Pepper and Paradox in the Roman Imagination

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Abstract: Why does Pliny the Elder despise pepper? Despite their humble position on our spice racks today, Malabar black peppercorns made big waves at ancient Rome. The almost universal panning of pepper in Roman literature has encouraged many scholars to assume that spices like pepper were expensive luxuries and superfluous to a traditional Roman way of life. My paper seeks to challenge this view by exploring how pepper consumption resonated within the Roman literary imagination and further to interrogate its label of 'luxury'. In doing so, I focus primarily on satirical works of Roman literature composed in first century CE (e.g., Persius, Petronius, and Martial), as well as more technical works, such as Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. In the course of my literary analysis, this paper goes beyond Roman pundits, to the material evidence of pepper consumption, the intellectual frameworks of connoisseurs, and the sensory experience of ancient consumers. Once we acknowledge the literary distortion of pepper that we encounter in texts, we can better understand the interrelated economic factors, cultural mandates, and intellectual discourses that served as the underlying context for its consumption.

It is probably safe to say that Pliny hated pepper. A world away from the ancient pepper plantations of Malabar, in the Mediterranean metropolis of Rome, the first-century encyclopaedist Pliny the Elder passes judgement on the purchase and consumption of the Indian spice throughout his monumental *Natural History*. While describing the maritime routes from Egypt to southwestern India, Pliny bemoans the loss of Roman capital from the spice trade: 'indeed, the voyage is made every year…a worthy subject, since in no year does India drain our empire of less than 50 million *sesterces*'.[1] When treating the botanical properties of black pepper later in his work, Pliny once more reveals that he cannot fathom why the plant is so popular at Rome: 'to think that its only pleasing quality is pungency and that we go all the way to India to get this…both pepper and ginger grow wild in their respective countries, and yet here in Rome we buy them by weight, as if gold or silver'.[2]

The exchange of spice for specie has long been used to define an extensive web of overland and maritime connections between the Mediterranean world and the Indian subcontinent. At the high point of this interregional commerce in the first century CE, Indian Ocean commodities such as spices, gemstones, ivory, and a variety of woven goods flooded Mediterranean markets. References to pepper far outnumber other Indian Ocean products in the works of first-century poets and historians, suggesting its wider presence

within the literary fabric of the Roman world; in fact, Pliny returns to pepper throughout his encyclopaedia with a frequency rarely extended to other items, on no fewer than 45 occasions. The increased consumption of pepper during Rome's first century under the emperors corresponds nicely to that of other commodities from outside Italy, such as Spanish wine and olive oil – a moment when Roman Italy stops exporting surplus and leans heavily on importation in order to sustain the million-man city at the heart of the empire.[3]

But why is Pliny so angry about pepper? Luxury. This vice has a strong grip on the Roman cultural imagination as a destructive and corrupting force long before the start of the empire – the greed and luxury of later generations increasingly displace the virtue displayed by Roman progenitors in a freefall of societal decline, a direct consequence of Rome's territorial expansion.[4] Accordingly, there has been some scholarly interest in better understanding the consumption of aromatic products relative to the discussions of luxury in the Roman world.[5] Importantly, products in and of themselves cannot achieve social meaning – say, of luxuries – without the context of their consumption; luxury is a relative characteristic, not an absolute one. Such a conclusion should encourage us to further interrogate ancient criticism and search for other ways in which pepper was consumed beyond the 'luxurious'.

This paper explores how pepper consumption resonated within the Roman literary imagination and to further interrogate its label of 'luxury'. In doing so, it focuses primarily on Roman literary texts from the first and second centuries of the Common Era, at times juxtaposing them to works that approach pepper from more technical perspectives, such as Pliny the Elder's encyclopedia and compilations of culinary and medicinal recipes. In the course of its analysis, this paper will also go beyond Roman pundits, to the material evidence of pepper consumption, the intellectual frameworks of connoisseurs, and the sensory experience of ancient consumers, following the lead of recent studies focusing on the senses in antiquity. When viewed in combination, these interwoven narratives reveal the ambiguities and paradoxes in the social valuation of pepper beyond the tropes of 'luxury'. Once we acknowledge the literary distortion of pepper which we encounter in texts, we can better understand the larger 'consumerscape' of ancient Rome – a combination of economic factors, cultural mandates, and intellectual discourses that served as the underlying context for consumption and, in turn, informed consumer behaviour.[6]

Before we proceed, some technicalities: ancient Roman authors focus primarily on black pepper, called *piper* in Latin or *peperi* in ancient Greek, which was cultivated in the coastal hills of ancient Malabar – this is the modern *Piper nigrum* L., which graces most of our tables today alongside granulated salt. While a spice called 'pepper' was known to Greek writers as early as the fourth century BCE, it appears that these older treatments dealt with what we call today 'long pepper', a plant native to northern India (ancient *piper longum* or *peperi makron*; modern *Piper longum* L). 'Long' and 'black' pepper are conflated in the Roman period, and, based on the ancient testimony, most authors erroneously viewed these

distinct spices to be different fruit stages of the same plant.[7] As a result, intellectuals in the ancient Mediterranean understood both types to share specific properties: namely, heat and pungency. These properties are of immense importance, as they dictate not only the multivalent functions of the spice in Roman society, but also serve as the characteristics that enter intellectual discourse, whether through banter or outrage.

Pig and Pepper

The ubiquity of pepper in Rome surely prompted its presence in Roman literature of the first century CE. As a caveat, many Roman writers regularly experienced the world of the *convivium*, or banquet, and thus, our literary sources tend to focus on pepper's role in elite contexts – and criticism of it. Arguably the most famous example of that is Trimalchio's dinner in the *Satyricon*, a satirical novel by Petronius. At this parody feast, much of the food contains pepper, including fig-pecker in peppered yolk and a peppery *garum*, or fish sauce; the host's wife also distributes additional ground pepper for guests from a boxwood mill.[8] Heavily peppered dishes factor among many of the over-the-top elements of a meal sponsored by new money, in this case, the freed slave Trimalchio. As a result, pepper is implicated in broader charges of luxuriousness through a form of *reductio ad absurdum*, in fictional, comically exaggerated form.

But further sources point to pepper's indispensable application in the culinary realm. In Apicius' *The Art of Cooking*, the main source for the Roman culinary arts to survive from antiquity, pepper appears in the vast majority of recipes, whether during preparation or as a final garnish. Heavily peppered dishes of peacock and flamingo point to its use in the *convivium*;[9] but pepper is also an ingredient in more popular drinks and condiments, including spiced wines and various *garum* sauces.[10] Peppered dishes are served throughout the satirical *Epigrams* of the Flavian poet Martial, with their economic extremes marked by a boar on the one hand and beets on the other.[11] The former item would have been immensely expensive given its Caledonian proportions, but the beets are part of the humbler fare of the 'workman's lunch', the *prandia fabrorum*.

Roman authors in fact provide strong evidence for a much wider application of the spice than just in the refined dishes of the *convivium*. If we return to the fictional banquet in Petronius' novel, a joke underpins this culinary necessity. As the diners prepare to tuck into yet another grand hog, Trimalchio scolds a cook for not gutting the pig and comments on the slave's forgetfulness: 'you'd think he'd only left out pepper and cumin!' (*putes illum piper et cuminum non coniecisse*). While some of the diners balk at the severity of the mistake and expect the enslaved chef to be punished, a glib Trimalchio equates it to the omission of pepper, a more common case of culinary carelessness. Even Pliny the Elder, perhaps biting his lip, admits that it is now commonplace in Roman cooking, despite the former reliance on individual kitchen gardens for seasonings.[12]

Pepper's ubiquity is met by the rhetoric of distaste. If we return to the passages of Pliny at the start of this paper, Pliny cannot understand why anyone would import something all the way from India merely for its pungency – a collective error amounting to an annual trade deficit of 50 million *sesterces*. Pliny's logic has more recent incarnations, from eighteenth-century intellectuals wrangling with the increased British consumption of tea,[13] to those currently who would decry the loss of American capital to global trade, despite the more cautious assessment of economists. Determinations such as Pliny's, that pepper is a waste of money, arise from a simplified view of macroeconomics for rhetorical effect, but also from competing notions of worth at the level of the individual. Taste and virtue are often like oil and water; Pliny can chastise consumer and culture simultaneously, writing off the plant and all those who partake of it.

The beauty of such moralizing is how reductive it can be. For one thing, moralists often engage in an intellectual conflation of 'economic luxuries' – that is to say, commodities whose consumption increases proportionally to personal income – and the cultural perceptions of 'luxury' at the heart of Roman literary treatments of pepper. This conflation is especially dangerous since we rely on sources like Pliny for precious attestations of pepper's price during the Roman period, which is needed to make any substantial claims about its availability. Moreover, Roman medical authorities, including Celsus, Dioscorides, and Galen, single out the merits of pepper in numerous prescriptions and recommendations of diet. Peppered foods, from spiced wine and *garum* to various porridges, have medicinal benefits even for healthy individuals, from aiding in digestion to treating snakebites and malaria.[14] Most tellingly, medical writers often state that pepper can be added to certain bitter substances such as wormwood or lupin to make a medicament more palatable or pleasurable for the patient, with the medicinal benefits of the spice being incidental.[15] Taste, in fact, has much utility.

Charges of luxury involving spices like pepper often home in on the exorbitant quantities being consumed in single instances, such as Martial's pepper-encrusted boar or Trimalchio's thoroughly peppered feast. Indeed, the elite may have distinguished their consumption of pepper from that of the wider population through excessive quantities, along with other elements of *habitus* discuss below. From these fictional representations, the modern reader may conclude that there was certainly too much pepper in Roman cuisine – needless to say, not all consumers would have heaped on the spice, a fact conveniently ignored in these literary treatments. Apicius' cookbook, while containing convivial favourites, also preserves recipes for more accessible porridges and sauces, the sort sold by urban food vendors.[16] When we step back from the distortions of satire, we can imagine more sparing use by other members of the urban population,[17] and the workman's lunch of beets stands as an alternative to pig and pepper.

All of this is to say that consumers were more diverse in their motivations than those presented in Roman literary take-downs, which often oversimplify in an effort to galvanize blame. Some consumers may well have gone whole hog, but others probably tried to get

products on the cheap regardless of quality;[18] still others likely overpaid according to hierarchies of value held by moralizers, such as Martial's Sextus, who considers pepper to be worth more than its weight in silver.[19] But even if we take Pliny's limited price data for the spice at face value, there is growing scholarly consensus that black pepper could be purchased as an occasional 'economic luxury' by a wider portion of the population than previously assumed.[20] This cautious optimism is bolstered by newfound archaeological discoveries of pepper in non-elite contexts at the Italian city of Herculaneum, reflecting its wider presence in civilian life.[21] Despite moralizing warnings, people consumed pepper anyway – probably more people than punditry would lead us to believe.

In fact, to confine oneself within the lines in the sand drawn by moralizers presents its own set of contradictions. The painstaking application of moralizing logic may best be reflected in a satire of the first-century-CE author Persius. In a particularly striking passage, Persius renders the image of a miser, who 'sprinkles sacred pepper himself over his platter' (*ipse sacrum irrorans patinae piper*), rather than having a slave do it for him, a common practice of the *convivium* (see below).[22] This is an exemplary use of the loaded adjective *sacer* ('sacred') – pepper is simultaneously something *awesome* and *awful*, possessing the epithet of a willing or forfeited dedication to the gods. 'Sacred pepper' (*piper sacrum*) reflects the latent literary anxieties put into practice by a fictional consumer: pepper's delicious flavour will always overpower in convivial proportions; the value of its taste should always be weighed against that of coin; and the urge to satisfy human desires must beware the insidiousness of decadence. It calls into question the growing compulsion for Romans to partake of imports like pepper instead of 'making do' with simple pleasures, as Persius' persona suggests (*utar ego, utar*) – the hallmark remedy to 'luxury' – despite the inherent wealth needed to partake of this humbler form of gratification.[23] A life of moralizing leads only to paradox.

Facts and Figurines

By interrogating some of the literary characterizations of pepper, we begin to see that the spice defies universalizing charges of 'luxury' by pundits like Pliny. Pepper need not grace only fine food and costly medicaments, and could be included in many popular foodstuffs like wine and fish sauce.[24] Pepper in and of itself is not luxurious; rather consumption carries with it associated practices, which contribute to what Pierre Bourdieu has described in the context of *habitus* and articulations of status.[25] And so, as much this paper seeks the point out the literary distortions through which we as readers encounter ancient pepper consumption, it also attempts an archaeology of the practices surrounding its consumption – factors like connoisseurship and accoutrement, which in turn differentiated the consumer experience. Such factors present their own paradoxes worthy of exploration.

As mentioned above, excessive peppering, such as at Trimalchio's banquet, is criticized, but satirists also mock some of the more discerning connoisseurs as well. In one instance

from his *Satires*, Horace describes having a chance encounter with a gourmand named Catius, who proceeds to expound on his culinary discoveries: 'I was the first to serve up tartar and herring, white pepper and black salt sifted on to dainty little dishes' (*hanc ego cum malis, ego faecem primus et allec, | piper album cum sale nigro | incretum puris circumposuisse catillis*).[26] White pepper, a more processed and exclusive form of black peppercorns, is deemed to have a milder flavor than the black variety, and thus, while it does occasionally appear in the recipes of Apicius, it most often gets prescribed in medicines. In a turn of phrase, Horace's caricature inverts the standard colours of each condiment and social expectation, and the joke lands only if the audience understands the exclusivity of white pepper in culinary contexts, if not its ridiculous use therein.

The consumer knowledge demonstrated by Horace's gourmand had a practical application – namely, mitigating asymmetric information between vendors and consumers. In the absence of regulation by Roman authorities, crafty entrepreneurs could add adulterants, such as juniper berries, to their wares, additions difficult to discern with the naked eye. Accordingly, rigorous procedures develop, as recorded by medical writers like Dioscorides and Galen, through which one can pick the best pepper (e.g., visual inspection, flotation, taste tests).[27] Such frameworks of knowledge would have empowered consumers to make informed choices and are essential for the development of certain behaviours of consumption, such as connoisseurship. They also reflect that taste in and of itself had particular criteria – good black pepper was thought to taste 'pungent' while still maintaining good mouth feel. These criteria, as arbitrary as they are, allowed for knowledge of true taste to be hoarded and even weaponized against supposedly less discerning palates: for instance, the medical writer Galen takes an opportunity to call out those who think the spice is 'astringent' rather than 'pungent';[28] and even Pliny knows what pepper should taste like, discrediting the ordinary view that likens its flavor to all-heal.[29]

Connoisseurship of this commodity, as with all commodities, thus rests squarely upon the curation and consumption of larger corpora of knowledge. References to the Indian spice, peppered throughout the texts of the Classical corpus, contribute to knowledge-building enterprises of medical writers like Celsus and Galen. The spice-filled dialogue in the *Learned Banqueters* of Athenaeus reveals this doubling of consumption – not only do the diners at a Greco-Roman banquet partake of heavily peppered dishes, but their spicy meal prompts them to display their literary consumption by quoting from memory every Classical Greek reference to *peperi*, from Aristotle to the punchlines of Attic comedy.[30] Detested as it may be by Pliny, pepper must be included within his encyclopaedia, which allegedly contains 20,000 facts drawn from 2,000 volumes; Pliny states that 'it's not books, but warehouses that are needed' for all these factoid treasures, among which pepper must be counted for the sake of erudition.[31]

But, in another paradoxical twist, pepper also possesses a tenuous, if antithetical relationship to Roman literary production in the minds of its writers. Take Catius in

Horace's *Satires*: his incessant language of discovery, being the 'first' (*primus*) to find novel uses for white pepper, recalls and effectively replaces the self-professed aim of so many Latin didactic poets before him, who claim to be the 'first' to pursue their literary projects.[32] Moreover, several Roman poets lament the reuse of paper containing poetry – moth-eaten, grubby, and forgotten – to wrap pepper and other aromatics in the urban marketplace. Horace provides the most vivid description at the ironical end of his *Epistle* addressed to the emperor Augustus; after listing the poets of the Latin literary tradition and the benefits of the profession, he humbles himself, foreseeing an unceremonious death for his poetry, hauled off to the street where they sell incense and pepper wrapped in useless paper.[33] Bad poetry thus meets bad ends; but even good poetry can suffer this fate. Martial advises his little book of *Epigrams* to find a new owner quick, lest it be rushed off to a soot-filled kitchen, where its papyrus would meet a similar demise.[34] In these instances, pepper stands as an existential threat to literary production; a zero-sum game is afoot.

Literature is one thing, but pepper also entered Latin idiom. Slang uses of the word *piper* appear in the conversation between freedmen in Petronius' novel to describe someone as hot-tempered – *piper, non homo,* 'he's pepper, not a man' – and in an epigram of Martial to describe a thieving hand as 'peppery' (*piperata manus*).[35] These *hapax legomena* might represent the flirtatious language of the *convivium* or far wider idioms; in either case, they reflect how the prevalence of pepper consumption gave rise to metaphor based on its properties of heat which, in turn, changed the texture of banter. In these instances, we find the impressions of this commodity on language and cultural literacy, a way in which a form of consumption ripples beyond a purely economic act and into a far larger cultural phenomenon. Pepper thus fills the storehouses of knowledge and even spices up the Latin language, but, in the process, also threatens the world that projects like the encyclopedia or satire seek to tame.

Beyond connoisseurship, other elements of *habitus* develop for pepper at the *convivium*, namely the use of particular utensils. *Piperatoria*, or silver peppershakers, were used to distribute pepper at the table. We have several examples surviving from antiquity, such as these two from Pompeii's House of the Menander, in the shape of a shell and shipping amphora respectively.[36] As expensive items of silver plate, *piperatoria* added further definition to the consumption of pepper, couching an increasingly available product in a further trapping of status, one articulated through precious metal. The numerous shapes of these figurines, while participating in another instantiation of connoisseurship – that of the silverware collector – also contributed to a playful, multisensory dining experience, the sort on display in Athenaeus. Pepper, shipped all the way from India, could reach its final destination in an amphora of silver, the fodder of wit and pleasure.

But peppershakers, as with other elements of *habitus*, depended upon elements of human subjugation. *Piperatoria* would have been handled by slaves, human agents who

were integral to the multisensory experience fostered by these objects. Slaves and freedmen often possessed names based on spices as well, like Pepper or Cinnamon, instances where the tastes of the master's *convivium* become markers of human subjugation.[37] If we return to the forgetful cook in Petronius's novel, whose culinary error of not gutting a pig is equated with leaving out pepper, we should not forget that he almost faces savage punishment in front of the diners for his mistake – here, the physical violence regularly wielded against the enslaved is leveraged to articulate the grand surprise, that the giant pig actually contains cooked sausages in place of entrails.[38] Diners at marvellous or mundane *convivia* did not necessarily ponder the larger consequences of their consumptive acts or the human capital behind its production. Objects like the 'Sleeping African Slave' *piperatorium*, whose exhausted subject is shackled and pierced in the head for sprinkling pepper – a sinister delight for slave-owners born of spice, silver, and servitude – serve as reminders that the study of consumption dovetails with a history of oppression.[39]

However, the connection between spice and subjugation lies elsewhere in the Roman imagination through the petty ethics of luxury – namely, that free Romans themselves were enslaved to their own desires. This is best demonstrated by Pliny the Elder's tirade against what he calls the 'theft of factories', or the *officinarum furta*.[40] In an extensive passage in Book 24, Pliny takes a very hardline stance against the promotion of foreign medicines in Rome, claiming that it is the deceit of profiteers that has caused unknowing customers to rely on mysterious concoctions from Arabia and India – it is through one of the arts that Roman conquerors are conquered.[41] Despite the fact that Pliny does not keep to his word, citing many peppery remedies, his underlying argument is clear: that the voracity of Roman consumers is the unmaking of empire.

Foreign and Familiar

An environmental conundrum sits at the heart of this particular anxiety, which I'd like to interrogate a bit further: that despite Roman familiarity with pepper, the spice was cultivated in foreign reaches beyond direct Roman control. There is a widely held claim in antiquity that unique environmental conditions in India not only promote prodigious plant growth, but also transfer heat to exotic flora, which exude fragrant smells and pungent tastes.[42] Thus, according to ancient wisdom, pepper had to be imported from India, a region well beyond Roman hegemony – and Rome had no hope of gaining control over its production. Therefore, by Pliny's moralizing logic, every purchase of pepper undermines the certainty of an 'empire without end'.

Roman authors do offer some ways around this intellectual hurdle. One solution involves a rereading of the Plinian paradigm of wasteful empire. The voracious demand of Roman consumers becomes a boon for the empire in the *Encomium of Rome*, a second-century oration by Aelius Aristides. Here, Roman demand for Indian products strips the

aromatic trees in India bare and results in almost a Roman monopoly – Rome does rule the whole world, not through iron, but with gold and silver.[43] Another solution is cultivating the literary landscape in such a way to accommodate the spice. Mythical descriptions of pepper cultivation in the Roman world can be found throughout Roman literature. Most famous is Trimalchio's pepper-growing estate, what scholars like Peter Garnsey have described as a 'travesty of the ethic of self-sufficiency' to be espoused by Roman villa-owners.[44] Martial too describes his window-box in one of his *Epigrams*, hinting at the prospect of raw peppercorns.[45] In these fictions, the economic imperialism at the heart of Pliny's anxieties and Aristides' praise morphs into an ecological one, a violation of the natural order through which the foreign becomes familiar.

However, pepper consumption altered the familiar environments of urban landscapes in more tangible ways, especially that of Rome. Most relevant for spices in the capital were the so-called *Horrea Piperataria*, the state-built 'pepper-warehouses' along the Via Sacra commissioned by the emperor Domitian.[46] The warehouses, whose remains have been found under the Basilica of Constantine, have been estimated to have been just as large as the later structure, with a maximum capacity of 5,800 tons of spice.[47] Certain individuals, most notably the physician Galen, were given clearance to select the choicest varieties of aromatic products for their wares, but it has also been suggested that the warehouses served as the locus for larger auctioning of merchandise.[48] Pepper was also available to consumers outside the *horrea*: likely candidates include the shops of the *Vicus Unguentarius* and *Vicus Turarius*, the so-called 'perfume quarters' of the city.[49] Other retailers for pepper and peppered products in the city include *tabernae* ('shops') and the *stationes* ('stations') of foreign traders situated along the Via Sacra.[50]

Rome also exported certain habits to the provinces. The market at the million-man city of Rome served as an accelerator for the larger Mediterranean economy; the volume of spending at the capital and the movement of people in and out of the city prompted consumption habits to spread to a wider range of consumers throughout a network of 'feeder' towns – in other words, at places like the Bay of Naples – but also to the military frontiers.[51] Archaeobotanical remains attest to this directionality of supply, with pepper discoveries not only at Pompeii and Herculaneum, but also along the German frontier and in Britain; documentary sources also record pepper along the frontiers, including papyri from Egypt, wooden tablets from Vindolanda, and a lead plaque from the Roman outpost at Trier.[52] As individuals with coin purses at the end of supply lines, legionnaires could obtain these goods perhaps more easily than others in the provinces. Nevertheless, the provincial elite partook of the spice much in the way that those in Italy did; in fact, some of the finest silver *piperatoria* hail from Britain, forged during the twilight hours of Roman rule.[53] Thus, pepper consumption encapsulates the paradoxical push and pull of empire, all the while stirrings up associated anxieties for those who stood to gain the most from it.

Conclusions

Pepper participates in the formation of paradoxes in the Roman imagination. It simultaneously reflects Roman dominance through market forces and its defeat by them; it defines Roman refinement while remaining foreign to a canonical Roman way of life; it stands outside the reach of the average Roman in quantities used for banqueting, but more meagrely peppered fare appears far more attainable; one must know about pepper and its qualities to be sufficiently urbane, even if it stands as the bane of moralizing tropes and even literature itself.

Pepper is intimately connected to an image of Roman luxury conjured by conflicting criticism in ancient sources, which requires a fair amount of disentangling. Some criticisms arise from narratives of decline, which point to the spice-less life of good old Romans. Others stem from the assumption that this product, while necessary in some contexts, was superfluous in others and thus signs of wasteful spending; the consumption of pepper in massive quantities only exacerbated this negative sentiment. Still others have origins in anxieties of empire which are only afforded to those enjoying its associated privileges. In all these cases, a sort of reductive reasoning prevails for rhetorical effect, a conflation of function and commodity regardless of context, intent, or the identity of the consumer. Standing two-millennia removed, we can understandably take these interwoven factors much for granted at first glance; rather than demonizing forms of consumption as 'luxurious', we can view it rather as a choice made by individuals whose lives were transformed by moments of interconnectivity, from antiquity to the present day.

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Notes

1. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 6.26.101
2. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 12.14.29
3. E.g., for wine consumption, see Purcell 1985: 15.
4. E.g., Sallust *Bell. Cat.* 1–5, Sallust *Bell. Jug.* 1–2, and Livy *AUC pr.* 11–12.
5. These include Dalby 2000, Parker 2002, van der Veen 2003, Fitzpatrick 2011, Cobb 2013, Evers 2017, Cobb 2018, Mayer 2018, and Simmons (forthcoming).
6. For the concept of 'consumerscape' in the context of Classical Athens, see Davidson 2012: 25.
7. See Simmons (forthcoming)
8. Petronius *Sat.* 33.8, 36.3, 74.5.
9. Apicius *De re coq.* 2.2.6, 6.2.21, 6.8.14, 7.2.1, 8.1.9–10, 8.7.2, 8.8.1, etc.
10. E.g., *conditum* or *piperatum*, Apicius *De re coq.* 1.1–2; *oenogarum* 1.31; *oxygarum* 1.33
11. Martial *Ep.* 7.27.7–8, 13.5, 13.13.
12. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 19.19.58–59.
13. E.g. Simon Mason's *The Good and Bad Effects of Tea Consider'd,* 1745
14. Galen *Alim. Fac.* vi.572–573K
15. E.g., Celsus 4.15; Dioscorides *De mat. med.* 2.159; Galen *SMT.* xi.885–886K
16. E.g., Martial *Ep.* 1.41.6, 1.103.10, 13.13; see Garnsey 1991: 85
17. van der Veen 2003: 407, 412; Cobb 2018: 534
18. Persius *Sat.* 6.33–36
19. Martial *Ep.* 10.57
20. See Mrozek 1975, Corbier 1985, Rathbone 2009, Cobb 2018, Mayer 2018, and Simmons (forthcoming)
21. For the excavations, see Rowan 2017
22. Persius *Sat.* 6.21
23. Persius *Sat.* 6.23–24 (*utar ego, utar*)
24. Martial *Ep.* 1.41.6, 1.103.10, 13.13; see Meyer 1980: 410, Garnsey 1991: 85, and McLaughlin 2010: 143

25. Bourdieu 1984
26. Horace *Sat.* 2.4.73–75
27. E.g., Dioscorides *Mat. Med.* 2.159; Galen *San. Tu.* vi.264K ff.; see Simmons (forthcoming)
28. Galen *SMT.* xii.162K
29. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 19.62.187
30. Athenaeus *Deipno.* 2.66d–f
31. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* Pr. 15–18
32. For the *primus* motif, see Volk 2002
33. Horace *Epis.* 2.1.264-70
34. Martial *Epig.* 3.2.2–5; cf. Statius *Silv.* 4.5.29–36
35. Petronius *Sat.* 44.6 and Martial *Ep.* 8.59.4. See Parker 2002: 60
36. See Guzzo 2006: 191–224
37. For the evidence from Asia Minor, see Robert 1963: 177–185
38. Petronius *Sat.* 49
39. British Museum 1889,1019.16
40. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 13.2.17
41. Pliny the Elder *Nat. Hist.* 22.56.117–118 and 24.1.4–5
42. See Simmons (forthcoming)
43. Aelius Aristides *Orat.* 14.200
44. Petronius *Sat.* 38; see Garnsey 1999: 24 and Hopkins 2000: 257
45. Martial *Ep.* 11.18.8–9
46. Dio Cassius *Hist. Rom.* 72.24.1; Jer. *Chron.* 217; see Piranomonte 1996: 45
47. McLaughlin 2010: 144
48. Evers 2017: 58–61
49. Warmington 1974: 183-4, 305; Keay 2006: 74-5
50. De Ligt 1993: 29; Terpstra 2013: 137 ff.
51. Hopkins 2000
52. Schwinden 1983: 22; Kučan 1984: 51–56; Cappers 2006: 114; Evers 2017: 72–74
53. British Museum 1994,0408.33–36