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GIFTS OF *GYMNASIA*: A TEST CASE FOR READING QUASI-TECHNICAL JARGON IN  
LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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## GIFTS OF *GYMNASIA*: A TEST CASE FOR READING QUASI-TECHNICAL JARGON IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

There are a number of inscriptions from the western provinces, especially North Africa, that commemorate gifts to a community by local officials of what the texts term *gymnasium* or *gymnasia*. At first glance, the interpretation of these inscriptions might appear unproblematic, since *gymnasia* are well-known as centers for exercise and education in the Greco-Roman world.<sup>1</sup> A closer look at the inscriptions, however, reveals that the *gymnasia* commemorated here cannot be buildings; in any case, the term *gymnasium*, while routinely applied to structures in the Greek East, was never used in such a sense in inscriptions from the Latin West.<sup>2</sup> Instead, the Latin inscriptions mentioning *gymnasia* clearly record the conferral of some sort of liberality for the benefit of the local population. Almost invariably such gifts of *gymnasia* mark a ceremony of dedication – of a statue or a building, for example – and they are very often granted in conjunction with one or more additional *beneficia*, such as public banquets or theatrical displays. Two interpretations of this usage of *gymnasium* have long predominated in the modern literature: either the term denotes the staging of gymnastic displays or competitions for public entertainment, or it designates distributions of oil for bathing and/or other supplies associated with exercise. To date, no satisfactory resolution has been reached in determining which of these two interpretations best captures the reality alluded to in the inscriptions; in most instances, both can be plausibly argued as applicable.<sup>3</sup>

In this paper, therefore, I first review the epigraphic evidence for gifts of *gymnasia*. When, subsequently, the arguments in favor of each of the two modern interpretations are applied to these inscriptions, it quickly becomes clear that neither view is sufficient to explain all the occurrences of the term convincingly. In the final section, I propose a third avenue of approach to the problem of *gymnasium*'s meaning that carries wider implications for how quasi-technical and ill-understood terms such as this one may be read in Latin inscriptions.

### The Texts

For this paper, I have collected forty-eight *gymnasium* inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> The overwhelming majority of these (45/48) hail from the communities of North Africa, particularly Africa Proconsularis (and

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In the notes, abbreviations follow those prescribed in *AJA* 95, 1991, 1–16; the epigraphic abbreviations follow F. Bérard et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste* 2, Paris 1989, 16–17. Note also: Wesch-Klein = G. Wesch-Klein, *Liberalitas in rem publicam: Private Aufwendungen zugunsten von Gemeinden im römischen Afrika bis 284 n.Chr.*, Bonn 1990. I would like to thank P. B. Harvey Jr., J. F. Donahue, and W. Eck for their helpful comments and criticisms on earlier drafts of this paper; conversations with A. Wilson also proved fruitful. Any remaining errors are my own.

<sup>1</sup> There are dozens of examples of *gymnasium* used to denote buildings in the surviving body of Latin literature: see, e.g., Plaut. *Amph.* 1011, *Bacch.* 425; Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.160, *De or.* 1.56, *Rep.* 3.44, *Fin.* 1.69; Catull. 63.64; Varr. *Rust.* 2.pr.2; Vitruv. *De arch.* 1.7.1, Petron. *Sat.* 85.3; Pliny *HN* 28.52; Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.8; Mart. 3.68.3; Pliny *Ep.* 10.39–40; Suet. *Tib.* 11.1, *Nero* 12.3; Tac. *Ann.* 14.47.3, 15.22.3. The fullest overview of such buildings – surely now in need of updating – is J. Delorme, *Gymnasion: Étude sur les monuments consacrés à l'éducation en Grèce*, Paris 1960. For a recent discussion, see F. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge MA 1992, 6–24.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot find one instance of such a use in the relevant volumes of *CIL*, *ILS*, or any of the regional collections from the western provinces. Likewise, *TLL* (6.2.2379.A1, s.v. “gymnasium”) does not include a single inscription from the western provinces under the rubric *aedificium*. In contrast, use of *gymnasium* to denote a building can be found in a bilingual inscription from Tralles in Asia (*CIL* 3.7146 = *IK* 36.1.148), where it reflects Greek usage; other examples in Greek are too numerous to list here but can be readily traced through the indices of *IG*, *CIG*, *IK*, or *IGRRP*.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the comments of W. F. Snyder, *Public Anniversaries in the Roman Empire: The Epigraphical Evidence for Their Observance during the First Three Centuries*, *YCS* 7, 1940, 223–317, esp. 303–5.

<sup>4</sup> For ease of reference, the inscriptions are assembled and numbered in the Appendix; henceforth, individual texts are referred to by their appropriate number. This *corpus* should not be viewed as comprehensive, since more such inscriptions no

Byzacena, after the Diocletianic reforms). Outside Africa, three examples have been found in Germany and Spain.<sup>5</sup> The earliest datable example is a Trajanic inscription from Spain (no. 34), while the latest is an African example from the reign of Probus (no. 15). Most of the other datable inscriptions stem from the Severan era, when North African cities were at the height of their prosperity, although some Antonine examples are known. The geographic distribution – with the notable absence of Italy, normally the largest contributor of Latin inscriptions – demonstrates that we are dealing with an essentially regional word-usage apparently imported into Africa and popularized there (the earliest example, it will be remembered, comes from outside Africa); the chronological spread, while partly a product of the overall pattern of epigraphic survival, nevertheless implies a limited window of application for the term *gymnasium* in the sense under study in this paper.

In terms of content, the inscriptions are highly formulaic. In virtually all the examples, and with some instructive exceptions, the gift of *gymnasium* accompanies a dedication of a statue or a building. In many examples the dedication is itself stimulated by the acquisition of some local office or priesthood, and several inscriptions make this explicit by recording that the benefactions were given *ob honorem* or *pro honore*, often funded from the sums habitually levied from the honoree for accepting the office (*summae honorariae* or *legitimae*).<sup>6</sup> As to the gift of *gymnasium* itself, it can be offered on its own (nos. 1–5), or in combination with other liberalities. Such supplementary *beneficia* include *visceratio* (distribution of meat following a sacrifice); *epulum* (public banquet); *sportulae* (cash handouts); and *ludi scaenici* (theatrical displays) or violent *spectacula* or *certamina* (usually of boxers).<sup>7</sup> More often, these *beneficia* appear in multiple combinations, so that the *gymnasium* forms merely one element in an often impressive package of generosity (nos. 16–48). In some cases, the combined benefactions are given to separate classes (see the cited examples below). In these instances, the *gymnasium* invariably goes to the *populus*, while more restricted groups receive other gifts (often *sportulae*); this is entirely in keeping with documented Roman practice, whereby distributions of this type were not welfare payments to the needy but status statements among socio-economic peers.<sup>8</sup> In two of the three non-African examples, both from Spain, the gift of *gymnasium* is associated with an offer of *ludi scaenici* and free bathing (nos. 33, 34).

Some examples serve to illustrate these types. At Sarra a Severan inscription commemorates a local official who built a temple “along with its *pronaos* and an altar, and on account of its dedication he gave a public banquet and a *gymnasium*” (no. 9). At Gor a local magnate set up an annual foundation so that, on his birthday every year, the decurions were “to receive cash handouts and all of the citizens a *gymnasium*” (no. 11). At Villa Magna, two men reached the local aedileship in AD 239 and erected a statue of Mars; one of them, Rufinus, “on account of the dedication of the statue also provided a

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doubt remain hidden in the pages of *AE*, *CIL*, *ILS*, *ILAlg*, *IL Afr*, *ILTun*, and the other collections I consulted: the indices of these volumes proved not entirely reliable when it came to listing the word *gymnasium*. Nevertheless, forty-eight is a workable sample.

<sup>5</sup> Even a perfunctory glance through the Appendix reveals the preponderance of texts from Africa, especially Africa Proconsularis, which alone accounts for 43/45 of the African examples. The other regions represented are Numidia (nos. 1 and 22), Baetica (nos. 33 and 34), and Germania Superior (no. 12). Note also a fragmentary inscription from Altava in Mauretania Caesarensis that, perhaps, makes mention of a *gymnasi]um in thermis* (*CIL* 8.20757 = Wesch-Klein, 349 [nr. 6]). An inscription from Assaria in Dalmatia (*AE* 1929.168 [fourth century?]) is dedicated *salvis gymnasiis* and is of uncertain interpretation; it may refer to *gymnasia* as buildings.

<sup>6</sup> Benefactions *ob honorem/pro honore*: nos. 10, 13, 14, 20, 29, 31, 32. Benefactions *ob honorem/pro honore* expressly funded from *summae honorariae/legitimae*: nos. 2, 7, 9, 16, 17, 22, 23, 28, 30, 45. The wording of no. 48 is ambiguous: the large sum involved (100,000 sesterces) makes a *summa honoraria* improbable, unless the total masks a *summa* with extra money added. On *summae honorariae/legitimae*, see R. Duncan-Jones, *The Economy of the Roman Empire: Quantitative Studies*<sup>2</sup>, Cambridge 1982, 82–88 (in Africa) and 147–55 (in Italy).

<sup>7</sup> *Visceratio*: no. 7; *epulum*: nos. 8–10; *sportulae*: nos. 11–13; *ludi scaenici*/displays: nos. 14, 15, 19 (second benefaction).

<sup>8</sup> See Duncan-Jones, *Economy* (n. 6), 138–44; S. Mrozek, *Les distributions d'argent et de nourriture dans les villes italiennes du Haut-Empire romain*, Brussels 1987, 105–7.

spectacle of boxers and a *gymnasium*” (no. 14). Similarly, at Thibica local aediles dedicated a statue, “and on the day of the dedication gave cash handouts to the decurions, and a public banquet and *gymnasium* to the citizens” (no. 17). A Severan inscription from Timgad records the erection by a veteran *ob honorem flamoni* of statues of Mars and, in the theater, statues of Severus, Caracalla, and Julia Domna “and on account of their dedication, he gave a public banquet to the *curiae* and a *gymnasium* to the people and a theatrical display” (no. 22). An early third-century aedile at Giufi erected a statue and at its dedication he, along with his colleague, “gave a theatrical display and a *gymnasium* to the people and a public banquet to the decurions” (no. 23). At Tuccabor a local official, *ob honorem flamoni*, completed a building and “on account of its dedication he staged boxing contests and gave cash handouts to the decurions and a banquet and *gymnasium* to the people”. But the official was not finished. He also added an upper-story room to the building, decorated it with mosaics, and, along with his sons, dedicated it, “and on account of this dedication, he gave a banquet to the decurions and a *gymnasium* to the people” (no. 28). These examples are entirely typical and reflect the range of possible combinations of benefactions and beneficiaries found in the sample.

When taken together, gifts of *gymnasium* in these inscriptions are clearly not in reference to the construction or restoration of buildings but rather to some form of public liberality conferred by local officials to mark the dedication of a constructional endeavor undertaken usually in response to an ascent to local office. That the *gymnasia* often take place in conjunction with benefactions such as public banquets or cash handouts demonstrates that we are dealing with some sort of recreation or leisure activity. The question is, what type of activity?

#### “Gymnasium” as gymnastic displays or competitions

For those who propose that *gymnasium* denotes gymnastic displays or games – and the notion has impressive support – there is convincing corroboration from other sources.<sup>9</sup> Such displays are amply attested in the literary sources from the late Republic onwards.<sup>10</sup> Participants in these gymnastic performances were called *gymnici*, and gravestones of *gymnici* are known from Rome and Italy.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Some standard works of reference consider *gymnasium* to denote displays or exercises: see, e.g., E. de Ruggiero, *Dizionario epigrafico*, Rome 1922, 3.596 s.v. (note that practically all the inscriptions listed in this article are miscited); *OLD*, s.v. (2); *RE* 7.2026, s.v. (J. Oehler). Other scholars have since taken up this interpretation: see, e.g., K. M. Coleman, Ptolemy Philadelphus and the Roman Amphitheater, in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society*, Ann Arbor 1996, 49–68, esp. 56; L. Leschi, *Études d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire africaines*, Paris 1957, 315; A. Wilson, *Water Management and Usage in Roman North Africa: A Social and Technological Study*, 2 vols., D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford 1997, 2.305 (no. 187).

<sup>10</sup> See Cic. *Inv. rhet.* 2.2, *Fam.* 5.12.8 (= SB 22), *Tusc.* 2.62; Val. Max. 8.15 ext. 4, 9.12 ext. 9; Pliny *HN* 7.205, 28.50, 35.75; Sen. *Dial.* 4.14.3; Frontin. *Str.* 2.11.1; Suet. *Aug.* 98.5, *Nero* 53.1; Festus p. 217M (= 236L), s.v. “perihodos”; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.5, 273.5, 273.12. These literary notices lend gymnastic displays expressed Greek contexts and in some cases (e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* 2.62) make a point of distinguishing them from Roman practice. Other sources, however, are clear that gymnastic displays were also staged among the Romans, even if they often retained Greek associations: see, e.g., Suet. *Nero* 12.3–4, *Dom.* 4.4; *HA Gall.* 3.7, *Carus* 19.2–3; Pliny *Ep.* 4.22.1 (the latter mentions games given at Vienna in the will of a local man and offers a literary parallel to such epigraphic evidence as no. 11). Also relevant are the mostly late Imperial mosaics depicting athletic and gymnastic competitions. A famous example is the “Bikini Girls” mosaic at Piazza Armerina (in which the ladies are clearly competing for crowns and palm fronds) but there are others, such as the ill-published mosaic from Baton-Zamoun in Tunisia, now in the Gafsa Museum. Here athletes compete in running, discus-throwing, long-jumping, wrestling, and boxing for prize money, palm fronds, and crowns that sit prominently on a table in the center of the scene; see M. Blanchard-Lemée et al., *Mosaics of Roman Africa: Floor Mosaics from Tunisia*, New York 1996, 190–96.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* 6.10158 = *ILS* 5168: ... *hic sun* {sic} *positi gymnici / tres fratres, / Euplus, q. vix. a. V. m. VIII. d. XIII, / Elenchius, q. vix. a. I. m. VII, / Vincentius, q. vix. a. V / m. VIII. d. XXVIII ...* ; *CIL* 6.10159 = *ILS* 5168b: *D. M. / Erotis alumno / dulcissimo et pammuso / gymnico Valentines / filies mees* {sic}, *vixit annos / XVI, / defunctus est idibus / Iunis die Saturni / ora nona; CIL* 6.10160: *D. M. / Sarricio / infanti / gymnico / dulcissimo / qui v. a. III / m. VIII d. III / parentes; CIL* 6.14400: *D. M. S. / Karico filio / gymnico qui / vixit annu* {sic} *X[ -- ] ...* ; *CIL* 10.2132 = *ILS* 5168a (Puteoli): *D. M. / Augurio gymnico / inconparabili, / dulci exsitoso, / vixit anis* {sic} *II m. VIII; / amatores hoc / non merenti f(e)cerunt*.

Interestingly, almost all the *gymnici* are boys, some as young as two years old, although one text commemorates a grown man who was “often crowned in gymnastic competition.”<sup>12</sup>

Returning to our *gymnasium* inscriptions, the frequent combination of gifts of *gymnasia* with banquets, games, and theatrical displays offers a suitable broad context for gymnastic displays or competitions. Obviously, gymnastic and theatrical/pugilistic spectacles could have been staged in a single setting, such as a theater, circus, or forum. Like other *ludi*, the *gymnasia* are also reported as having been offered over several days (nos. 31, 33, 35?). When cash handouts and *gymnasia* alone are reported, the cash handouts could have been staged before or after the gymnastic performance, or even while it was in progress. In those cases recording the combination of public banquets and *gymnasia*, gymnastic displays remain a plausible possibility, since supplementary entertainment was a regular feature of the elite’s dining experience and was therefore naturally transferred to public banquets.<sup>13</sup> Even in those cases where the banquet is specified as given to the elite and a *gymnasium* to the people (nos. 16, 22–25, 28, 36?, 48), which suggests separate events, it is not hard to envision the decurions banqueting and being entertained by gymnasts while the people looked on; in a sense, the latter could enjoy the *gymnasium* even while being excluded from the banquet. In one North African inscription, and in the two from Spain, the *gymnasium* is associated with baths (nos. 3, 33, 34). Again, this is not a major problem, since the baths offer an apt context for displays of exercise and gymnastic performances.<sup>14</sup> Gymnastic displays or competitions, then, certainly seem to fit the use of the word *gymnasium* in these inscriptions.

Objections can be raised against this view, however. Chief among them is the observation that the literary *testimonia*, and some inscriptions, are consistent in describing gymnastic displays or games as *ludi gymnici*, *certamina gymnica*, *agon gymnicus*, or with some similar phrase.<sup>15</sup> Since North African *gymnasia* were often put on with other *ludi*, it seems odd for the inscriptions to use the word *gymnasium* when some concise alternative such as *ludi scaenici et gymnici* was possible.<sup>16</sup> A pertinent epigraphic example is the inscription from an unnamed site in Africa Proconsularis, which records the giving of cash handouts, a banquet, and a *gymnasium*, and goes on to record the staging of “a spectacle of boxers and chariots and theatrical games” (no. 30). The wording implies that the *gymnasium* was a distinct event from the public spectacle. Other inscriptions seem rather hard to square with the interpretation of *gymnasium* as gymnastic displays. At Theveste, for instance, a local veteran and magnate stipulated in his will that an arch and its accompanying statuary be erected in the town. On the interior of this arch was carved an inscription recording the bequest of a foundation of 250,000 sesterces “so that on certain days *gymnasia* might be given to the people in the public baths”. The facing interior wall of the arch is graced with a related text headed, “The Days of *Gymnasia*, From the Will of Cornelius Ergilianus”; sixty-four such days a year are listed.<sup>17</sup> These days of *gymnasia* were more-or-less evenly distributed throughout the year, so that they occurred on average more than once a week.<sup>18</sup> It is reasonable to

<sup>12</sup> CIL 6.33992 = ILS 5167: ... ion[i]us D. f. / Pol. Geminus pater, / gymnico agone saepius coro[na]t[us] ...

<sup>13</sup> See C. P. Jones, Dinner Theater, in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991, 185–98.

<sup>14</sup> The great athlete mosaics from the *palaestrae* in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome raise the possibility that a company of professional athletes staged gymnastic contests in the baths for the entertainment of the bathers: see M. E. Blake, Mosaics of the Later Empire in Rome and Vicinity, *MAAR* 17, 1940, 81–130, esp. 111–12; A. Insalaco, I mosaici degli atleti dalle Terme di Caracalla: Una nuova indagine, *ArchCl* 41, 1989, 293–327.

<sup>15</sup> For the literary evidence, see n. 10. For inscriptions, see, e.g., CIL 3.6829 = ILS 5070: (Antioch in Pisidia; undated, but sometime before late second century): C. Albucio C. f. / Ser. Firmo aed., / Ilvir., qui pecuni/am destinavit per / testamentum at / certamen gymnicum / quod annis [f]aciend[um] diebus festis / Lunae ... ; CIL 6.33992 = ILS 5167 (cited in n. 12).

<sup>16</sup> Compare, for example, Apul. *De dog. Plat.* 2.25 (*bellicis et gymnicis et musicis*); HA *Gall.* 3.7 (*ludos circenses ludosque s<ca>enicos, ludos gymnicos, ludiarum etiam venationem et ludos gladiatorios dedit*).

<sup>17</sup> Nos. 3, 4. S. Gsell (*ad ILAlg* 1.3040) considered these *gymnasia* “spectacles qui seraient donnés dans les thermes”.

<sup>18</sup> In January, for instance, gymnasial days fell on the 1st, 11th, 17th, 24th, 28th, and 31st; in February, they fell on the 6th, 19th, 25th and 27th; and so on.

wonder how entertaining gymnastic displays would have been when they were staged with such frequency.

The problem of cost also appears relevant. If we postulate an interest rate of five percent, Ergilianus' foundation at Theveste would have generated 12,500 sesterces per annum, or about 195 sesterces for each of the sixty-four gymnasial days (assuming each day was equally expensive).<sup>19</sup> This seems to be an inordinately small sum to pay for gymnasts. It must be admitted, however, that we have no idea what they charged. The evidence from the sepulchral inscriptions from Italy, in fact, suggests that *gymnici* were usually very young boys, often probably slaves, so they may have come cheap. At Gor a foundation that generated 240 sesterces per annum paid for an annual display of boxers, a *gymnasium*, and a banquet (no. 25); by comparison, the 195 sesterces for gymnasts alone at Theveste looks generous. We also do not know how Ergilianus' money was paid out: it could have been paid in a lump sum to cover a whole year's entertainment or disbursed as prize money for competitions. Unfortunately, other North African inscriptions that record a sum given for a foundation covering the costs of *gymnasia* also include other benefactions, as with the inscription from Gor (no. 25). This makes determining the cost set aside for *gymnasia* alone all but impossible. What can be said, however, is that the sums in each case are small, not running to more than hundreds of sesterces.<sup>20</sup> Aside from this observation, the numerous uncertainties surrounding the mechanics of these disbursements render analysis of cost all but useless in attempting to prove the gymnastic-display interpretation.

It seems from the foregoing that *gymnasium* as a term for gymnastic displays or competitions, while it fits the inscriptions in a general sense, is applicable in certain cases only with considerable difficulty. Perhaps, then, *gymnasium* denoted some other sort of leisure activity or entertainment. A ready alternative is at hand.

#### "Gymnasium" as distributions of oil

That *gymnasium* denoted distributions of oil and/or other supplies necessary for exercise is a proposition that also has an impressive corps of champions.<sup>21</sup> As with the gymnastic-display interpretation, the proposition has merit and can draw on substantial corroboration from a variety of sources. Distributions of oil for use in bathing are voluminously attested in the Greek East, most frequently as the duty of officials called gymnasiarchs. Such oil distributions are also known from the Latin West, albeit more rarely, where they are often expressly associated with baths and bathing.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Interest rates appear to have varied not only from place to place but also to have depended on the size of the foundation in question; see Duncan-Jones, *Economy* (n. 6), 132–38. Duncan-Jones in general posits interest rates of five or six percent for most foundations. For an inscription that makes an interest rate of six percent explicit, see no. 25.

<sup>20</sup> Nos. 11, 25, 48. No. 11 is a good example of the difficulties inherent in interpreting such inscriptions. In this case, the foundation would have generated 720 sesterces per annum, at an interest rate of six percent. This sum, however, covers more than just the *gymnasium*, so estimating how much was available for the *gymnasium* alone requires too much guesswork to be a reliable guide; we do not know how many decurions there were at Gor, or how much they each received as *sportulae*, and so on.

<sup>21</sup> Duncan-Jones, *Economy* (n. 6), 81 n. 6; L. Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*<sup>10</sup>, Leipzig 1921, 4.282–83; S. Lancel, *Populus Thabarbusitanus et les Gymnasia de Quintus Flavius Lappianus*, *Lybica* 6, 1958, 143–51, esp. 150–51 (this article is a discussion of my no. 8); P. Le Roux, *Cité et culture municipale en Bétique sous Trajan*, *Ktema* 12, 1987, 271–84, esp. 276 (this article is a discussion of my no. 34); *TLL* 6.2.2380.B1c ("meton. de rebus ad exercenda in gymnasiis corpora necessariis"); P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque*, Paris 1976, 365 n. 313; Wesch-Klein, 27–30. A recent doctoral dissertation has also plumped for the oil-distribution reading; see J.F. Donahue, *Epula Publica: The Roman Community at Table during the Principate*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 1996, where *gymnasium* is translated "gymnastic oil" throughout.

<sup>22</sup> Literary sources bear witness to the distribution of oil at Rome: see Dio 37.51.4 (Faustus Sulla); Dio 49.43.3 (Agrippa in 33 BC); Suet. *Nero* 12.3 (Nero on the opening of his gymnasium). Inscriptions fill out the picture for the rest of Italy and the western provinces. Typical of those specifying a bathing context for the offer of *oleum* is *CIL* 5.5279 = *ILS* 6728 (Comum; pre-100): ... *quot annis per Neptunalia oleum | in campo et in thermis et balineis omnibus quae sunt | Comi*

In the context of our *gymnasia* inscriptions, oil distributions fit nicely, for the most part. In the case, for instance, of the bequest of Ergilianus to Theveste, the sixty-four days of *gymnasium* offered in the baths make better sense as oil distributions than as gymnastic displays. In two of the three non-African examples, gifts of *gymnasia* are expressly coupled with provisions of free bathing (nos. 33, 34). Since it is consonant with other attested oil-and-bath combinations, this coincidence seems to reinforce the bathing associations of *gymnasium*. But such oil distributions at, say, banquets also make perfect sense. Indeed in our inscriptions, *epulum* and *gymnasium* are often closely combined in a phrase such as *et epulum et gymnasium dedit*, even when they appear as part of larger packages of liberality (nos. 8–10, 17–20, 27, 29–32), suggesting that these two benefactions were closely related and perhaps staged as a separate event from any spectacles or games the benefactor might have put on in addition (as has already been suggested for no. 30; see above, p. 266). Given that bathing normally took place immediately before the evening meal, this *gymnasium*-banquet combination is entirely reasonable. On this view, benefactors who offered such combinations as *gymnasia*, a public banquet, *sportulae*, and theatrical games can be seen to provide a day's worth of entertainment to their communities, with oil in the baths, a public banquet, cash handouts, and spectacles. This view also nicely explains the odd combination of *gymnasium* and wine attested in one inscription (no. 6), since the Roman bathing ritual was noted by the ancients for stimulating thirst.<sup>23</sup>

As with the gymnastic-display interpretation, however, not all the inscriptions seem to fit this model neatly. Seemingly odd combinations of benefactions occur, such as *gymnasia* (now as oil distributions) and boxing displays or other games and spectacles; such an event is difficult to imagine in a theater or forum, unless we transfer the whole operation – *ludi*, boxing matches, and the rest – into the baths.<sup>24</sup> As it is, however, the association of *gymnasium* with the baths is not particularly strong among the North African examples, where only one text unequivocally states that the *gymnasium* was offered in that context (no. 3); the location of most *gymnasia* is not specified. It is arguable that the term *gymnasium* carried an automatic association with the baths and meant perhaps something akin to “oil in the baths”; but if so, it is difficult to account for the redundancy at Theveste, where the *gymnasia* are expressly set “in the baths” (*in thermis*). Furthermore, in the inscriptions of non-African origin that commemorate distributions of bathing oil the term used is *oleum*, not *gymnasium* (although this might reflect little more than a regional difference in terminology).<sup>25</sup>

One of the non-African examples is particularly difficult to square with reading *gymnasium* as “oil distributions”. The inscription, from Spain and of Trajanic date, records two acts of benefaction by the

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*populo praeberetur* ... For other examples expressly mentioning baths, see *CIL* 14.2112 = *ILS* 7212.II.29–31 (Lanuvium; 136); *CIL* 11.6360 (Pisaurum; early-mid second century); *CIL* 2.4514 = *ILS* 6957 = *ILER* 5838 (Barcino, Hispania Tarraconensis; 161/69); *CIL* 11.3811 = *ILS* 6583 (Veii; third century?). A variety of inscriptions do not specify baths as the setting for the oil distribution: see *CIL* 5.7007 = *ILS* 2544 (Taurini; late first century); *CIL* 5.4449 (Brixia; undated, but sometime during the Principate); *CIL* 5.7905 (Cemenelum, Alpes Maritimae; undated, but sometime during the Principate); *CIL* 9.4691 (Reate; undated, but sometime during the Principate); *CIL* 5.7920 (Cemenelum, Alpes Maritimae; undated); *CIL* 5.5272 (Comum; undated); *CIL* 12.372 (Reii, Gallia Narbonensis; undated); *CIL* 12.1236 (Arausio, Gallia Narbonensis; undated). Note *CIL* 13.2943 (second century?) which does not mention baths expressly but was found in the ruins of baths at Agedincum in Gallia Lugdunensis.

<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Ael. Arist. 25.311 (Jebb); Celsus 1.3.6–7; Pliny *HN* 14.139–40. Compare *CIL* 11.6360 where bread, wine, and oil in the baths are given to the people. Note, however, that an offer of wine and a spectacle is not unheard of; see *CIL* 8.16556 = *ILS* 6839 = Wesch-Klein 195 (nr. 9) (Theveste, Afr. Proc.; second or early third century): ... *curiis quoque et Augustalibus / aureos binos et populo vinum et ludos edidit*.

<sup>24</sup> Nos. 14, 15, 23, 25. In contrast to the combination of *gymnasium* and banquet (see above, p. 268), nothing in the wording of these examples suggests a separation of the *gymnasia* from the spectacles. If anything, they appear to have been closely allied, as in no. 25 where the banquet is separated from the *gymnasium* and *pugiles*.

<sup>25</sup> See n. 22 for *oleum* inscriptions. S. Lancel (“Populus Thabarbusitanus” [n. 21], 151) argues that the parallelism between the non-African formula *epulum et oleum dedit* and the African wording of *epulum et gymnasium dedit* suggests that *gymnasium* = *oleum* in African texts. It is a good point, but the association of *gymnasium* with baths is not self-evident, as this view requires (since *gymnasium* cannot mean merely “oil” but must carry a bathing or athletic connotation and not all the *oleum* inscriptions can be associated with baths).



same *duovir* (no. 34). On one occasion, the benefactor held public and private games and gave “oil and free baths” (*oleo et balineo gratuito dato*) to the people. Afterward, when he was staging games for the youth (*ludi iuvenum*) in the theater, “he offered a *gymnasium* and free bathing to the adult men and women” (*gymnasium et balinea viris et mulieribus gratuita praestitit*). If *gymnasium* denoted oil distributions, why the distinction between oil and free baths on the first occasion, and *gymnasium* and free baths on the other? An appeal may be made to rhetorical *variatio*, or to the possibility that *gymnasium* denoted an oil distribution in combination with some other unspecified service, but the expressed distinction between the terms remains troubling for the oil-distribution interpretation. In this case at least, it seems more likely that *gymnasium* does not denote an oil distribution.

Cost can also be used as a point of comparison between North African *gymnasium* texts and other attested oil-distributions. We have already seen that the amounts of money set aside for North African *gymnasia* are small, running in the low hundreds of sesterces (see above, p. 267). In contrast, at Comum in Italy a benefactor left a foundation of 40,000 sesterces for an annual oil distribution in all the community’s baths on the Neptunalia (23 July); at an interest rate of five or six percent, this represents an annual outlay of 2,000–2,400 sesterces.<sup>26</sup> What is striking here is that this sum – an order of magnitude greater than our clearest North African example associated with baths, from Theveste (no. 3) – was to be spent only on oil on a single day every year. If the *gymnasia* at Theveste comprised oil distributions alone, never mind oil distributions in addition to other services, they must have been rather meager in comparison to this event. (Although it should be noted that the Comum bequest applied to all the baths in the town, while it is not clear how many *thermae* were affected by the benefaction at Theveste.) A bequest at Sassina in Italy, however, established a foundation of 4,000 sesterces for oil distributions, which is more in line with the amounts cited in the Theveste inscription. But in this case the beneficiaries were a very restricted group of *collegium* members.<sup>27</sup> In drawing such comparisons, it cannot be overlooked that we are putting side-by-side inscriptions from different parts of the empire that are separated by over a century. In addition, there are too many intangibles in each case to make the comparisons truly telling (e.g., the number and social status of the beneficiaries, the quality and price of the oil, the sizes of the individual rations, and so on). Once more, cost proves an unsound basis on which to draw conclusions.

After all this discussion, it is not hard to see why the problem of the meaning of the term *gymnasium* has appeared insuperable.<sup>28</sup> The interpretation of *gymnasium* either as gymnastic displays or as oil distributions fits most, but not all, of these inscriptions neatly and in many cases both views can be argued with equal conviction. We appear to have reached an impasse.

#### Another possibility

It is my contention that the problem of *gymnasium*’s meaning only appears insuperable due to the way in which the question has been framed. It has been generally assumed that *gymnasium* can denote either gymnastic displays or oil distributions (and/or other supplies for exercise) and that, for all the inscriptions, it must be either one case or the other. There is no reason, however, to expect such consistency from epigraphic language, especially when we are dealing with a quasi-technical term found in inscriptions that, for the most part, come from a specific region of the empire and from a specific period of time. Similar technical jargon can be shown to have been employed variously in Latin inscriptions that come from particular geographic or chronological contexts. A pertinent example is the

<sup>26</sup> For the Comum inscription, see n. 22. For the date and duration of the Neptunalia, see *RE* 16.2521, s.v. “Neptunus” (St. Weinstock).

<sup>27</sup> *CIL* 11.6520 = *ILS* 6647 (Sassina; second century): ... *uti / ex reditu HS qua[t]ern(um) m(ilium) / n(ummum) omnibus annis prid(ie) / Idus Iun(ias), die natalis / mei, oleum singulis / vobis dividatur ...*

<sup>28</sup> See Snyder (n. 3).

term *curia* as used in inscriptions from Italy and from North Africa. In the latter, *curia* appears commonly in reference to a club of privileged citizens with restricted membership, while in the former its precise meaning is a matter of greater uncertainty.<sup>29</sup> Similar uncertainty accrues to the use of the term *populus* in Latin inscriptions from all provinces, and even among communities within individual regions. In some places, it seems to have been an inclusive term applied to a town's entire population, sometimes including women; in others, it appears more restrictive, as when it was synonymous with *plebs* and so exclusive of a town's ruling *ordo*. Where precisely other people such as *municipes*, *incolae*, or *coloni* are to be oriented in relation to the *populus* often remains difficult to determine.<sup>30</sup> Aside from such status-categories as these which, it might be argued, are going to be inherently difficult to pin down, even apparently straightforward terms in inscriptions can emerge, under close scrutiny, as markedly less direct than they may initially appear. This circumstance has recently been demonstrated for reconstruction inscriptions where words that seem to denote simple acts of reconstruction can, in fact, designate widely varying types of constructional activity, from initial erection to minor repair work and everything in between.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, trying to determine what a seemingly straightforward word such as *epulum* actually designated in specific contexts has proven taxing.<sup>32</sup>

The explanation for these difficulties is not far to seek. Honorific and commemorative inscriptions were intensely localized documents, erected to record the actions of local benefactors for the benefit of local populations. The people who read them would have been familiar with what *populus* or *curia* meant in their community, what sort of work *refecit* denoted in a given text, or what *epulum* meant, because they knew the circumstances that surrounded the activity being commemorated. The local point of reference for quasi-technical jargon in Latin inscriptions tends to be obscured by the modern collections that assemble texts from all over the empire or from particular regions and issue them in a single publication. Poring over these publications, it is very easy for the modern reader to assume that a particular term had consistent applications in antiquity, when this is probably not the case at all, as the uncertainty over the precise meaning of *populus* or *epulum* makes clear. If other technical or quasi-technical terms found in Latin inscriptions could mean different things to different people depending on where and when they were living, there is no reason to suppose otherwise for *gymnasium*. As it stands, variations in meaning for *gymnasium* are traceable in the record. We have already seen the broad distinction between usage in the Greek East (where it denotes buildings) and the Latin West (where it does not). Occasional passages in Latin authors suggest that the term might also be used to mean "exercise," broadly defined.<sup>33</sup> In sepulchral inscriptions from Rome, *gymnasium* (or a variant, *gymnasio*) can be applied to people, where it designates a slave presumably with exercise- or bath-related

<sup>29</sup> See Duncan-Jones, *Economy* (n. 6), 277–83. In essence *curia* means little more than "grouping of men," derived from \**co-viria*. The term appears to have evolved from conditions peculiar to archaic Rome, so its transference to and usage in Italian and African towns was likely just as community-specific; see R.E.A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans*, Cambridge 1970, 67–79. A particularly unusual example is *curia mulierum* at Lanuvium (*CIL* 14.2120 = *ILS* 6199).

<sup>30</sup> See Duncan-Jones, *Economy* (n. 6), 141–43; Mrozek, *Distributions d'argent* (n. 8), 94–102. An analogous problem is identifying who precisely were the *populus* or *plebs frumentaria*, entitled to free grain handouts at Rome: see D. van Berchem, *Les distributions de blé et d'argent à la plèbe romaine sous l'empire*, New York 1975, 55–63; C. Virlouvet, *La plèbe frumentaire à l'époque d'Auguste: Une tentative de définition*, in A. Giovannini (ed.), *Nourrir la plèbe*, Kassel 1991, 43–65; ead., *Tessera Frumentaria: Les procédures de la distribution du blé public à Rome*, Rome 1995, esp. 216–21.

<sup>31</sup> See E. Thomas and C. Witschel, *Constructing Reconstruction: Claim and Reality of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions from the Latin West*, *BSR* 60, 1992, 135–77. I have challenged Thomas and Witschel's view of the relationship between the claims of the inscriptions and the physical reality they commemorate but I do not dispute the fluidity of meaning they demonstrate for such terms as *reficere* or *restituere*; see G. G. Fagan, *The Reliability of Roman Rebuilding Inscriptions*, *BSR* 64, 1996, 81–93.

<sup>32</sup> See Donahue, *Epula Publica* (n. 21), 14–16, where it is shown that *epulum* can mean more than a public banquet.

<sup>33</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.26 (where, interestingly, use of *oleum* and *gymnasia* for the body are distinguished); Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.5.

duties.<sup>34</sup> The differences between the African and non-African appearances of *gymnasium* have been noted above. In short, the possibility that *gymnasium* shifted in meaning across provincial boundaries and even between communities within those boundaries has to be entertained. This interpretation has the advantage of explaining the difficulty of assigning a specific, universally-applicable meaning to *gymnasia*. On the broad view, the word seems to have had no more precise a meaning than “things to do with exercise”.

The best procedure is therefore to read *gymnasium* in our inscriptions on the merits of each case rather than to expect it to carry a unitary meaning in all contexts. Even within Africa Proconsularis, there is no reason to expect that the term did not shift in meaning depending on where it appeared; in short, the meaning of *gymnasium* was contextually, not absolutely, determined. The people who had experienced the benefaction and who were familiar with what the term meant in their community would automatically have recognized what *gymnasium* denoted, possibly also taking cues from the precise context of its appearance in the inscription they were reading. Some community-specific patterns are observable. In the three inscriptions from Giufi, for instance, the *gymnasium* is always given as a benefaction to the *populus*, and games and cash handouts are specified for other groups (nos. 5, 23, 24). At Sutunurca, however, the *gymnasium* is always coupled with a meal (nos. 7, 10, 20), and the same seems true at Tuccabor (nos. 28, 43) and Mustis (nos. 31, 40, 41, 44), despite the fragmentary condition of some of the inscriptions from these places. While three of the four inscriptions from Thugga couple *gymnasium* with an banquet given to the people (nos. 29, 32, 35), in the fourth, which is admittedly fragmentary, separate groups benefit from the *gymnasium* and the banquet (no. 48). These examples offer no hard proof but they are suggestive, perhaps, of community-specific applications of the term.

In this way, *gymnasium* in certain places and on certain occasions could have denoted distributions of oil and/or other supplies for exercise in the bathhouse (especially in the case of Ergilianus’ bequests at Theveste, for instance), while in other contexts (especially, perhaps, those that couple *gymnasium* with *ludi* or *spectacula*) it may have commemorated the staging of a gymnastic display or competition. Unfortunately for us, most appearances of the term can be read either way, as in the *et epulum et gymnasium dedit* formula. I would argue, however, that any uncertainty as to its meaning in such formulae is primarily a function of our removal from the original context of the inscriptions. At its heart, the difficulty of determining the meaning of *gymnasium*, and of other quasi-technical terminology in Latin inscriptions,<sup>35</sup> is more a problem of modern perception than it is of ancient semantics. Sometimes admitting the limitations of our capability to understand and classify our ancient evidence is the better part of prudence. The case of *gymnasium* seems to be one of those occasions. Of the two previously touted explanations, the preponderance of evidence seems to be in favor of the reading “oil distributions,” which can be made to fit the majority of cases from North Africa, albeit uncomfortably in some instances. More important, however, is the possibility that *gymnasium* shifted in application depending on context, which renders the problem of its meaning unresolved in many instances – but no longer insuperable.

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<sup>34</sup> CIL 6.6460: *gymnasionis* / *Statili Chaerae* / *posit T. Statilius* / *Hilarus*; CIL 6.11556: [L.] *Amius* / *Niger* / *Pomponia* / *gymnasium*; CIL 6.14229: *Calpur[niae]* / *gymna[sio] o(ssa) h(ic) [s(ita) s(unt)]*; CIL 6.20770: *Q. Iunius Q. l. Chrestus* / *vixit annos V* / *laterdina gymnasio* {sic}; CIL 6.22455: [ -- ] *a M. l.* / *[gymn]asio*; CIL 6.27587: *Trebellia T. l.* / *gymnasio* / *ex testamento*. (This sense of *gymnasium* appears to have escaped the notice of the editors of *TLL* and the *OLD*.) For a comparable designation of persons by a term more properly descriptive of their function, see *acroama*, which can mean both a rendition (Cic. *Arch.* 20; Pliny *Ep.* 6.31.13; Suet. *Vesp.* 19) and the performers of it (Cic. *Sest.* 116; Suet. *Aug.* 74; HA *Alex. Sev.* 34.2).

<sup>35</sup> Compare, for instance, the difficulties of discerning meanings for many bath-related terms, despite the volumes of archaeological evidence for these buildings.

Appendix. Latin Inscriptions Recording Gifts of *gymnasia*

N.B.: Here listed are the gymnasial inscriptions referred to by number in the article. Only the relevant portions of the texts have been quoted; the full text is readily accessible in any of the collections cited in each case. The inscriptions are listed by content, and in alphabetic and then in numeric sequence by collection. Provenance, province, and date (where applicable) are provided in parentheses.

## “Gymnasium” alone:

1. *AE* 1914.19 = *Wesch-Klein* 313–14 (nr. 7) (Lambaesis, Numidia; second or third century): *gymnasium quodannis | III Iduum Aprilium hic praebetur.*

2. *AE* 1917–18.15 = *ILAlg* 1.2089 = *Wesch-Klein* 131 (nr. 4) (Madaurus, Afr. Proc.; 198–211): ... *statuam | qu[am] p[ro] honore aedil(itatis) | amplius ad legitimam | pr[o]miserat inlat[a pri]lus honoraria feci[t et] | gymnasio dato dedicalvit.*

3. *CIL* 8.1858 = *ILAlg* 1.3040 = *Wesch-Klein* 190–91 (nr. 3) (Theveste, Afr. Proc.; 214): [Ex test]amento C. Corneli Ergiliani ... *arcum cum statuis ... fieri prael[cepit pra]eter alia HS CCL mil(ia) n(ummum) quae rei p(ublicae) ita ut | [certis diebus gy]mnasia populo publice in thermis prael[berentur legavit] ...*

4. *CIL* 8.1859 = *ILAlg* 1.3041 = *Wesch-Klein* 191–93 (nr. 3) (Theveste, Afr. Proc.; 214): (carved on arch, opposite previous entry): *dies gymnas(iorum) ex test(amento) Corneli Ergiliani ... (64 days are listed)*

5. *CIL* 8.12381 = *Wesch-Klein* 101 (nr. 11) (Giufi, Afr. Proc.; early third century): ... {sc. statuam} *fecerunt et ob | de[di]catione[m gy]mnasium [p]o[p]u[lo] dellderunt ...*

## “Gymnasium” with vinum:

6. *CIL* 8.14365 (Uccula; Afr. Proc.; second or third century): ... *nam Martensibus gymnasium vinumq(ue) dedit ...*

## “Gymnasium” with visceratio:

7. *AE* 1910.154 = *IL Afr* 300 = *Wesch-Klein* 180–81 (nr. 2) (Sutunurca, Afr. Proc.; 145–46): ... *ob honorem flam(oni) perp(etui) | Quintae f(iliae) suae ex HS III mil(ibus) nummum legitim(is) | statuam divi Hadriani et L. Aeli Caes(aris) | adiectis a se HS (milibus) DXXV n(ummum) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit) et | ob dedicationem viscerationem et | gymnasium populo dedit.*

## “Gymnasium” with epulum:

8. *AE* 1960.214 = *Wesch-Klein* 183 (nr. 1) (Thabarbusis, Afr. Proc.; first half of third century): ... *populus Thabarbusitanus | statuam ex HS VI mil(ibus) DCLXI | n(ummum) constantem obtulit | quam oblationem libenter et grate susceptam | idem Lappianus reddita | {n}omni pecunia solo honore contentus amplius etiam exhibito epulo | et gymnasio cum civibus dedicavit.*

9. *CIL* 8.12006/7 = *Wesch-Klein* 257–58 (nr. 1) (Sarra, Afr. Proc.; 211): ... *cum patriae suae Vazitanae Sarrae triplicata summa fl(amoni) p(erpetui) HS III m(ilia) n(ummum) aedem Mercurio Sobrio pollicitus fuisset ampliata liberalitate eandem aedem | cum pronao et ara fecit et ob dedicat(ionem) aepulum {sic} et gymnasium ded[it] ...*

10. *IL Afr* 304 = *Wesch-Klein* 181 (nr. 4) (Sutunurca, Afr. Proc.; second or third cenutry): ... *ob honorem flaminat[us] | sui p[er]p(etui) | ... templum ... cum omni cultu ... so[lo] p[ri]vato fecit et amplil[us in z]othecis duabus patri | et matri statuas marmorelas posu[it] itemq(ue) dedicavit | et ob dedicationem unilversis epulum et gymnasia dedit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).*

## “Gymnasium” with sportulae:

11. *CIL* 8.12422 = *Wesch-Klein* 102 (nr. 1) (Gor, Afr. Proc.; late second or third century): ... *testamento suo r(ei) p(ublicae) suae Goritanae HS XII mil(ia) | n(ummum) dedit ex cuius usuris die natali | suo Idibus Septembr(ibus) quodannis | decuriones sportulas acceperent {sic} et | gymnasium univrsis civibus ...*

12. *CIL* 13.5042 (Minnodonum; Germania Superior; undated but sometime during the Principate): ... *item donavit vican(is) | Minnodunens(ibus) (denarios) DCCL ex | quorum ussur(is) gymnalsium in de[di]c(atione) item [s]por[tulas] | per tridu(um) eisdem | vican(is) dedit in aevum ...*

13. *ILTun* 718 = *Wesch-Klein* 205–6 (nr. 8) (Thurburbo Maius, Afr. Proc.; 212): ... [ob honorem] *flaminic[atus] -- t]estam[ent]o su[o -- ] ... [ -- et ob diem ded]icationis sportul[as] dec(urionibus) [et -- | -- g]eminis gym[n]asia [publi]ce [de sua] pec[un]ia dari iussit[.]*

## “Gymnasium” with ludi scaenici or other displays:

14. *CIL* 8.895 = 12425 = *ILS* 5074 = Wesch-Klein 277 (nr. 1) (Villa Magna, Afr. Proc.; 239): Marti Aug(usto) ... {sc. statuam} ob honorem aedilitatis | in compensatione(m) missiliorum commulni pecunia fecerunt ... ob cuius statu[ae] | dedicationem idem Rufinus de su[o] | eti<a>m spectaculum pugilum et gymnasium | exhibuit ...

15. *CIL* 8.1353 = 14891 = Wesch-Klein 243 (nr. 1) (Tichilla, Afr. Proc.; 276–82): ... statuam all[teram civibu]s suis de den(ariis) VII (milibus nummum) ob a[m]lorem patriae -- gymn[asium] et ludos [scaenicos? dedit?].

## “Gymnasium” with epulum and sportulae:

16. *AE* 1919.44 = *ILAlg* 1.2130 = Wesch-Klein 133 (nr. 10) (Madaurus; Afr. Proc.; second or third century): ... quodq(ue) in eum honorem fl(amoni) p(er)p(etui) contulisset arcum et s[tatuam inlatis] rei publ(icae) omnibus honorariis summis sua pec(unia) ex HS XL mil(ibus nummum) fecit et ob dedicatio[nem sportulas decuri]onibus et epulum curiis et gymnasium populo dedit.

17. *CIL* 8.769+12224 = Wesch-Klein 199 (nr. 1) (Thibica, Afr. Proc.; late second or third century): ... f[l(amen) p(er)p(etuus)] ... ob honorem patriae | suae multiplicatis summis honolraris aedilitatis | sua liberalitate fecerunt et die dedicationis | sportulas decurionibus et epulum | et gymnassium {sic} civibus dederunt ...

18. *CIL* 8.11216 = Wesch-Klein 166–67 (nr. 1) (Serressi?; Afr. Proc.; Caracalla?): Testamento | C. M[e]mmi Felicis Armeniani ... arcus factus ... mater et ... soror ... et die dedic(ationis) sportulas deculrionib(us) et epulum et gymnasium municipib(us) | dederunt ...

19. *CIL* 8.26121 = Wesch-Klein 155–56 (nr. 2) (Numluli, Afr. Proc.; 169–70): ... templum Capitoli liberalitate sua | [f]aciendum ex HS XX mil(ibus) n(ummum) patriae suae pago et civitati Numlulitanae promississet et ob honorem fl(amoni) Iunia Saturninae uxoris suae ex decreto utriusque ordinis HS III m(ilia) n(ummum) in id | opus [e]rogass[et] multiplicata pecunia solo suo extruxit et marmoribus et stautis omniq(ue) cultu exornavit itemq(ue) dedicavit ob quam dedicationem decurionibus utriusq(ue) ordinis sportulas | item populo epulum et gymnasium dedit praeterea exigente annona frumenta quantacumq(ue) habuit populo multo minore pretio quam tunc erat benignissime praestitit item ludos scaenicos et gymnasia adsidue dedit.

## “Gymnasium” with epulum and ludi scaenici or other displays:

20. *AE* 1909.160 = *IL Afr* 303 = Wesch-Klein 181 (nr. 3) (Sutunurca, Afr. Proc.; 161–62): ... {sc. statuam} ob [hon]orem | fl(amoni) p(er)[p(etui)] Neri Moci | Septimi ex HS III mil(ibus) n(ummum) polsuit item rei publ(icae) HS (mille) n(ummum) intulit ob dedicationem | epulum et gimnasia {sic} et | ludos scaenicos dedit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

21. *AE* 1909.162 = *CIL* 8.25808b = *ILS* 9403 = Wesch-Klein 90 (nr. 2) (Furnos Minus, Afr. Proc.; ca. 232): ... universus populus | ex aere conlato statuam | posuit ob cuius dedicatiolnem ipse ludos scaenicos | et epulum populo dedit et gymnasium ...

22. *AE* 1941.46 = Wesch-Klein 329–30 (nr. 6) (Timgad, Numidia; 198–211): ... ob honorem fl(amoni) inlata rei p(ublicae) legitama | amplius statu<a>m Martis ad arlcum Pantheum et hic in thealtro statuas dd(ominorum) nn(ostorum) et | Iuliae Aug(ustae) ex HS XL mil(ibus) n(ummum) | promiserat ampliata peculnia HS X mil(ibus) n(ummum) ex HS L mil(ibus) n(ummum) polsuit et ob dedicationem | curiis epulum et gymnasilum populo et ludos scaenicos dedit.

23. *CIL* 8.858 = *ILS* 5073 = Wesch-Klein 100 (nr. 8) (Giufi, Afr. Proc.; early third century): ... ob honorem aedilitatis ... hanc statuam ... ex HS VIII millibus {sic} n(ummum) ... summa honoraria posuit eandemque dedicalvit et ob dedicationem simul cum Anno Memmilano collega suo ludos scaenicos et gymnasilum populo et aepulas {sic} decurionib(us) dedit ...

24. *CIL* 8.860 = Wesch-Klein 100 (nr. 9) (Giufi, Afr. Proc.; early third century): ... {sc. statuam} aedil[e]s ... fecerunt et ob dedicationem | ludos scaenicos [biduo? edi]lderunt gymn[asium] populo | epulum decurion[ibus] dederunt] ...

25. *CIL* 8.12421 = *ILS* 5071 = Wesch-Klein 102–3 (nr. 2) (Gor, Afr. Proc.; third century): ... rei publ(icae) suae HS III mil(ia) | n(ummum) inferenda repromisit ut ex eius | summae reditum {sic} id est usurae (denariorum) LX | die XVI Kal(endas) Ian(uarias) natalis eius pugilibus et gymnasio itemque decuriolnibus epulo suo quoque anno in perpetuum ab eadem re p(ublica) insumerentur ...

## “Gymnasium” with epulum, ludi scaenici and missilia:

26. *CIL* 8.14783 = *ILS* 5075 = Wesch-Klein 256 (nr. 1) (Vallis, Afr. Proc.; late second or early third century): ... idem | Egnatius praeter gymnasilium et missilia quae aedilles edere solent diem sacri | Liberaliorum auxit et

omni inlpensa sua eum civib(us) universis | exhibuit amplius etiam ludos sc(a)enilcos edidit et ep[u]lum populo dedit ...

“Gymnasium” with epulum, sportulae, and other spectacles:

27. *CIL* 8.754 +12218 = 23107 = *Wesch-Klein* 274–75 (nr. 1) (Hr. Sidi Naoui, *Afr. Proc.*; 196): ... templum ... simulacro auro reculto solo publico | cons[u]mmavit idemque dedicavit et ob dedicationem sportulas decurionibus item epulum et gymnasium universis civibus dedit | et spectaculum ludorum scaenicorum edidit.

28. *CIL* 8.1323 = 14855 = *Wesch-Klein* 245 (nr. 4) (Tuccabor, *Afr. Proc.*; second or third century): ... [ob honorem fl(aroni) p]erp(etui) | [ -- mil]ia | [praeter legitim]am promississet multiplicata pecunia perfecit et | dedicavit et ob dedicatiolnem pugilum certamina | edidit et decurionibus | sportulas et populo gymnasium epulum dedit et hoc | amplius pro sua liberalitate cameram superposuit et | opere museo exornavit | [itemq(ue)] cum M[ -- ]eis Felice et | Rufino [fil]is ded(icavit) ob quam | dedicat(ionem) epul(um) dec(urionibus) et pop(ulo) [g]ym(nasium) ded(it).

29. *CIL* 8.1500–1502+15509 = 26458 = *IL Afr* 514 = *Wesch-Klein* 223–24 (nr. 6.III) (Thugga, *Afr. Proc.*; 145–61): ... {sc. templum} [quod ob hon]ore[m fl]amonii perp[etui -- ] ... [ -- p]erfecit excoluit et cum status ceterisq(ue) solo privato dedicat[is] ... [ob] diem dedicationis rei p(ublicae) n[u]me[ratis -- ] ded[it adiec]tis sportulis et epulo et gymnasio | [ -- ] ludis ed[itis -- ] .

30. *CIL* 8.11998 = *ILS* 5072 = *Wesch-Klein* 268 (nr. 1) (Hr. Esch-Schoor, *Afr. Proc.*; second or third century): ... [ob honorem] flaroni [ex | summa h]onoraria HS II m(ilia) n(ummum) ... et ob dedicationem | sportulas decurionib(us) eisdemlque et universo populo epulum et gymnasium dedit | itemque spectaculum pugillum et aurigarum et ludorum scaenicorum edidit.

31. *CIL* 8.15576 = *ILTun* 1538 = *Wesch-Klein* 146 (nr. 5) (Mustis, *Afr. Proc.*; 164): ... templum quod ... ex HS XXX mil(ibus) n(ummum) testamento suo fieri iussit ... adiectis ob honorem flam(oni) perp(etui) sui HS X mil(ibus) n(ummum) ... consummavit... ob dedicationem triduo ludos decurionibus sportulas populo epulum et gymnasium dedit.

32. *CIL* 8.26606 = *ILS* 9364 = *Wesch-Klein* 227–28 (nr. 9) (Thugga, *Afr. Proc.*; ca. 165): ... ob honorem flaminatus sui perpet[ui] patriae suae | theatrum cum basilicis et porticu et xystis et scaena cum siparis et ornamentis om[n]ibus a [solo ext]ructum sua pec(unia) fec(it) idemq(ue) ludis scaenicis editis et sportulis datis et epulo et gymnasio ded(icavit).

“Gymnasium” with ludi scaenici and bathing:

33. *AE* 1953.21 = *ILER* 1732 (Lucurgentum, Baetica; undated but sometime in the Principate): ... edito spectaculo per quadridulum ludorum scaenicorum et dato gymnasium per eosdem dies item mulieribus balineum gratis ...

34. *AE* 1989.420 (Singilia Barba, Baetica; 109): ... hic in Iiviratu publicos ludos et | totidem dierum privatos dedit, | item | populum universum in municipio | habitantem et incolas oleo et balineo | gratuito dato pervocavit, | item quo die ludos iu(v)enum in theatro | dedit gymnasium et balinea viris et | mulieribus gratuita praestitit ...

“Gymnasium” included in fragmentary or unclear combinations:

35. *AE* 1904.115 = *CIL* 8.26527 = *Wesch-Klein* 227 (nr. 8) (Thugga, *Afr. Proc.*; 164–68): ... in [amorem] civitatis su[a]e fecit idemq(ue) edito s[pe]c[taculo] ludor(um) tri[duo] decurionib(us) spor[tulas] et univ[erso] populo? epulum et gymnasium dedit et ded(icavit).

36. *AE* 1931.41 = *Wesch-Klein* 134 (nr. 12) (Madaurus, *Afr. Proc.*; third century): ... et p[opolus] statuum | suis su[mptibus] posuerunt | ob cuius dedicationem | idem Fl[avius -- ] | spo[rtulas] | decurionibus dedit | et cur[iis] epulum (?) et | popu[lo] gymnasium (?).

37. *AE* 1973.613 = *Wesch-Klein* 246 (nr. 1) (Uccula, *Afr. Proc.*; 164–69): ...templum ... [ a solo extruxit itemq(ue) dedicavit? et ob dedicationem sportulas? decurionibus et gymnasium popul[o] dedit].

38. *CIL* 8.1361+1414+14884 = *Wesch-Klein* 70 (nr. 1) (Bisica Lucana, *Afr. Proc.*; second or third century): [ -- aedem? c]um omnibu[s] ornamentis suae | [ -- p]opuli epulas et gymnasium CAEI[ -- de]derunt itemq(ue) dedicaverunt.

39. *CIL* 8.1449 = *Wesch-Klein* 213 (nr. 8) (Thibursicum Bure, *Afr. Proc.*; undated): ... ] et gymnasium dedit.

40. *CIL* 8.1577+15572 = *Wesch-Klein* 150 (nr. 11) (Mustis, *Afr. Proc.*; 239): ... arcum ... [ -- inflata legiti]ma summa ... [a]di[ec]t[is -- superpositis] status ... dedicavit datis | [ -- et sportulis decurionibus?] omnibus et gymnasium uniu[s] diei et epulis? univer[sis] popularibus.

41. *CIL* 8.1587 = 27441 = *Wesch-Klein* 152 (nr. 15) (Mustis, *Afr. Proc.*; undated): ... [ -- decurionib]us sportulas populo epulum et gymnasium dedit?

42. *CIL* 8.14378 = Wesch-Klein 266–67 (nr. 1) (Hr. ben Glaya, Afr. Proc.; 169–70): ... [templum cum ornamentis?] et columnis duabus cum opere ded[icavit] -- et ob dedicati]onem populo gymnasium et [ -- dedit?].

43. *CIL* 8.14856 = Wesch-Klein 245 (nr. 5) (Tuccabor, Afr. Proc.; no earlier than Antoninus Pius): ob de[dicatio]nem s[portulas] decurionibus et epulu]m et gymn[asium] et ludor[um] scaelnicorum? specta]culu[m] populo?] dedit [d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)]

44. *CIL* 8.15578 = Wesch-Klein 152 (nr. 14) (Mustis, Afr. Proc.; second or third century): ... arcum cum parietibus coniunctis et porticus ... sua pecunia fecit et epulum ob dedic[ationem] decurionibus? et -- ]N mil(ia) ex quorum usuris quodannis ob diem dedicationis epulum et [gymnasium? s(upra) s(cripta)? darentur].

45. *CIL* 8.16530 = *ILAlg* 1.3032 = Wesch-Klein 189 (nr. 2) (Theveste, Afr. Proc.; 181–87): ... [ob honor(em) d]ec(urionatus) Salvianus pater legitimam [ -- ] in opus erogaret ... sportulis etiam del[ecurionibus] datis epulum? gymnasium? praes]tit et ludos scaenicos edidit ... cum -- fratr?]e suo quinquennalic(io) col(oniae) Thevest(inorum) in col(onia) Karthag(ine) [ -- decurioni(bus?) curiis? Aug]ustalib(us) epulum gymnasium populo praestitit et [ -- | -- ] d(e) s(uo) p(osuit).

46. *CIL* 8.23862 = Wesch-Klein 63–64 (nr. 2) (Aradi; Afr. Proc.; 183–84.): ... [ -- sua] pecunia fecit et [ob] dedicationem sportulas decurionibus? et epu]lum et gymnasium populo dedit.

47. *CIL* 8.26259 = Wesch-Klein 250 (nr. 5) (Uchi Maius; Afr. Proc.; 212–17): ... [ -- ] cum imaginibu[s] -- | -- ob dedicationem decurionibus sportulas? popu]lo gymnasium [dedit].

48. *CIL* 8.26591 = Wesch-Klein 237 (nr. 16) (Thugga; Afr. Proc.; 205–53): ... [ -- ob flam(inicatum)] | HS C mil(ia) n(ummum) patriae suae donaverit ex [quorum red(itu) dec(urionibus)] | utriusq(ue) ordinis sportulae curiis e[pulum et universo] | populo gymnasia praestantur lud[ique] scaenici? dentur] ...