicu]nd(o) bis*	*CIL* IX, 4973 = *AE* 1953, +66
Fagifulae (Reg.IV)	Quintus Parius Severus	*quinquen(nalis)*	*CIL* IX, 2553 = *AE* 2006, 362
Fagifulae (Reg.IV)	/	*qu[i]nq(uennalis)*	*AE* 1997, 432
Iuvanum (Reg.IV)	]sidius Vin[---]	*patronus*	*AE* 2004, 467
Telesia (Reg.IV)	Quintus Fillius Rufus	*pr(aetor) IIvir*	*CIL* IX, 2226 = *ILS* 5595

Telesia (Reg.IV)	Quintus Agrius Celer	*pr(aetor) IIvir*	*CIL* IX, 2226 = *ILS* 5595
Asculum Picenum (Reg.V)	Lucius Cossinius Curvus	*pontifex, [ae]dilis*	*CIL* IX, 5196 = *AE* 2000, 467
Auximum (Reg.V)	Marcus Oppius Capito Quintus Tamudius Milasius Aninius Severus	*equus publ(icus) iudici select(o) ex V decur(iis), praef(ectus) fabr(um), pont(ifex) q(uin)q(uennalis) II, q(uaestor) IIII, p(atronus) c(oloniae) et p(atrono) c(oloniae) Aesis et muni(cipii) Numanat(ium) idem quinq(uennalis)*	*CIL* IX, 5831 = *ILS* 6572
Auximum (Reg.V)	Caius Oppius Bassus	*p(rimus) p(ilus), p(atronus) c(oloniae), pr(aetor) i(ure) d(icundo) Aux(imi), (centurio) leg(ionis)*	*CIL* IX, 5840 = *ILS* 2085
Firmum Picenum (Reg.V)	Quintus Terentius Senecinous Fannianus	*IIvir quinq(uennalis), pontifex*	*AE* 1975, 354 = *AE* 1978, 291
Ameria (Reg.VI)	/	*cu]r(ator) pec(uniae) ann(onariae), [--- cur(ator) k]al(endarii) r(ei) p(ublicae) Amer(inorum), [---] patron(us) VIvir(orum), [--- prae]f(ectus) c(ollegii) centonar(iorum) [--- col(legii)] scabill(ariorum) col(legii) [--- fabr]um tignar(iorum)*	*CIL* XI, 4404
Camerinum (Reg.VI)	Caius Veianius Rufus	*aedilis, IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), patronus municipi(i) et complurium civitatium, equus publicus, curat(or) rei p(ublicae) Plestinor(um) dato a maximis Impp(eratoribus) Antonino Aug(usto) [[[et Commodo Aug(usto)]]] Antonini Aug(usti) f(ilio) flamen divor(um) Aug(ustorum), Laurenti sacerdotio ornato*	*CIL* XI, 5635 = *ILS* 6640
Camerinum (Reg.VI)	father of Caius Veianius Rufus	his son was a prominent figure at Camerinum and himself also enjoyed a certain standing among the citizens	*CIL* XI, 5635 = *ILS* 6640
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	Gaius Tifanus Agricola	*aedil(is), IIIIvir*	*AE* 2000, 531 = *AE* 2005, 463 = *AE* 2012, +109; *AE* 2000, 533 = *AE* 2005,

			464 = *AE* 2012, +109
Forum Sempronii (Reg.VI)	Lucius Maesius Rufus	*proc(urator) Aug(usti), trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV Apollinaris, trib(unus) coh(ortis) mil(iariae) Italic(ae) volunt(ariorum) quae est in Syria, praef(ectus) fabrum bis*	*CIL* XI, 6117
Ocriculum (Reg.VI)	Sextus Aufidianus Celer	*praef(ectus) fabrum, IIIIvir, aedilis, IIIIvir iur(e) dic(undo), IIIIvir quinq(uennalis), quaestor IIII*	*CIL* XIV, 3581 = *CIL* XI, 4081 = *InscrIt* 4, 1, 39 = *AE* 1968, 162
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	Caius Aufidius Verus	*pont(ifex), q(uaestor), IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis)*	*CIL* XI, 6360 = *Pisaurum* 71
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	Gaius Titius Valentinus	*aedilis, q(uaestor), IIvir*	*CIL* XI, 6377 = *EAOR* 2, 9 = *Pisaurum* 88
Pisaurum (Reg.VI)	Titus Caedius Atilius Crescens	*eq(uus) p(ublicus), patr(onus) col(oniae) et primarius vir, q(uaestor), IIvir et IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), patr(onus) VIvir(orum) August(alium) itemq(ue) coll(egiorum) fabr(um) cent(onariorum) navic(ulariorum) dendr(ophororum) vicim(agistrorum) iuvenum forensium item studior(um) Apollinar(is) et Gunthar(is)*	*CIL* XI, 6362 = *ILS* 7364 = *Pisaurum* 73
Pitinum Pisaurense (Reg.VI)	Gaius Caesidius Dextrus	*trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Italic(ae), praef(ectus) equit(um) alae classianae Invictae bis torquatae c(ivium) R(omanorum), pontifex Pit(ini) P[isa]uri, patronus*	*CIL* XI, 6033
Sentinum (Reg.VI)	Gaius Aetrius Naso	*equus publicus in quinque decuriis, praefectus coh(ortis) I Germanor(um), trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) I Italicae*	*CIL* XI, 5745 = *ILS* 6644
Sestinum (Reg.VI)	Lucius Dentusius Proculinus	*eq(uus) p(ublicus), curat(or) kal(endarii) Tif(ernatium) Mat(aurensium) da[t]o a[b] Impp(eratoribus) Seve[r]o et An[t]onino Augg(ustis), aed(ilis), IIIIvir, flam(en), augur, pa[t]ron(us) coll(egii) cent(onariorum)*	*CIL* XI, 6014 = *ILS* 6645
Spoletium	Gaius	*IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), augur*	*CIL* XI, 4815

(Reg.VI)	Torasius Severus		= *ILS* 6638
Spoletium (Reg.VI)	/	*trib(unus) mil(itum) leg(ionis) XV Apollinaris et leg(ionis) Macedonic(ae)*	*CIL* XI, 4789
Tifernum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	Lucius Aconius Statura	his father: (*centurio) leg(ionis)… Arimini pontifex quinq(uennalis), Tiferni Mat(aurensis) flamen, pontifex quinq(uennalis)*	*CIL* XI, 5992 = *IDRE* 1, 125
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	Lucius Gresius Proculus	*IIIIvir*	*CIL* XI, 5717 = *ILS* 6643
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	Sextus Aethrius Ferox	*centurio leg(ionis) II Traianae Fortis, primus omnium ex cornicul[ar(io)] praef(ecti) [v]igil(um), Imp(erator) Caesar Antoninus Aug(ustus) Pius p(ater) p(atriae) ordinem Alexandriae dedit*	*CIL* 11, 5693 = *ILS* 2666
Urvinum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	Gaius Clodienus Serenus Vesnius Dextrus	*eques Roman(us), patron(us) municipi(i) et plebis, omnibus honorib(us) perfunct(is), pontifex*	*CIL* XI, 6060
Urvinum Mataurense (Reg.VI)	Lucius Vettius Statura	*Xvir stlit(ibus) iudic(andis), trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae), quaestor provinc(iae) Narbonensis, trib(unus) pl(ebis), praetor IIIIvir quinq(uennalis) i(ure) d(icundo), patronus municipi(i)*	*CIL* XI, 6054
Ager Viterbiensis (Reg.VII)	Marcus Aurelius Marcellus	*pontif(ex) iur(e) dic(undo) Sorr(inensium) Nov(ensium), quaestor arc(ae) publicae, patron(us) coll(egii) fabr(um) et cent(onariorum)*	*CIL* XI, 3009 = *ILS* 6595
Ferentium (Reg.VII)	Aulus Salvius Crispinus	*IIIIvir(atum) quater*	*CIL* I, 2634 = *AE* 1978, 305 = *AE* 2000, 567
Forum Clodii (Reg.VII)	Lucius Cascellius Probus	*quinquennalis adlect(us), q(uaestor) alim(entorum), cur(ator) annonae*	*CIL* XI, 7556 = *ILS* 6584
Tarquinii (Reg.VII)	Marcus Tarquitus Priscus	*haruspex Ti(beri) Caesaris Augusti, [[IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), prae]f(ectus) fabr(um)*	*AE* 2008, 524 = *AE* 2011, +89
Tarquinii (Reg.VII)	Marcus Tarquitus Etruscus	*IIIIvir i(ure) d(icundo), trib(unus) milit(um) et [praef(ectus) fabr(um)*	*AE* 2008, 524 = *AE* 2011, +89
Visentium	Marcus	*IIv(ir) i(ure) d(icundo), quinq(uennalis)*	*AE* 1974, 329

(Reg.VII)	Mina[tus Gallus]		= *AE* 1980, 428
Visentium (Reg.VII)	Marcus Minatus Maternus	his father was *IIvir i(ure) d(icundo), quinq(uennalis)*	*CIL* XI, 2911 = *ILS* 3796a
Comum (Reg.XI)	Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus (Pliny the Younger)	*co(n)s(ul)], augur, legat(us) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Pon[ti et Bithyniae] consulari potesta[t(e)] in eam provinciam, curator alvei Ti[b]eris et riparum e[t cloacar(um) urb(is)], praef(ectus) aerari Satu[r]ni, praef(ectus) aerari mil[it(aris), pr(aetor), trib(unus) pl(ebis)], quaestor Imp(eratoris), sevir equitum [Romanorum], trib(unus) milit(um) leg(ionis) [III] Gallica[e, Xvir stli]tib(us) iudicand(is)*	CIL V, 5262 = ILS 2927
Cemenelum (Alpes Maritimae)	Quintus Domitius [---]n(us)	*IIvir, amp[liator ur]bis et collegio[rum III]*	*CIL* V, 7905
Risinium (Dalmatia)	Quintus Manlius Rufus	*dec(urio), iudex ex quinq(ue) decuri(i)s, equo publico*	*CIL* III, 1717
Narona (Dalmatia)	Marcus Aurelius Valerius	*v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*	*CIL* III, 1805 = *ILS* 5695
Nedinum (Dalmatia)	Sextus Octavius Constans	*IIvir, pontif(ex)*	*CIL* III, 2869
Risinium (Dalmatia)	Caius Statius Celsus	*evoc(atus) Aug(usti), (centurio) leg(ionis)*	*CIL* III, 6359 = *ILS* 2665 = *IDRE* 2, 305
Municipium S[](Dalmatia)	Sextus Aurelius Lupianus	*principes*	*AE* 2002, 1115 = *AE* 2005, 1183
Lugdunum (Lugdunensis)	Caius Gentius Olillus	*magister pagi bis*	*CIL* XIII, 1670 = *ILS* 7036
Arelate (Narbonensis)	Gaius Iunius Priscus	*IIv[ir] quinquen[nalis] cand(idatus) Arelate[nsium] item flam[en Augusta]lis*	*CIL* XII, 697 = *ILGN* 109 = *EAOR* 5, 7 = *AE* 1965, 270
Auzia (Mauretania Caesariensis)	Lucius Cassius Restutus	*ex dec(urione) vet(eranus)*	*CIL* VIII, 9052

Icosium (Mauretania Caesariensis)	Flaviu[s ---]ni[n]us	*aed(ilis), IIvi[r qui]nq[u]enna(lis), pontife[x, p]rimus in colonia*	*CIL* VIII, 20853 = *AE* 1896, 115 = *AE* 1897, +36
Thamugadi (Numidia)	/	*dec(urio) alae Fl(aviae) Severiana[e*	*AE* 1954, 154
Thamugadi (Numidia)	Lucius Licinius Optatianus	*flamen perpetuus*	*CIL* VIII, 17829 = *ILS* 434
Thamugadi (Numidia)	Gaius Papirius Fortunatus	*duumvir V, aedilis, p(raefectus) i(ure) d(icundo)*	*AE* 1901, 191
Thamugadi (Numidia)	Marcus Pompeius Pudentianus	*vet(eranus), fl(amen) p(erpetuus)*	*AE* 1941, 46
Theveste (Numidia)	Salvianus	*decurio?* (He paid out *legitimam [---]*)	*CIL* VIII, 16530
Theveste (Numidia)	Quintus Crepereius Rufinus	*augur, aedilis, praef(ectus) i(ure) d(icundo), IIvir*	*CIL* VIII, 16556 = *ILS* 6839
Theveste (Numidia)	Titus Flavius Caelestinus	*[IIvir? flamen?] mun(us) qui[nque diebus cum] occisioni[b(us) ferarum edidit ...]*	*CIL* VIII, 1887 = *CIL* VIII, 16510 = *AE* 1977, 859
Theveste (Numidia)	[Q(uintus) Titinius Securus]	*pont]if(ex)*	*AE* 1933, 233
Agbia (A.P.)	Cincius Victor	*patronus*	*CIL* 08, 1548 = *CIL* VIII, 15550 = *ILS* 6827
Al Minshar (A.P.)	Agrius Samsera	*decurio*	*CIL* VIII, 25468 = *ILTun* 1221 = *AE* 1904, 83
Avitta Bibba (A.P.)	/	*flamen*	*CIL* VIII, 12278
Capsa (A.P.)	Turius Verna[---]	*[--- cur(ator)] rei p(ublicae) Taca[pitanorum et Cap]sensium*	*CIL* VIII, 100 = *CIL* VIII, 11228
Chaouat (A.P.)	/	*[duumvi]r, fl(amen) perpetu(u)s*	*CIL* VIII, 25371 = *ILS* 5472
Furnos Minus (A.P.)	Gentius Proculus Rogatianus	*f(lamen) p(erpetuus)*	*AE* 1961, 53

Giufi (A.P.)	Publius Pompeius Geminus	*quaestoricus aedilis*	*AE* 2003, 1985
Giufi (A.P.)	Caius Areius Rogatus	*quaestoricus aedilis*	*AE* 2003, 1985
Giufi (A.P.)	Publius Titius	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 860
Giufi (A.P.)	[Q(uintus)] Severius Verus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 860
Giufi (A.P.)	Lucius Publicius Optatus	*quaestoricus aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 12378
Giufi (A.P.)	Publius Goddaeus Rufinus	*quaestoricus aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 12378
Giufi (A.P.)	Marcus Areius Optatus	*aedilis*	*ILAfr* 294
Giufi (A.P.)	Quintus Minucius Secundus	*aedilis*	*ILAfr* 294
Giufi (A.P.)	Quintus Cervius Lucretius Maximus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 23991 = *ILS* 5776 = *ILTun* 750
Giufi (A.P.)	Gaius Geminius Victoricus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 23991 = *ILS* 5776 = *ILTun* 750
Giufi (A.P.)	Decimus Fundanius Primianus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 858 = *ILS* 5073
Giufi (A.P.)	Annius Memmianus	decurial, *collega of* Decimus Fundanius Primianus	*CIL* VIII, 858 = *ILS* 5073
Giufi (A.P.)	Publius Iddibalius Victorinus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 859 = *CIL* VIII, 12376
Giufi (A.P.)	Marcus Domitius Victor	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 859 = *CIL* VIII, 12376
Giufi (A.P.)	Quintus Cervius Tertullus Felix Celerianus	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 861 = *CIL* VIII, 12379
Giufi (A.P.)	Publius	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 861

	Cornelius Dativus		= *CIL* VIII, 12379
Giufi (A.P.)	Marcus Cimbrius Saturninus	*q(uaestoricius) IIviral(icius)*	*CIL* VIII, 862 = *CIL* VIII, 12382 = *ILS* 6821
Giufi (A.P.)	Gaius Gemnius Felix	*IIviralicius*	*CIL* VIII, 863
Gor (A.P.)	Maria Victoria	her father: *flamen perpetuus*	*CIL* VIII, 12422
Gor (A.P.)	Ofelius Primus	*su[fes], fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 12422
Gor (A.P.)	Publius Ligarius Potitus	*decurio*	*CIL* VIII, 12421 = *ILS* 5071 = *ILTun* 766
Hippo Regius (A.P.)	Aurelius Honoratus	*[flamen A]ug(usti) p(er)p(etuus), omnibus honoribus functus*	*AE* 1958, 144
Mactaris (A.P.)	Gaius Sextius Martialis	*trib(unus) mil(itum) legionis II[II] Scythicae, proc(urator) Aug(usti) ab actis urbis, pr[oc(urator)] Aug(usti) inter mancip(es) XL Galliarum et negotiantes, proc(urator) Macedoniae*	*CIL* VIII, 11813 = *ILS* 1410 = *AE* 1899, 112 = *AE* 1992, +1774
Madauros (A.P.)	[[T(itus) [F]lav[ius ---]]]	*aed(ilis), IIv[ir ---], adser[tor legum]*	*AE* 1931, 41
Madauros (A.P.)	Quintus Obstorius Honoratus	*vet(eranus) coh(ortis) I ur[banae honestae mi]ssionis, fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), IIv[i]r quod ei ordo col(oniae) Madaur(ensium) militanti decurion[atum*	*ILAlg* 1, 2130 = *AE* 1919, 44
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (A.P.)	Quintus Vetulenius Urbanus Herennianus	*fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae)*	*CIL* VIII, 23965 = *AE* 1894, 51
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (A.P.)	/	*decurio*	*ILTun* 746
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (Bou	/	*aediles*	*CIL* VIII, 23966

Cha, A.P.)			
Municipium Septimium(Debbik, A.P.)	Quintus Secundus	*XIpr(imatus)*	*CIL* VIII, 14791 = *ILS* 6808 = *ILTun* 1283
Musti (A.P.)	Gaius Orfius Luciscus	*prae[f(ectus) i(uris) d(icundi) pro IIvir(is), IIvir] [it]erum, q(uin)q(uennalis), sacerdos publicus deae Caelestis et Aesculapi*	*CIL* VIII, 16417 = *AE* 1968, 609 = AE 1991, 1678 = *AE* 2011, +1526 = *IMustis* 14
Musti (A.P.)	Lucius Nonius Rogatianus Honoratianus	*fl(amen) an(nuus), aedil(is), IIvir, fl(amen) perp(etuus)*	*AE* 1968, 591
Musti (A.P.)	Lucius Fulvius Kastus Fulvianus	*[proc(urator) prov(inciae) Africae tr]act(us) Kart(haginis) et Galliae Narbo[nensis*	*CIL* VIII, 1578
Musti (A.P.)	[L(ucius) Fulvius ---]	mother: *flam(inica),* brother: *proc(urator) prov(inciae)*	*CIL* VIII, 1578
Numlulis (A.P.)	Lucius Memmius Pecuarius Marcellinus	son: *decurio, flamen divi Nervae;* wife: *flaminica*	*CIL* VIII, 26121 = *AE* 1892, 145
Pagus Suttuensis (A.P.)	Sextus Pullaienus Florus Caecilianus	*s]a[c(erdos) Cer(eris) an(no) CLXX, praefectus iur(e) dicun(do), IIvir, flam(en) perp(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 26419; cf. *CIL* VIII, 26615
Qasr al Hadid (A.P.)	/	*flamen*	*CIL* VIII, 11998 = *ILS* 5072 = *ILTun* 610 = *AE* 1941, +157 = *AE* 1999, +1755
Sidi Naui (A.P.)	Marcus Salvius Celsus Pinarianus	grandfather: *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 754 = *CIL* VIII, 12218 = *CIL* VIII, 23107 = AE 1894, 64
Soltane (A.P.)	Coclius Saturninus Golicus	*flamen p(er)[p(etuus)]*	*ILAfr* 303 = AE 1909, 160
Sululos	Caius Trebius	son: *decurio*	*AE* 1997,

(A.P.)	Cornelianus		1643 = AE 2003, +1890
Sutunurca (A.P.)	Aufidius Felix Felicionis ?	*cur[ator? --- civitat]is suae, flam(en) perp(etuus), dec[urio ---]*	*CIL* VIII, 24003 = *AE* 1896, 75 = *AE* 1993, 1736
Sutunurca (A.P.)	[---]nanius Abonius	*flam(en) [perpet(uus)]*	*ILAfr 304*
Thabarbusis (A.P.)	Quintus Flavius Lappianus	*fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) municipii Kalamensium splendidissimo, eq(ues) R(omanus)*	*AE* 1960, 214
Thagaste (A.P.)	Marcus Amullius Optatus Crementianus	*eques Romanus, vir munificentiae*	*CIL* VIII, 5146 = *ILAlg* 1, 876
Thibicaae (A.P.)	Lucius Plancius Victorianus	*f[l(amen) p(er)p(etuus)], aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 769 = *CIL* VIII, 12224
Thibicaae (A.P.)	Gaius Volussius Statianus	*fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 769 = *CIL* VIII, 12224
Thuburnica (A.P.)	Quintus Furfanius Martialis	*IIvir, f[lam(eni) Aug(usti)], [q]uinq(uennalis)*	*CIL* VIII, 25704
Thibursicum Bure (A.P.)	Sextius Rusticus Valianus	*v(ir) c(larissimus), proconsul*	*CIL* VIII, 1447 = *CIL* VIII, 15256
Thigibba Bure (A.P.)	Caius Caelius Felix	*aedilis*	*AE* 1999, 1845 = *AE* 2003, +1890
Thubba (A.P.)	/	*decurio, aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 14296
Thuburbo Maius (A.P.)	Marcus Fannius Vitalis	*(centurio) coh(ortis) IIII Sygambror(um) coh(ortis) I Hisp(anorum), misso honesta missione a divo Hadriano, praef(ectus) iuris dic(undo), flam(en) p(erpetuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 853 = *CIL* VIII, 12370 = *AE* 1942/43, 102 = *ILTun* 692
Thugga (A.P.)	[---]s Felix Iulianus	*e[q(ues)] R(omanus), fl(amen) p(erpetuus), du[u]mvirali[ci]us*	*CIL* VIII, 10620 = *CIL* VIII, 15521 = *CIL* VIII, 26559 = *ILTun* 1416 = *Dougga* 62
Thugga	Publius	*flamen divi Aug(usti), pont(ifex)*	*CIL* VIII,

(A.P.)	Marcius Quadratus	*c(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) in quinque decurias [adlectus ab] / [Imp(eratore) Anton]ino Aug(usto) Pio*	26606 = *ILTun* 1434 = *ILS* 9364 = *Dougga* 33 ; cf. *CIL* VIII, 1498 = *CIL* VIII, 26528
Thugga (A.P.)	Quintus Gabinius Rufus Felix Beatianus	father: *flamen perp[etuus]*	*CIL* VIII, 1500 = *CIL* VIII, 1501 = *CIL* VIII, 1502 = *CIL* VIII, 15509 = *ILAfr* 514
Tuccabor (A.P.)	/	*fl(amen) p]erp(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 1323 = *CIL* VIII, 14855
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	/	*eq(ues) [R(omanus), aedilicius, [I]Iviralicius*	*CIL* VIII, 15457 = *CIL* VIII, 26277 = *CIL* VIII, 26278
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	/	*patronus*	*CIL* VIII, 26280
Uchi Maius (A.P.)	Gaius Lucilius Athenaeus	*sacer(dos) Cerer(um) C(oloniae) I(uliae) K(arthaginis) anni CCXXXV, flam(en) p(er)p(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 26255 = *ILS* 9401 = *AE* 1908, 263
Uthina (A.P.)	Gaius Egnatius Cosminus	*fl(amen) perp(etuus)*	*CIL* VIII, 24017
Vallis (A.P.)	Gaius Egnatius Felix	*aedilis*	*CIL* VIII, 14783 = *ILS* 5075
Vallis (A.P.)	Lucius Sallu[stius] Maxima[	*decurio*	*CIL* VIII, 1284 = *CIL* VIII, 14782
Vazi Sarra (A.P.)	Publius Opstorius Saturninus	*fl(amen) p(erpetuus), sac(erdos) Merc(uri)*	*CIL* VIII, 12006
Vazi Sarra (A.P.)	Publius Opstorius Saturninus	*fl(amen) p(erpetuus), sac(erdos) Merc(uri)*	*CIL* VIII, 12007
Zama Regia (A.P.)	Gaius Pescennius Saturus	*flam(en) p(er)p(etuus) divi Hadriani, q(uaestor), praef(ectus) iur(e) dic(undo), IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis)*	*CIL* VIII, 12018 = *ILS* 4454 =

	Cornelianus		*ILTun* 603
Zawiet el Laala (A.P.)	/	*ae]dil[i]s*	*CIL* VIII, 12434
Canania (Baetica)	Lucius Attius Vetto	*flamen, IIvir*	*CIL* II, 1074 = *ILS* 5544
Callet Gaditanus (Baetica)	[--- Agr]ippa	father: *decurial*	*CILA* 2, 3, 967 = *HEp* 1997, 904
Naeva (Baetica)	Lucius Aelius Aelianus	*IIvir*	*CIL* II, 1191 = *CILA* 2, 1, 272 = *AE* 1958, 39 = *HEp* 1990, 624 = *HEp* 1993, 336 = *HEp* 1998, 396
Osqua (Baetica)	Gaius Licinius Agrippinus	father: *IIvir bis*	*CIL* II, 5, 736 = *CIL* II, 2030 = *ILS* 5488
Singilia Barba (Baetica)	L(ucius) Clodiu[s --- M]ontanus	decurial	*CIL* II, 5, 794 = *HEp* 1995, 572
Castulo (Tarraconensis)	Quintus Torius Culleo	*proc(urator) Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Baet(icae)*	*CIL* II, 3270 = *CILA* 3, 1, 91 = *AE* 1975, 526

Women (priestess = 17, non-office holders = 22)

Site	**Name**	**Public office and Status**	**References**
Anagnia (Reg.I)	Marcia Aurelia Ceionia Demetrias	*stolata femina*	*CIL* X, 5918 = *ILS* 406
Casinum (Reg.I)	Ummidia Quadratilla	senatorial	*AE* 1946, 174 = *AE* 1992, 244 = *AE* 2013, +115
Ostia (Reg.I)	Fabia Agrippina?	senatorial	*CIL* XIV, 350 = *CIL* XIV, 4450 = *AE* 2014, +269

Ostia (Reg.I)	Claudia Secundina	decurial?	*AE* 1989, 127
Croton (Reg.III)	Futia Longina	equestrian (her son was granted the *equus publicus*)	*CIL* X, 110 = *AE* 2008, +438
Corfinium (Reg.IV)	Capria Quinta	decurial?	*CIL* IX, 3171
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	Baebia Pontias	*optima femina*	*CIL* IX, 4970 = *ILS* 6559
Capena (Reg.VII)	Iulia Paulina	*sacerdos Cereris municipii Capenatium*	*AE* 1954, 165 = *AE* 1982, 267
Nepet (Reg.VII)	Otacilia Comice	decurial (wife of a local magistrate)	*CIL* XI, 3211
Veii (Reg.VII)	Caesia Sabina	*sacerdos* (*Cf. CIL* XI, 3810)	*CIL* XI, 3811 = *ILS* 6583 = *AE* 2005, 524
Risinium (Dalmatia)	Statia Fida	mother of a *decurio equo publico*	*CIL* III, 1717
Thamugadi (Numidia)	Annia Cara	*flaminica*	*CIL* VIII, 17831 = *ILS* 5400
Thamugadi (Numidia)	Annia Tranquilla	sister of a *flaminica*	*CIL* VIII, 17831 = *ILS* 5400
Gor (A.P.)	Maria Victoria	daughter of a *flamen perpetuus*	*CIL* VIII, 12422
Musti (A.P.)	Iulia	*flaminica*	*AE* 1968, 588 = *IMustis* 20
Musti (A.P.)	Maria Lucina	*flam(inica)*	*CIL* VIII, 1578
Musti (A.P.)	Orfia Fortunata	wife of a *duumvir*	*AE* 1968, 591
Seressi (A.P.)	Armenia Auge	*equus publicus* (son)	*CIL* VIII, 937 = *CIL* VIII, 11216
Seressi (A.P.)	Bebenia Pauliana	*equus publicus* (brother)	*CIL* VIII, 937 = *CIL* VIII, 11216
Thugga (A.P.)	Gabinia Hermiona	belonging to the most prominent family, the Gabinii (decurial/equestrian)	*CIL* VIII, 1483 = *CIL* VIII, 15505 = *CIL* VIII, 26546 = *CIL ILAfr* 527 = *AE* 1997,

			1654 = *AE* 2007, 1741
Thugga (A.P.)	Iulia Paula Laenatia	*flamina perpetua*	*CIL* VIII, 1491 = *CIL* VIII, 26525
Thugga (A.P.)	Asicia Victoria	*flaminica perpetua*	*CIL* VIII, 26591 = *ILTun* 1427
Thugga	Botria Fortunata	*flam[inica perpetua]*	*CIL* VIII, 1505 = *CIL* VIII, 15510
Abdera (Baetica)	[---]lia Anulla	*sacerdos divae Augustae*	*CIL* II, 1979 = *IRAlmeria* 2 = *HEp* 1990, 22 = *HEp* 1997, 17 = *HEp* 1999, 64
Arucci (Baetica)	Baebia Crinita	*sacerdos*	*CIL* II, 964 = *CILA* 1, 5 = *ILS* 5402
Barbariana (Baetica)	Fabia Fabiana and Fulvia Honorata	?decurial (heiresses of a *duumvir*)	*CIL* II, 1941 = *HEp* 2006, 264
Batora	Annia Severa	wife of a *pontifex*	*CIL* II, 5, 59 = *CILA* 3, 1, 69
Castilleja de la Cuesta (Baetica)	Cornelia Fabulla	decurial (daugther of a *duumvir*)	*CIL* II, 1258 = CILA 1, 84
Cartima (Baetica)	Iunia Rustica	*sacerdos perpetua et prima in municipio Cartimitan[o*	*CIL* II, 1956 = *ILS* 5512
Cartima (Baetica)	Valeria Situllina	*sacerdos perpetua*	*CIL* II, 5488
Cisimbrium (Baetica)	Flavia Valeriana	grandfather was a *duumvir*	*CIL* II, 5, 294 = *CIL* II, 2
Iliberris (Baetica)	Patricia	*sacerdos*	*CIL* II, 5, 631 = *CIL* II, 5514
Munigua	Quintia Flaccina	*flaminica divarum Augustarum provinciae Baeticae* (*Cf. AE* 1966, 183)	*CILA* 2, 4, 1058 = *AE* 1972, 270 = *HEp* 1997, 916 = *AE* 2003, +841
Naeva (Baetica)	Egnatia Lupercilla	wife of a *duumvir*	*CIL* II, 1191 = *CILA* 2, 1,

			272 = *AE* 1958, 39 = *HEp* 1990, 624 = *HEp* 1993, 336 = *HEp* 1998, 396
Saepo V()(Baetica)	Pomponia Rosciana	*sacerdos perpetua*	*CIL* II, 1341
Salpensa (Baetica)	[---]IA Celerina	*sacerdos*	*CIL* II, 1278 = *CILA* 2, 3, 951
Tucci (Baetica)	Lucretia Campana	*flaminica perpetua domus Augustae*	*CIL* II, 5, 69 = *CIL* II, 1663 = *ILS* 5080 = *CILA* 3, 2, 420
Ilugo (Tarraconensis)	Annia Victorina	decurial?	*CIL* II, 3240 = *CILA* 3, 1, 245 = *ILS* 5764
Balsa (Lusitania)	Manlia Faustina	decurial (*soror* of a *duumvir*)	*CIL* II, 4990 = *CIL* II, 5162

***Augustales* (N = 27)**

Site	**Name**	**Identity**	**References**
Fidenae (Reg.I)	Blastus Eutact[ianus(?)]	*sevir, lib(ertus)*	*CIL* XIV, 4057 = *AE* 2001, +738
Fidenae (Reg.I)	Secundus	*sevir, lib(ertus)*	*CIL* XIV, 4057 = *AE* 2001, +738
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	[--- Er]os	*VIvir [et Augustalis]*	*CIL* XIV, 2096 = *AE* 1952, 172
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	P(ublius) Tettiu[s ---] [--- H]ymeneus	*VIvir [et Augustalis]*	*CIL* XIV, 2096 = *AE* 1952, 172
Lanuvium (Reg.I)	L(ucius) Siciniu[s ---]	*VIvir [et Augustalis]*	*CIL* XIV, 2096 = *AE* 1952, 172
Misenum (Reg.I)	Quintus Cominius	*curator Augustalium perpetuo, ornament(is) decurionalib(us)*	*AE* 2000, 344 = *AE*

	Abascantus	*honoratus*	2003, +279 = *AE* 2004, +423 = *AE* 2007, +359
Puteoli (Reg.I)	]s Phileros	*Aug]ustalis, l(ibertus)*	*CIL* X, 1887
Puteoli (Reg.I)	Lucius Licinius Primitivus	*curator Augustal(i) perp(etuus), ornamentis decurion(alibus) honoratus*	*CIL* X, 1881 = *ILS* 6328
Beneventum (Reg.II)	Nasellius Vitalis	*Aug(ustalis)*	*CIL* IX, 1618 = *ILS* 6507
Cliternia (Reg.IV)	Caius Herennius Philon	*sevir Augustalis*	*CIL* IX, 4168 = *EAOR* 3, 24
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	Quintus Veranius Asclepiades	*sevir Augustalis*	*CIL* IX, 4957
Cures Sabini (Reg.IV)	Quintus Veranius Sabinus	*sevir Augustalis*	*CIL* IX, 4957
Reate (Reg.IV)	Titus Fundilius Geminus	*sevir Augustalis*	*CIL* IX, 4691
Telesia (Reg.IV)	Lucius Manlius Rufio	*sevir*	*CIL* IX, 2252
Auximum (Reg.V)	Caius Oppius Leonas	*sevir et Aug(ustalis), l(ibertus)*	*CIL* IX, 5823
Carsulae (Reg.VI)	Titus Flaminius Maius	*VIvir Aug(ustalis)*	*CIL* XI, 4582
Fulginiae (Reg.VI)	Titus Galerius Epaphroditus	*VIvir Aug(ustalis), lib(ertus)*	*CIL* XI, 5222
Pitinum Mergens (Reg.VI)	Gaius Messius Zosimus	*[sevir] Augustalis*	*CIL* XI, 5965
Suasa (Reg.VI)	Caius Iulius Tertius	*sexvir*	*CIL* XI, 6161
Tuficum (Reg.VI)	Lucius Tifanius Felix	*A[ug(ustalis), l(ibertus)]*	*CIL* XI, 5716 = *EAOR* 2, 17 = *AE* 2004, +535
Heba (Reg.VII)	Quintus Peternius Amphio	*VIvir August(alis)*	*AE* 1920, 97 = *AE* 1981, 342
Nepet (Reg.VII)	Nestor	*Aug(ustalis)*	*CIL* XI, 3214

Concordia (Reg.X)	Marcus Acutius Noetus	*Aug[u]st(alis), l(ibertus)*	*CIL* V, 1897 = *CIL* V, 1898 = *CIL* V, 1899 = *CIL* V, 1900 = *CIL* V, 8664
Aquae Sextiae (Narbonensis)	/	*sevi]r Aug(ustalis)*	*CIL* XII, 530
Iliturgi (Baetica)	Sextus Quintius Fortunatus	*sevir, lib(ertus)*	*CIL* II, 7, 28 = *CIL* II, 7, 29 = *CIL* II, 2100 = *ILS* 3395 = *CILA* 3, 1, 224
Murgi (Baetica)	Lucius Aemilius Daphnus	*sevir*	*CIL* II, 5489 = *IRAlmeria* 43 = *HEp* 13, 9
Suel (Baetica)	Lucius Iunius Puteolanus	*VIvir Augustalis*	*CIL* II, 1944 = *ILS* 6914

Ex-slaves (men = 6, women = 4)

Site	**Name**	**Identity**	**References**
Anagnia (Reg.I)	Marcus Aurelius Sabinianus	*libertus Augg., patronus civitatis Anagninorum, quaestor collegii caplatorum, decurialis decuriae lictoriae popularis denuntiatorum itemque gerulorum, decemviralis*	*CIL* X, 5917 = *ILS* 1909
Gabii (Reg.I)	Aulus Plutius Epaphroditus	*negotiator sericarius*	*CIL* XIV, 2793 = *ILS* 5449
Rudiae (Reg.II)	Marcus Tuccius Augazo	probably a freedman	*CIL* IX, 23 = *ILS* 6472
Auximum (Reg.V)	Leonas	*lib(ertus)*	*CIL* IX, 5833 = *ILS* 1059
Asisium (Reg.VI)	Galeo Tettienus Pardalas	probably a Greek freedman of the Tettius family	*CIL* XI, 5372

Asisium (Reg.VI)	Tettiena Galene	?wife or mother of Galeo Tettienus Pardalas	*CIL* XI, 5372
Pitinum Mergens (Reg.VI)	Eutyches	*lib(ertus)*	*CIL* XI, 5960
Fidenae (Reg.I)	Italia	*liberta*, *magistra* of the Bona Dea	*CIL* XIV, 4057 = *AE* 2001, +738
Nepet (Reg.VII)	Flavia Inventa	wife of the *Augusti libertus*	*CIL* XI, 3206
Nepet (Reg.VII)	Ulpia Procula	daughter of the *Augusti libertus*	*CIL* XI, 3206

Outsiders as benefactors (men = 6, women = 3)

Site	**Name**	**Details**	**References**
Forum Popilii (Reg.I)	Lucius Papius Pollio	*duovir, mulsum et crustu(lu)m colonis Senuisanis et Caedicianeis … cenam colonis Senuisanis et Papieis*	*CIL* X, 4727 = *CIL* I, 1578 = *ILS* 6297
Praeneste (Reg.I)	Corellia Galla Papiana	*coloniae Menturnensi(um) HS C(milia) et municipio Casini HS C(milia) ita uti VII Idus Mart(ias) natali suo quodannis crustulum et mulsum detur*	*CIL* XIV, 2827 = *ILS* 6294
Auximum (Reg.V)	Vibia Marcella	*flamina August(ae)*, her husband was patron of Auximum	*CIL* IX, 5841 = *AE* 2001, +912
Fulginiae (Reg.VI)	Publius Aelius Marcellus	external patron	*CIL* XI, 5215 = *ILS* 2650
Tifernum Tiberinum (Reg.VI)	Pliny the Younger	external patron	Pliny, *ep*. 4.1.6
Furnos Minus (A.P.)	Lucius Octavius Felix Octavianus	*decurio col(oniae) Iul(iae) Aur(eliae) Ant(oninianae) Kart(haginis), flamen divi Pii, magistrus sacrorum Cerealium anni CCLXXVI, professor aedilitatis, patronus et curator iterum municipii Aureli Antoniniani Furnit(anorum) minor(um)*	*CIL* VIII, 25808b = *ILS* 9403 = *AE* 1909, 162

Carmo (Baetica)	Lucius Aemilius Pudens	*IIvir bis m(unicipum) m(unicipii) Flavi Muniguensis*	*CIL* II, 1378 = *CILA* 2, 4, 1072 = *AE* 1972, 267
Ostur (Baetica)	Suconia Rustica	Her husband: *primus pilus legionis primae Adiutricis, procurator provinciae Lusitaniae et Vettoniae, praefectus classis praetoriae Ravennatis*	*CIL* II, 1267 = *CILA* 1, 81
Asso (Tarraconensis)	Lucius Aemilius Rectus	external patron	*CIL* II, 5941 = *ILS* 6954

Others

Site	**Name**	**Identity**	**References**
Beneventum (Reg.II)	Marcus Nasellius Sabinus	*praef(ectus) coh(ortis)* (benefactor of a pagus)	*CIL* IX, 1618 = *ILS* 6507
Ferentium (Reg.VII)	Sextus Hortensius Sextus Hortensius Clarus	*mag(ister) Lar(um)*	*CIL* XI, 7431 = *AE* 1911, 184
Patavium (Reg.X)	Caius Vettonius Maximus	*veteranus*	*CIL* V, 2090 = *ILS* 8371
Ascros (Alpes Maritimae)	Maturius Fuscus	*emeritus*	*AE* 1961, 169 = *AE* 2004, 867
Ain Ghechil (A.P.)	Gaius Mutilius Felix Annaeianus	*adsertor publicus*	*CIL* VIII, 23823 = *ILS* 4450

Appendix IV
Western towns yielding evidence of privately sponsored public dining[1]

SITE	THE NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
REGIO I LATIUM AND CAMPANIA	
LARGE TOWNS (2)	
Ostia*	3
Puteoli*	2
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (7)	
Aletrium	1
Ferentinum	4
Formiae	1
Forum Popilii	1
Herculaneum	3
Praeneste	1
Surrentum	1
SMALL TOWNS (13)	
Anagnia	2
Bovillae	1
Casinum	1
Fidenae*	1
Gabii	1
Lanuvium	4
Misenum*	1
Privernum*	1
Signia*	1

[1] The data for the size of Italian towns are drawn from De Ligt (2012). For the size of other western towns, the data are courtesy of P.H.A. Houten, K. Pazmany, D. Donev, F. Pellegrino and M. Hobson and the ERC project *An Empire of 2000 cities*. Towns of uncertain sizes are marked with a question mark. Communities which were founded as colonies during the republican period or under the Augustus are marked with an asterisk. For republican-Augustan colonies and settlements, see Keppie (1983), 135-207; Salmon (1969), 158-164; Lomas (1996), 33-34; MacMullen (2000), 32-33, 52-53, 94-95.

Sinuessa*	2
Sora*	1
Tusculum	1
Verulae	1
REGIO II APULIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Beneventum*	3
SMALL TOWNS (2)	
Compsa	1
Rudiae	1
Pagus Veianus?	1
REGIO III BRUTTIUM AND LUCANIA	
SMALL TOWNS (6)	
Atina	1
Blanda Iulia	1
Consilinum	1
Croton*	2
Eburum	1
Petelia	1
REGIO IV SAMNIUM	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (2)	
Alba Fucens*	2
Amiternum	2
SMALL TOWNS (9)	
Antinum	2
Cliternia	1
Corfinium	3
Cures Sabini	5
Fagifulae	2
Iuvanum	2
Reate	1
Telesia*	2
Trebula Mutuesca	1
REGIO V PICENUM	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Asculum*	1
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Firmum*	1
SMALL TOWNS (3)	
Auximum*	5

Interamnia Praetuttiorum	1
Ostra	1
REGIO VI UMBRIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Asisium	1
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (10)	
Ameria	1
Camerinum	1
Forum Sempronii	1
Fulginiae	3
Ocriculum	1
Pisaurum*	3
Spoletium*	2
Suasa	1
Tifernum Tiberinum	1
Tuficum	4
SMALL TOWNS (8)	
Carsulae	4
Pitinum Mergens	3
Pitinum Pisaurense	1
Sentinum	1
Sestinum	1
Tifernum Mataurense	1
Urvinum Mataurense	2
Vettona	1
Mons Fereter?	1
REGIO VII ETRURIA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (4)	
Ferentium	2
Tarquinii	1
Veii	1
Volsinii	1
SMALL TOWNS (6)	
Ager Viterbiensis	1
Capena	1
Forum Clodii	2
Heba*	1
Nepet*	3
Visentium	2
REGIO IX LIGURIA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	

Dertona*	1
REGIO X VENETIA AND HISTRIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Patavium	1
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Concordia*	1
REGIO XI TRANSPADANA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Comum*	1
SICILIA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Tyndaris*	1
AFRICA PROCONSULARIS	
LARGE TOWNS (5)	
Hippo Regius*	2
Macomades	1
Mactaris	1
Thysdrus	1
Uthina*	1
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (6)	
Cillium	1
Gigthis	1
Simitthus*	1
Thuburbo Maius*	1
Thuburnica*	1
Thugga	11
SMALL TOWNS (20)	
Agbia	1
Althiburos	1
Avedda	1
Bisica	1
Furnos Minus	2
Limisa	1
Madauros	2
Municipium Aurelium Commodianum (Bou cha)	3
Mustis*	8
Numlulis	2
Municipium Septimium (Henchir-Debbik)	1

Seressi	1
Soltane	1
Sutunurca	3
Thagaste	1
Thibicaae	1
Tuccabor	3
Uchi Maius	5
Ureu	1
Vallis	3
Ain Ghechil?	1
Al Minshar?	1
Aradi?	1
Avitta Bibba?	1
Capsa?	1
Chaouat?	1
Chidibbia?	2
Choud el Batel?	1
Dar-el-Acheb?	1
Giufi?	11
Gor?	2
Gori?	1
Pagus Suttuensis?	1
Pupput?	1
Qasr al Hadid?	1
Sidi Naui?	1
Sululos?	1
Thabarbusis?	1
Thibursicum Bure?	1
Thigibba Bure?	1
Thubba?	1
Tichilla?	1
Vazi Sarra?	2
Zama Regia?	1
Zawiet el Laala?	1
Zucchar?	1
NUMIDIA	
LARGE TOWNS (2)	
Thamugadi	5
Theveste	5
MAURETANIA CAESARIENSIS	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	

Icosium	1
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Auzia	1
BAETICA	
LARGE TOWNS (4)	
Carmo	1
Cisimbrium	1
Ilipula Minor	1
Ostippo	1
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (4)	
Carteia*	1
Iliberris	1
Ocurri	1
Singilia Barba	1
SMALL TOWNS (7)	
Abdera	1
Barbesula	1
Castilleja de la Cuesta	1
Iporca	1
Munigua	1
Murgi	1
Tucci*	1
Arucci?	1
Batora?	1
Callet Gaditanus?	1
Canania?	1
Cartima?	5
Iliturgi?	1
Municipium Lunense?	1
Naeva?	1
Nescania?	2
Osqua?	2
Ostur?	1
Saepo V()?	1
Salpensa?	1
Suel?	1
TARRACONENSIS	
SMALL TOWNS (2)	
Asso	1
Castulo*	2

Tagili?	1
Ilugo?	1
LUSITANIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Balsa	1
ALPES MARITIMAE	
SMALL TOWNS (2)	
Ascros	1
Cemenelum	2
GALLIA LUGDUNENSIS	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Lugdunum*	1
GALLIA NARBONENSIS	
LARGE TOWNS (2)	
Aquae Sextiae*	1
Nemausus*	2
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Arelate*	1
DALMATIA	
SMALL TOWNS (6)	
Acruvium	1
Asseria	1
Municipium S[] (Komin)	1
Narona*	1
Nedinum	1
Risinium*	2
NORICUM	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Virunum	1

Appendix V
Western towns yielding evidence of privately sponsored colleigal dining[1]

For *Collegia*

SITE	THE NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
REGIO I LATIUM AND CAMPANIA	
LARGE TOWNS (2)	
Cumae	1
Ostia Δ	5
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Lavinium	1
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Signia Δ	1
REGIO III BRUTTIUM AND LUCANIA	
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Eburum Δ	1
Caposele?	1
REGIO V PICENUM	
SMALL TOWNS (2)	
Castrum Truentinum	1
Tolentinum	1
REGIO VI UMBRIA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (3)	
Ameria Δ	2
Ocriculum Δ	1
Pisaurum Δ	2

[1] Communities which yielded evidence of both privately sponsored public dining and collegial dining are marked with a triangle.

SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Mevania	1
REGIO VIII AEMILIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Ravenna	3
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Parma*	1
SMALL TOWNS (2)	
Brixellum	1
Clastidium	1
REGIO X VENETIA AND HISTRIA	
LARGE TOWNS (2)	
Altinum	1
Aquileia	2
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Atria	1
Arilica?	2
REGIO XI TRANSPADANA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Comum Δ	1
ALPES MARITIMAE	
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Cemenelum Δ	2
GALLIA NARBONENSIS	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Narbo	1
LUGDUNENSIS	
Ambarri?	1
DALMATIA	
LARGE TOWNS (1)	
Salona	2
NUMIDIA	
Castellum Elefantum?	1

For *Augustales*

SITE	THE NUMBER OF INSCRIPTIONS
REGIO I LATIUM AND CAMPANIA	
MEDIUM-SIZED TOWNS (1)	
Aletrium Δ	1
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Misenum Δ	6
REGIO IV SAMNIUM	
SMALL TOWNS (1)	
Reate Δ	1

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Samenvatting

Gedurende de eerste drie eeuwen van de Keizertijd werden in talrijke steden van de westelijke helft van het Romeinse rijk publieke maaltijden georganiseerd die door rijke weldoeners werden bekostigd. In dezelfde periode organiseerden beroepsverenigingen en religieuze verenigingen gelijksoortige maaltijden in kleinere kring. Hoewel gedurende de afgelopen 25 jaar verscheidene onderzoekers aandacht aan deze gemeenschappelijke maaltijden hebben besteed, is een aantal belangrijke aspecten onderbelicht gebleven. Auteurs als Donahue, Mrozek en Melchor Gil bespreken zowel de praktische als de sociaal-politieke implicaties van dergelijke diners, maar bieden geen werkelijke verklaring voor de populariteit van deze maaltijden in verschillende delen van het Romeinse rijk. Ook hebben zij weinig oog voor de regio-specifieke chronologische patronen die uit de overwegend epigrafische bronnen kunnen worden gedestilleerd. Het epigrafische materiaal laat zien dat vooral private weldoeners in Romeins Italië, Spanje en delen van Noord-Afrika grote sommen geld spendeerden aan de financiering van publieke maaltijden. In andere westelijke provincies lijken dergelijke maaltijden zelden of nooit te zijn georganiseerd. Verder kunnen de meeste inscripties die op publieke maaltijden betrekking hebben, in de tweede of vroege derde eeuw n. Chr. worden gedateerd. Een belangrijke doelstelling van deze dissertatie is deze geografische en chronologische spreiding te verklaren.

De politieke en maatschappelijke ontwikkelingen die verantwoordelijk waren voor de populariteit van publieke maaltijden die door particulieren werden betaald, kunnen alleen goed worden begrepen door de complexe en dynamische verhouding tussen weldoeners en ontvangers centraal te stellen. Eerder onderzoek heeft laten zien dat in de inscripties een grote variëteit aan weldoeners wordt genoemd. Bij de bestudering van de verhouding tussen weldoeners en de lokale gemeenschappen die voor publieke maaltijden werden uitgenodigd, moet echter een scherp onderscheid worden gemaakt tussen lokale weldoeners en weldoeners die niet tot de ontvangende gemeenschappen behoorden. Een kwantitatieve analyse van het bronnenmateriaal wijst uit dat het overgrote merendeel van de weldoeners die publieke maaltijden voor complete gemeenschappen of voor specifieke groepen binnen die gemeenschappen bekostigden, tevens burgers van die gemeenschappen waren (hoofdstuk 2).

De specifieke omstandigheden waarin private weldoeners de bekostiging van publieke maaltijden voor hun rekening namen, vormen een ander thema waaraan in

de bestaande literatuur relatief weinig aandacht wordt besteed. In het uitgevoerde onderzoek wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen vier verschillende soorten van weldoenerij met betrekking tot publieke maaltijden: weldoenerij door beklеders van publieke ambten, weldoenerij door vooraanstaande burgers die publieke eerbewijzen hadden ontvangen, spontane weldoenerij en postume weldoenerij op basis van testamenten. Uit de inscripties valt op te maken dat de beslissingen van weldoeners om geld te spenderen aan publieke maaltijden door zeer uiteenlopende beweegredenen werden ingegeven. De populariteit van deze vormen van weldoenerij gedurende een periode van drie eeuwen kan echter niet worden verklaard door alleen te kijken naar de motieven van individuele weldoeners. Een werkelijk overtuigende interpretatie van dit verschijnsel kan alleen worden gevonden door het te situeren tegen de achtergrond van het politieke en maatschappelijke leven in de steden van Italië en de westelijke provincies.

Het overgrote merendeel van de publieke maaltijden die door (recentelijk verkozen) beklеders van publieke ambten werden georganiseerd, werd aangeboden aan personen met lokaal burgerrecht. Dit fenomeen kan worden begrepen tegen de achtergrond van de voortschrijdende oligarchisering van het publieke leven in de steden van Italië en de westelijke provincies. Vanaf de tweede eeuw n. Chr. werden de hoogste lokale ambten in toenemende mate door een kleine groep families gemonopoliseerd. Dit betekende dat de rol van lokale volksvergaderingen bij de verkiezing van deze lokale magistraten steeds verder werd uitgehold. Niettemin behield de lokale stedelijke burgerij haar rol als verschaffer van politieke 'legitimiteit' en bleven de lokale gemeenschappen belangrijk als arena's waarin plaatselijke elites hun politieke macht en sociale superioriteit etaleerden. Juist doordat de lokale verkiezingen geleidelijk aan belang inboetten, werden publieke maaltijden die door nieuw verkozen magistraten aan de plaatselijke burgerij werden aangeboden, steeds belangrijker als middel om het onverminderde belang van het lidmaatschap van de lokale burgerij te affirmeren. De publieke maaltijden die door lokale magistraten werden aangeboden, kunnen derhalve worden begrepen als een nieuwe manier om de politieke macht en sociale superioriteit van de stedelijke elites van de vroege Keizertijd in de ogen van hun medeburgers te legitimeren.

Publieke maaltijden werden niet alleen door nieuwe beklеders van lokale bestuursfuncties aangeboden, maar ook door leden van de plaatselijke elite die door de lokale gemeenschap waren geëerd, meestal met een standbeeld. Dergelijke maaltijden kunnen worden begrepen als één van de manieren waarop uiting werd gegeven aan de zowel wederkerige als hiërarchische verhouding tussen plaatselijke elites en de lokale burgerij. Binnen deze verhouding werden eerbewijzen als het ware tegen weldaden geruild en werd tevens de rol van de lokale burgerij als de ultieme arbiter van maatschappelijke en morele superioriteit geaffirmeerd. In een aantal gevallen werden dergelijke maaltijden echter niet aan de voltallige burgerij maar alleen aan de leden

van de plaatselijke gemeenteraad aangeboden. De verklaring hiervoor is dat deze gemeenteraden een doorslaggevende rol speelden bij beslissingen over het oprichten van publieke standbeelden.

Een derde categorie van publieke maaltijden die door rijke weldoeners werden gefinancierd, wordt gevormd door maaltijden die 'spontaan' werden aangeboden zonder aanwijsbaar verband met verkiezing tot aan ambt of toekenning van publieke eerbewijzen. Eerdere studies zien de publieke maaltijden van de vroege Keizertijd vooral als symptoom van een competitieve elitecultuur, als instrumenten ter bevordering van de sociale cohesie van lokale gemeenschappen en/of als middel om de collectieve herinneringen van dergelijke gemeenschappen te bestendigen. In het geval van de 'spontaan' aangeboden maaltijden die in het epigrafische materiaal worden genoemd is echter een specifiekere duiding mogelijk. Een kwantitatieve analyse van deze categorie publieke maaltijden laat zien dat het merendeel ervan werd georganiseerd naar aanleiding van verjaardagen van weldoeners of hun naaste verwanten of ter herdenking van de oprichting van standbeelden voor leden van de plaatselijke elite in het recente of verre verleden. De zeer specifieke achtergrond van de meeste 'spontaan' georganiseerde publieke maaltijden valt goed te begrijpen tegen de achtergrond van een steeds oligarchischer wordende maatschappij waarin de grenzen tussen het openbare leven en het privéleven van de leden van de lokale elite steeds meer vervaagden.

Het merendeel van de publieke maaltijden die 'spontaan' werden georganiseerd, werd aangeboden aan (de mannelijke helft van) de lokale burgerij, aan de leden van de gemeenteraad of aan beide groepen tegelijk. Hieruit blijkt dat de 'vrijwillige' weldaden niet minder 'politiek' waren dan weldaden die door bekleders van publieke ambten werden verricht. Door verjaardagen en andere belangrijke gebeurtenissen in het familieleven aan te grijpen voor het organiseren van openbare festiviteiten gaven lokale elites uiting aan een politieke ideologie waarin de biologische continuïteit en voorspoed van een kleine groep families die alle maatschappelijke sleutelposities in handen had, als zaken van publiek belang werden beschouwd. Desalniettemin verschijnt in de inscripties die op 'spontaan' aangeboden maaltijden betrekking hebben, een groter scala aan ontvangers dan in het geval van diners die door nieuw verkozen magistraten werden georganiseerd. Zo worden naast leden van de burgerij en leden van de gemeenteraad ook Augustales, vrouwen en kinderen genoemd. Om die reden is het wel degelijk zinvol om 'spontaan' aangeboden maaltijden van andere soorten publieke maaltijden te onderscheiden.

Ook in het geval van publieke maaltijden die op grondslag van een testament werden aangeboden, worden leden van de lokale burgerij en gemeenteraadsleden het meest als ontvangers genoemd. Postume schenkingen van voedsel bevestigden de hoge sociale status van de overledene en zijn verwanten. Bovendien boden dergelijke maaltijden de erfgenamen of andere belanghebbenden de gelegenheden om door

aanbieding van extra voedsel ook hun eigen politieke en maatschappelijke status te etaleren.

Naast mannelijke weldoeners vinden we een kleinere groep vrouwelijke aanbieders van publieke maaltijden. In sommige gevallen opereerden deze vrouwen tezamen met mannelijke familieleden; in andere gevallen waren zij de enige weldoeners. Beide vormen van weldoenerij door vrouwen passen goed bij het eerder geschetste beeld van een oligarchische maatschappij waarin de lokale politiek steeds meer een 'familieaangelegenheid' werd. In deze specifieke context werd algemeen geaccepteerd dat vrouwen die tot vooraanstaande families behoorden, een bijdrage leverden aan het affirmeren van de maatschappelijke superioriteit van deze families en – meer in het algemeen – aan de legitimatie van de collectieve heerschappij van een kleine maatschappelijke elite. In een aantal gevallen verschijnen vrouwen ook als mede-ontvangers van publieke maaltijden. In sommige gevallen gaat het wederom om vrouwen uit hooggeplaatste families. In andere gevallen werden echter ook gewone burgervrouwen uitgenodigd. Dergelijke uitnodigingen kunnen worden gezien als een vorm van erkenning van de rol van vrouwelijke burgers bij de instandhouding van lokale gemeenschappen.

Het epigrafische materiaal laat zien dat voor publieke maaltijden die door particulieren werden bekostigd, niet altijd dezelfde groepen werden uitgenodigd. Grote aantallen inscripties noemen de leden van de plaatselijke gemeenteraad en de (mannelijke leden van) de burgerij als genodigden. Dergelijke teksten onderstrepen het belang van de burgergemeenschap, waarbij overigens meestal alleen de in de stad woonachtige burgers bedoeld lijken te worden. Andere teksten laten zien dat soms alleen de leden van de gemeenteraad werden uitgenodigd. Met een dergelijk uitnodigingsbeleid affirmeerden weldoeners hun vooraanstaande positie binnen de lokale elite. In de loop van de vroege Keizertijd werd het steeds gebruikelijker om bijzondere groepen uit de lokale gemeenschap uit te nodigen, zoals Augustales, collegia, vrouwen en kinderen. Ook ingezetenen van de stad zonder lokaal burgerrecht werden steeds vaker uitgenodigd. Deze ontwikkelingen wijzen er op dat er steeds meer rekening werd gehouden met hiërarchische geledingen binnen lokale gemeenschappen, maar laten ook zien dat het begrip 'gemeenschap' tot buiten de lokale burgerij kon worden verruimd.

In dit verband is het des te opvallender dat er in de epigrafische bronnen weinig expliciete aanwijzingen te vinden zijn voor de toekenning van grotere porties voedsel of beter voedsel aan leden van de gemeenteraad of andere groepen met een hogere status dan de gewone burgers. Dezelfde vaststelling is van toepassing op de maaltijden die aan mannen en vrouwen werden toegekend. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat het gezamenlijk consumeren van hetzelfde voedsel werd gezien als een goede manier om uitdrukking te geven aan het lidmaatschap van één en dezelfde burgergemeenschap. Dit betekent overigens niet dat de hiërarchische verhouding

tussen verschillende groepen deelnemers bij publieke maaltijden op geen enkele wijze werd belicht: dit laatste lijkt echter meestal niet door het serveren van beter of meer voedsel te zijn gebeurd, maar door een onderscheid te maken in de geldbedragen (sportulae) die bij dit soort diners vaak werden uitgedeeld.

Door eerdere onderzoekers is al opgemerkt dat (in de westelijke helft van het Romeinse rijk) het epigrafische bronnenmateriaal waarin publieke maaltijden worden vermeld, vooral afkomstig is uit Italië, Spanje en Noord-Afrika. Daarentegen wordt de vraag waarom deze specifieke vorm van weldoenerij juist in deze gebieden opgang maakte zelden gesteld. Een nadere bestudering van het bronnenmateriaal laat zien dat er in het westelijke deel van het Romeinse rijk geen sprake was van een uniforme cultuur van euergetisme. In plaats daarvan vinden we een grote verscheidenheid van regionale varianten van weldoenerij die met een even grote verscheidenheid van regionale politieke culturen lijkt te hebben gecorrespondeerd. Zo nam 'weldoenerij' in de noordwestelijke provincies vooral de vorm aan van het neerzetten van publieke gebouwen of heiligdommen. Deze specifieke vorm van euergetisme lijkt vooral te zijn gemotiveerd door wedijver tussen naburige stedelijke gemeenschappen. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk zaten de lokale elites van de steden in deze provincies zo stevig in het zadel, dat zij niet of nauwelijks de behoefte voelden om hun positie in de ogen van hun medeburgers te legitimeren.

Daarentegen bestond in de stedelijke gemeenschappen van Italië evident een politieke cultuur waarin leden van de lokale elite met elkaar wedijverden om eer en prestige en waarin zij werden geacht zich in te spannen voor de burgergemeenschap. Een min of meer vergelijkbare politieke cultuur lijkt te hebben bestaan in delen van Romeins Spanje en delen van Noord-Afrika. Men kan vermoeden dat de hoge concentratie Romeinse kolonies die door Caesar en Augustus in deze gebieden werden gesticht, de verbreiding van een politieke cultuur naar Italisch model heeft bevorderd. Niettemin brengt een nauwgezette bestudering van het epigrafische materiaal ook binnen deze gebieden het bestaan van regionale politieke subculturen aan het licht. Zo zien we dat weldoeners in Midden-Italië meestal crustulum et mulsum uitdeelden, maar hun tegenhangers in Noord-Italië panis et vinum. Een derde variant vinden we in Romeins Spanje, waar lokale elites liever diners (epula) dan voedseluitdelingen organiseerden. Binnen Romeins Spanje waren het vooral de vooraanstaande burgers van Baetica die hun medeburgers voor publieke maaltijden uitnodigden. Hun tegenhangers in de aangrenzende provincie Tarraconensis spendeerden hun geld vooral aan publieke gebouwen en tempels.

Een andere factor die de concrete verschijningsvormen van weldoenerij lijkt te hebben beïnvloed, is de omvang van de betrokken steden. De meeste publieke maaltijden die door weldoeners werden betaald, vonden plaats in middelgrote en kleine steden. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat de gemiddelde kleine stad minder rijke weldoeners had die in staat waren om dure publieke gebouwen neer te

zetten. Voortbordurend op deze gedachte kan worden geopperd dat juist middelgrote en kleine steden een uitstekende voedingsbodem boden voor het ontstaan van een plaatselijke or regionale politieke cultuur waarin de private bekostiging van publieke maaltijden een belangrijke rol speelde.

Een chronologische analyse van het epigrafische materiaal betreffende publieke maaltijden laat interessante patronen zien. Alvorens aan deze patronen betekenis kan worden toegekend, moet echter de vraag worden gesteld of de chronologische verdeling van dit specifieke materiaal slechts de chronologische verdeling van het totale corpus van inscripties weerspiegelt. In hoofdstuk 6 wordt betoogd dat dit laatste niet het geval is. Met andere woorden, de chronologische verdeling van deze inscripties weerspiegelt reële politieke en sociale ontwikkelingen.

Aangezien met de aanbieding van publieke banketten grote sommen geld waren gemoeid, kan de voortschrijdende accumulatie van vermogen in de handen van een relatief kleine politieke en maatschappelijke elite als basisvoorwaarde voor de verschijning van deze vorm van weldoenerij worden geïdentificeerd. De werkelijke verklaring ligt echter in de sociaal-politieke ontwikkelingen van de eerste en tweede eeuw n. Chr. Daarbij lijkt vooral de geleidelijke uitholling van de betekenis van lokale verkiezingen de verspreiding en populariteit van nieuwe vormen van lokale weldoenerij te hebben bevorderd. Hierboven is al gesuggereerd dat het organiseren van publieke maaltijden kan worden gezien als een middel om te laten zien dat de meest welgestelde leden van de lokale elite nog steeds veel waarde hechtten aan de lokale burgergemeenschap en haar maatschappelijke waarden en normen. Parallel hieraan kunnen de toenemende verschillen in rijkdom en aanzien tussen de leden van de lokale elite sommige leden van deze ertoe hebben aangezet om maaltijden voor alle decuriones te organiseren. Op die manier konden de meest vooraanstaande leden van deze elite immers tegelijkertijd hun solidariteit met hun minder welgestelde collega's en hun superieure positie ten opzichte van diezelfde collega's demonstreren.

Een meer gedetailleerde analyse van het bronnenmateriaal laat zien dat de chronologische spreiding van de inscripties per gebied verschilt. De vroegste inscripties die melding maken van publieke maaltijden komen uit Italië. In het geval van de late inscripties is juist Noord-Afrika sterk vertegenwoordigd. Dit laatste kan te maken hebben met het feit dat er in Noord-Afrika zowel in de late tweede eeuw als in de vroege derde eeuw nog veel publieke gebouwen werden opgericht. Hierdoor deden zich in dit deel van het rijk veel gelegenheden voor om publieke maaltijden te organiseren. Meer in het algemeen bleef de economie van Noord-Afrika tot ver in de derde eeuw bloeien. Het lijkt waarschijnlijk dat lokale elites hiervan profiteerden.

In hoofdstuk 6 wordt ook ingegaan op de scherpe daling van het aantal epigrafische vermeldingen van publieke maaltijden in de late derde en vroege vierde eeuw. Deze daling weerspiegelt een werkelijke afname van dit soort van maaltijden. In de bestaande literatuur wordt ruimschoots aandacht besteed aan de geleidelijke

verdwijning van verscheidene vormen van euergetisme in de Late Oudheid. Deze ontwikkeling wordt meestal in verband gebracht met een reeks van bestuurlijke, fiscale, sociale ontwikkelingen en met een verandering in de 'mentaliteit' van lokale elites. Zonder de juistheid van deze verklaringen in twijfel te trekken vraagt dit proefschrift vooral aandacht voor veranderingen in de politieke cultuur van de steden van Italië en de westelijke provincies. In de loop van de derde en vierde eeuw ondermijnde de gestage uitbreiding van de keizerlijke bureaucratie de aantrekkingskracht van de oude politieke cultuur waarin leden van lokale stedelijke elites althans een deel van hun rijkdom ten goede lieten komen aan lokale burgergemeenschappen. Het ontstaan van nieuwe mogelijkheden om carrière te maken in één van de keizerlijke departementen weekte lokale elites los van lokale gemeenschappen en zorgde ervoor dat deze gemeenschappen niet langer werden gezien als de belangrijkste bron van maatschappelijke status. De neergang van oude vormen van weldoenerij die zich op lokale burgergemeenschappen richtten, was een logisch gevolg van deze veranderingen.

Een afzonderlijk hoofdstuk van dit proefschrift is gewijd aan de collectieve maaltijden van collegia. Een klein aantal inscripties noemt collegia naast andere groepen ontvangers van publieke maaltijden. Het aantal inscripties waarin collegiati als de enige ontvangers van door weldoeners bekostigde maaltijden verschijnen is beduidend groter. In dergelijke inscripties zijn het altijd de collegia als geheel die als ontvangers figureren. De interne regels die sommige collegia voor zichzelf opstelden laten een ander beeld zien: sommige van deze regels schrijven voor dat bepaalde leden van het collegium bij de gezamenlijke maaltijden recht hebben op een dubbele portie. Dergelijke regelingen laten zien dat de verschillen in status die zo kenmerkend waren voor het stedelijk leven in de vroege Keizertijd binnen de collegia op een lager niveau werden gereproduceerd.

Uit het epigrafische materiaal blijkt dat de meeste maaltijden die aan collegia werden aangeboden, werden betaald door 'interne weldoeners'. Dit patroon komt overeen met wat wij op het niveau van de stedelijke gemeenschap zien: ook de meeste maaltijden die aan plaatselijke burgerij werden aangeboden, werden door prominente leden van die burgerij bekostigd. Anderzijds brengt een vergelijking tussen publieke maaltijden in de stad en maaltijden voor collegiati ook verschillen aan het licht. Zo bestaat er geen duidelijk bewijs voor het aanbieden van maaltijden door de hoogste bestuurders van collegia, de magistri collegii. Een mogelijke verklaring hiervoor is dat het organiseren van dergelijke maaltijden tot de standaardtaken van deze magistri behoorden en daarom het vermelden niet waard was. Waarschijnlijker is echter dat de maaltijden die deze magistri werden georganiseerd, niet door de magistri zelf maar uit de gemeenschappelijk kas van het collegium werden betaald. Afgezien van dit verschil vertonen de omstandigheden waarin private gevers collectieve maaltijden voor collegiati betaalden een sterke gelijkenis met de omstandigheden waarin maaltijden

aan stedelijke gemeenschappen werden aangeboden. Ook in het geval van de collegia vinden we weldoenerij in reactie op eerbewijzen, 'spontane' voedsel-giften en weldoenerij op basis van testamenten.

Een opvallend gegeven waaraan de bestaande literatuur vrijwel geen aandacht besteedt is dat het epigrafische bewijsmateriaal voor de verstrekking van maaltijden aan collegiati door private weldoeners uit een beperkt aantal gebieden afkomstig is. Het lijkt geen toeval dat dit materiaal afkomstig is uit dezelfde gebieden waar collegia ook werden uitgenodigd voor publieke maaltijden die aan de complete stedelijke gemeenschap werden aangeboden. In beide gevallen komt het overgrote merendeel van materiaal uit Italië. Het lijkt niet te gewaagd hieruit te concluderen dat collegia in steden van Italië een prominentere rol speelden dan in de westelijke provincies of althans dat aan de maatschappelijke rol van deze collegia als bouwstenen van de plaatselijke gemeenschap in Italië op een andere manier uitdrukking werd gegeven. Verder valt op dat zowel de meeste inscripties waarin collegia als deelnemers aan publieke maaltijden worden genoemd als het merendeel van de inscripties die melding maken van maaltijden die door weldoeners uitsluitend aan collegiati werden aangeboden, in de tweede eeuw n. Chr. gedateerd kunnen worden. Beide verschijnselen wijzen er op dat de collegia juist in deze periode als belangrijke bouwstenen van lokale gemeenschappen in Romeins Italië werden gepercipieerd.

Slechts zeer weinig inscripties maken melding van door weldoeners gefinancierde maaltijden die uitsluitend aan Augustales werden aangeboden. Voor zover kan worden nagegaan, werden dergelijke maaltijden vrijwel altijd aangeboden door weldoeners die zelf ook Augustales waren of door directe verwanten van Augustales. Bij dergelijke diners lijken alle Augustales gelijke porties te hebben ontvangen. In dit opzicht lijken hun maaltijden op de banketten die door voornaanstaande decuriones aan de overige leden van lokale gemeenteraad werden aangeboden: ook bij dergelijke maaltijden kregen alle deelnemers hetzelfde voedsel. Alle epigrafische bronnen met betrekking tot de private financiering van maaltijden voor Augustales komen van het vasteland van Italië en de meeste inscripties kunnen in de tweede eeuw n. Chr. worden gedateerd.

Het algemene beeld dat uit het uitgevoerde onderzoek naar voren komt is dat de populariteit van gemeenschappelijke maaltijden die door particuliere weldoeners werden bekostigd, begrepen dient te worden tegen de achtergrond van de regio-specifieke politieke culturen van de steden van Italië, Baetica en Africa Proconsularis. In overeenstemming met deze bevinding dient de uiteindelijke verdwijning van deze specifieke vorm van weldoenerij uit een verandering in politieke cultuur te worden verklaard.

Curriculum Vitae

Shanshan Wen was born on October 16, 1987 in Shanghe, China. She attended Shandong Normal University and obtained her BA degree in History in 2010. Afterwards she started her studies in social and cultural history of western civilization at Shanghai Normal University, where she learned ancient languages and specialized in Roman history. As part of her master's studies she worked as a teaching and research assistant for Professor Yi Zhaoyin. She received a grant for her MA thesis and graduated *cum laude* in 2013. After obtaining a grant from the China Scholarship Council she started her PhD research at the Institute for History of Leiden University in September 2013. As of September 2018 she has been appointed lecturer at the Humanities and Communications College of Shanghai Normal University.