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**THE PRESENTATION OF GLADIATORIAL SPECTACLES  
IN THE GREEK EAST:  
ROMAN CULTURE AND GREEK IDENTITY**

**By**

**MICHAEL J.D. CARTER, B.A., M.A.**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

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## ABSTRACT

Once believed by many to offer the historian little of value beyond a horrifying, if titillating, glimpse into the Roman psyche, gladiatorial combat is now appreciated as an important expression of Roman cultural priorities. Gladiatorial combat presented the spectator with examples of the key, martial values at the heart of what it meant to be a Roman: skill with arms in actual combat with an opponent, extreme courage in the face of mortal danger, and the rigid discipline necessary to fight and even die in the quest for victory. Since the Roman sense of cultural identity was based to a high degree on shared values and on participation in the same moral universe, gladiatorial combat, which presented in a spectacular and exemplary way many of these fundamental *mores*, helped in the construction and maintenance of Roman sense of cultural identity.

Throughout the Roman world, the presentation of gladiatorial combats went hand-in-hand with the process of Romanization as different groups of people adopted aspects of Roman culture and a sense of Roman identity. But little seems to have changed in the Greek East as a result of Roman conquest and rule. The main exception to this general rule is the prevalence and popularity of gladiatorial combats. This dissertation considers the significance of this key Roman spectacle in Greek society and its impact on Greek culture.

The presentation of Roman gladiatorial combat by Greeks for Greeks in the Greek cities of the East was an attempt to locate Roman culture within a Greek civic and ceremonial context. But the values present in gladiatorial combat are the same values at the heart of traditional Greek culture: the values of the gladiator are essentially those of a heroic champion, who fought in single combat to win glory and fame in victory.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Louis Robert. Let the first words of acknowledgment in a thesis such as the one that follows be directed to Louis Robert, a scholar whom I know only from books, but who has influenced every page that follows.

The greatest thanks must go to my supervisor, W.J. Slater, for inspiration that was unceasing, for generosity (of advice, time, and books) that was boundless, and for support that was solid. I would also like to thank the other members of my thesis committee, Drs. E. Haley and C. Eilers, for their constant help and encouragement. This dissertation has also benefited immeasurably from discussions with Nadine Brundrett and Guy Chamberland. The errors that remain are entirely my own.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

**N.B.** Throughout the dissertation, a note (footnote or endnote) has been abbreviated: "n.", and a catalogue number has been abbreviated: "no.". Inscriptions which can be found in the Catalogue of Inscriptions at the end of the dissertation have been printed in bold type to avoid confusion with the catalogue numbers from other publications (e.g. no. **231** refers to inscription number 231 in the Catalogue). Similarly, reference to the illustrations found following the Catalogue have been printed in bold type (e.g. **fig. 1** refers to figure 1).

Abbreviations for ancient authors and their works are those found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>3</sup>. Abbreviations for journals and periodicals are also those found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*<sup>3</sup>, in the first instance and, if not there, then in *L'année philologique*. Other abbreviations, which either are not found in these two locations or are different from the abbreviations found there, are supplied below.

**BE** = *Bulletin épigraphique*, published in *Revue des études grecs*.

**CB** = *Classical Bulletin*.

**CIG** = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*.

**EA** = *Epigraphica Anatolica*.

**EAOR I** = P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente Romano I. Roma*. Rome, 1988.

**EAOR II** = G.L. Gregori, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente Romano II. Regiones Italiae VI-XI*. Rome, 1989.

**EAOR III** = M. Buonocore, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente Romano III. Regiones Italiae II-V, Sicilia, Sardinia et Corsica*. Rome, 1992.

**EAOR IV** = M. Fora, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente Romano IV. Regio Italiae I: Latium*. Rome, 1996.

**Friedländer** = L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, translated by J.H. Freese and L.A. Magnus (1907-1913).

**GIBM** = *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* in 4 vol. Oxford, 1874-1916.

**I.Adramytteion** = J. Stauber, *Die Bucht von Adramytteion*. Bonn, 1996.

**I.Alexandrea Troas** = M. Riel, *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas*. Bonn, 1997.

- I.Apamea*** = Th. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai*. Bonn, 1987.
- I.Cret*** = M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* in 4 vol.. Rome, 1935-1950.
- I.Cos*** = M. Segre, *Inscrizioni di Cos*. Rome, 1993.
- I.Delos*** = F. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos*. Bonn, 1926-1937.
- I.Ephesos*** = *Die Inschriften von Ephesos*. Bonn, 1979-.
- IGR*** = R. Cagnat *et al.*, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*. 1906-1927.
- I.Erythrai*** = H. Engelmann and R. Merkelbach, *Inschriften von Erythrai und Klazomenai*. Bonn, 1972.
- I.Heraklea*** = L. Jonnes, *The Inscriptions of Heraklea Pontica*. Bonn, 1994.
- I.Iasos*** = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Iasos*. Bonn, 1985.
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- I.Iznik*** = S. Sahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*. Bonn, 1979-1982.
- I.Kyzikos*** = E. Schwertheim, *Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung*. Bonn, 1980-1983.
- I.Lampsakos*** = P. Frisch, *Die Inschriften von Lampsakos*. Bonn, 1978.
- I.Laodikeia*** = T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Laodikeia am Lykos*. Bonn, 1997.
- I.Magnesia*** = O. Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia*. Berlin, 1900.
- I.Mylasa*** = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften von Mylasa*. Bonn, 1987-1988.
- I.Pergamon*** = M. Fraenkel, *Die Inschriften von Pergamon*. Berlin, 1890-1895.
- I.Prusa*** = T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum*. Bonn, 1991.
- I.Rhodischen Peraia*** = W. Blümel, *Die Inschriften der Rhodischen Peraia*. Bonn, 1991.
- I.Selge*** = J. Nollé and F. Schindler, *Die Inschriften von Selge*. Bonn, 1991.
- I.Sestos*** = J. Krauss, *Die Inschriften von Sestos*. Bonn, 1980.
- ISM*** = *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris*.
- I.Smyrna*** = G. Petzl, *Die Inschriften von Smyrna*. Bonn, 1982-1990.
- I.Stratonikeia*** = M.Ç. Sahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*. Bonn, 1981-1990.
- I.Tralleis*** = F.B. Poljakov, *I.Tralleis und Nysa*. Bonn, 1989-.
- JNG*** = *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*.
- Lafaye*** = G. Lafaye, "Gladiator" in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, vol. II, 2, 1563-1599.
- Mosci Sassi*** = M.G. Mosci Sassi, *Il Linguaggio Gladiatorio*. Bologna, 1992.



**OCD**<sup>3</sup> = S. Hornblower and A.J. Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 3rd Edition. Oxford, 1996.

**Pfuhl-Möbius** = E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechische Grabreliefs* in 2 vols. Mainz am Rhein, 1979.

**Robert, Gladiateurs** = L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'orient grec*. Paris, 1940, reprinted Amsterdam, 1971.

**Schneider** = K. Schneider, "Gladiatores" RE Suppl. III, 1918, col. 760-784.

**SEG** = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

**Side in Altertum** = J. Nollé, *Side in Altertum*. Bonn, 1993.

**StudClas** = *Studii Clasice*.

**Ville, La gladiature** = G. Ville, *La gladiature en occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*. BEFAR, Rome, 1981.

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## INTRODUCTION

### I.1. GREEKS AND GLADIATORS

The prevalence and popularity of gladiatorial combat in the Greek cities of the eastern Mediterranean during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire is now a well-known phenomenon. It was not always so. Until Louis Robert published his seminal work on the subject, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* in 1940,<sup>1</sup> the prevailing scholarly opinion denied that gladiatorial combat was ever widely or enthusiastically accepted by the Greeks and posited instead the belief that the Greeks universally expressed repugnance for gladiation. The gladiatorial presentations which did take place in the East were thought to owe more to the presence of Roman and Italian immigrants, or to the alleged sanguine tastes of the barbarian peoples of the Balkan and Anatolian hinterland than to any desire on the part of the Greeks to witness these bloody spectacles. For example, in his 1896 article on the gladiator in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, G. Lafaye explained the spreading popularity of gladiatorial combat in the East: "grâce aux instincts naturellement sanguinaires des populations orientales qui s'y trouvaient en contact avec les Grecs".<sup>2</sup> The attitudes of these scholars were no doubt

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<sup>1</sup> L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris, 1940, reprinted, Amsterdam, 1971). This larger work was anticipated in his article, "Ποικτεύειν" *RevArch* (1929) II, 29-41 (= *OMS* I.691-708). See also his updates to *Gladiateurs* published in *Hellenica* 3 (1946) 112-150 (plates VI-XIV); *Hellenica* 5 (1948) 77-99 (plates V-XIV); *Hellenica* 7 (1949) 126-151 (plates XVI-XXII) and *Hellenica* 8 (1950) 39-72 (plates XXIV-XXVII). L. Robert and his wife Jeanne Robert continued to discuss gladiatorial inscriptions from the East as the editors of *Bulletin épigraphique* from 1938 until 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Lafaye, 1566. Friedländer II, 84-85, claimed that in Greece "superior civilization at least caused less general acceptance of armed combats than elsewhere" and that "gladiatorial combats found their way far more easily into Asia Minor with its half-Asiatic population (halborientalische Mischlingsbevölkerung)". Modern idealism continues: Bradley 1978, 85 (re Suet. *Nero* 12.1) suggests that Nero may have spared the lives of gladiators because of Greek humanitarian influences.

formed from a combination of romantic idealism concerning the spiritual and philosophic Greeks, the disdain expressed by some ancient Greek authors toward the bloody spectacle, and a modern aversion to gladiatorial combat.<sup>3</sup> It is the legacy of an era which saw Greeks and Romans in bi-polar terms: good and evil, pure and corrupt, athletic and gladiatorial. Robert, however, was able to demonstrate that the attitudes of many of his contemporaries were misplaced.<sup>4</sup> By assembling in one place and explicating hundreds of inscriptions from the Greek East which related to gladiatorial combat and similar bloody spectacles,<sup>5</sup> he revealed the extent to which the presentation of gladiatorial combat had been assumed by the cultivated Greek elite and enjoyed by the citizens of the Greek cities of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace and Asia Minor during the first three centuries of the Roman Empire. Robert's work quickly became, and remains half a century later, the single most important source dealing specifically with the presentation of gladiatorial combat in the Greek East, and one of the fundamental works on the institution in general.

In the years since Robert's publication of *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* and his four supplementary articles in *Hellenica* in 1946, 1948, 1949, and 1950, there has been no new, systematic investigation of gladiatorial combat in the Greek East, despite an abundance of new epigraphic evidence and scholarly research relevant to the topic. As early as 1956, Robert himself recognized the need for yet another supplement to consider this new epigraphic evidence which had appeared in the six years since *Hellenica* 8 in

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<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121-122 or Philostr. *VA* 1.16 and 4.22 for literary attacks on the Athenians for reveling in gladiatorial combat in the Theatre of Dionysus itself.

<sup>4</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 13-15 and 240-241, for a brief summary of these earlier opinions. The extent of these earlier, incorrect opinions has been exaggerated by Robert, however, for scholars such as Meier 1881, Friedländer, Lafaye, Seyrig 1928, Collart 1928, and Collart 1937 were well aware of the prevalence of gladiation in the East.

<sup>5</sup> Robert's catalogue in *Gladiateurs* runs to 302 entries (though not all are inscriptions). His final total in *Hellenica* 8 (1950) is 341 entries. Robert included wild beast hunts that were held without gladiators and various unscribed reliefs in this catalogue.

1950. This supplement was intended for *Hellenica* 11 in 1960 but never appeared.<sup>6</sup> Fifteen years later in 1971, Robert writing in the preface to the re-edition of *Gladiateurs* again expressed the need for a supplementary publication and announced his intention to produce an entirely new monograph: *Nouveaux documents de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*. This auxiliary publication promised to analyze and to discuss these new inscriptions as well as to provide a comprehensive index to the entire series: *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, the four updates in *Hellenica*, and the proposed *Nouveaux documents de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*. Unfortunately this new volume too never appeared.<sup>7</sup> Ongoing archaeological surveys and excavations in the Balkan Peninsula and Anatolia, however, continue to uncover new inscriptions with the result that the present corpus of epigraphic evidence from the East which concerns the presentation of gladiatorial combat is nearly twice as large as Robert's total in 1950.<sup>8</sup> While many of these inscriptions support observations made by Robert in *Gladiateurs*, others provide entirely new details and insights.

In addition to the growing number of new inscriptions, our understanding of the cultural significance of the gladiator and gladiatorial combat has also evolved, especially in the last fifteen years. Although long recognized as an important aspect of Roman society, gladiatorial combats were often thought to offer the historian little beyond a horrifying glimpse into the Roman psyche.<sup>9</sup> It has only been quite recently that scholars have made a

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<sup>6</sup> See J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1956, no. 150.

<sup>7</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> See the Catalogue of Inscriptions. This collection does not include simple, unscripted reliefs, nor does it include documents relating specifically to venation, two areas which Robert did include in his catalogue.

<sup>9</sup> Brown 1995, 376: "Disliking the notion of the noble Romans as lovers of arena-spectacles, many modern authors have minimized the significance of the arena, trivialized the events, or compartmentalized the topic as a titillating sideline to the serious study of Roman society". Wiedemann 1992, xvi-xvii, briefly summarizes many of the modern prejudices affecting the study of gladiatorial combat.

conscious effort to put aside their own moral misgivings and to study gladiatorial combats within the context of Roman sentiments and practices. Even Robert, who normally maintained an admirable objectivity, was finally moved to describe the diffusion of Roman gladiatorial combats in the Greek cities of the East as a disease which had infected Greek society. In a brief and poignant paragraph concluding his analysis of this diffusion, he states:

La société grecque a été gangrenée par cette maladie venue de Rome. C'est un des succès de la romanisation du monde grec.<sup>10</sup>

But we cannot assume, consciously or unconsciously, that the Romans—or indeed others who adopted these spectacles—reacted or ought to have reacted to gladiatorial combats according to our own values and standards. By accepting gladiatorial combats as a normative institution in Roman society, we are better able to interpret their significance in their Roman context.<sup>11</sup> To begin, the arena and the spectacles which took place there are now understood to have helped to define and to redefine the relationship between the authorities and the people, that is, to outline and affirm the structure of Roman society. Moreover, the spectacles associated with the arena, specifically *venationes*, executions and gladiatorial combats, presented the spectators with several values and themes central to Roman culture. The extreme courage and martial excellence displayed by gladiators fighting in the arena can be understood as examples of the virtues that had made Romans great and made Rome the capital of the known world. Indeed, these arena spectacles, gladiation in particular, played a significant role in the construction and maintenance of the

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<sup>10</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 263. Cf. the similar opinions of Carcopino 1941, 269: "Greece herself fought tooth and nail against the contagion"; Brunt 1965, 269: "The Romans too brought with them, even to the Greek world, the barbarity of gladiatorial games"; and MacMullen 1966, 244: "In the Greek East, plebeian enthusiasms for gladiation in the end infected the aristocracy". Grant 1967, 8, infamously listed gladiatorial games alongside the horrors committed by the Nazis as "the two most quantitatively destructive institutions in history".

<sup>11</sup> Brown 1995, 376. Cf. Gunderson 1996 (abstract): "the arena is not only normal, but participates in the production of normativity".

Roman sense of cultural identity, shaping and representing the way in which the Romans perceived themselves. Rather than offering the historian little of value, therefore, gladiation instead goes to the heart of Roman civilization (see Chapter 1). It is notable, though unfortunate, that Robert himself expressly refused to offer a general thesis on the meaning of the spectacle.<sup>12</sup>

Upon the compilation of his catalogue of inscriptions, Robert observed that outside of Roman colonies, the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the East was intimately connected with the imperial cult.<sup>13</sup> Since that time our understanding of the imperial cult has also evolved immensely and is appreciated as an important means by which the Greeks came to terms with the fact of their subjugation to Roman rule and as a way to locate the Roman emperor and Roman power within their own social and cultural traditions. The imperial cult in the East was essentially Greek in character, organized by the Greeks themselves and celebrated in the Greek way.<sup>14</sup> Although the cult was celebrated in honour of the Roman emperor, the reasons why the Greeks should have adopted gladiatorial combats in these celebrations are *not* obvious. The earlier cult of Roma, as well as cults for individual Roman citizens, both of which were found in most Greek cities during the republican period, served many of the same purposes as the imperial cult but was celebrated with traditional Greek festivals, often in association with established cults. Gladiatorial combats played no part.<sup>15</sup> The reasons for the presentation

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<sup>12</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 8: "Je n'ai pas voulu redire ce qui était déjà connu sur les gladiateurs en général". He then refers the reader to Friedländer's and Lafaye's works on gladiation from the last century.

<sup>13</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 270: "Dans tous les autres cas, les combats de gladiateurs sont liés au culte impérial de façon expresse". Cf. 240 and in general 267-280. See Chapter 3. Administration, *passim*, and Chapter 4.5. Context.

<sup>14</sup> See especially Price 1984.

<sup>15</sup> See Mellor 1975, 174: "gladiatorial events formed no part of the Romaia celebrated to honor the goddess Roma during the Republic, but after Roma was joined with the cult of the emperors, blood sports were certainly included in the games". Cf. Chapter 1.3. First Contacts.



of gladiatorial combats by the Greeks in connection with the imperial cult have not been examined, despite the vast amount of scholarly research which has been conducted recently into both gladiatorial combat and the imperial cult. For example, in his seminal work on the imperial cult in Asia Minor, *Rituals and Power*, S. Price discussed the connection between the imperial cult and gladiatorial combat only in the most perfunctory way.<sup>16</sup> Robert's work remains the fundamental reference for the study of gladiatorial combat in the East and for its connections with the imperial cult.

It is with respect to this new epigraphic evidence and these new theses that the present study investigates the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the East. As mentioned above, the corpus of inscriptions relating to gladiation in the East has nearly doubled since the publication of *Hellenica* 8 in 1950. Furthermore, the cultural significance of gladiation for Roman society and the imperial cult for Greek ought to affect our understanding of the motivation for the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the East and the effects of their presentation in Greek society in general. The present study is not meant to replace Robert's work on the subject, but to serve as an addendum. This addendum, however, has its own objectives. Whereas Robert illustrated the general popularity of gladiatorial combat in the Greek cities of the East and explained much concerning the details of its presentation, the present study hopes rather to come to an understanding of its reception and social and cultural significance.<sup>17</sup>

The significance of gladiation for the organization of Roman social relations and for the creation and maintenance of Roman identity raises several questions: What motivated the Greek officials who presented these spectacles to their fellow citizens?

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<sup>16</sup> Price 1984, 88, 89, and 116. Wiedemann 1992, 43-44 simply cites Robert's work. Note, however, that Wiedemann is primarily concerned with gladiatorial presentations in Rome.

<sup>17</sup> In describing the proposed content of his *Nouveaux documents de gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Robert noted that certain arguments which he had already settled no longer needed close attention, such as the diffusion of gladiatorial combat in the East. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 3.

How did the typical Greek citizen react to these spectacles? What was the impact, if any, on the Greek sense of their own identity? This study considers what the spectacle meant to the Greeks who watched and cheered. When a Greek citizen, sitting in the theatre or stadium of his city witnessed the gladiatorial spectacle of two men fighting in single combat (μονομαχία), a spectacle provided by the highpriest of the imperial cult in honour of the far away Roman emperor, did he *see* and *understand* the same thing that a Roman saw and understood as he watched from his seat in the Colosseum? What cultural significance did gladiatorial combat have in Greek society and what impact on the Greek sense of cultural identity?

## I.2. CULTURAL IDENTITY

The concept of identity essentially describes highly personal features, especially stressing "the perception of the self", but the formation of this sense of identity is a matter of some debate.<sup>18</sup> The term comes to us from psychology, where the sense of identity is held to be an ingrained, almost immutable part of who and what we are as individuals, although it may be shaped and modified by interaction between the individual and his social environment.<sup>19</sup> Sociologists, on the other hand, understand identity to be the result of the interaction between the individual and society at large, that is, social conditions and environment primarily determine one's identity.<sup>20</sup> The reality, however, probably lies somewhere in the middle with both internal (individual) and external (social) factors contributing to the construction of one's sense of identity. But it is not the concept of personal identity that concerns us here. Instead, the study of Roman or Greek identity is

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<sup>18</sup> See Epstein 1978, xii; and Swain 1996, 10.

<sup>19</sup> The term was first popularized by a Freudian psychologist, E. Erikson, largely out of his own work with children and personal experiences as a European refugee in the United States before the Second World War. See Gleason 1996, 464-465; and Coles 1970, 165-179, 265.

<sup>20</sup> Gleason 1996, 468. Gleason's central point is to demonstrate the imprecision with which the term "identity" is used by modern scholars.

the study of a group or corporate identity, which is a component of one's personal identity, but is shared with others who belong to or are participating in the same social, political, ethnic, religious, etc. group. The existence of a group identity requires the recognition of and participation in similar ways of being and behaving by a group of individuals.<sup>21</sup> On the one hand, this sense of group identity may originate from a deep-seated sense of belonging together; a shared past or genetic similarities of race may help to unite individuals and foster a sense of shared identity. On the other hand, this group identity may be more socially determined, created and maintained by a religious, political or other group. An attempt to define or describe such a group identity, however, must avoid oversimplification that would not leave room for dissenting opinions, personal experiences, live debates, and changes over time and space. Yet, it is possible to outline broad, central features of the belief systems which are shared by different members participating in the group identity, and which serve to define the parameters of discourse among members of the group.<sup>22</sup>

The Romans, whose traditions and history continually emphasize the inclusion of foreign peoples and customs rather than their exclusion, did not hold common descent nor even language to be fundamental to their sense of identity, however important these may be to some people, some of the time. Thus the Romans were able to enfranchise freedmen, veterans, and many others of their choosing across the Empire without substantially threatening the fabric of Roman identity. They even took pride in the diversity of their origins, as Sallust reminded his readers, and Claudius the senate.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> See Grahame 1998, 157-160.

<sup>22</sup> See Woolf 1994, 118. Geertz 1977, 151, discusses "symbolic centres" in society where "its leading ideas come together with its leading institutions to create an arena in which the events that most vitally affect its members' lives take place".

<sup>23</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 6.2: *hi postquam in una moenia convenere, dispari genere dissimili lingua, alii alio more viventes, incredibile memoratu est quam facile coaluerint: ita brevi multitudo dispersa atque vaga concordia civitas facta erat*: "After these had gathered within one walled town, despite different origins, different languages, and the fact that some lived by different customs, it is incredible to recall how easily

Instead of shared descent, their sense of identity grew primarily from membership and pride in the Roman political community and participation in the Roman moral universe.<sup>24</sup> The sense of Roman identity was for the most part socially constructed rather than innately felt, and for that reason required social maintenance and re-enforcement through the public celebration of those Roman values and *mores*, and the Roman political and religious system.

In the spectacle of gladiatorial combats, the Roman spectator was presented with *exempla* of key Roman martial virtues in the essence: extreme bravery, consummate skill with arms, and strict discipline. Moreover, these displays of combat were imbued with religious overtones of self-sacrifice and somehow were thought to help preserve the health of the emperor and so of the whole state. Even more, the gladiatorial combats of the imperial period were presented in association with wild beast hunts which celebrated the triumph of Roman civilization over the natural world, and spectacular executions which confirmed the triumph of Roman justice over those who violated the laws of Roman society or over those who rejected Roman society outright: barbarians, prisoners of war, and Christian dropouts.<sup>25</sup> Gladiatorial combats and their associated spectacles not only helped to define what a Roman was, but also who was and who was not a Roman.

Greek identity was traditionally located in the individual *polis*. But Greeks even in the classical period shared a sense of identity with other Greeks formed on the basis of

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they came together: thus a desperate mob and uncertain loyalties were turned into a state". Claudius' speech before the Senate in favour of extending Roman citizenship in Gaul paraphrased by Tac. *Ann.* 11.21.

<sup>24</sup> Woolf 1994, 120 and 138 n. 24. Cf. Edwards 1993 and Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 7-11 for the importance of *mores* in defining Roman culture and identity. Descent was discussed in Rome, but common descent was not claimed as the basis for Roman identity.

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation, below p. 40. Cf. Clavel-Lévêque 1986, 2554: "les espaces de jeux génèrent et symbolisent la cohérence de l'ordre du monde"; and Gunderson 1996, 149: "nearly every major theme of the Roman power structure was deployed in the spectacles: social stratification; political theater; crime and punishment; representations of civilization and empire; repression of women and exaltation of bellicose masculinity".

common descent, common language, common religious institutions, and common way of life.<sup>26</sup> Greek identity found vague expression in their common institutions such as education, the gymnasium, and agonistic festivals, in their common language, and in their common descent (real or imagined).<sup>27</sup> Education, the gymnasium, and the festivals served to represent and foster the Greek language and the Greek sense of common descent. Education stressed the appreciation especially of the great classical authors and the corresponding study of Attic and other classical dialects, knowledge of which became increasingly important for those who would differentiate themselves from the masses who increasingly spoke the simplified *koine* Greek.<sup>28</sup> But the language was appreciated also by the less well-educated who also considered themselves "Greek", for while they themselves may not have been able to atticize their own spoken Greek, there was undoubtedly a love and appreciation felt for sound of that language and for the those who could speak it. These were the Greeks who could delight in the sound of a hexameter on the tombstone of a dead gladiator and who would crowd into the theatres to hear orators such as Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, Aelius Aristides or other sophists speak their flawless, atticized Greek and perhaps praise the crowds for their own Greekness, as Dio did the Rhodians, for example.<sup>29</sup> The gymnasium and agonistic festivals celebrated Greek athletics and the ideology at the heart of athletics. Greek athletes, with their overriding emphasis on victory and the eternal glory obtained in victory, exhibited the values of the heroic warrior.

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<sup>26</sup> The *locus classicus* is Hdt. 8.144.2. Cf. Browning 1989, 3.

<sup>27</sup> Bowersock 1990, 7, has defined Hellenism as representing "language, thought, mythology, and images that constituted an extraordinarily flexible medium of both cultural and religious flexibility". Cf. Woolf 1994, 128 and Swain 1996, 68-69 *et passim*.

<sup>28</sup> See Swain 1996, 17-42. It is his central thesis that the male Greek elite used their knowledge of classical Attic Greek to define and empower themselves both against the masses of people claiming Greek identity and against the foreign power of Rome. Galen 19.60.20-21 (Kühn) discusses the pressure to atticize felt by those who happen to be either rich or simply well-off. Cf. Swain 1996, 28, 56-63.

<sup>29</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31 120-122 where he condemns the Athenians for enthusing over Roman gladiatorial combat in the Theatre of Dionysus itself, while praising the Rhodians for avoiding the practice.

This agonistic spirit which had its roots in the Greek heroic age of mythology played an important part in the perception of Greekness.<sup>30</sup> The importance of the Greek past was reflected in the importance placed in demonstrating Greek descent.<sup>31</sup> It can be observed in elaborate foundation myths and the rituals with which cities celebrated their heroic founder, in the appeals to such myths in regional and international diplomacy, and in the long academic researches conducted into genealogy of Greeks and other peoples, including the Romans whom Dionysius of Halicarnassus concluded were in fact Greeks after all.<sup>32</sup> Many Greeks in the Hellenistic and Roman periods still looked to old Greece as their ancestral home even if most had never been there.<sup>33</sup> C.P. Jones has shown that membership in the Panhellenion was exclusive to the cities of old Greece and their colonies.<sup>34</sup> Common institutions, such as education, the gymnasium, and the agonistic festivals, were important for Greek identity, but especially as the means to demonstrate, to participate in, and to celebrate common language and common descent, which were at the heart of Greek sense of cultural identity.

In an important recent article on the subject, G. Woolf argued that the formative processes behind Greek and Roman cultural identities were sufficiently different to allow Greeks to engage in the Roman social, political, and moral world without fundamentally threatening their own sense of identity, which was rooted in common language and especially in a common past.<sup>35</sup> Thus the Greeks were able to borrow and employ elements

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<sup>30</sup> See Pleket 1976; Poliakoff 1987, especially 104-107; and Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

<sup>31</sup> Bowie 1970.

<sup>32</sup> For the foundation rituals in Ephesus, see Rogers 1991; for common descent used diplomatically, see Elywn 1993; for ancient genealogical research, see Bickerman 1952, cf. Woolf 1994, 129. For Dionysius of Halicarnassus, see Gabba 1991, 190-200.

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias traveled the Roman province of Achaëa in search of ancient Greece: see Elsner 1992. Even for many Romans, the most important thing about the Greeks was their past: see Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.1.27-28; Plin. *Ep.* 8.24; App. *B.Civ.* 2.88; cf. Petrochilos 1974, 1-24.

<sup>34</sup> Jones 1996. Pergamum, Ephesus, and Smyrna were absent.

<sup>35</sup> Woolf 1994.

of Roman culture and yet remain Greeks, where many other peoples across the Mediterranean World were fundamentally altered by similar contact with Rome. But this argument ignores the possibility that the Greeks could have participated in both Greek *and* Roman identity simultaneously, in addition to other group identities, such as civic or tribal. Indeed, there is no reason to presume exclusivity. Although for most Greeks their sense of Greek identity remained clearly dominant, many may also have fostered a sense of Roman identity, cultivated in certain situations, such as during "foreign" wars against the barbarians and during times of invasion, or during imperial celebrations, as they identified, if only temporarily, with the larger world of the Roman Empire. Thus Lucian could refer without reflection to the Roman Empire as "us" and Aelius Aristides could see Rome as a great unifying force of the world.<sup>36</sup> This is a different situation than in most of the rest of the Roman world where many people adopted or adapted Roman institutions and manners and eventually began to see themselves as "Roman" above any original cultural identity, or to express their own culture in romanized forms. Throughout the Roman world, the presentation of gladiatorial combats went hand-in-hand with the process of Romanization as different groups of people adopted a sense of Roman identity.<sup>37</sup> But the possibility that the Greeks could have conceived of and participated in a sense of Roman identity in addition to their own dominant Greek identity sheds new light on our understanding of the importance of gladiatorial combat in the East. The presentation of gladiatorial combats, an overtly Roman institution, was not a culturally insignificant nor a culturally harmless event in the Greek East.

But these same martial values presented in gladiation were recognizable to the Greeks and also had significance to Greek culture, a fact which may have helped to locate

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<sup>36</sup> Palm 1959, 54; and Jones 1986, 89, in reference to *Luc. Alex.* 58 and *Hist. consc.* 5, 17, 29, 31. *Aristid. Or.* 26.63-64. Cf. Browning 1989, 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> Wiedemann 1992, 42.

Roman culture within a Greek ideological context. This corresponds to the role of the imperial cult in the Greek East, which, as S. Price has shown, was an attempt by the Greeks to find a place for the emperor within the civic and ceremonial structure of the *polis*.<sup>38</sup> But the process also works the other way around: just as the familiarity of the values present in gladiatorial combats helped the Greeks to locate this important aspect of Roman culture within their own traditions and world view, so too did the Greeks see a place for their own cultural traditions within the broader context of the Roman Empire. Not an incomprehensible and alien spectacle, gladiatorial combats instead provided a venue for the meeting of the two cultures. The Roman was not so foreign after all.

Far from a disease or barbarity imposed on the more refined and unwilling Greeks, the participation of the Greeks in the spectacle of gladiatorial combats, executions, and wild beast hunts, all in celebration of the imperial cult, helped in many ways to unify the Empire. The spectacle was presented not simply for the health and safety of the emperor, but for that of the entire ruling structure of the Empire, from Emperor at the top down to the local council and people. The continuity of this hierarchical structure was also evident in the presence in the theatre of statues and icons of the emperors, local deities, local benefactors, and images representing local organizations and groups, introduced into the theatre with great pomp and perhaps situated in the seats to symbolically watch the spectacle with the people. Furthermore, the people themselves were arranged in the seats in a way which reflected local hierarchies. Gladiatorial spectacles served, in a way which no traditional Greek ceremony could have done, to assign a place for the local Greek population within the broader context of the Roman Empire. They were not to be excluded.

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<sup>38</sup> Price 1984.



### I.3. SCHOLARSHIP

Gladiatorial combats played a significant part in Roman public life, society, and culture for over 700 years, from at least the mid-third century BC to the fifth century AD. Over this extended period of time, the nature and cultural significance of this institution evolved and changed as Roman society grew to control first Italy and then the entire Mediterranean basin. Not surprisingly, a great many theories have been put forward to account for the success and importance of this characteristically Roman institution, ranging from the cynical view that gladiation merely provided a form of entertainment to occupy the mob, to the belief that gladiatorial combats manifested much deeper and more primitive religious assumptions as a form of human sacrifice.

The significance of gladiatorial combats and other spectacles to Roman society has long been appreciated.<sup>39</sup> The towering sight of the Colosseum in Rome or the massive ruins of an amphitheatre in any number of provincial towns in western Europe amply demonstrate the importance attached to the Roman arena. Those scholars who began the modern study of gladiation understood this and saw little need to comment upon it extensively. L. Friedländer, for example, began his lengthy examination of the Roman spectacles thus:

Every attempted delineation of the manners and customs of Imperial Rome must necessarily include a survey, as exhaustive as may be, of the spectacles, as the best measure of her grandeur, and as indicative in many ways of her moral and intellectual condition.<sup>40</sup>

Instead of commenting upon the obvious, the early scholars of Roman gladiation, such as P.J. Meier in his 1881 *De Gladiatura Romana Quaestiones Selectae*, L. Friedländer in his *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, G. Lafaye in his lengthy 1896 article "Gladiator" in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, and K. Schneider in his

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<sup>39</sup> Contra Gunderson 1996 who is surprised at earlier failures to discuss the significance.

<sup>40</sup> Friedländer II, 1.

1918 article "Gladiatores" in *RE* Suppl. III, undertook the massive but indispensable task of collecting and discussing the ancient evidence, primarily literary and epigraphic, relating to various aspects of the institution. As compilations and analyses of primary sources, these works remain invaluable to this day. This tradition was continued by L. Robert in a series of publications discussed above in which he collected and analyzed the evidence for gladiatorial combats in the Greek East. In 1981, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, a massive study of the institution in the West to complement Robert's work in the East, was published by the French School at Rome from an incomplete manuscript left by G. Ville after his death in 1967.<sup>41</sup> Ville's work offers invaluable discussions of the history and evolution of the institution (he exhaustively catalogued all known *munera* and *venationes* in Rome and the West up to the end of the first century AD), of the personnel of the *ludus* and arena, and of the spectacle itself. His premature death, however, has meant that references after 1966 are not included. Furthermore, his decision to end the study with the death of Domitian has meant that it either disregards or underemploys a number of important later sources, both literary and epigraphic. For example, the so-called *SC de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis*, an effort by M. Aurelius and Commodus in AD 177 to control and reduce the cost of gladiatorial *munera* is unused.<sup>42</sup> These cataloguing efforts continue today. In her 1992 *Il Linguaggio Gladiatorio*, M.G. Mosci Sassi has produced a lexicon of Latin terminology related to gladiation; the *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente*, an ambitious effort to collect and analyze all inscriptions relating to the amphitheatre from the western Empire, was begun by P. Sabbatini Tumolesi and is now in its fourth volume; and J.-C. Golvin,

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<sup>41</sup> Also invaluable are his earlier publications: Ville 1960; Ville 1965; and Ville 1969.

<sup>42</sup> Noted by Linderski 1985, 190. Ville, *La gladiature*, 64 notes in passing his intention to produce a second volume dealing with questions of iconography. This volume, of course, never appeared. The publication of *La gladiature* in 1981 largely superseded the doctoral work done by Matz 1977.

*L'amphithéâtre romain* (1988) has renewed interest in the study of the amphitheatre.<sup>43</sup> Other important treatments of the institution have been made by M. Grant, *Gladiators* (1967), J. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (1969), R. Auguet, *Cruauté et civilisation: les jeux romains* (1970),<sup>44</sup> and C.W. Weeber, *Panem et Circenses* (1983). These works are generally popular accounts of the institution, summarizing much earlier scholarship and presenting the inherently fascinating material in anecdotal form. But they often cynically portray the institution as a destructive political tool.<sup>45</sup>

Attempts to account for the *Roman* fascination with gladiatorial combats are more recent. In 1983, K. Hopkins published "Murderous Games", the first chapter in his *Death and Renewal*. In this article he noted the extreme importance of military values in Roman culture and the role of the arena in preserving and demonstrating these values.<sup>46</sup> The presentation of exotic animals which often accompanied gladiatorial combats during the Empire demonstrated the expanse of Roman power and the spectacular punishment of criminals and barbarians isolated the enemies of Roman civilization. Furthermore, the events in the arena provided opportunities for dramatic interactions between the people and their ruler. Many of these themes presented by Hopkins were quickly taken up and expanded by other scholars. In a series of publications, M. Clavel-Lévêque explored the arena as a place which communicated discipline and social order. In 1984, J. Maurin published "Les Barbares aux arènes", a study of the significance of barbarians as arena

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<sup>43</sup> See also Domergue *et al.* 1990; Golvin & Landes 1990; Welch 1991; Bomgardner 1991; Bomgardner 1993; Welch 1994; and Futrell 1997. Also important but seldom discussed is Wilson Jones 1993.

<sup>44</sup> Translated as *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games* (London, 1972).

<sup>45</sup> This judgmental position was criticized by Matz 1977, iv-v, and later by Wiedemann 1992, xvi and other scholars.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. earlier Ville 1969; and later Leroux 1990. Runciman 1986, in his review of Hopkins 1983, downplays the significance of gladiatorial combats and their associated spectacles for the reaffirmation of the moral order. Runciman here also suggests that these spectacles are not as alien and unimaginable as Hopkins implies.

participants, and in "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments" from 1990, K.M. Coleman studied the punitive and deterrent aims of spectacular executions in the arena. T. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (1992), has attempted with considerable success to focus on the institution from a Roman perspective rather than a modern one, part of an important recent trend to explain the arena in its Roman context.<sup>47</sup> Wiedemann explored the latent religiosity in the combats and proposed that they celebrated life rather than death, specifically the theme of rebirth: gladiators were extreme *infames*, socially dead, but could be socially reborn and earn release from the occupation by demonstrating perfect military virtues in the arena. It was this resurrection, according to Wiedemann, that was so offensive to the Christian authorities in the later empire and that resulted in the eventual abolishment of gladiatorial combats while the more brutal *venationes* and spectacular executions were allowed to remain.<sup>48</sup> But too much has been made of the *infamia* under which gladiators are thought to have suffered and death may not have been a common result of gladiatorial combat.<sup>49</sup> Other recent studies also attempt to explore Romans through the arena. C.A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans* (1993),<sup>50</sup> has discussed, with limited success, the "emotional history" of the ancient Romans partly through their reaction to and fascination with gladiatorial games. M.B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State, and the Games* (1993) has studied the evidence for the association between the Nemesis and imperial ideology as expressed in the empire-wide presentation of gladiatorial combats and associated spectacles.<sup>51</sup> P. Plass,

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. Gunderson 1996 at n. 11, above.

<sup>48</sup> Wiedemann 1992, especially 46-47, 160. Cf. Wiedemann 1995.

<sup>49</sup> For the overstatement of *infamia*, see below, Chapter 2.9. Social Status. Cf. the pertinent remarks of Potter 1994 and those of Brown 1995 in their respective reviews of Wiedemann's book. Potter does say, however, that Wiedemann's book is the best in English on the subject.

<sup>50</sup> Barton relies heavily on a few Roman writers, especially Seneca, Lucan, Petronius, Martial, Juvenal, and Tacitus, but misunderstands their conception of the gladiator. Much better studies focusing on Roman authors are Wistrand 1990 and Wistrand 1992.

<sup>51</sup> See also Bouley 1990; and earlier Foucher 1974.

*The Game of Death in Ancient Rome* (1995), has considered Roman responses to violence through a study of gladiatorial combats and enforced suicide, institutions or practices found at the limits of Roman society. A. Futrell, *Blood in the Arena* (1997), has examined the amphitheatre with its associated events as a key social and political institution binding Rome together with its (western) provinces. Futrell also engaged in a cross-cultural study of the ritualized mass-slaughter of human beings suggesting that gladiatorial combat was a form of human sacrifice which symbolized Roman power in the provinces. S. Brown has studied Roman mosaics depicting arena scenes for the attitude toward the games, and M. Wistrand has reread several Latin authors of the first and second century considering the attitudes which they express toward the spectacles.<sup>52</sup> The organization imposed on the spectators watching the events has also been studied as a primary means of visibly structuring Roman society especially around the person of the emperor in Rome.<sup>53</sup> Most recently, D.G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (1998) has explored the important question of what happened to the corpses, animal and human, of those killed in the games.<sup>54</sup>

Most of these studies focus precisely on gladiation in Rome itself or to a lesser extent in the western provinces, and only draw evidence expediently from the East in order to demonstrate some point made concerning gladiation in the capital.<sup>55</sup> The presentation of gladiatorial combats in the Greek East, however, has received some recent attention. E. Pfuhl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechische Grabreliefs* (1979), have published

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<sup>52</sup> Brown 1992. Cf. Wistrand 1992.

<sup>53</sup> See, for example, Kolendo 1981; Rawson 1987; and Edmondson 1996.

<sup>54</sup> Even more recently have two more, brief studies appeared: Potter 1999 has discussed entertainers, including gladiators, during the Roman Empire; and Weiss 1999, drawing on archaeological and epigraphic evidence, as well as on Talmudic literature, has provided an exciting discussion of Roman spectacles in Palestine under the Empire.

<sup>55</sup> This point is made by Potter 1994, 230 in his review of Wiedemann's book, although it could equally be applied to most recent studies of gladiatorial combat.

relief stelai depicting gladiators from Asia Minor, although with limited commentary; C. Roueché's *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias* (1993) presents epigraphic evidence for various spectacles, including gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts specifically in Aphrodisias;<sup>56</sup> E. Bouley has done considerable work on the spectacles in the northern Balkans (Bulgaria and Romania);<sup>57</sup> and J. Nollé has examined imperial *indulgentia* for gladiatorial combats and beast hunts in the East.<sup>58</sup>

Gladiation has also been studied recently for its influential relationship on the second and third century phenomenon of Christian martyrdom. Shortly before his death, L. Robert published a lengthy article concerning the martyrdom of Perpetua at Carthage in 203.<sup>59</sup> This was followed by a posthumous publication of the martyrdom of Pionios at Smyrna in 250, *Le martyre de Pionios prêtre de Smyrne* (1994), through the efforts of G.W. Bowersock and C.P. Jones from a manuscript left incomplete by Robert when he died in 1985.<sup>60</sup> Bowersock's own *Martyrdom and Rome* (1995) quickly followed and stressed the conceptual relationship between Christian martyrdom, which evolved especially in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and gladiatorial *munera*. This relationship underlines the importance which gladiation came to have in these Greek cities: according to Bowersock, the role of martyrs in dying was conceived of as a kind of spectacle offered by God as *munerarius* to the communities "as some kind of far more edifying transmutation of the traditional games".<sup>61</sup> Roman gladiatorial combats had become an integral part of the society and culture of the Greek cities of the East.

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. Allamani-Souri 1987 for a study of the gladiatorial inscriptions from Beroia.

<sup>57</sup> Bouley 1990; Bouley 1994; Bouley 1996; and Bouley & Proeva 1997.

<sup>58</sup> Nollé 1992/3.

<sup>59</sup> Robert 1982a.

<sup>60</sup> Also important is the slightly earlier work of Potter 1993; and Potter 1996.

<sup>61</sup> Bowersock 1995, 52.

#### I.4. LIMITS OF THE STUDY

This study considers what significance the presentation of Roman gladiatorial combats had on Greek society. Geographically, it focuses on the heartland of ancient Greek society: old Greece, the Balkan peninsula, and Asia Minor. These regions, Asia Minor in particular, continue to provide new epigraphic evidence which add significantly to the meager literary sources discussing gladiation in the East and which, for that reason, form the basis on which this work has been written. Since this work is concerned especially with the reception and cultural significance of the presentation of gladiatorial combats in Greek society, it focuses not on those gladiators given by Romans visiting the East, but on those spectacles given by Greeks, for Greeks, in a Greek ceremonial context.

With the possible exception of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the mid-second century, the evidence indicates that the presentation of gladiatorial combats by Greeks for other Greeks was a phenomenon of the empire. With rare exceptions, however, the majority of our epigraphic evidence belongs to the second and third centuries. Gladiation continued until finally abolished under the Christian empire. In 325, Constantine abolished gladiatorial combats, ostensibly because an affront to God, yet in the 330s gave permission for *munera* to be celebrated in Hispellum in Umbria in connection with the imperial cult there.<sup>62</sup> Although gladiation continued in Rome itself into the fifth century, in the East the spectacle seems to have become less and less frequent, last mentioned by Sozomen relating events under the reign of Arcadius (r. 395-408).<sup>63</sup> Libanius, although he makes repeated reference to wild beast hunts, refers only once to gladiatorial combats, comparing

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<sup>62</sup> *CTh.* 15.12.1; and Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 4.25. Cf. Ville 1960, 314-315. For *munera* at Hispellum, see *CIL* XI 5265 = ILS 705 = *EAOR* II, no. 19: *spectaculum tam sceni corum ludorum quam gladiatoris muneris*. Cf. Ville 1960, 297; Wiedemann 1992, 156-157; Roueché 1993, 76-77; and Wiedemann 1995.

<sup>63</sup> Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 7.15, cited by Ville 1960, 319. A consular contorniate with depictions of gladiators from the early to mid-fifth century indicates that gladiators were still presented at this time; see Alföldy 1943, no. 176 which reads: *reparatio muneris feliciter*; cf. Ville 1960, 329-331; and Wiedemann 1992, 158.

the gladiators presented by his uncle in about 330 to the Three Hundred Spartans who stood at Thermopylae.<sup>64</sup> But while gladiation may have slowly disappeared in the East during the course of the fourth century, wild beast hunts along with spectacular executions continued in late antiquity throughout the Empire.<sup>65</sup>

## I.5. CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

The material has been analyzed in four chapters, some very large. Each chapter, however, has been subdivided to facilitate discussion. Chapter 1 (*Roman Gladiation and Greek Monomachia*) first investigates the origins and cultural significance of gladiatorial combats in Roman society. Then the focus moves east to consider the pre-Roman, Greek concept of single combat and its importance in Greek culture. First contacts with Roman gladiation during the republican period are then discussed. Chapter 2 (*The Greek Gladiator*) considers the considerable evidence, mostly epigraphic, which informs us about the lives and careers of the gladiators themselves and, more importantly, about the position of the gladiators in Greek society. The content of this chapter is broad, and it has been thoroughly subdivided. Chapter 3 (*Administration*) discusses the Greek officials who provided the spectacles of gladiatorial combat, their financing, and motivation. Finally Chapter 4 (*The Greek Spectacle*) examines the nature of gladiatorial combat and the associated spectacles, their frequency, and their location. This final chapter also addresses the spectacle in the stands, that is, the organization of the spectators, and the overall context of the show.

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<sup>64</sup> Lib. Or. 1.5; cf. Ville 1960, 315; and Roueché 1993, 77.

<sup>65</sup> See Welch 1998a, 565-569; Roueché 1993, 76-79. MacMullen 1986 makes the strongest case for increasing judicial savagery during the course of the empire, but see also Coleman 1990; and Slater 1995a who discusses the spectacular nature of ancient justice and punishment throughout antiquity.



## CHAPTER 1.

# ROMAN GLADIATION AND GREEK MONOMACHIA

### 1.1. ROMAN GLADIATION

#### ORIGINS AND CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE

According to Roman tradition, the first gladiatorial combats in Rome took place at the funeral of D. Iunius Brutus in 264 BC when his sons Decimus Iunius Brutus (Pera?) and Marcus presented three pairs of gladiators in the Forum Boarium.<sup>1</sup> Yet Roman tradition itself denied that gladiatorial combats were Roman in origin. The first century BC historian, Nicolaus of Damascus, claims that the Romans borrowed the custom of gladiatorial combat from the Etruscans, and Suetonius preserves a tradition which held that the Etruscan king, Tarquinius Priscus, was first to introduce the spectacle to Rome.<sup>2</sup> G. Ville has argued that gladiation was of Osco-Samnite origin and then was adopted by the Etruscans at the end of the fourth century or early third BC from whom the Romans imported the custom.<sup>3</sup> A. Futrell, however, has criticized Ville's thesis and tentatively

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<sup>1</sup> Livy *Epit.* 16; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.67; Val. Max. 2.4.7; Auson. *Griphus ternarii numeri* 36-37. Livy refers only to one son, D. Iunius Brutus (cos. 266), who presented the gladiators at his father's funeral, while Servius refers to the deceased as Iunius Brutus, and Valerius refers to both Marcus and Decimus (in that order) the sons of Brutus Pera. The deceased was probably D. Iunius Brutus Scaeva, cos. 292. Cf. Balsdon 1969, 249; Edmondson 1996, 69-70; and Futrell 1997, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Nic. Dam. *FHG* 3.417, quoted by Athenaeus, 4.153; Suet. *De regibus*, cited by Ville, *La gladiature*, 8 n. 32. There are Etruscan tombs with painting depicting single combat (see Ville, *La gladiature*, 35-42, and Futrell 1997, 14-19) and some aspects of the Roman gladiatorial shows seem to have been Etruscan, such as the arena attendant, Dis Pater, mentioned by Tertullian (*Ad nat.* 1.10.47 and *Apol.* 15.5) who may be equated with the Etruscan hammer-wielding god, Charun, and the *lanista*, a word which Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* 10.159, believed to be of Etruscan origin; see Ville, *La gladiature*, 2 n. 7. Cf. Auguet 1972, 248-249; Futrell 1997, 14; and Mosci Sassi, s.v. "lanista".

<sup>3</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 1-42. Cf. Salmon 1967, 60-61 (Samnites origin); Thuillier 1985; and Golvin 1988, 15-17. The relevant literary references are to Campanian gladiation *inter epulas*: Livy 9.40.17; Sil. *Pun.* 11.51-54; and Strabo 5.4. 13; cf. Jones 1991, 193-194.

renewed the argument in favour of an Etruscan origin,<sup>4</sup> while J. Mouratidis has recently suggested that the Greeks in Campania may have influenced the development of Italian funerary games, including armed combat.<sup>5</sup> But it is unlikely that gladiation came to Rome from a single source. Furthermore, once adopted in Rome, the institution underwent significant changes and evolution. Whatever its origin or origins, what was to become an important institution in Roman society was considered to have been of foreign extraction.

For the last two hundred years of the republic, gladiatorial combats were presented in association with the funerals of great men.<sup>6</sup> Tertullian states that these funerary gladiatorial combats evolved from actual human sacrifices at the tomb:

**Nam olim quoniam animas defunctorum humano sanguine propitiari creditum erat, captivos vel mali status servos mercati in exsequiis immolabant. Postea placuit impietatem voluptate adumbrare. Itaque quos paraverant armis quibus tunc et qualiter poterant eruditos tantum ut occidi discerent mox edicto die inferiarum apud tumulos erogabant.**<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Futrell 1997, 12-14, 19. She notes that Etruscan contact with Campania was strongest in the fifth century BC, not the end of the fourth when Ville suggested that the Etruscans borrowed gladiation from the south, and questions the Etruscan motives in borrowing an Osco-Samnite institution, especially since there is little evidence for comparable borrowings from Campania in Etruscan culture. Scholarly motives may partially underlie the differences. Ville (and P. Veyne who prepared Ville's incomplete manuscript for publication following his death in 1967) secularized gladiation and believed it to have been primarily an agonistic spectacle. Futrell, on the other hand, along with many other recent scholars, argues for the inherent religiosity of gladiatorial combats. Because so much of Roman religious practice originated with the Etruscans, an Etruscan derivation would lend credence to an argument favouring the religious character of the spectacle.

<sup>5</sup> Mouratidis 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, has exhaustively catalogued all known *munera* and *venationes* in Rome down to the end of the first century AD, a collection invaluable for the study of early Roman gladiation. The frequency and number of gladiatorial presentations in any given year is difficult to ascertain, however, because of the selective reporting of *munera* in the sources which tend to mention only the most spectacular or unusual. Consider Livy 41.28.11 where he admits that he has described only the most spectacular *munera*.

<sup>7</sup> Tert. *De Spect.* 12.2-3: "For once, since it had been the belief that the spirits of the dead were appeased by human blood, they used to sacrifice in funerary rites captives or slaves of poor quality whom they had purchased. Afterward it seemed better to cover impiety with pleasure. And so on the day appointed for the offerings they killed at the tombs those whom they had trained in such arms as they then had and as best they were able—trained so that they learned to be killed".

The grammarian and commentator Servius likewise suggests that gladiatorial combat was a form of commuted human sacrifice:

mos erat in sepulcris virorum fortium captivos necari; quod postquam crudele visum est, placuit gladiatores ante sepulcra dimicare.<sup>8</sup>

Both of these sources, however, are decidedly imperfect. Servius wrote in the fourth century AD and Tertullian was a Christian apologist, hostile to those Roman institutions which he felt were a threat to the church.<sup>9</sup> That Servius and Tertullian are imperfect sources does not necessarily mean that they are inaccurate, rather that they must be read with great care. Indeed, that Tertullian perceived gladiatorial combats as a threat indicates their religious significance. But the origins and nature of gladiation were debatable even in antiquity, and there is little reason to suppose that we can uncover them today. We have already seen that conflicting opinions placed the source of gladiation in either Campania or Etruria; likewise in antiquity there seems to have existed a debate over whether or not gladiatorial combat was a form of human sacrifice. For example, a passage in the *Historia Augusta* provides the two sides of this debate: there were some who believed that gladiatorial combats given before a military campaign were a form of human sacrifice meant to appease Nemesis and ensure victory in the impending war, while others believed that the sight of combat, wounds, and death were primarily intended to desensitize the soldiers and prepare them for battle.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.519: "The custom was for captives to be killed at the tombs of great men; when this was later seen to be cruel, it was thought better to make the gladiators fight at the tombs".

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the remarks of MacMullen 1997, 13: "Long before it could be expressed in actions, urgency was clear in the way Christian writers described paganism. From the start, it is not easy to find in the whole of their literature a matter-of-fact, uncolored reference to its beliefs or rituals...".

<sup>10</sup> SHA *Max. et Balb.* 8, quoted below p. 35.

Some modern scholars have renewed the argument for gladiatorial combats as a form of human sacrifice.<sup>11</sup> The truth, however, probably lies somewhere in the middle. On the one hand, it is difficult to deny the religiosity of gladiatorial combats; during the republic, they were fought in connection with the funerals of great men, while during the empire they came to be associated with the imperial cult (see below). In this connection, we may also consider the ritual significance of a gladiator's blood.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, the bloody and often fatal nature of gladiatorial combat readily lent itself to interpretation—or reinterpretation—as human sacrifice, especially by those who would attack the institution, and this ought to rouse our suspicions. J. Rives has shown that the charge of human sacrifice was part of a larger Greek and Roman discourse on the nature of civilization and barbarism. He has convincingly argued that charges and counter-charges of the practice of human sacrifice between pagans and Christians are not historically reliable accounts, but rather attempts to assert cultural superiority and to isolate and malign their opponents.<sup>13</sup> D. Potter has recently pointed out that, while Greek and Roman antiquity did know and occasionally practice human sacrifice, the ceremony was performed either by binding the victim and cutting his throat or by burying him alive. Gladiatorial combat does not resemble established forms of ancient human sacrifice.<sup>14</sup> If indeed an important funerary rite, why did not every Roman compel cheap slaves to fight and die at family funerals as a human sacrifice to their departed relative?

The association with the death of *great* men, may hold the key to a partial understanding of the significance of gladiatorial combats in Roman society. Especially

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<sup>11</sup> Most recently, Versnel 1993, 210-227 and Futrell 1997 (both summarizing much earlier related scholarship) have argued for the sacrificial nature of gladiation. Futrell especially presents *munera* as a form of human sacrifice.

<sup>12</sup> See Dölger 1926; and Robert, 1946b.

<sup>13</sup> Rives 1995; cf. Kyle 1998, 36-40.

<sup>14</sup> Potter 1999, 305-306; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 9-19.

during the early republic, the loss of such important men—the civic and military leaders—was felt not by the family of the deceased alone, but by the entire community. The Roman public funeral offered an opportunity for the community to come together in a time of crisis and danger caused the death of a prominent leader, to mourn his loss, and to celebrate the virtues and achievements of his life. But more than this, the funeral also celebrated and reaffirmed the values central to Roman society and vital to its success.<sup>15</sup> Polybius, in comparing Carthaginian and Roman capabilities, describes a Roman funeral as an institution which inculcated in the Roman youth the proper ethics and ambitions and as a result fostered Roman strength.<sup>16</sup> On the death of a great man, his son or another relative praised not only the deceased, but also his illustrious ancestors whose images were present in their death masks and the insignia of the curule offices, such as consul, censor, triumphator, which they had held. For Polybius, there was no more ennobling spectacle to inspire the youth than images of great Romans from the past assembled in their glory as if living and breathing. The spectacle of past leaders was a dramatic embodiment of what it meant to be a Roman.<sup>17</sup> Polybius then claims that their institutions, such as the funeral, motivated Romans to extreme acts of bravery in defense of their homeland and supports his belief by saying that many Romans willingly risked their own lives in single combat to decide a battle or to save the lives of their fellow citizens:

πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐμονομάχησαν ἔκουσίως Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ὅλων κρίσεως, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ προδήλους εἵλοντο θανάτους, τινὲς μὲν ἐν πολέμῳ

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<sup>15</sup> Flower 1996, 91-127, especially 127.

<sup>16</sup> Polyb. 6.53-54.

<sup>17</sup> Polyb. 6.54.2-3. Cf. Sall. *BJ* 4.5: *quom maiorum imagines intuerentur vehementissime sibi animum ad virtutem accendi*: "when they observed the images of their ancestors their hearts were fired most passionately to virtue" with Paul 1984. For the *imagines* in general, see Flower 1996.

τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔνεκεν σωτηρίας, τινὲς δ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ χάριν τῆς τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἀσφαλείας.<sup>18</sup>

He cites the bravery of Horatius Cocles who died holding a bridge across the Tiber and concludes his discussion of the Roman funeral saying: τοιαύτη τις, ὡς ἔοικε, διὰ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔθισμῶν ἐγγεννᾶται τοῖς νέοις ὀρμή καὶ φιλοτιμία πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων.<sup>19</sup> The funeral of a great man in Rome provided a spectacle which went beyond the commemoration of the deceased and was instead a means for the whole community to admire and recreate itself at a time of potential crisis.

In a society perennially at war, militarism was a central feature of the Roman value system, especially skill at and courage in hand-to-hand combat.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, in Polybius' discussion of the Roman funeral, the fact that the young men were eager to demonstrate their bravery in battle and risk their lives clearly implies that the traditional values especially extolled at a funeral were military. For Rome, success in war ultimately depended on the individual courage and abilities of each Roman legionnaire especially in hand-to-hand combat, for the legion was a loose and flexible formation designed to allow each soldier space enough to fight with his sword and defend himself with his own shield. For Sallust and no doubt many of his Roman readers, the great and disturbing tragedy of Catiline's rebellion was to be found in the fact that although Catiline and many of his followers displayed on the one hand ideal Roman military values: martial ability, bravery, and scorn for death on the battle field, they were nevertheless brought down by greed and

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<sup>18</sup> Polyb. 6.54.4: "For many Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat to decide a battle, and not a few have chosen certain death, some in war to save the lives of the rest, some in peace time for the security of the republic".

<sup>19</sup> Polyb. 5.55.4: "Such is the eager desire for honour engendered in the Roman youth through their institutions for the glory of achieving noble deeds". The importance attached to *exempla virtutis* is evident here as the best means to indoctrinate the youth of Rome into the value system which had made Rome great. Cf. Val. Max. 3.2.1.

<sup>20</sup> See Wiedemann 1996. For Roman militarism, see especially Hopkins 1978, 25-37; Harris 1979, 9-53; and Woolf 1993, 183. See Lintott 1968, 35-51 for the general indifference to human life in Roman society.

ambition. In the end, Sallust returns to present these idealized values: Catiline and his followers all had fallen with their wounds in front (*omnes tamen advorsis vulneribus concederant*).<sup>21</sup> Polybius describes the differences between the Macedonian phalanx and the Roman legion in an attempt to account for and explain to his readers the reasons for the repeated failures of the previously invincible phalanx against the often smaller Roman legions.<sup>22</sup> Success for the phalanx depended on holding the ranks in tight formation behind a line of linked shields and breaking the enemy line while maintaining one's own. A hoplite soldier in the phalanx carried a stabbing spear and depended partially upon his neighbour for protection. He was largely unable to fight individually: the weapons he carried were wholly unsuited to close single combat, and if he broke ranks to engage an enemy on his own he compromised the entire formation and risked the lives of all.<sup>23</sup> But as Polybius notes, the Roman soldier essentially fought individually even while in a larger formation. He had approximately three feet on all sides to enable him to thrust and stab with his sword and ward off blows with his own shield. He did not necessarily rely on those around him for protection, but essentially fought the enemy hand-to-hand in single combat.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Roman tactics, especially against a formation such as the phalanx, might require those soldiers in the front lines of the legion to lay down their lives in order to break the initial push of the enemy. It was standard Roman strategy to keep a force in reserve which, as Polybius notes, would enter the battle as soon as the enemy formation

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<sup>21</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 60-61 for the final battle (the quotation is from 61.3). Cf. Sall. *Cat.* 5 for a description of Catiline's character traits, good and bad.

<sup>22</sup> Polyb. 18.30-32.

<sup>23</sup> Polybius 18.32.9 notes that the hoplite soldier is useless in smaller units or individually. On the phalanx in general, see Garland 1975, especially 124-126. As a result of the restricted opportunities for individual heroism offered by the phalanx formation for much of Greek history, aristocratic impulses to demonstrate abilities and win glory through victory were removed to the gymnasium and athletic competitions: see Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

<sup>24</sup> Polyb. 18.30.8; 18.32.11-12. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 36-37.

had begun to dissolve.<sup>25</sup> Combat, especially that experienced by and expected of a Roman soldier, thus demanded extreme courage and skill with arms in hand-to-hand combat. A battle was not conceived as mass formation against mass formation, but the sum of multiple combats fought and experienced individually.<sup>26</sup>

In addition to the personal nature of combat as experienced by the Roman legionary, however, soldiers, typically from elite families, often engaged in ostentatious single combat before the assembled armies.<sup>27</sup> All examples of such single combat appear in the sources as a prelude to battle, fought before the assembled armies and, since in every known instance the Roman was victorious, the demonstration of courage and skill served to inspire the soldiers who watched and who soon were themselves engaged in battle.<sup>28</sup> The concept, indeed the reality, of single combat was thus familiar to every Roman soldier, not only as individually experienced in combat, but also as a relatively common ostentatious display by two men before the assembled armies.<sup>29</sup>

Livy describes a number of instances in which soldiers engaged in single combat, and seems to have conceived and presented the episode as a sort of gladiatorial spectacle.

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<sup>25</sup> Polyb. 18.32.2-4.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Plass 1995, 20: "Though true single combat is exceptional in a real war, combat is experienced individually, and so the spectacle of a fight to the death was bound to trigger powerful empathy". The same empathy surely could arise from a fight which threatened death, that is, death was not necessary to trigger the empathy.

<sup>27</sup> There is a list in Plin. *HN* 7.28.101-106; cf. Fries 1975; especially Oakley 1985; and Wiedemann 1996. Oakley speculates that during the middle republic single combat was relatively common. For example Plutarch, *Marc.* 21, states that M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. I 222 BC) fought many such duels, and Livy, 45.39.16, claims that M. Servilius Geminus Pulex (cos. 202) fought 23 single combats. Oakley 1985, 406, also notes that the requirement for soldiers to seek permission from their commanding office in order to engage in single combat demonstrates the institutionalization or familiarity of the practice.

<sup>28</sup> Oakley 1985, 398-399, claims that Rome did not allow such single combats to determine the outcome of a battle.

<sup>29</sup> Oakley 1985 argues that such single combats were essentially a republican institution, but Wiedemann 1996 disagrees and cites examples from the principate.



For example, the consul Valerius led a charge against the Samnites and by the sight of his success in single combat his troops were inspired to advance:

Primus omnium consul invadit hostem et cum quo forte contulit gradum obruncat.  
Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra laevaue ante se quisque memorandum proelium  
cient.<sup>30</sup>

Even the memorable combat of Titus Manlius with the enormous Gaul is described by Livy as a sort of gladiatorial spectacle:

Et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur,  
nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares.<sup>31</sup>

Other episodes involving single combat are likewise presented as a *spectaculum* in which the soldiers watch the combat as spectators and, inspired by the example of skill and courage, themselves engage more eagerly in battle following the example presented to them.<sup>32</sup> The legendary *spolia opima* were the spoils dedicated by a Roman commander who had slain an enemy commander in single combat. The right to *spolia opima* was among the highest military honours awarded a Roman commander. Standards of proper Roman behavior illustrating central values and *mores* were demonstrated by great Romans often of the past and held up as models, *exempla*, to be admired and imitated.<sup>33</sup> Examples of noble deeds provided the best form of inculcation in Roman values and cultural priorities, for the Romans thought it best to learn by observing great examples rather than

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<sup>30</sup> Livy 7.33.11-12: "The consul was first of all to attack the enemy and cut down any who chanced to cross his path. Fired by this spectacle, on the right and left of him each man fought a memorable battle".

<sup>31</sup> Livy 7.10.6: "And the two armed men were left in the centre (between the two armies) in a manner more like a spectacle than like the laws of war, and not at all evenly matched to judge by appearance".

<sup>32</sup> See also Livy 1.25; 21.42.1-43.2; 23.47.3; 28.33.16; 33.9.4. In each case the combat is described as a *spectaculum*. The visibility of the *exemplum* is an important aspect in the *exempla* collected by Valerius Maximus: see the discussion by Leigh 1997, especially 181-184.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Litchfield 1914; and Kornhardt 1936. Consider also the importance of the *mos maiorum* to the Romans.

simply follow abstract precepts.<sup>34</sup> The best deeds to follow were those of Rome's idealized ancestors who, by demonstrating their values through their words and deeds, provided the best examples for later Romans to emulate, as Quintilian explains:

Neque ea solum quae talibus disciplinis continentur, sed magis etiam quae sunt tradita antiquitus dicta ac facta praeclare et nosse et animo semper agitare conveniet. Quae profecto nusquam plura maioraque quam in nostrae civitatis monumentis reperientur. An fortudinem, iustitiam, fidem, continentiam, frugilitatem, contemptum doloris ac mortis melius alii docebunt quam Fabricii, Curii, Reguli, Decii, Mucii aliique innumerabiles?<sup>35</sup>

Perhaps similar to the inspirational spectacle of single combat is the *devotio*, a procedure by which a Roman commander offered his own life, as well as the enemy soldiers to the gods in exchange for a Roman victory.<sup>36</sup> The Decii mentioned by Quintilian are the homonymous father and son, Publius Decius Mus, both of whom devoted themselves in battle. Before a battle in 340 BC during the Latin War, the elder Decius ritually offered his life and the enemy to the infernal deities and then rushed headlong into battle where he died, having killed many of the enemy.<sup>37</sup> The younger Decius likewise devoted himself in battle to turn a Roman defeat to victory.<sup>38</sup> As *exempla* demonstrating the concept of

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<sup>34</sup> Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.130-131; Plin. *Ep.* 8.14.4-6; Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.30; and Sen. *Ep.* 1.6.5. Livy explains that he wrote his history to recount glorious deeds for imitation: *Pref.* 10: *hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod vitas*: "It is this which is especially salutary and profitable in the understanding of history: you look on records of every example as they have been placed in famous recollection; from this you may discern those things which you should imitate for your own good and that of your country, from that which, foul in its inception or in its result, you should avoid".

<sup>35</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.29-30: "Nor will it be suitable to understand and always contemplate only those things which are held in such teachings, but rather even more those words and deeds excellently handed down from antiquity. These will certainly nowhere else be found in greater number and magnitude than in the records of our own city. Or will other peoples better demonstrate courage, justice, loyalty, self-restraint, frugility, scorn for pain and death than the Fabricii, the Curii, the Reguli, the Decii, the Mucii, and innumerable others?". Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 9.3 and *De Imp. Cn. Pomp.* 60; and Verg. *Aen.* 6.

<sup>36</sup> Versnel 1976; Barton 1993, 40-46; Futrell 1997, 191-194.

<sup>37</sup> Livy 8.9-10.

<sup>38</sup> Livy 10.28.12-13.

military *virtus*, it was important for the spectacle to be *seen*; for the Romans, education was best achieved by witnessing brave and noble deeds: *longum iter est per praecepta, breve et efficax per exempla*.<sup>39</sup>

Gladiatorial combat offered similar examples, especially of martial excellence. Gladiators displayed skill with weapons in hand-to-hand combat,<sup>40</sup> extreme and ostentatious bravery in the face of serious pain and mortal injury, and the discipline and self-restraint needed to accept death resolutely should they die or be required to, all of which were examples of perfect military virtues, and identical to the virtues essential to a Roman soldier. The *spectaculum* of single combat, whether a prelude to battle or a gladiatorial match, thus served as a sort of *exemplum*, a demonstration of the proper military virtues expected from a Roman soldier and an inspiration to those virtues.<sup>41</sup> D.G. Kyle has recently argued that the "symbolic dynamics" of gladiatorial combat in Roman society emerged in the wake of the Roman disaster at Cannae in 216 BC. This momentous disaster and the resultant insecurity helped to cement the ideology of military values in Roman society as a whole. Even slave volunteers were preferable to free born soldiers who had failed their oath and surrendered to the enemy in order to preserve their life, and indeed the senate, although Rome was now facing a shortage of manpower, refused to ransom those soldiers who had been taken prisoner by Hannibal preferring instead to arm slave volunteers.<sup>42</sup> "Through virtue and fidelity to their oaths even the lowliest of men could serve Rome by fighting and by inspiring free young recruits".<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 6.5. Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 12.2.30: *quantum enim Graeci praeceptis valent, tantum Romani, quod est maius exemplis*: "for as much as the Greeks flourish through their precepts, by that much more do the Romans through their examples".

<sup>40</sup> App. *B. Civ.* 5.4.33 says that at the battle of Perugia Lucius' gladiators took part in the fight and were superior at hand-to-hand combat: συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ τῶν Λευκίου μονομάχων.

<sup>41</sup> Gladiation as a celebration of martial excellence is essentially the point made by Hopkins 1983.

<sup>42</sup> Kyle 1998, 47-48. He explains the "symbolic dynamics" of gladiatorial combat: "what its actions and participants 'meant' to the Romans beyond the demonstration of the status of the provider". For the aftermath of Cannae and the refusal to ransom the prisoners, see Livy 22.57-61. Plass 1995, 38-

Because of the instructive nature of gladiatorial combat, or perhaps as an indication of it, there was a close relationship between military training and gladiation. In 105 BC following the massive Roman defeat to the Cimbri at Arausio, the consul P. Rutilius Rufus employed gladiatorial *doctores* in the training of Roman troops, a practice which may have continued throughout the late republic.<sup>44</sup> Cicero, for example, speaks of his military training first in the *ludus*, then in the *castrum*.<sup>45</sup> There is some evidence that during the empire *iuvenes* engaged in paramilitary training under gladiatorial tutelage, perhaps in the local *campus*.<sup>46</sup> For example, a group of *iuvenes* from Paestum honoured a freedman and Augustalis, M. Tullius Primigenius as "their *summa rudis*" (*summarudi suo*),<sup>47</sup> and another inscription refers to a *summaruda (sic) iuvenum*.<sup>48</sup> Apuleius denounces his accuser for permitting Pudens to attend a gladiatorial school for instruction with arms.<sup>49</sup> In describing the gladiatorial shows put on by Antiochus Epiphanes, Livy

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40, also sees the Roman taste for bloody spectacles as a function of insecurity in Roman history: gladiatorial combat rehearsed the same sense of military dangers, yet with a controlled outcome.

<sup>43</sup> Kyle 1998, 48. Cf. SHA *Marc.* 21.7 and 23.5: faced with a military crisis, Marcus Aurelius trained slaves for military service and enlisted gladiators.

<sup>44</sup> Val. Max. 2.3.2; Ennodius *Pan. dict. regi Theodorico* 19. Cf. Ville 1969; and Ville, *La gladiature*, 46, 304 n. 186; Baltrusch 1988, 326-327; and Welch 1994.

<sup>45</sup> Cic. *Cacl.* 11; cf. *De or.* 2.84. See Baltrusch 1988, 326 and Welch 1994, 63-65.

<sup>46</sup> Devijver & van Wouterghem 1985 have argued that the *campus* in western cities was a training ground for the local *iuventus*. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 45. Ginestet 1991, 159-168, has argued that the youth organizations in the provinces served especially as a source of legionary recruits and a reserve force in times of emergency.

<sup>47</sup> *AE* 1935, no. 27 = *EAOR* III, no. 64 (mid-third century).

<sup>48</sup> *EAOR* II, no. 36. The inscription has not been fully published. Similar is an inscription from Spolegium for C. Cominius Fortunatianus, an Augustalis and *pinn(irapus) iuvenum* (*CIL* XI 7852 = *ILS* 6635 = *EAOR* II, no. 39). For the *summa rudis*, see Chapter 2.5. Organization and Chapter 4.1 Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>49</sup> Apul. *Apol.* 98.7: *in ludo quoque gladiatorio frequens visitur; nomina gladiatorum et pugnas et vulnera plane quidem ut puer honestus ab ipso lanista docetur*: "he even frequents the gladiatorial school, knows all the gladiators' names and the details of their fights and wounds; this worthy young man has even received instruction under a *lanista*". Even young Roman women may have received a degree of weapons training: see Vesley 1998.

notes that it was especially the Greek youth who were inspired by the *spectaculum* to take up arms.<sup>50</sup>

Proficiency in single combat was an important aspect of military ability and one practiced also by members of the Roman aristocracy, who may even have dressed in the armour of a particular type of gladiator in order to perfect the fencing style required by the arms and armour of that particular gladiatorial type. Cicero publicly attacked L. Antonius, the brother of Marcus, for associating with a gladiatorial *familia* and fighting as a gladiator, specifically a *myrmillo*, while in Mylasa.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, he privately criticized the young Hortensius for behaving badly with gladiators at Laodiceia.<sup>52</sup> In the official opinion of Cicero and those who represented the cultivated elite throughout Roman society, any association with gladiators and gladiatorial combat was degrading to men of standing.<sup>53</sup> Most gladiators were of servile or humble origin, their only redeeming qualities found in their ability to fight; but they were also professional performers of a sort and so suffered *infamia*. For a member of the Roman aristocracy to associate publicly with such low status individuals degraded not only that individual, but his peers as well. For this reason, various senatorial and imperial decrees sought to restrict the public performance by members of the upper classes. The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum, for example, was passed against those *qui contra dignitatem ordinis sui in scaenam ludumv[e] prodirent* (l. 5).<sup>54</sup> But although such behavior was deemed socially unacceptable, the repetition of the legislation demonstrates its ineffectiveness. Such legislation only indicates that members

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<sup>50</sup> Livy 41.20.12: *etiam familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit, et armorum studium plerisque iuvenum accendit*: "he even accustomed their eyes to the spectacle and made it pleasing and roused an enthusiasm for arms in most of the young men". See Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

<sup>51</sup> See Cic. *Phil.* 3.31; 5.20; 5.30; 6.10; 6.13; 12.20 and the discussion by Merkelbach 1995.

<sup>52</sup> Cic. *Att.* 6.3.9. See Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, below p. 64.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Imholz 1972 for the use of the term "gladiator" as an insult.

<sup>54</sup> See Levick 1983. Earlier prohibitions are also known: in 46 BC (see Dio Cass. 43.25.5; Suet. *Iul.* 39.1); 38 BC (see Dio Cass. 48.43.2); and under Augustus (see Suet. *Aug.* 43.4).

of the upper classes did indeed fight and train as or with gladiators. Polite society maintained a hypocritical position: gladiatorial training was something "not done", though off the record, clearly was. In most cases, however, the "gladiatorial fights" undertaken by the aristocracy were not public spectacles, but private exercises in hand-to-hand combat and fencing skills. Neither L. Antonius nor the young Hortensius fought in public spectacles in Asia, but rather practiced their fencing with the best swordsmen: professional gladiators.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to training in gladiatorial methods, the soldiers also watched the spectacle of gladiatorial combat as a means to toughen and desensitize them to the horrors of wounds, bloodshed, and death. While a passage in the *Historia Augusta* suggests that the Romans gave a gladiatorial *munus* before a military campaign as a sort of human sacrifice to propitiate Nemesis by the shedding of blood,<sup>56</sup> the author also provides what he considers a more rational explanation:

alii hoc litteris tradunt, quod veri similius credo, ituros ad bellum Romanos debuisse pugnas videre et vulnera et ferrum et nudos inter se coorientes, ne in bello hostes timerent aut vulnera et sanguinem perhorrescerent.<sup>57</sup>

Likewise, Septimius Severus, before setting out on his Parthian War, is specifically said to have given a gladiatorial *munus*.<sup>58</sup> The importance of gladiatorial combat both to train the

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<sup>55</sup> The significance of L. Antonius' behaviour while in Asia, therefore, has been overstated by Merkelbach 1995. Fighting as a gladiator may have offended polite society and may have provided rhetorical material with which Cicero could attack the Antonii, but was not unusual nor unexpected from a member of the Roman aristocracy active in the military.

<sup>56</sup> SHA *Max. et Balb.* 8: *multi dicunt apud veteres hanc devotionem contra hostes ut civium sanguine litato specie pugnarum se Nemesis, id est vis quaedam Fortunae, satiaret*: "many say that in ancient times this *devotio* was made against the enemy, in order to satisfy Nemesis, a power connected with Fortune, with the blood of citizens offered as a form of combats". Cf. Hornum 1993, 81-83.

<sup>57</sup> SHA *Max. et Balb.* 8: "Others write this, which I believe to be more probable, that when the Romans are preparing to go to war they think that they ought to see combats and wounds, and steel and naked flesh taking place before their eyes, lest in war they fear the enemy or are horrified at the sight of wounds and blood". Cf. Ville 1960, 302; Ville 1969, 194; Ville, *La gladiature*, 46-47 n. 124; Le Roux 1990, 208-209; and Barton 1993, 43. Barton here ignores this half of the passage completely.

<sup>58</sup> SHA *Sev.* 14.11.

troops in hand-to-hand combat and to accustom them to the brutalities of war may help to explain the presence of amphitheatres constructed in association with military establishments and veteran colonies throughout the Empire.<sup>59</sup> In times of peace, the spectacle of war in the form of gladiatorial combat could serve as entertainment.<sup>60</sup> Although originally associated with the funeral, gladiatorial combats also came to be associated with military triumphs.<sup>61</sup> G. Alföldy has recently demonstrated that the Flavian amphitheatre in Rome was constructed *ex manubis*, almost certainly from the profits of the Jewish War, and that this was the explicitly stated source of the funds for the construction of the building.<sup>62</sup>

To return then to the Roman funeral. During the republic, the funeral of a great man united the community at a time of loss and potential crisis and celebrated not only the virtues and accomplishments of the deceased, but also promoted the values that had made Romans great, that would sustain them in the present crisis, and that would maintain them in the future by inspiring the youth in traditional Roman priorities. Roman values and the continuity with the past were reaffirmed. That the community also came together at a *munus* presented in connection with the funeral is significant, for gladiators fighting hand-to-hand in single combat visibly demonstrated martial virtues key to a militaristic society like that of Rome. The *munus* thus united the Roman people in the presence of exemplary Roman martial virtues; the entire Roman community assembled around and focused on a demonstration of consummate skill in single combat, the extreme courage demanded of

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<sup>59</sup> See Golvin 1988; Le Roux 1990; Welch 1994; and Futrell 1997, especially 147-152.

<sup>60</sup> Jos. *AJ* 19.337 describes Herod Agrippa's *munus* at Beirut as deeds of war serving as a source of entertainment in peacetime: τὸ πολέμου δ' ἔργον γένηται τέρψις εἰρήνης. In c. 16 BC, Beirut had been made a Roman colony, with two legions settled there by Agrippa.

<sup>61</sup> See Wiedemann 1992, 3-5.

<sup>62</sup> Alföldy 1995: re *CIL* VI 40454a: [Imp.] T. Caes. Vespasi[anus Aug] | Amphitheatru[m novum?] | ex manubis [fieri iussit?].

that combat, and strict discipline, all traditional values which helped to define what it meant to be a Roman. Pliny praises the games presented by Trajan:

visum est spectaculum inde non enerve nec fluxum nec quod animos virorum molliret et frangeret, sed quod ad pulchra vulnera contemptumque mortis accenderet, cum in servorum etiam noxiorumque corporibus amor laudis et cupido victoriae cerneretur.<sup>63</sup>

These spectacles were not presented strictly to soldiers, but to the citizens of Rome. The military significance of gladiation does not mean that all Romans were expected to train or to fight in hand-to-hand combat, but rather that the virtues essential to the Roman soldier were also fundamental to Roman identity. Yet the values demonstrated and praised were the same as those which also made the institution so relevant to the soldier. Pliny probably found his inspiration in the *Tusculanae disputationes* written by Cicero shortly before his death:

gladiatores, aut perditii homines aut barbari, quas plagas perferunt. quo modo illi, qui bene instituti sunt, accipere plagam malunt quam turpiter vitare. quam saepe apparet nihil eos malle quam vel domino satis facere vel populo. mittunt etiam vulneribus confecti ad dominos qui quaerant quid velint; si satis iis factum sit, se velle decumbere. quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam? quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter? quis cum decubisset, ferrum recipere iussus collum contraxit? tantum exercitatio, meditatio, consuetudo valet. ergo hoc poterit "samnis, spurcus homo, vita illa dignus locoque", vir natus ad gloriam ullam partem animi tam mollem habebit, quam non meditatione et ratione conroboret? crudele gladiatorum spectaculum et inhumanum non nullis videri solet, et haud scio an ita sit, ut nunc fit. cum vero sontes ferro depugnabant, auribus fortasse multae, oculis quidem nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Plin. *Pan.* 33.1: "Then there was seen a spectacle neither feeble nor dissolute nor likely to soften and break men's spirits, but the sort which rouses them to beautiful wounds and a scorn for death, when the love of praise and desire for victory could be seen in the bodies of slaves and even criminals".

<sup>64</sup> Cic. *Tusc.* 2.41: "What blows the gladiators, who are either ruined men or barbarians, endure. How those who are well-trained prefer to take a blow rather than shamefully avoid it. How often is it apparent that they wish nothing more than to satisfy their masters or the spectators. Even when worn down with wounds they send messages to their masters asking what they want: if their masters are satisfied, they themselves are willing to give up. What even mediocre gladiator has ever groaned or changed his expression? Who has ever fought or given up disgracefully? Who, when defeated and ordered to receive the death blow, has ever retracted his neck? Such is the strength of their training, preparation, and habit. Thus, shall a 'filthy samnite, worthy of that life and place' be able do this, while a



The spectacle of gladiatorial combat could serve as an *exemplum* to demonstrate courage, to instill the desire for glory, and to inspire these traits in all Roman spectators.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, this idea of gladiatorial combat as *exemplum* was also taken up by Seneca, but specifically as a metaphor for stoicism. The gladiator ideally demonstrated the *virtus, fortitudo*, and indifference to death, which were basic tenants of the stoic philosophy; although an outcast from society, the gladiator could nevertheless win glory through his courage, training, discipline, and his disdain for death. The gladiator personified the stoic maxim, *per aspera ad astra*, and provided a model for Romans to emulate.<sup>66</sup> The concept of gladiatorial single combat was a common theme developed in many literary works, such as the *Thebaid* of Statius, the *Punica* of Silius Italicus, the *Bellum Civile* of Lucan, the history of Livy, and even the *Aeneid* of Vergil.<sup>67</sup>

The *exempla* presented in a gladiatorial *munus* demonstrated and symbolized several of the key values in Roman society. That these *exempla* were presented in association with the funeral of a great man suggests that gladiatorial combat was an edifying celebration meant more for the living than the dead, a demonstration of the values that had made Romans great and that would see them through the present crisis to prosper

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man born for glory have a part of his mind so weak that he cannot harden it by preparation and reason? Some think that the gladiatorial show is cruel and uncivilized, and perhaps it is as performed now. But when criminals fought to the death with the sword, there perhaps could have been many forms of instruction to be heard, but none better to be seen against pain and death". The quotation about the samnite is from Lucilius, frag. 150: see Wistrand 1992, 119 n. 28.

<sup>65</sup> To be unable to endure the sight of blood and wounds was considered a moral weakness: see Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 279: *esse quosdam maiores qui ne conspicerent quidem cruorem sufficerent, multi se a gladiatorum vulneribus avertunt*: "there are those adults who are not even up to the sight of blood, many who turn from the wounds of gladiators". Quoted by Wiedemann 1992, 162 n. 26.

<sup>66</sup> See especially Wistrand 1990, 31-46. For Seneca's use of historical *exempla*, see Mayer 1991.

<sup>67</sup> Barton 1993, 32-33 n. 82; for Lucan, see especially Leigh 1997 who analyzes the amphitheatrical elements in Lucan's epic; and for Vergil, see Hardie 1986, especially 151-154 where he discusses the combat between Aeneas and Turnus in terms of a gladiatorial match. Brown 1992, in discussing depictions of arena scenes, develops the idea that the viewer of the artwork was equivalent to the spectator in the arena.

in the future.<sup>68</sup> Indeed, this reading of the institution explains its gradual dissociation from its funerary context during the late republic and especially early empire. The *munus* had its own significance apart from death. It was an entertaining and popular means of celebrating traditional Roman values.

During the late republic, the presentation of gladiatorial combats became increasingly politicized as ambitious politicians in Rome during the late republic often waited to present a *munus* until a politically more opportune time, typically when in office as aedile.<sup>69</sup> For example, in 65 BC as aedile, Caesar presented a *munus* in memory of his father who had died 20 years earlier, and in 52 BC with Pompey in ascendancy, Caesar again announced a *munus*, this time in memory of his daughter Julia who had died two years earlier.<sup>70</sup> Aware of the popularity such spectacles engendered, Augustus took steps to control their presentation. In 22 BC, he transferred responsibility for the production and presentation of the official *ludi* from the aediles and consuls to the praetors and stipulated that they were to be given a subvention from the state to cover partial costs of the games, the balance being their own responsibility.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps at this same time he also required two of the praetors, drawn by lot, to provide an annual *munus*, though again they were given a sum from the state treasury.<sup>72</sup> He did not ban private *munera*, but seems to have limited their size and frequency and required those presenting to seek senatorial

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<sup>68</sup> Tert. *De Spect.* 12.1; cf. Serv. *Ad Aen.* 10.519; Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 23. Futrell 1997, especially 205-210, has argued most strongly in favour of *munera* as a form of commuted human sacrifice. But see Ville, *La gladiature*, 9-19; and Potter 1999, 305-306.

<sup>69</sup> The aediles were charged with the organization and financing of the *ludi*, to which they could add the *munus* in remembrance of their father. For the funerary pretext of many known *munera* of the late republic, see Ville, *La gladiature*, 78-81.

<sup>70</sup> 65 BC: Plin. *HN* 33.16.40; Plut. *Caes.* 6.5; Suet. *Jul.* 10.2; Dio 37.8.1. Although he had planned to give an unprecedented 320 gladiators over a span of fifteen to twenty days, his rivals in the senate passed a law limiting the possible numbers of gladiators which could be brought into the city. 52 BC: Suet. *Jul.* 26.3.

<sup>71</sup> Dio 54.2.3-4.

<sup>72</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 119-121. Ville deduces this from Dio Cass. 55.31.4 and 59.14.2; cf. Baltrusch 1988, 336-337, and Edmondson 1996, 79.

approval.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, by the early principate, gladiatorial combats had come to be presented primarily in association with *venationes* and executions. T. Wiedemann has understood these supplementary spectacles to add to the overall significance of the arena:

The arena was the place where civilisation confronted nature, in the shape of beasts which represented a danger to humanity; and where social justice confronted wrongdoing, in the shape of the criminals who were to be executed there; and where the Roman empire confronted its enemies, in the persons of the captured prisoners of war who were killed or were forced to kill one another in the arena.<sup>74</sup>

Both the might and the civilizing mission of Rome were affirmed in the spectacles associated with gladiatorial combat.<sup>75</sup> A. Wallace-Hadrill has noted that the only Roman theory for the chaos of the late republic was a moral one: the corruption of traditional Roman *mores*.<sup>76</sup> The Augustan solution was not strictly political, but rather aimed at the correction of Roman *mores*. Part of this programme may have been in the institutionalization of gladiatorial combat, repository of traditional Roman military *virtus*.

During the empire, gladiatorial combats and their associated spectacles became part of the celebrations of the imperial cult, especially outside of the capital. Because so closely associated with the presentation of these spectacles throughout the empire, the emperor inserted himself into the lives of the people in a most memorable way. When expressed, the explicitly stated reason for these combats was *pro salute principis*: for the health of the emperor. For example, a painted advertisement from Pompeii for upcoming gladiatorial combats explains that they are to be given *pro salute Domus Aug(ustae)*

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<sup>73</sup> Dio 54.2.3-4; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 121-122; Edmondson 1996, 80 n. 45; and generally Veyne 1990, 387-537.

<sup>74</sup> Weidemann 1992, 46. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 391-393; and Clavel-Lévêque 1984a, 71. On public executions, see Coleman 1990; and Slater 1995a.

<sup>75</sup> See Bouley 1994 for a discussion of the arena and Rome's civilizing mission. For the presence of barbarians in the arena, see especially Maurin 1984. Cf. Hornum 1993 for the role of Nemesis.

<sup>76</sup> Wallace-Hadrill 1997, 7-10.

*gl(adiatorum) par(ia)*.<sup>77</sup> Similarly, gladiatorial combats in the East were given ὑπὲρ ὑγείας (καὶ σωτηρίας etc.) αὐτοκράτορος.<sup>78</sup> The giving of spectacles *pro salute* recalls the regular *vota annua pro rei publicae salute* of the republic and the subsequent and related *vota pro salute principis* of the empire.<sup>79</sup> Also during the empire, we find men taking personal vows to forfeit their lives in order to protect or preserve the life of the emperor. Dio Cassius records that in 27 BC a certain Sextus Pacuvius (or Apudius) devoted himself to Augustus (ἑαυτόν...καθωσίωσε) and urged others to do likewise.<sup>80</sup> Suetonius relates that when Caligula fell ill, some volunteered to fight as gladiators for his health (*pro salute*) and others volunteered even to die in his place.<sup>81</sup> The idea that one should offer his life to preserve that of the emperor was conceived as a form of *devotio*. Antinous, for example, was believed by some to have drowned himself as a *devotio* for Hadrian: *aliis eum devotum pro Hadriano adserentibus*.<sup>82</sup> H.S. Versnel has suggested that the free and even elite men who volunteered to fight as gladiators may have been motivated partially by *devotio*, citing the measure of Claudius recorded by Dio Cassius that *munera* were no longer to be given ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας.<sup>83</sup> With respect to *devotio*, however, there is an interesting, explanatory point made by Livy in connection

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<sup>77</sup> *CIL* IV 1196 = Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, no. 36. Cf. *CIL* II 1305; *CIL* IV 1180; 1194; *CIL* VIII 7969; 8324; *CIL* X 4670; *CIL* XIV 2080. See especially Fishwick 1987-92, 393.

<sup>78</sup> See Chapter 4.5. Context.

<sup>79</sup> Regular *vota pro salute rei publicae* were taken on 1 January when the new magistrates took office. During the first century AD, the *salus publica* came to be equated with the *salus principis*. Consider Plin. *Ep.* 10.35: *sollemnia vota pro incolumitate tua, qua publica salus continetur...suscepimus*. Cf. Daly 1950; Reynolds 1962; and Versnel 1993, especially 221-227.

<sup>80</sup> Dio Cass. 53.20.2. Dio goes on to note that those appealing to the emperor even in his day said, σοὶ καθωσίωμεθα: "We have dedicated ourselves to you".

<sup>81</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 14.2: *non defuerunt qui depugnatueros se armis pro salute aegri quique capita sua titulo proposito voverent*: "Some vowed that they would fight (as gladiators) with arms for his health, and vowed their lives on a posted placard". Cf. Dio Cass. 59.8.3.

<sup>82</sup> *SHA Hadr.* 14: "others claim that he devoted himself for Hadrian". Cf. Dio Cass. 69.11.

<sup>83</sup> Versnel 1993, 221-227. Dio Cass. 60.5.6.

with the devotion of the elder Decius. Livy states that a Roman commander need not devote himself, but that he could instead devote a Roman citizen as a substitute:

Illud adiciendum videtur, licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta civem devovere.<sup>84</sup>

This soldier, furthermore, need not die in the battle; if he does die, all is well (*probe factum videri*), but if he survives, an image of the soldier was to be buried. In this light, gladiators who fought in *munera* given *pro salute principis* by a priest of the imperial cult may have served a similar role as devoted substitutes. Much like the devoted legionary entering the battle, the gladiator risked his life in single combat in a public display of extreme courage and martial ability, that is, in a demonstration of ideal Roman military virtues. But also like the devoted legionary he did not have to die in the fight. The gladiator, then, should not be seen as a human sacrificial victim, whatever ritual significance may have been attached to the combat itself and the values presented in it. This is not to say that death was not associated with the *munera* given in connection with the imperial cult. Indeed, animals were slain in the *venatio*, criminals were executed, often in unusual and spectacular ways, and gladiators were occasionally killed in fighting or by the order of the *munerarius* and assembled crowd.<sup>85</sup> But the gladiators were there to present the spectators with examples of perfect martial ability; the very real risk of death was necessary for the demonstration of bravery.

While undoubtedly an exciting, engaging, and emotionally charged spectacle, gladiatorial combat probably had a variety of different meanings for different people. For many Romans, the spectacle was an edifying demonstration of traditional Roman military

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<sup>84</sup> Livy 8.10.11: "It seems proper to add here that the consul, dictator, and praetor who devotes the enemy forces does not need to devote himself, but may devote a citizen whom he chooses from a regularly enlisted Roman legion". Cf. Futrell 1997, 193.

<sup>85</sup> Merkelbach 1975, 133-136, has explained *munera* as the ritual expression of the emperor's authority and control over life and death, demonstrated *ad oculos*.

values; for others, it had a sacrificial nature, which somehow was meant to safeguard the health of the emperor; and for others, the spectacle's primary importance was pure entertainment.<sup>86</sup> But although open to a variety of personal interpretations, the widespread appeal of the spectacle brought about solidarity among the spectators even without a consensus of opinion agreeing on its meaning.<sup>87</sup>

While entertainment and education may be the most obvious aspect of the presentation, it also had a distinct social dimension; individuals watching gladiatorial combat may have comprised a larger, collective presence, and fostered a reassuring sense of membership in a group.<sup>88</sup> In the later Empire, Augustine's friend, Alypius, was persuaded to attend a *munus* against his better judgment. At first he kept his eyes tightly shut and himself apart from the crowd (*adereo atque absens*, he says), but when the roar of the spectators weakened his resolve, he opened his eyes, took in the sight, and became one with the mob: *unus de turba*.<sup>89</sup> Seating arrangements at performances in the theatre and spectacles were regulated following a general pattern of diminishing importance away from the stage or arena to represent the hierarchical social structure of Roman society, from the emperor at the top to women and the lowest ranks of society.<sup>90</sup> According to Suetonius, the scheme was especially the result of Augustan social reforms and satisfied

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<sup>86</sup> Consider Echion's views in Petron. *Sat.* 45. Echion does not trouble himself with theoretical interpretations of the arena performances, but rather wanted to see good and bloody fights. See Wistrand 1992, 24.

<sup>87</sup> See Kertzer 1983, 63. He notes that symbols appeal to a wide variety of people who may have very different concepts of what they mean. Cf. Truesdell 1997, 6-7.

<sup>88</sup> See especially Plass 1995, 17: "public events are programs, acts of social communication with a distinctly social significance of their own".

<sup>89</sup> August. *Conf.* 6.8: *et non erat iam ille, qui venerat, sed unus de turba, ad quam venerat, et verus eorum socius, a quibus adductus erat*: "And he was now not that man who had come, but became one of the mob to which he had come, and indeed a companion of those who had brought him".

<sup>90</sup> See Kolendo 1981; Rawson 1987; and Edmondson 1996. Kolendo 1981, 302 notes that proximity to the *editor* of games was also significant.

Roman moral sensibilities.<sup>91</sup> The *nobiles*, senators and *equites*, occupied the best seats, but other subgroups in society were afforded their own *cunei* or sections, and all present were differentiated by dress and certain privileges, such as permission to use seat cushions or sun hats.<sup>92</sup> The *munus* was not mere entertainment, although it was that too, but also united the community as active participants both in the presence of perfect Roman martial virtues and in the representation of Rome's civilizing mission. But more, the people in the *cavea* surrounding the spectacle were themselves a representation of the structure and mutual social relationships binding Roman society together.

The importance of the gladiator in demonstrating key Roman virtues explains the ambiguity of the social position of the gladiator in Roman society.<sup>93</sup> As is evident in the passages from Pliny and Cicero quoted above, the gladiator was *infamis*. Most gladiators were drawn from the lowest ranks of society: from prisoners of war, criminals, slaves, and the poor who had sold themselves into the profession and symbolically left Roman society to perform in the arena. Yet with training and dedication, such men could become exemplars of perfect Roman military virtues and achieve great popularity.<sup>94</sup> As long as they demonstrated these values, they had the approval, even the admiration of the Roman people, and could win their lives and freedom.<sup>95</sup> But cowardice, a lack of discipline, or a lack of skill were the betrayal of these Roman virtues and an insult to the spectators: such

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<sup>91</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 44: *spectandi confusissimum ac solutissimum morem correxit ordinavitque*: "he corrected and organized the disorderly and haphazard custom of watching spectacles". Cf. Zanker 1988, 151. It was a sign of Caligula's madness that he allowed disorganized and chaotic seating: see Jos. *AJ* 19.1.13 and Suet. *Calig.* 26.

<sup>92</sup> Clavel-Lévêque 1986, 2540 notes that the *nobiles* were over-represented in the *cavea*, thereby enhancing their prominence. Gunderson 1996, 126 adds that this prominence helped to establish who the *nobiles* were during the empire when senators and *equites* were increasingly drawn from the provinces rather than from traditional Roman patrician families.

<sup>93</sup> A primary concern of both Barton 1993 and Wiedemann 1992; cf. also Ville, *La gladiature*, 344.

<sup>94</sup> See Chapter 2.9. Social Status.

<sup>95</sup> Brown 1992, 202, notes that it was courage not *pathos* that won a gladiator his *missio*.

gladiators were despised and would not be saved.<sup>96</sup> The arena thus presents an odd situation in which non-Roman outsiders are trained to demonstrate perfect Roman military virtues, and therein lies the ambiguity of their social situation.

Roman gladiatorial combat was not a desperate and chaotic spectacle of killing and dying. While certainly dangerous and very possibly fatal, gladiatorial combats were fought by well-trained, professionals in a display (ideally) of perfect martial virtues: skill with arms, unflinching courage, and strict discipline. The spectacle was not meant for the dead but for the living. The ever-present danger only served to underline the seriousness of the spectacle. The spectacle of these martial values served as *exempla* of the values at the heart of what it meant to be a Roman.

## 1.2. GREEK MONOMACHIA

### HEROIC SINGLE COMBAT

As will be seen in subsequent chapters, much of the technical terminology associated with gladiatorial combats was simply transliterated from Latin into Greek, especially by the gladiators themselves.<sup>97</sup> The primary exception to this general rule is the use of the terms *μονομάχος* and *μονομαχία* to mean "gladiator" and "gladiatorial combat" in the Greek East.<sup>98</sup> The *Histories* of Polybius written in the mid-second century BC record the earliest attestations of *μονομαχία* and its cognates specifically to signify gladiatorial combat, although it is doubtful that Polybius himself initiated this new signification, for the Greeks in the western Mediterranean may have become familiar with the gladiation perhaps even

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<sup>96</sup> See Petron. *Sat.* 45 for Echion's reaction to the poor quality gladiators provided by Norbanus. Cf. Barton 1989, 8; Barton 1993, 22-23; and Plass 1995, 21.

<sup>97</sup> See Chapter 2.2. Terminology and Chapter 3.2. Terminology.

<sup>98</sup> The use of these terms, however, was largely confined to the upper classes; the gladiators themselves preferred to use more technically exact terms, such as *σεκούτωρ* or *ρήτιάριος*, although *πύκτης* for gladiator and *πυγμή* for gladiatorial combat were borrowed from Greek athletics, specifically boxing. See Chapter 2.2. Terminology.



before 264 BC.<sup>99</sup> Significantly, Polybius also uses *μονομαχία* and its cognates to refer to single combat *in battle* or as a prelude to battle, the original signification of the term as earlier writers, such as Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato, and Herodotus, had employed the terms.<sup>100</sup> The use of established Greek terminology to express and describe a Roman institution requires the existence of a Greek institution or concept which the Greeks themselves considered to be equivalent or comparable to the Roman one in question.<sup>101</sup> That is to say, in Roman gladiation the Greeks saw an institution which they recognized, however vaguely. Gladiatorial combat was referred to as *μονομαχία*—and so the gladiator as *μονομάχος*—because of its similarity to single combat in battle, a phenomenon rare in the Greek experience of war, but nevertheless familiar especially from the Homeric epics and other tales from the heroic age.

Although Homer does not use the term *μονομαχία*, it nevertheless essentially describes the combat between two warriors which he especially celebrated. A great warrior was expected to distinguish himself as an individual champion by defeating a suitable opponent in battle before both his companions and the enemy. This ostentatious demonstration of his courage and military prowess demonstrated his status as an aristocrat. When Diomedes met Glaucus in the front of the battle, Glaucus told the Achaean hero that his father had sent him to Troy to be always the bravest, to be preeminent among men and not to bring shame on his ancestors: αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων / μηδὲ γένος πατέρων αἰσχυνέμεν.<sup>102</sup> These were ideals

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<sup>99</sup> Polyb. 30.25.5; 30.26.1; 31.28.5. He uses *μονομαχία* and its cognates to refer to the spectacle of gladiatorial combat without explanation, as if he expected his readers to have understood this specific sense: see, for example, 31.28.5: βουλομένου γὰρ τᾶδελοφου (i.e. Scipio's brother, Fabius) *μονομαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν*: "For his brother wished to present gladiatorial combat at his father's funeral".

<sup>100</sup> Polyb. 1.45.9; 3.62.5; 6.54.4; 35.5.1. Aesch. *Sept.* 798; Eurip. *Heracl.* 819; *Phoen.* 1220, 1300, 1325, 1363; Aristophanes *Phoenician Women* fr. 558 (quoted by Ath. 4.154E); Pl. *Cra.* 391E; Hdt. 5.1, 5.8, 6.92, 7.104, 9.26 (bis), 9.27. Cf. Chapter 3.2. Terminology.

<sup>101</sup> Magie 1905, 2, defines this process as *comparatio*.

<sup>102</sup> *Il.* 6.208-209.

which Diomedes respected and which Homer immortalized. The hero embodied excellence (ἀρετή) in his life and deeds, most notably in single combat in battle. Homer also describes single combat as a type of competition: at the funeral games for Patroclus, Achilles proposed that the arms stripped from Sarpedon be shared between the two best warriors who fought with one another in a contest of arms:

ἄνδρε δύο περὶ τῶνδε κελεύομεν, ὧ περ ἀρίστω,  
τεύχεα ἔσσαμένω, ταμείχροα χαλκὸν ἐλόντα,  
ἀλλήλων προπάροιθεν ὀμίλου πειρηθῆναι.<sup>103</sup>

The fight was not to the death, but a competition in arms to be fought until one drew blood. Ajax and Diomedes stepped forward and fought until those gathered stopped the fight for fear of Ajax's life. Single combat in battle and as a form of competition continued to be held in esteem by later generations. Shortly before the battle of Plataea, for example, Herodotus reports an argument that arose between the Athenians and the Tegeans over which city should have the honour of holding the left wing. The Tegeans based their claim to the honoured position on the victory in single combat of their mythical king Echemus over Hyllus, the leader of the invading Heracleidae, a victory which had saved the Peloponnese. The Athenians successfully countered that their entire city had fought singly and turned back the invading Persians at Marathon.<sup>104</sup> Other examples of funerary combats are known from the historic period: Herodotus reports that at the funeral games of a Thracian leader the most prestigious awards were offered for victory in single combat,<sup>105</sup> and Diyllus of Athens, cited by Athenaeus, says that the Macedonian king Cassander (in 317 BC) organized a contest of single combat at the funeral of the king

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<sup>103</sup> *Il.* 23.802-4: "We invite two men, the best among you, to contend for these prizes, let them put on their armour and take up the flesh-rending bronze weapons, and try one another before the host". For the whole episode, see *Il.* 23.798-825.

<sup>104</sup> *Hdt.* 9.26-27. In Tegea, Pausanias saw a memorial to Echemus and a stele with the fight carved on it (*Paus.* 8.53). Plutarch, *Mor.* 858, praises the single combat fought between the Athenian Phrynon and the Mytilenaeon Pittacus over possession of Sigeum and Achilleum.

<sup>105</sup> *Hdt.* 5.8: τὰ μέγιστα ἀεθλα τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μονομαχίης.

and queen which four soldiers entered.<sup>106</sup> For the Greeks, the concept of single combat summoned images of heroic single combat from the remote Greek past and the noble ideals celebrated by Homer. Yet, although the Greeks continued to admire the glorious deeds celebrated in the epics, their own opportunity to distinguish themselves in single combat vanished with the development and success of phalanx tactics.<sup>107</sup>

In the late eighth century at the earliest, the new, mass formations of heavily armed troops—hoplites—replaced the aristocratic champions of the earlier period. The hoplites were drawn from the peasant class which had become wealthy enough to afford their own weapons. They fought as a unit in a tight formation several ranks deep (the phalanx) and advanced into battle behind a wall of shields and protruding spears.<sup>108</sup> The military leader was removed to the rear of the phalanx to direct the engagement in safety.<sup>109</sup> In this context, single combat was no longer possible: a soldier who did break ranks in order to fight in single combat risked not only his own life, but compromised the integrity of the entire formation and so risked the lives of all. For example, the Spartan Aristodemus is said to have acted as a madman at the battle of Plataea in 479 BC because he left the formation to fight out in front in his eagerness to die before the eyes of his comrades.<sup>110</sup> Although the Spartans agreed that he had demonstrated extreme bravery, they nevertheless voted him no honours: the battlefield was no longer the place for individual

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<sup>106</sup> Ath. 4.155A (= *FGrH* 73 fr. 1): καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνα ἔθηκεν εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν: "and he set up a contest of single combats in which four of his soldiers entered". The funeral was that of Arridaeus and Eurydice, murdered by the orders of Olympias, as well as of Cynna, the mother of Eurydice. All three were buried in the royal tombs at Aegae. Cf. Armstrong 1950; Oakley 1985, 402-403 for other examples of post-Homeric single combat.

<sup>107</sup> Glück 1964 sees monomachy as a practice of primitive armies that disappeared with the advent of more professional and well-trained armies.

<sup>108</sup> On the development of the hoplite phalanx, see Snodgrass 1964; Snodgrass 1965; Cartledge 1977; Salmon 1977; Holladay 1982; and Cawkwell 1989.

<sup>109</sup> See Garland 1975, 146-148.

<sup>110</sup> Hdt. 9.71.3: λυσιπῶντά τε καὶ ἐκλιπόντα τὴν τάξιν. Aristodemus was the sole survivor of the three hundred who fought at Thermopylae and wished to recover his honour by dying at Plataea.

acts of courage and honour that had been celebrated by Homer. Indeed, such individualistic values were now discouraged in war in favour of the corporate discipline and courage demanded by hoplite warfare.

No longer as important on the battlefield, the old aristocratic values celebrating individual honour and victory in single combat were removed to the gymnasium and to the competitive athletics practiced there.<sup>111</sup> In contrast with the contemporary hoplite battlefield, Greek athletics involved entirely individual competitions for personal honour and fame.<sup>112</sup> Pindar extols the glory which came to victors and the corresponding ignominy which befell defeated athletes, even those defeated in the Pythian games:

τέτρασι δ' ἔμπετες ὑπόθεν / σωμάτεσσι κακὰ φρονέων, / τοῖς οὔτε νόστος  
ὁμῶς / ἔπαλπος ἐν Πυθιάδι κρίθη, / οὐδὲ μολόντων παρ ματέρ' ἀμφὶ γέλως  
γλυκὺς / ὤρσεν χάριν· κατὰ λαύρας δ' ἐχθρῶν ἀπάοροι / πτώσسونτι,  
συμφορᾷ δεδαγμένοι.<sup>113</sup>

It was not how you played the game. In Greek athletic ideology, victory was all important.<sup>114</sup> Masculine and military virtues were emphasized by the athletes whose bravado often extended to the boast of "victory or death". Arrachion, for example, was so celebrated because he chose death rather than defeat at Olympia; seeing him on the point

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<sup>111</sup> See Ehrenberg 1935, 63-96; and Poliakoff 1987, 94-115, especially 114: "It could be said with greater truth that the rise of the hoplite phalanx gave impetus to organized competitive athletics than that athletics supported the phalanx; the games represent displacement of certain military impulses, not training for them". Mann 1998 agrees that the early gymnasium was not a facility for training hoplites, but rather a centre of aristocratic culture, especially aristocratic competition.

<sup>112</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 107.

<sup>113</sup> Pind. *Pyth.* 8.81-87: "You with determination fell on the bodies of four men, for whom a cheerful homecoming—comparable to yours—has not been allotted at the Pythian games, nor when they came to their mothers did pleasant laughter awaken delight; but they cower in the alleyways aloof from their enemies, stung by their misfortune". Cf. Pind. *Oi.* 8.67-71.

<sup>114</sup> Crowther 1992 has demonstrated, however, that places other than first were known in Greek athletics and other competitions. He therefore suggests that the idea that "winning was everything" is too extreme. Yet some competitions probably awarded second and perhaps lower prizes in order to attract competitors and reduce their financial risk. Furthermore, it is not necessary that the reality of Greek athletics fit precisely with its ideological substructure. For example, Greek athletes may accept a second place prize, but they were unlikely to ever mention it. Cf. Robert 1968, 186-187 for athletes who "competed well" in festivals, a clear indication that they did not win.

of surrender, his trainer, shouting, urged him even to desire death, ὡς καλὸν ἐντάφιον τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μὴ ἀπειπεῖν.<sup>115</sup> Philostratus states that one contestant was inspired by a message his trainer sent to his mother: τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὲν τεθνεῶτα ἀκούσειας, πίστευσον, εἰ δὲ ἠττώμενον, ἀπίστει.<sup>116</sup> Philo also comments on the "victory or death" ideology of Greek athletes:

παλαιστὰς οἶδα καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς πολλάκις ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ νικᾶν σπουδῆς, ἀπαγορευόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν σωμάτων, μόνη ψυχῇ διαπνέοντας ἔτι καὶ διαθλοῦντας, ἣν ἐθίσαντες καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν τῶν φοβερῶν ἐγκαρτεροῦσιν ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς. ... ἐν ἀγῶνι φασιν ἱερῶ δύο ἀθλητὰς ἰσορρόπῳ κεχρμένους ἀλκῇ, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀντιδρῶντάς τε καὶ ἀντιπάσχοντάς, μὴ πρότερον ἀπειπεῖν ἢ ἐκάτερον τελευτῆσαι ... κοτίνων χάριν σελίνων εὐκλεῆς ἀγωνισταῖς ἢ τελευτῇ.<sup>117</sup>

The epitaph of the boxer, Agathos Daemon, probably from the second century AD, indicates that later Greeks were still willing to pay the ultimate price for victory, or at least present themselves as so willing:

Ἄγαθος Δαίμων ὁ καὶ | Κάμηλος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς | ἀνὴρ πύκτης νεμεοινείκης  
ἐνθάδε πυκτεύων ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἐτελεύτα εὐξάμενος | Ζηνὶ ἢ στέφος ἦ |  
θάνατον· ἐτῶν λε΄. χαῖρε.<sup>118</sup>

Victory, especially in one of the great festivals, brought the athlete individual and everlasting glory in his home city. The gymnasium enshrined the old Homeric values of

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<sup>115</sup> Paus. 8.40; Philostr. *Imag.* 2.6. Philostr. *Gymn.* 21 records the words of his trainer: "What a noble epitaph, not to have conceded at Olympia!". Cf. Fontenrose 1968; Pleket 1976, 76-77; Brophy 1978; Segal 1984; Poliakoff 1987, 90-91; and Plass 1995, 15-16.

<sup>116</sup> Philostr. *Gymn.* 23: "Believe it if you hear that your son is dead; do not, if you hear that he has lost". Cf. Plass 1995, 183 n. 1.

<sup>117</sup> Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 17.110-113: "I know that wrestlers and pancratiasts out of love of honour and eagerness for victory—although their bodies fail, still continue and struggle on with spirit alone, which they have accustomed to despise terrors—often persevere until the end of their life. ... It is said that two athletes in a sacred contest possessed of equal strength both suffered and returned the same punishments, they neither yielded until both died ... to die for the olive or parsley is a glory to competitors".

<sup>118</sup> Published by te Riele 1964, 186-187: "Agathos Daemon, also known as the Camel, from Alexandria, a boxer in the *man* category, Nemean victor, who died here while fighting in the stadium, having prayed to Zeus for a crown (victory) or death. Age 35. Farewell". Cf. Robert 1968, 199; and Brophy & Brophy 1985, 190-194.

ἀριστεία and φιλονεικία and gave them expression in competitive athletics: αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων. Competition presented the opportunity to defeat an opponent, prove oneself an individual champion, and win the glory due a victor. Epictetus notes that athletes who withdrew from competition in the great festivals could be flogged for cowardice.<sup>119</sup> Victory in some sports, however, was often brutal and bloody.<sup>120</sup>

Violence was certainly known to traditional Greek sport, and there is some indication that violence was part of the appeal for the spectators.<sup>121</sup> Boxing and the pancratium were particularly brutal and bloody sports which commonly resulted in the disfigurement and occasional death of the athletes. Early Greek boxers wore "soft thongs" (μειλίχαι or ἱμάντες λέπτοι) which "left the fingers free to deliver a 'spear hand' finger thrust, a 'knife hand' chop or other open-hand blow, as well as to close a fist".<sup>122</sup> Using such a "spear hand", the boxer Cleomedes of Astypalaea struck his opponent, opened his side, and forced his hand inside killing him.<sup>123</sup> In the fourth century BC, boxers came to use the "sharp thongs" (ἱμάντες ὀξεῖς) of leather which were intended to cut their opponent.<sup>124</sup> Athletics also reflected the archaic values of single combat in battle more

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<sup>119</sup> Arr. *Epict.* 3.22.52, cf. Forbes 1951/2, 172. See also Polyb. 39.1.9 who expects that a cowardly boxer or pancratiast was naturally punished: δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς γέλωτα τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀφλεῖν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκ χειρὸς λαμβάνειν.

<sup>120</sup> Morgan 1975, shows that bloody cock-fights, quail-fights, and partridge-fights were more common among Greeks than Romans. The Greeks believed that cock-fighting inspired military vigour and a determination to fight to the death: see Luc. *Anach.* 37; Plut. *Mor.* 1049A; and other references in Csapo 1993.

<sup>121</sup> See, for example, Crowther 1994, who discusses the appeal of violence with respect to chariot races.

<sup>122</sup> Brophy & Brophy 1985, 181; cf. Paus. 8.40.3.

<sup>123</sup> See Theodore *Graec. aff. Cur.* 8: *De Martyribus* (Migne 83, 1017-18), quoted by Brophy & Brophy 1985, 180.

<sup>124</sup> See Poliakoff 1982, 11, 54-63 (s.v. "μύρμηξ"), and 88-100 (s.v. "σφαῖραι"); and Poliakoff 1987, 68-88. Cf. Lee 1997 who has argued that the Roman *caestus* was simply the Latin word for the Greek ἱμάντες.

directly in the violent competitions and paramilitary training practiced in the gymnasium and athletic competitions. Plutarch (reluctantly) reports that the original contests at Olympia involved single combat to the death:

δέδια δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι πάλαι καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγὼν περὶ Πίσαν ἦγετο μέχρι φόνου καὶ σφαγῆς τῶν ἠττωμένων καὶ ὑποπιπτόντων.<sup>125</sup>

The gymnasium was an important conditioning centre for Greek *neoi* and ephebes, whose exercises were intended for the development of physical fitness (εὐεξία), discipline (εὐταξία), and endurance (φιλοπονία), categories in which the young men competed with one another.<sup>126</sup> Xenophon speaks of a Spartan law which required soldiers to practice gymnastics when on campaign.<sup>127</sup> Instruction was common in archery, the javelin, and even the catapult,<sup>128</sup> as well as in the *pyrriche* (an ancient war dance)<sup>129</sup> and single combat with armour and weapons. There is evidence for combat instructors (ὄπλομάχοι or ὄπλοδιδασκαταί),<sup>130</sup> and for competitive events or exercises in armour, such as the ὄπλιτόδρομος, a race in full or partial hoplite arms,<sup>131</sup> and the ὄπλομαχία and

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<sup>125</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 675c: "I am afraid to say that in older times at Pisa a contest of single combat was carried to the point of murder and slaughter of the defeated and fallen men". Cf. Segal 1984.

<sup>126</sup> Forbes 1933; Gauthier & Hatzopoulos 1993, 99-100, 114-115; Crowther 1991; and Hunt 1998, 151.

<sup>127</sup> Xen. *Lac.* 12.5; cf. Hunt 1998, 151.

<sup>128</sup> The gymnasiarchal law from Beroia, for example, specifies instruction in archery and the javelin for ephebes and those under twenty-two years of age: see lines B 10-11: ἀκοντίζειν δὲ καὶ τοξεύειν μελετάωσαν οἱ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ τὰ δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν. Cf. Gauthier & Hatzopoulos 1993; Delorme 1960, 27, 275-276. Delorme has included evidence for artillery drilling with the catapult. The Boeotian Amphiaraiia - Romaia included the ἀπόβασις or ἀγὼν ἀποβατικός, an event which involved the competitors riding horses or chariots and dismounting to race or fight. The military origin of this event can be traced to Homeric practices. Cf. Mellor 1975, 169.

<sup>129</sup> For the *pyrriche*, see Borthwick 1970 and Sabbatini Tumolesi 1970.

<sup>130</sup> For ὄπλομάχοι or ὄπλοδιδασκαταί see Gardiner 1930, 25, 89; Delorme 1960, 161, 220, 275, 472. Cf. Chapter 2.4. Iconography, below p. 85-86 and 97.

<sup>131</sup> See Philostr. *Gymn.* 7, 8, and 33; Pind. *Isthm.* 1.23 (ὄπλιτης δρόμος); Paus. 6.13 (τοῦ ὄπλου δρόμος). Cf. L. Robert, *OMS* 2.758-767. An inscription from Heracleia Pontica records the victor ἀσπίδι καὶ δολίχῳ σφεῖνδόνῃ, probably a race in arms: see *I.Heraklea* no. 60b.

the *θυρεαμαχία*, contests in armed combat.<sup>132</sup> The Socratic dialogues of Plato and Xenophon refer to the existence of *hoplomachoi*, itinerant teachers of martial skills and tactics,<sup>133</sup> and although they both dismiss them as charlatans, Plato does provide for the teaching of *hoplomachia* in the gymnasia of his ideal state.<sup>134</sup> The *hoplomachus* as a weapons instructor continued well into the Roman period. In the fourth century AD, Firmicus Maternus wrote about the astrological conditions which would bring about the birth of a *hoplomachus*:

si vero Mercurio et Marti testimonium defuerit Veneris, oplomachi nascentur, aut palaestrae aut athletarum magistri, sed qui numquam certaminibus se committant.<sup>135</sup>

The *ὄπλιτόδρομος* at Plataea celebrating the Greek victory over the Persians was the most famous and required the participants to run in full armour. The event was held in such esteem that the victor was awarded the prestigious title *ἄριστος Ἑλλήνων*, but if he re-entered the competition in a subsequent year and lost, he was to be executed.<sup>136</sup> The *θυρεαμαχία* was an event fought with a long shield (*θυρεός* / *θυρέασπις*) and a sword (*μάχαιρα* / *ξίφος*), while the *ὄπλομαχία* was fought with a round shield (*ἀσπίς*) and spear (*δόρυ*),<sup>137</sup> although the latter was a more common term and seems to have been used to refer to any armed contest in single combat. For example, an inscription from

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<sup>132</sup> See e.g. *OGIS* 339 = *I.Sestos* no. 1 lines 81 and 82: *ὄπλομαχία* by *neoi*, ephebes, and men, and *I.Erythrai* no. 81 for a *ὄπλομαχία* by ephebes. Cf. Launey 1949, 818 and 820; and for *ὄπλομαχία* and the Athenian *ephebeia*, see Pélékidis 1962, 231-232.

<sup>133</sup> See Pl. *Lach.* 179E-184C; *Euthyd.* 271B-273C; *Leg.* 833E; *Xen. Mem.* 3.1; cf. Wheeler 1982; and Wheeler 1983.

<sup>134</sup> Pl. *Leg.* 813D-E and 833E.

<sup>135</sup> Firm. Mat. *Math.* 7.26.3: "If the sign of Venus is absent from Mercury and Mars, then *hoplomachi* will be born, instructors of the palaestra or of athletes, but who never commit themselves to contest".

<sup>136</sup> See Robert 1937, 141-142.

<sup>137</sup> Gardiner 1930, 25 describes the *ὄπλομαχία* a harmless contest in the use of arms, such as modern fencing, cf. Delorme 1960, 27, 183, and 275-276.



Athens records a victor for both ὄπλομαχῶν ἐν ἀσπιδίῳ καὶ δόρατι and ὄπλομαχῶν ἐν θυρεῷ καὶ μαχαίρᾳ.<sup>138</sup> An inscription from Ephesus from the second century AD reports the existence of {καιδι}ᾶ ἐφηβική, perhaps, if correctly restored, a Greek version of the Latin *lusus iuvenalis*.<sup>139</sup> H. Pleket describes the Hellenistic and Roman period gymnasium thus:

In the para-military atmosphere of the gymnasium and in the athletic contests, which were adorned with the old warrior's ideology, the leisure class reenacted the civilization of the archaic warriors who did not bother about production but lived as gentlemen of leisure, i.e. as warriors on the battlefield and as athletes between battles.<sup>140</sup>

Homeric ideals were now played out in the gymnasium and in competitive festivals.<sup>141</sup> This agonistic spirit which had its roots in the Greek heroic age maintained much of its martial origins.

The gymnasium and agonistic festivals were the institutions through which Greek athletics were practiced and the ideology at the heart of athletics celebrated. Greek athletes, with their overriding emphasis on victory and the eternal glory obtained in victory, exhibited the values of the heroic warrior. This agonistic spirit which had its roots in the Greek heroic age of mythology played an important part in the perception of Greekness.<sup>142</sup> While the gymnasium may have originated as a training centre for the new

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<sup>138</sup> *IG* II, 2, 957. Cf. *IG* II, 2, 960 lists a Roman as victor ὄπλομαχῶν τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας ἐν ἀσπιδίῳ καὶ δόρατι. *SIG* 1061 from Samos lines 11-12 lists a victor in both ὄπλομαχία and θυρεαμαχία.

<sup>139</sup> *I.Ephesos* no. 1145; see Pleket 1969, 294-298.

<sup>140</sup> Pleket 1976, 78.

<sup>141</sup> Homer's *Iliad* in particular and the heroic age which it celebrates held a central position in Greek culture, much as the Bible formed the centre of mediaeval European thought. For the importance of the Greek past, see, for example, Bowie 1970; and cf. Introduction I.2. Cultural Identity.

<sup>142</sup> J. Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte* IV (1898-1902, republished Darmstadt, 1977) 82-117. Burckhardt described Greek society as "agonistic", a description which has come under some attack by anthropologists who question the idea of Greek exclusivity: other societies also enjoy and promote competition. Burckhardt's dictum, however, does capture the depth of the significance of the *agon* for Greek culture. Cf. Poliakoff 1987, 104-107 and 178-179 n. 49 for discussion.

citizen armies,<sup>143</sup> M. Poliakoff among others argued that athletics in general offered little for military preparedness beyond physical fitness, and even the paramilitary activities, such as the *ὄπλομαχία* or *θυρεαμαχία*, served more to celebrate Greek tradition than to prepare soldiers for the phalanx.<sup>144</sup> In his *Anacharsis*, Lucian has Solon describe the greater values of physical training and competition:

ταῦτα ἤδη σοι διέξειμι, ὡς μάθοις οὐτινος χάριν τὰς ἀσκήσεις ταύτας προτεθείκαμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ διαπνεῖν τὸ σῶμα καταναγκάζομεν· οὐ μόνον ἔνεκα τῶν ἀγῶνων, ὅπως τὰ ἄθλα δύναιτο ἀναιρεῖσθαι—ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν γὰρ ὀλίγοι πάνυ ἐξ ἀπάντων χωροῦσιν—ἀλλὰ μείζον τι ἀπάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἐκ τούτου καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις προσκτώμενοι. κοινὸς γὰρ τις ἀγὼν ἄλλος ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πολίταις πρόκειται καὶ στέφανος οὐ πίτυος οὐδὲ κοτίνου ἢ σελίνων, ἀλλ' ὅς ἐν αὐτῷ συλλαβῶν ἔχει τὴν ἀνθρώπου εὐδαιμονίαν, οἷον ἐλευθερίαν λέγω αὐτοῦ τε ἐκάστου ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἑορτῶν πατρίων ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ οἰκείων σωτηρίαν, καὶ συνόλως τὰ κάλλιστα ὧν ἂν τις εὐξαιτο γενέσθαι οἱ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν.<sup>145</sup>

During the extended peace and security of the Roman Empire, authors like Dio Chrysostom or Plutarch urged their Greek compatriots away from the models of military glory to be found in their past, in events such as Marathon and Plataea, and instead towards more peaceful models.<sup>146</sup> For such men, military values had become largely irrelevant: *καιρὸς οὐκ ἔστι τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν εἰρήνῃ διάγετε*, said Dio to the

<sup>143</sup> Delorme 1960, 24-27, and 275-276. Delorme argues that the paramilitary events were a holdover from the gymnasium's original function as a training centre for the new citizen soldiers.

<sup>144</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 99-103; cf. earlier Forbes 1933, 50-52 who denies that the paramilitary contests (*hoplomachia* etc) engaged in by the *neoi* had any military significance. But see, for example, *I.Sestos*, 25-29 where J. Krauss 25-29 argues that the the gymnasium was in origin a centre for hoplite training.

<sup>145</sup> Lucian *Anach.* 15: "I shall now explain to you so that you may understand why we prescribe these exercises for them and why we compel them to train their bodies: it is not only on account of the contests, so that they may be able to take the prizes—very few from the whole number are able to do that—but because we seek a certain greater good from this for the entire city and for those young men themselves. For there is another competition open to all good citizens and a wreath not of pine or olive or parsley, but which collected in itself holds all human happiness, that is to say, freedom for each person himself and for the city collectively, wealth, fame, enjoyment of ancestral feast days, and the safety for one's family, altogether the best things which one could pray to have from the gods".

<sup>146</sup> See, for example, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 44.11-12; Plut. *Mor.* 814B-C.

Rhodians.<sup>147</sup> Yet, during the third century invasions, it was often Greek citizens who stood alone and defended their cities, as did Dexippos and two thousand fellow Athenians in AD 267/8 against the invading Herulian forces.<sup>148</sup> Similarly, the *neaniskoi* (young men) at Apollonia in Caria were involved in rural patrols, probably to protect against bandits.<sup>149</sup> Many Greeks had clearly maintained an ability to fight throughout the extended peace of the *pax Romana*.

Single combat was familiar to the Greeks not only from their mythology and history as the prestigious undertaking of individual champions, but also more immediately from the gymnasium, where the individualistic values maintained by athletes reflected their heroic origin, and where Greeks could and did practice and engage in competitive single combats, notably the *ὄπλομαχία* and the *θυρεαμαχία*. The similarity between Greek concepts of single combat and Roman gladiation could even result in confusion between the two institutions. Thus Athenaeus in his discussion of the origins of Roman gladiatorial combats could compare gladiatorial bouts to the single combat of "the good old days":

ὄτε δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔνδοξοι καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἐμονομάχουν καὶ ἐκ προκλήσεως τοῦτ' ἐποίουν ἐν ἄλλοις εἰρήκαμεν.<sup>150</sup>

He then connects a statement made by Hermippus, who said that the Mantineans had invented *μονομαχία*, with a passage from Ephorus, who said that the Mantineans and Arcadians used to practice the arts of war diligently and had engaged in regular *ὄπλομαχία*. Athenaeus also notes that Aristophanes characterized the combat between

<sup>147</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.104: "this is not the time for such things, you live in a time of peace".

<sup>148</sup> For discussion, see Millar 1969. Dexippos led the counter-attack after Athens had been captured by the Herulian forces. Cf. the similar role of the *iuvenes* at Saldae in Mauretania who apparently helped repel invading raiders who operated in the region c. AD 289-291. See Jacznowska 1978, 60; for the inscription, see *AE* 1928 no. 28 = Jacznowska 1978, 107 no. 223 = Ginestet 1991, 266 no. 241.

<sup>149</sup> See Kleijwegt 1991, 94-95. Kleijwegt here notes that it is reasonable to assume a direct link between *neaniskoi* or ephebes and the local security forces especially in mountainous areas.

<sup>150</sup> Ath. 4.155A: "I have already explained in another passage that prominent men and military commanders used to fight in single combat and that they did this in answer to a challenge".

Eteocles and Polyneices as a μονομαχία.<sup>151</sup> For Athenaeus, the institution of regular instruction in arms training (όπλομαχία) among the Mantineans supports the claim that they invented not only μονομαχία, but also gladiatorial combat. It is notable also that in discussions of Roman gladiatorial combats Dio Cassius writing in the early third century often uses όπλομαχία and its cognates synonymously with μονομαχία.<sup>152</sup>

The single combat of two gladiators was a concept familiar to the Greeks both from Homeric stories of the heroic age and more directly from their own experiences in the gymnasium, where single combat survived directly in armed contests, such as the όπλομαχία and the θυρεαμαχία, and the values behind heroic single combat indirectly in *agones* of all types.

### 1.3. FIRST CONTACTS

The first reported presentation of Roman gladiatorial combats in the Greek East is that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes at Daphne in the autumn of 166 BC. According to Polybius, the Seleucid king presented 240 pairs of gladiators as part of an extraordinary festival in honour of Apollo Archegetes.<sup>153</sup> The festival was introduced by a spectacular demonstration of the considerable wealth and military might of the Seleucid Empire, which was paraded in the opening *pompe*.<sup>154</sup> Following soldiers outfitted in the arms of various peoples, including five thousand in Roman arms, marched 240 pairs of gladiators.<sup>155</sup> The

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<sup>151</sup> Ath. 4.154D; Hermippus *FHG* 3.36; Ephorus *FHG* 1.126; Aristophanes *Phoenician Women* fr. 558 (which is in imitation of Eur. *Phoen.* 1363). Cf. Wheeler 1982.

<sup>152</sup> See for example Dio Cass. 54.2.3-4; 55.8; 59.14; and 60.17.9.

<sup>153</sup> Polyb. 30.25.1-26.1 (quoted by Ath. 5.194c-195f; cf. Diod. Sic. 31.16; Val. Max. 2.7.13). Cf. Walbank 1979, 448-453. For the date, see Bunge 1974, 50 n. 45; Walbank suggests the summer of 166 BC.

<sup>154</sup> Polybius reports that Antiochus presented a glorious triumphal festival in competition with Aemilius Paullus who had done so at Amphipolis the year before to celebrate his victory over Perseus at Pydna: Polyb. 30.25.1 = Ath. 194c; cf. Walbank 1979, 449.

<sup>155</sup> Polyb. 30.25.5 = Ath. 194D: οἷς ἐπηκολούθει μονομάχων ζεύγη διακόσια τεσσαράκοντα.

spectacle lasted for thirty days and included traditional Greek competitions, gladiatorial combats, and wild beast fights.<sup>156</sup>

The number of the gladiators involved—480 altogether—perhaps causes some concern, for known contemporary *munera* in Rome were much smaller: in 216 BC, the sons of M. Aemilius Lepidus offered 22 pairs of gladiators; in 200 BC, the sons of Valerius Laevinus presented 25 pairs, and in 174 BC, 74 gladiators fought in the *munus* given by T. Flamininus for his deceased father.<sup>157</sup> In 65 BC Caesar assembled 320 gladiators whom he planned to present over a span of fifteen to twenty days, but his rivals in the senate passed a law limiting the possible numbers of gladiators which could be brought into the city.<sup>158</sup> One hundred years after the spectacle at Daphne and during the competitive late republic, the size of known *munera* in Rome itself had not yet reached the magnitude of Antiochus' reported display. Furthermore, the combats at Daphne are the first gladiatorial combats not presented in a funerary context,<sup>159</sup> and perhaps the first to be associated with wild beast hunts (κυνηγέσια), two features of gladiation not common in Rome until the late republic or early principate. Because of the extraordinary nature of this spectacle, L.M. Günther has argued that this passage from Polybius, which is preserved by Athenaeus, is in fact corrupt, and that the reference to 240 pairs of gladiators was inserted into the text at some later time in antiquity, became commonly accepted and then repeated uncritically by Athenaeus.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Polyb. 30.26.1 = Ath. 195c: ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγῶνων καὶ μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίῳ κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας. Robert does not discuss this passage from Polybius in *Gladiateurs* and in 1946a, 149 only mentions that he forgot it.

<sup>157</sup> M. Aemilius Lepidus: Livy, 23.30.15; Valerius Laevinus: Livy, 31.50.4; T. Flamininus: Livy, 41.28.11. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 43.

<sup>158</sup> Plin. *HN* 33.16.40; Plut. *Caes.* 6.5; Suet. *Jul.* 10.2; Dio 37.8.1. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 89-90.

<sup>159</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 50.

<sup>160</sup> Günther 1989. Günther also argues here, with reference to Baltrusch 1988, that the close military association which the gladiators seem to have at Daphne did not arise in a Roman context until 105 BC. On Athenaeus' poor reputation as an epitomator, see Sharpes & Minter 1983.

But perhaps we need not be so extreme. Livy reports that Antiochus had previously introduced the spectacle of gladiatorial combat to Syria, although he says nothing about associated *venationes*:

spectaculorum quoque omnis generis magnificentia superiores reges vicit, reliquorum sui moris et copia Graecorum artificum. gladiatorum munus Romanae consuetudinis, primo maiore cum terrore hominum, insuetorum ad tale spectaculum, quam voluptate dedit. deinde saepe dando et modo vulneribus tenus, modo sine missione, etiam et familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit et armorum studium plerisque iuvenum accendit. itaque qui primo ab Roma magnis pretiis paratos gladiatores arcersere solitus erat, iam suo....<sup>161</sup>

The text breaks off here, but the sense is clear; Antiochus no longer needed to send to Rome for gladiators but rather was able to provide them from among his own people. According to Livy, the Roman custom initially terrified the Syrian people, but repeated exposure to the spectacle bought acceptance and inspired in the youth (the *iuvenes*) an enthusiasm for arms: *armorum studium*, with the implied result that Antiochus soon found enough volunteer gladiators that he no longer had to import expensive professionals from Rome. A supply of eager local talent perhaps explains how he came to have 480 μονομάχοι.

Were these "μονομάχοι" Roman *gladiatores*? According to Livy, it was the youth, the *iuvenes*, who were especially motivated by the sight of gladiatorial combats to practice arms, and it is implied that it was these same *iuvenes* formed the basis of his volunteer fighters. The natural setting for their practice with arms in single combat was the gymnasium, where the Greek traditions and values of single combat were maintained,

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<sup>161</sup> Livy 41.20.10-13: "Also the splendour of his shows of every type surpassed those of previous kings, his other spectacles given according to Greek traditions with an abundance of Greek artists. He gave a gladiatorial *munus* in the Roman fashion which at first gave greater terror than pleasure to people unaccustomed to such a spectacle. Then by giving it more frequently, sometimes fighting only until the first wounds, other times fighting *sine missione*, he even accustomed their eyes to the spectacle and made it pleasing and roused an enthusiasm for arms in most of the young men. And so he who had at first been accustomed to bring trained gladiators from Rome, then his own ...". Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264 n. 1 and Ville, *La gladiature*, 50 finish the passage thus: *iam suo e regno voluntarios facile paravit gladiatores, operam ultro ad depugnandum exigua mercede offerentes*.

and where contests in arms were often fought (recall the *όπλομαχία*). Robert compares Livy's *armorum studium* with Greek *φιλόπλια*, a later expression of Greek enthusiasm for gladiatorial combat.<sup>162</sup> If Antiochus' 480 *μονομάχοι* at Daphne were in fact Greek youths who, inspired by the sight of gladiatorial combat, trained perhaps in the gymnasium to fight with arms in single combat, then the *μονομαχία* at Daphne ought to be understood instead as a display of valour and martial ability in contests of single combat by some local Greek or Syrian *neoi* or ephebes, rather than Roman gladiation *sensu stricto*. At Daphne they marched in with the soldiers presumably as free men because they represented the martial excellence of the local youth. Slaves in Antiochus' procession came towards the end. Furthermore, Livy notes that the Greco-Syrian youth were inspired by gladiatorial *munera* given in the Roman style (*gladiatorum munus Romanae consuetudinis*) which were fought either to the first wounds, *vulneribus tenus*, or at other times until a victor was declared, *sine missione*.<sup>163</sup> There is no indication that the youth, so inspired to arms, necessarily fought mortal combats. If indeed Antiochus' *μονομάχοι* were free youth, it is doubtful that they would consent in numbers to fight to the death, or that such a dangerous combat was desired by the authorities. Both *μονομαχία* and *όπλομαχία* could refer to single combat, a semantic similarity which resulted in occasional substitution of one term for the other. It is possible, therefore, that the spectacle of *μονομαχία* at Daphne was instead a form of *όπλομαχία*, that is, public contests in single combat fought by free youth who were perhaps inspired to arms by witnessing the fights of imported Roman gladiators, but who trained in the gymnasium.<sup>164</sup> The spectacle was thus a mixture

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<sup>162</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264 n. 1, cf. 24-27. See Chapter 4.4. Spectators, below p. 280-281.

<sup>163</sup> Recall that at the funeral at Patroclus, Achilles suggested the contest in arms be fought only until one was wounded: *Il.* 23.806. For the significance of *sine missione*, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>164</sup> The contemporary gymnasiarchal law from Beroia (lines B. 26-29) discusses those excluded from the gymnasium. They include slaves, freedmen and their sons, the *apalaistroi* (cripples or blind men), prostitutes, and the *agoraiai* (market people). Furthermore, possible fines levied against members of the gymnasium for various infractions indicate a membership drawn from the higher levels of society.

of Roman and Greek elements. Roman gladiation had been introduced to Syria by the philo-Roman Antiochus, but was accepted when adapted to pre-existing Greek expectations of single combat.<sup>165</sup>

The Italian community on Delos is also believed to have presented gladiatorial combats at the end of the second and beginning of the first century BC. Robert and especially N. Rauh have argued that an inscription and accompanying graffito for the gladiator M. Caecilius Epagathus dates to this time.<sup>166</sup> But there are problems in assigning this date.<sup>167</sup> The abbreviated praenomen suggests a mid-first century AD date at the earliest. Furthermore, Epagathus was clearly free (probably a freedman) while most gladiators in the late second or early first century BC were slaves or prisoners of war. At that time most gladiatorial combats were still presented in a funerary context, but Epagathus counts his victories in the same manner as do Greek gladiators from the imperial period when regular contests were fought. Epagathus enumerates his victories in Greek rather than Latin, comfortably using an abbreviation  $\nu = \nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  commonly found in inscriptions of the imperial period.<sup>168</sup> The pose and *armatura* in which Epagathus is depicted are very like those of later gladiators.<sup>169</sup> The lunate sigma letter-form used in the inscription would also suggest a date later than the late second or early

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<sup>165</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264, says that Antiochus' presentations did not mark the beginning of regular presentations in the Greek East: *il n'y a là qu'une fantaisie royale, toute personnelle, et sans lendemain*. Contra Lafaye, 1565-1566.

<sup>166</sup> No. 127: Μ. Καϊκίλιος | Ἐπάγαθος |  $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  | ἡ [Ἐ]πάγαθος | κ---. For discussion, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264; Rauh 1992, 314; repeated in Rauh 1993, 323. A drawing of the relief has been provided by Rauh in both places. Robert in fact says very little.

<sup>167</sup> The marble plaque with the inscription for Caecilius was not found in the "agora of the Italians" where Rauh seems to place it, but south of the Portico of Philip: see Roussel & Hatzfeld 1910, 417 no. 81; *J.Delos* no. 1961; and Bruneau 1995, 48.

<sup>168</sup> See Chapter 2.4. Iconography, below p. 101.

<sup>169</sup> Epagathos appears in the weapons of a *secutor*. See Chapter 2.4. Iconography, below p. 89.



first century BC.<sup>170</sup> Finally, Rauh himself asks how the authorities treated gladiatorial combats, if they did indeed take place on the island at this time, in light of the island's sacred prohibitions against bloodshed and death. It is a very good question which he does not attempt to answer.<sup>171</sup> Rauh also suggests, more tentatively, that a wall painting depicting two men in combat with spears and round shields is gladiatorial.<sup>172</sup> Instead, this is most probably a depiction of Greek *hoplomachia*, a traditional Greek *agon* typically fought with a round shield (ἀσπίς) and spear (δόρυ). Although the prosperity of Delos belongs especially to the later second and early first century BC, there is little to support the argument favouring gladiatorial combat at this time; the gladiator Epagathus is perhaps much later than this.

The Roman general L. Licinius Lucullus presented competitions of μονομάχοι at Ephesus in the winter of 71/70 BC to the apparent delight of the Greek cities, according to Plutarch:

Λούκουλλος δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν πολλῆς μὲν εὐνομίας, πολλῆς δ' εἰρήνης ἐμπεκληκῶς οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ χάριν ἡμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ πομπαῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν ἐπινικίοις καὶ ἀγῶσιν ἀθλητῶν καὶ μονομάχων ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καθήμενος ἐδημαγῶγει τὰς πόλεις.<sup>173</sup>

Lucullus' triumphal gladiatorial combats were imitated by M. Antony who had assembled gladiators in Cyzicus in preparation for his own expected victory celebrations planned to follow his engagement with Octavian's forces in 31 BC.<sup>174</sup> After Antony's defeat at Actium that September, his gladiators set out across Asia Minor in an attempt to join him

<sup>170</sup> The *eds. prin.*, Roussel & Hatzfeld 1910, 417 no. 81, note the lunate sigma; Bruneau 1995, 48 says that the script suggests an imperial date, contra Rauh 1992, 314; and Rauh 1993, 323.

<sup>171</sup> Rauh 1993, 324 n. 91.

<sup>172</sup> Rauh 1993, 324.

<sup>173</sup> Plut. *Luc.* 23.1: "Lucullus, having filled Asia with law and peace, did not neglect that which brings pleasure and thanks, but while staying in Ephesus he gratified the cities with victory celebrations and contests of athletes and of gladiators (μονομάχοι)". Cf. App. *Mith.* 83 says only that Lucullus offered victory sacrifices: ἐπινικία ἔθουεν.

<sup>174</sup> Dio Cass. 51.7.2; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 99.

in Alexandria, even defeating forces sent by Amyntas to stop them. They got as far as Syria.<sup>175</sup> These gladiators had been in Cyzicus as early as 35 BC, when they helped to turn back an assault by the forces of Sextus Pompey.<sup>176</sup> It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that these gladiators had fought in public spectacles, but for whom? There were few Roman troops in Cyzicus itself, and although the gladiators could have travelled to Antony's military camps to fight for his soldiers, they were clearly not with his forces at Actium.<sup>177</sup> During their four (or more) years in Cyzicus, these gladiators may have been presented in public spectacles attended by or specifically for Greeks, not only in Cyzicus, but in other cities in Greece and Asia Minor. Thus Plutarch says Lucullus had curried the favour of the Greek cities (ἐδημαγώγει τὰς πόλεις). Roman gladiation with its military associations may, therefore, have come to the attention of the Greeks during the first century BC especially as an adjunct of Roman victory celebrations and without the funerary context it still had in contemporary Rome. Marc Antony's brother Lucius, for example, was attacked by Cicero for fighting as a gladiator (a *myrmillo*) while in Mylasa in the mid-first century BC,<sup>178</sup> and the young Hortensius was probably similarly engaged in Laodiceia.<sup>179</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Dio Cass. 51.7.2-6; cf. Magie 1950, 444-445 and Ville, *La gladiature*, 294.

<sup>176</sup> Magie 1950, 438. App. *B.Civ.* 5.14.137 says that Pompey's forces were turned back by Antony's soldiers stationed at Cyzicus to guard his gladiators there. It is reasonable to assume that these gladiators took part in the fighting, however, given their later demonstration of extreme loyalty to Antony.

<sup>177</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 1.22 says that the Roman commander on the Rhine in AD 14 had gladiators with him in the camp.

<sup>178</sup> See Cic. *Phil.* 3.31; 5.20; 5.30; 6.10; 6.13; 12.20. Cf. the discussion by Merkelbach 1995. Merkelbach, however, overly stresses the scandal claimed by Cicero.

<sup>179</sup> In 50 BC, Cicero wrote to Atticus that Hortensius' son was behaving badly with gladiators at Laodiceia, but provides no details concerning their presence there. See Cic. *Att.* 6.3.9: *ne illud quidem praetermittam. Hortensius filius fuit Laodiceae gladiatoribus flagitiose et turpiter*: "I should not pass over this detail. The young Hortensius behaved shamefully and scandalously with gladiators in Laodiceia". Cf. Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation, above p. 34.

The first presentations of Roman gladiatorial combats by Greeks for their fellow Greek citizens occurs first in connection with the imperial cult.<sup>180</sup> The earlier cult of Roma and its corresponding festival, the Romaia, first appeared in Greek cities during the second century BC and continued until the early first century AD when it was gradually replaced by the imperial cult in honour of Augustus and other emperors. The cult of Roma, in addition to cults for individual Romans, was often attached to a local cult and a local festival.<sup>181</sup> Especially in those cities lacking a separate facility, Roma was typically worshipped in a special room in the gymnasium, as often were Hellenistic monarchs and other benefactors and later the Roman emperors.<sup>182</sup> There is no evidence, however, that the cult of Roma was ever celebrated with the presentation of gladiatorial combats.<sup>183</sup> Josephus reports that Herod the Great in Judea (d. 4 BC) constructed amphitheatres in Jerusalem and Caesarea and established a pentaeteric festival in honour of the first *princeps*. But although wild beast hunts may have been included as part of this festival, gladiatorial combats were not.<sup>184</sup> Gladiation was not yet associated with emperor cult, although it quickly came to be. Inscriptions from Thasos and Ancyra in Galatia from the early first century AD, however, indicate that gladiatorial combats were common, even if not regular, features of the early imperial cult for Augustus (see nos. 58-61, and 448).

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<sup>180</sup> F. Canelli De Rossi, *Athenaeum* 79 (1991) 647, in his review of Robert & Robert 1989, has suggested the restoration: διδασκαλία μονομάχων--- in line 2 of the fifth column of this decree for Polemaius, although he does not explain how the restored statement fits with the remaining text. The decree is loosely dated to the late second or early first century BC (Canelli De Rossi suggests a date at the time of the Mithridatic wars) when there are no parallels to support this reconstruction. With no support, this suggested restoration has not been accepted here.

<sup>181</sup> See especially Mellor 1975, 128-133; Fayer 1976; and Fishwick 1987-92, 48-55.

<sup>182</sup> See Delorme 1960, 343-346; Mellor 1975, 134; and Price 1984, 143-144.

<sup>183</sup> Mellor 1975, 173-175, contra Deininger 1965, 10 and 17.

<sup>184</sup> Jos. *AJ* 15.268-275. For the amphitheatre at Caesarea, see Jos. *AJ* 15.341. According to Josephus, Herod Agrippa later presented an incredible 1400 men to fight (probably convicts rather than true gladiators): *AJ* 19.337: ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας ἑπτακοσίους μαχησομένους εἰσέπεμψεν. Cf. discussion in Chapter 4.3. Location.

**Gladiatorial combats appear only with the transition to empire and the imperial cult in the East.**

**Despite the similarities, however, Roman gladiatorial combats, fought by troops of professionals, were not presented by Greeks for other Greeks until the time of the principate and then in association with the imperial cult. Most of the evidence (primarily late first to the early third century AD) which is discussed in the following chapters confirms the association between Roman gladiation and the imperial cult in the Greek East. Cults of Roma and important Romans had long been celebrated by the Greeks with traditional Greek festivals.**

## CHAPTER 2. THE GREEK GLADIATOR

### 2.1. EVIDENCE

Most of our information concerning the lives and careers of gladiators in the Greek East comes from funerary epitaphs set up by comrades, friends, and family members in memory of a fallen gladiator. Honorific in nature, these inscriptions generally present an idealized and laudatory portrait of the deceased, recording what he (or his commemorator) considered to have been the significant accomplishments and achievements of his life and how he wished to be remembered. Often they are accompanied by a relief depicting the deceased gloriously in his profession as a gladiator. Honour and glory, however, are a reflection of the opinion of others and so it is worth considering by whom the epitaphs were meant to be read and seen, for if they were intended primarily for the family, friends, and associates of the deceased gladiator, then it cannot be said with any certainty that the praise elicited by these tombstones was shared by a wider segment of the population. But if they were meant to be read by any passerby,<sup>1</sup> as is in fact most probable, then the epitaphs suggest that there existed a high degree of familiarity with, or appreciation for, the gladiatorial arena on the part of the typical Greek citizen.<sup>2</sup> The obvious pride

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<sup>1</sup> A number of epitaphs directly address the reader with the vocative, *παροδείτα* or *παροδίτα*: see nos. 14, 16, 19, 21, 38, 46, 71, 73, 80, 99, 100, 101, 102, 105, 117, 122, 150, 159 (*ὦ πάροδοι*), 163, 167, 189, 190, 197, 203, 206, 207, 315, 346, 353, 428, 430, and 454.

<sup>2</sup> MacMullen 1982 draws attention to the "sense of audience" which inspired and maintained the habit inscriptional writing. Inscriptions, including epitaphs, were meant for public consumption and therefore ought to be considered a type of public monument. Cf. Woolf 1996, 24. Gladiators in the West may have been buried together in a segregated but perhaps prominent location: see, for example, the possibility of a gladiatorial cemetery at Nîmes discussed by Hope 1998, 182-184.

displayed by the gladiators in their profession can be understood as a reflection of the attitudes of society, however indirectly, for pride, although personally expressed, must be socially endorsed: one does not publicly show pride in something deemed unacceptable by society at large.<sup>3</sup> Whatever stigma may have been attached to service as a gladiator among writers of the upper class was not felt by the gladiators themselves or indeed by the typical Greek citizen who validated the gladiator's pride.

The epitaphs which we do possess are typically those of successful gladiators. They are usually depicted in relief on the tombstone either going into combat or having emerged triumphantly from it (see below). It may be presumed that only a successful gladiator of some means could afford the expense of an inscribed and sculpted tombstone, while younger gladiators may not have had the funds for elaborate funerary monuments and epitaphs.<sup>4</sup> Certainly criminals condemned to death in the arena were not permitted such a final privilege and the fact that gladiators regularly received proper burial immediately distinguishes them from worthless *noxii*.<sup>5</sup> In general, therefore, the gladiators studied here are those who prospered in the profession, although it is uncertain what percentage of the total gladiatorial population they represent.

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Woolf 1996, 32: "Romans seem to have been intensely aware that they lived their lives in public, and *personae* were conceived of largely in terms of publicly validated concepts such as *dignitas* and *aestimatio*, *honores* and *fama*. This sense that one's worth was measured in public—rather than, for example, by one's own conscious, or in the eyes of God—constituted a part of MacMullen's 'sense of audience'".

<sup>4</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 287; Wiedemann 1992, 122-123. Hopkins 1966, 247, estimates that even an inexpensive epitaph may have cost the equivalent of three months wages of unskilled labour. Cf. Duncan-Jones 1982, 79-80 and 127-131. Saller & Shaw 1984, 128, following Duncan-Jones conclude that memorial stones were "within the means of modest men", perhaps costing something in the area of HS 100 or more. Cf. Joshel 1992, 19 and Gordon 1993, 155: "In a sense, every funerary epitaph makes reference, among other things, to the fact that other men could not afford one". Rarely do we have an epitaph for a gladiator who dies after his first combat as, for example, Peculiaris from Beroia (no. 85).

<sup>5</sup> Saller & Shaw 1984. Meyer 1990 argues that an heir's duty to bury the deceased, and to state that it has been done on the epitaph, is a particularly Roman funerary practice. Cf. Lattimore 1942, 223, for the notion that a burial, monument, and epitaph were rewards for merit in life. Kyle 1998, 213-241, argues that the corpses of criminals executed in the arena were polluted and not given proper burial. Kyle suggests that in Rome they may have been dumped into the Tiber.

While a single such inscription may tell us the name of a gladiator, something about him personally and perhaps why he died, only a large corpus of epitaphs enables us to determine whether individual qualities and achievements are typical rather than exceptional. The catalogue includes about 175 extant gladiatorial epitaphs from the Greek East.<sup>6</sup> Significantly, these show a high degree of similarity in the terminology used and images represented. Unfortunately, they are difficult to date with any precision since they usually lack specific chronological indicators and many have been discovered quite apart from their original context.<sup>7</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, there is little evidence that Greeks themselves presented gladiatorial combats before the time of Augustus, and so most broadly all are imperial in date. Most gladiatorial epitaphs are loosely dated in the second and third centuries AD, a period of time which generally coincides with the date of the majority of larger honorific inscriptions set up to advertise gladiatorial combats or to commemorate their presentation.<sup>8</sup> This time-frame, however, also loosely conforms to the overall epigraphic pattern first described by S. Mrozek and then labeled the "epigraphic habit" by R. MacMullen. During the imperial period, beginning roughly with the transition to autocracy in Rome, the volume of epigraphic material rises gradually throughout the

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<sup>6</sup> See nos. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18 (possible), 20, 21, 21a, 39, 42, 43 (possible), 45, 46, 49, 51, 62, 64, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95 (possible), 98, 99, 100, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 111, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 131, 134, 135, 150, 153, 158, 159, 163, 164, 165, 167, 171, 173, 175, 178, 179, 181, 187, 189, 190, 195, 196, 197, 199, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 211, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 271, 272, 273, 274, 276, 279, 283, 284, 285, 291, 293, 315, 319, 320, 322, 326, 337, 338, 341, 345, 346, 352, 353, 387, 396, 397, 408, 416, 426, 428, 430, 431, 433, 434, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 459, 465, 466, and 469.

<sup>7</sup> No. 64 from Pella gives an exact date: the year 253 (= AD 222). Iconography and terminology can also help to date. Pflug 1988, 373 claims that during the second century AD the helmet brim over the gladiator's eyes developed into a steep triangular shape from the earlier horizontal brim. Ville, *La gladiature*, 324 n. 217 states that he does not discuss the *palus* ranking of gladiators (for which, see below, p. 104-108) because this is a phenomenon subsequent to the time frame of his book, that is, after the death of Domitian in AD 96.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Pfuhl - Möbius II, 293. Significantly, the majority of all epitaphs (not simply gladiatorial) from Asia Minor date to the second and third centuries AD; rarely are they older. See Kubinska 1968, 11. For the dates of the honorific inscriptions, see Chapter 3. Administration.

Empire and peaks generally in the late second or early third century after which it falls off.<sup>9</sup> Given this larger phenomenon, we should expect these epitaphs to cluster in the peak epigraphic period between the late second century and the early third. But this does not necessarily mean that gladiation was less frequent before this time, only that it is less well-attested. For example, an important inscription from Ancyra in Galatia (no. 448) lists the benefactions of a number of priests of Divus Augustus, which often include the presentation of a number of pairs of gladiators (in one case as many as fifty pairs), and this clearly during the reign of Tiberius. Thus, despite the lack of epitaphs from the early principate, gladiatorial combats were clearly presented in Greek cities in advance of the extensive epigraphic appearance of their tombstones.

Typically, the funerary inscription is found on a stele or funerary altar of limestone or marble and accompanied by a relief depicting the deceased in his profession as a gladiator. Given the force of a tombstone as a monument, the inclusion of visual images is as important to the overall message as is the inscription; both inscription and relief had something to say to the ancient reader. Robert noted two main types of funerary relief which he termed (1) "le gladiateur dans sa gloire" and (2) "le gladiateur combattant", although a third, less common type is found primarily in Macedonia: (3) the *Totenmahl*, that is, the funerary banquet.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, these first two types are found so frequently that they must represent an established tradition of gladiatorial funerary portraiture. Individual biographic details are supplied within this tradition.

The first type depicts a gladiator standing and facing the viewer. His shield stands upright on the ground with his helmet resting on top of it generally to the right of the

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<sup>9</sup> Mrozek 1973; Mrozek 1988; MacMullen 1982. MacMullen characterized this phenomenon as the "Mrozek curve". Gordon 1993, 155 n. 402, suggest that it would be better to consider 'epigraphic culture' rather than the 'epigraphic habit' and thus focus attention on the larger social contexts which promoted public displays of writing.

<sup>10</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 47.



gladiator.<sup>11</sup> The gladiator places his left hand on his helmet while in his right hand he usually holds a palm branch, although a weapon is occasionally depicted. If the gladiator is left-handed (*scaeva* / σκευῶς), the scene is reversed, that is, his shield and helmet sit on the left and his right hand rests on top while his left hand holds the palm or weapon.<sup>12</sup> The gladiator wears the remainder of his armament, such as greaves, a belt and often armour on his unprotected arm, and appears as if he has just emerged victoriously from combat.<sup>13</sup> The *retiarius* had no helmet or shield but could mimic this pose by standing with his trident in one hand and his dagger in the other.<sup>14</sup> The second relief type identified by Robert portrays the deceased advancing into combat, generally to the right, in full armour, so that the dagger is visible. While the first type allows for a personalized portrait of the deceased, the second presents a largely anonymous depiction. Evidence may even suggest that such stones could have been prefabricated by enterprising artisans. The gladiator, Hapleros, who was buried by his wife, Heliodoris, is specifically identified in his epitaph as a *provocator* despite the fact that the relief on his tombstone, in the opinions of J. and L. Robert, depicts a *secutor* advancing to the right (no. 465).<sup>15</sup> A. Geisen has conceded the possibility that Heliodoris bought the finished stone, which already had the relief of a *secutor* on it, and then had the name and exact profession of her deceased husband inscribed.<sup>16</sup> The third, less common type of relief on a gladiatorial tombstone depicts the

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<sup>11</sup> The helmet atop the gladiatorial shield is a common image from the world of gladiation, see no. 174 from Claudiopolis in Bithynia (for plate see: French & Ündemis 1989, pl. 11 and 12). Cf. Nollé 1992/3.

<sup>12</sup> See no. 469 (= Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 236 no. 302, pl. 19) for a probable left-handed gladiator standing *dans sa gloire*.

<sup>13</sup> For the relation between palm branches and victory in combat, see below, p. 98-103.

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of the *retiarius*, see below, p. 87-88.

<sup>15</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1981, no. 160 and *BE* 1982, no. 107. Cf. Frisch & Geissen 1980 for the original publication. For a discussion of the differences between *secutores* and *provocatores* (and other heavily armed gladiators) see below p. 89-94.

<sup>16</sup> Geissen 1984, 228.

deceased reclining at dinner, usually with his wife (sitting) and children present. His profession is indicated by the presence of a gladiatorial helmet and shield on the ground beside the couch. Examples of these *Totenmahlreliefs* come only from Thasos, Beroia, Thessaloniki, and Cyzicus and represent a traditional honorific form of representation of the deceased as a heroic figure.<sup>17</sup>

Accompanying the relief is an inscription, often in verse, which identifies the deceased and tells us something about his life and the circumstances of his death. These inscriptions tend to be concise and formulaic. Interestingly, the name of the gladiator provided on the epitaph is usually a "stage name" or a "nom de guerre" rather than his birth name (although this may be provided additionally); his personal identity is defined by his status as a gladiator.<sup>18</sup> Attributes offered are generally those supposedly or ideally held in common by all gladiators: bravery, boldness, and popularity, while other details, such as legal status, rank (*palus* / *πάλος* number), and the number of combats and victories of the deceased, are also included on many tombstones and provide more personalized biographic information. Such epitaphs also offer a view of the personal relations of these gladiators, for it is often their wives who paid for and erected the tombstone, although children, brothers, parents as well as their fellow gladiators or comrades are also known to have undertaken the responsibility of burying the deceased.<sup>19</sup> Taken and studied together, these epitaphs provide an otherwise unattainable glimpse of the Greek gladiator's world and the popular reaction to it.

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<sup>17</sup> Thasos: no. 62, Beroia: nos. 68, 73, 74, 79, 82; Thessaloniki: no. 91; Cyzicus: nos. 204 and 205.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of gladiatorial names, see Chapter 2.6. Nomenclature.

<sup>19</sup> Fellow gladiators and comrades as commemorators are often only suspected from the name they provide, although in no. 50, the commemorator specifically identifies himself as a *retiarus*, in no. 111 the commemorator is an *ἐπιστάτης* (*doctor*), and in no. 205 the commemorator is a *πραικων* (herald). Others may also have buried gladiators. In no. 87 the commemorator is a certain T. Flavius Satyrus, a free man. Jerome *Vita Hilarionis* 7 describes a vision in which a dying gladiator asked Hilarion, a spectator, to bury him: *psallentique gladiatorum pugna spectaculum praebuit, et unus quasi interfectus et ante pedes eius corruens sepulturam rogavit.*

## 2.2. TERMINOLOGY

For all of the terminology which the Greeks borrowed from the Romans in the area of gladiation, they did not borrow or calque the Latin word *gladiator*, and instead the pre-existing word *μονομάχος*, a cognate of *μονομαχία*, was used. The epigraphic record, however, suggests that it was primarily the upper class which employed the terms *μονομαχία* and *μονομάχος*.<sup>20</sup> All 37 epigraphic references to *μονομαχία* are made in honorific inscriptions set up by or for the elite, while of the 34 attestations of the term, *μονομάχος*, only three appear to have been used by a gladiator in reference to himself (nos. 2, 147, and 458)—although even these are unusual. In no. 458 from Antioch ad Cragum (in Cilicia), the deceased Motas Nesios is called a *μονομάχος* simply to distinguish him from others buried in the common tomb.<sup>21</sup> The inscription no. 147 is fragmentary and so it cannot be said with certainty that the term was used by a gladiator.<sup>22</sup> No. 2 from Dyrrachium is exceptional, for the gladiator is referred to in Latin as a *monomachus*, here a Greek loanword borrowed into Latin presumably because it was considered more prestigious than the Latin equivalent "gladiator".<sup>23</sup> The use of the verb *μονομαχεῖν* by a gladiator to express combat is clearly attested in two gladiatorial epitaphs, in both cases as the participle *μονομαχῶν* (nos. 21 and 102), and perhaps also in

<sup>20</sup> For *μονομαχία* (generally plural, *μονομαχίαι*), see nos. 22, 23, 24 (probable), 25, 29, 30 (probable), 65, 66, 67, 86, 128, 129, 166, 176, 182, 183 (probable), 193 (probable), 257, 261, 286, 287, 301, 349 (probable), 399, 401, 403 (possible), 418, 420, 421, 422, 425, 432, 437, 447, and 449. For *μονομάχος*, see nos. 4, 109, 136, 147, 154, 174, 177, 184, 186 (probable), 190, 210, 211, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 282, 289, 330, 336, 350, 357, 358, 392, 404, 410, 448, and 458. For *monomachus* (Latin), see no. 2.

<sup>21</sup> No. 458 line 6: *Ματώς Νήσιος μονομάχος*. Frisch 1974 (supported by J. and L. Robert *BE* 1974 no. 459 and *BE* 1977 no. 387) reads no. 190 lines 3-5: *πάλον πρώτων | [θρ]αικῶν, μονομα[χῶ]ν δέκατον*, that is, "first palus of thracians, who fought in single combat ten times". Peek 1976, however, reads *μονομά[χῶ]ν* with *[θρ]αικῶν* to clarify that these thracians were gladiators. This clarification, however, is not attested elsewhere.

<sup>22</sup> No. 147 seems to refer to a *myrmillo* but lines 4-5 read: *Γαίος Ίούλιος - - -μον?μάρχου [- - -]*, perhaps indicating a free man and Roman citizen, rather than a gladiator.

<sup>23</sup> In linguistic relations, lexical borrowing generally proceeds from the more prestigious language to the less prestigious. See McMahon 1994, 203.

a dedicatory inscription made to the goddess Nemesis (no. 168) by a certain Valerianus Polygnotus from Prusa in Bithynia, and by the gladiator, Lukas, from Alexandria Troas (no. 190).<sup>24</sup>

The gladiators themselves and those closely associated with the gladiators, such as heralds, musicians, or *lanistae*, avoided μονομάχος and its cognates in favour of more technically precise Latin loanwords and preferred to describe a gladiatorial match as a "fight", πυγμή, rather than as "single combat", μονομαχία. Significantly, all but one of the epigraphic attestations of these terms in a gladiatorial context come from the epitaphs of gladiators themselves.<sup>25</sup> Only no. 392 from Mylasa, which describes gladiatorial combat as πυγμή, is elite in origin.<sup>26</sup>

The terms, πυγμή and πύκτης, and the cognate verb, πυκτεύειν, were borrowed from the world of Greek athletics, specifically from the sport of boxing.<sup>27</sup> There is also, however, an important etymological parallel with the Latin words *pugna* (fight) and *pugnare* (to fight), words which were used in the West for both boxers and gladiators.<sup>28</sup> Consider, for example, the following two epitaphs, the first from Rome for the *thraex*, Marcus Antonius Niger, and the second from Amaseia in Pontus (no. 179) for the *retiarius* Pinna:

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<sup>24</sup> No. 168: Θεῶ Νεμέσει τὸ ἄγαλμα(?) - - -| Οὐαλεριανὸς Πολύγνωτος ἔθηκε(?) - - -| καὶ μονομαχί(σας?) - - -. No. 190 lines 3-5: πάλον πρώτον | [Θρ]αικῶν, μονομα[χῶ]ν δέκατον (see above, n. 21).

<sup>25</sup> For πυγμή, see nos. 6, 11, 46, 71, 73, 85, 105, 119, 121, 163, 197, 199, 392, 428, and 461. For πύκτης, see nos. 220 and 433. For πυκτεύειν, see nos. 46, 99, 100, 104, 130, 179, 204, 315, 320, 337 (possible), 338, 387, 417, 433, and 454.

<sup>26</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 16-17 quotes two passages from Artemidorus (2.32 and 5.58) in which he uses the terms, πυκτεύειν, and πυγμή, to describe gladiatorial combat. In 2.32, Artemidorus does apologize for his use of technical, Latin terms for various types of gladiators. See Blum 1936, 23. Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 23 states, μονομαχοῦσὶ τε οἱ πυκτεύοντες.

<sup>27</sup> Robert 1929; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 16-20.

<sup>28</sup> For gladiatorial use, see, for example, *EAOR* I, s.v. "pugna": nos. 63, 64, 68, 69, 75, 85, 89, 95, 101, 102, 107, 109, and 110; s.v. "pugnare": nos. 64, 85, 89, and 114; *EAOR* II, s.v. "pugna": nos. 19, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 51, and 52; s.v. "pugnare": no. 50; *EAOR* III, s.v. "pugna": no. 69; s.v. "pugnare": nos. 1, 6, 51, and 70.

Diis Manibus. | M(arco) Antonio Nigro, | veterano Thraeci, | qui vixit ann(is)  
XXXVIII, | pugnavit XVIII, | Flavia Diogenis | coniugi suo bene | merenti de suo  
fecit.<sup>29</sup>

Ἐνθάδε κείμεαι | Πίννας ῥητιάρις | πέντε πυκτεύσας ἄλ(ει)πτος. Οὐκ ἤμην,  
οὐκ ᾔδειν, ἐγενόμην, | οὐκ οἶδα, οὐκ εἰμί, | οὐ μέλει μοι. | Δόμνα ἐκ τῶν |  
ιδίων μνεΐας | χ[ά]ριν.<sup>30</sup>

Both gladiators refer to "having fought" (*pugnavit* / *πυκτεύσας*) a certain number of times. But while Latin *pugnare* was used quite generally to refer to any kind of fighting, whether military, athletic, or gladiatorial, the significance of Greek *πυγμή* and *πυκτεύειν* was originally confined to boxing. Homer, for example, knew *πυγμή* as a word for boxing but does not use it to describe armed combat.<sup>31</sup> Robert explained the process by which the Greek verb came to have the same significance as its Latin counterpart: the similarity between Latin noun, *pugna*, and the Greek noun, *πυγμή*, contributed to the use of *πυγμή* in the East to express gladiatorial combat. The process then extended to the cognates: *πυκτεύειν* came to mean *pugnare* and *πύκτης* to mean *gladiator*.<sup>32</sup> That is, while the term *πυγμή* and its cognates were borrowed from the world of Greek athletics, the use of these terms to signify gladiation was borrowed from Latin.

The correlation between gladiation and athletics is also expressed epigraphically in the use of terms such as *ἀγών*, *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*, *ἀθλέω*, and *ἄθλα* to describe gladiatorial combat. In most instances the term, *ἀγών*, is used on elite inscriptions to refer to traditional Greek festivals, although in three gladiatorial epitaphs (nos. 100, 163, and 345)

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<sup>29</sup> *ILS* 5090 = *CIL* VI 10197: "To the Immortal Shades. For Marcus Antonius Niger, a veteran *thraex*, who lived for 38 years and who fought 18 times, Flavia Diogenis erected this for her well-deserving husband from her own funds."

<sup>30</sup> "Here I lie, Pinna the *retarius*, invincible, having fought five times. I was not, I did not know, I came into being; I do not know, I am not, I do not care. Domna from her own funds (erected this) in remembrance."

<sup>31</sup> See *Il.* 23. 669: *πυγμῆ νικήσαντα*.

<sup>32</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 20. What this process essentially describes is a "semantic loan", a form of linguistic borrowing motivated by similarity of form between two words of different languages. See Haugen 1950, 219.

it is used to describe the gladiatorial combats in which the deceased fought.<sup>33</sup> For example, the deceased gladiator Euchrous from Amphipolis claims to have competed twelve times: δωδέκατον δ' ἄθλων (no. 100). The verb, ἀθλεῖν, is attested to describe gladiatorial combat (nos. 104 and 189). Similar are the descriptions of gladiators as Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες, and their combats as Ἄραιως ἄθλα in an inscription from Tomis (no. 10). The cognate verb, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, however, is used epigraphically by the upper class to describe gladiatorial combat, as in no. 66 from Beroia (AD 240): ἕτερον ζεῦγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον, or no. 392 from Mylasa: τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων in reference to gladiators. The *lacuna* in no. 288 from Miletus has been restored: [ζυγὸν] ὑπὲρ ψυχ[ῆς ἀγωνισάμε]νον, "a pair who competed for their lives", and in no. 108 from Athens (AD 36-37), the *taurokathartes*, Serapion, refers to himself as an ἀγωνιζόμενος.

Examples of direct Latin borrowings are found on the epitaphs of many gladiators where they preferred to use the technically precise Latin term to describe themselves and their profession. The six gladiatorial types most commonly attested in the East, the θρῶξ, the σεκούτωρ, the προβοκάτωρ, the μυρμίλλων, the ἔσσεδάριος, the ῥητιάριος, are all examples of Latin loanwords imported into Greek. Significantly, these terms are found primarily on the epitaphs of the gladiators themselves and rarely in works of literature or inscriptions composed by the upper classes. Artemidorus, for example, does discuss many of these types specifically, although he specifically apologizes for the use of Latin vocabulary.<sup>34</sup> Other technical Latin terms, such as πάλος (Latin, *palus*), τεῖρων (Latin, *tiro*), παγανός (Latin, *paganus*), and σουμμαρούδης and σεκουνδαρούδης (Latin, *summa rudis* and *secunda rudis*) were also borrowed directly from Latin and transliterated

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<sup>33</sup> See nos. 65, 66, 67, 98, 194, 257, 345, 399, 432, 437, 444, 447, and 448.

<sup>34</sup> Artem. 2.32: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εἶη σαφῶς παραστήσαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις, χρῆσομαι καὶ τοῖς ὀνομασιν: "Since without the names themselves I would not be able to offer a clear explanation, I shall use the names". Cf. Dio Cass. 73.19.2 where he also expresses his discomfort with the Latin word *secutor*: τοῦ σεκούτορος καλουμένου. Cf. Chapter 3.2. Terminology for the elite attitudes to Latin.

into Greek as loanwords, and are again found primarily on the epitaphs of gladiators and those most closely associated with the arena. Although it is uncertain whether the language of instruction in a gladiatorial *ludus* in the East was Latin, it is clear that several Latin technical terms were introduced and used in the context of gladiation.

The use of Greek athletic terminology and borrowed Latin vocabulary by the gladiators is significant and speaks to the degree of prestige in which this Roman institution was held by the Greeks. The importance of athletics and agonistic culture in general to Greek society has been discussed in Chapter 1. In borrowing and applying Greek athletic terminology to themselves, Greek gladiators identified with this traditional and culturally significant institution in Greek society and presented themselves to Greek people as associated with it. Yet, the extensive and proud use of Latin loanwords by the gladiators may also suggest that gladiators and gladiation was perceived as prestigious.

Linguistic borrowing is motivated by expectations of gain, either lexical or social. Lexical gains are made when a word is borrowed in order to replace an obsolete word in the borrowing language or, more commonly, to designate a new or unfamiliar element or concept for which no term exists in the borrowing language: a word or expression is transferred from one cultural-linguistic group to another as an accompaniment to the new item signified.<sup>35</sup> A social gain, however, depends on perceptions of prestige. In such situations, one language is regularly perceived as more prestigious than the other(s), frequently because that language represents the voice of power, whether military, political, cultural or technological. In other words, a language may be considered prestigious

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<sup>35</sup> Haarmann 1986, 159-160, cf. McMahon 1994, 201. For example, the Spanish word, *tomate*, was borrowed from the Nahuatl word, *tomatl*, at the same time that the Spaniards imported the fruit to Europe from Central America. The Spaniards, of course, had no comparable word of their own for the new fruit and so instead of inventing a new one or adapting an extant Spanish word, they borrowed the Nahuatl word directly.

within certain defined areas and not others.<sup>36</sup> In linguistic relations, borrowing generally proceeds from the more prestigious language to the less prestigious and tends to concentrate in those areas of interaction where the superior prestige of one group is noticed or felt by the group considered to be less prestigious, as in for example, the exercise of power or high culture.

Latin technical vocabulary was introduced into the Greek language at the same time that the Roman institution was introduced into Greek society, in order to refer to technical elements, such as armament types, for which there existed no ready Greek equivalents. But any suggestion that the Greeks were compelled by an inability in their own language to express many of these technical Latin terms is unlikely, for the Greek language is too versatile and the Greek experience too broad. The use of Latin by the gladiators represents a definite choice. They could readily have described themselves with Greek terms or more generally as μονομάχοι, their fights as μονομαχίαι, and could have regularly used the verbs μονομαχεῖν or μάχεσθαι,<sup>37</sup> but they preferred the Latin terms and used them with pride on their epitaphs. Latin gladiatorial vocabulary was considered prestigious both by the gladiators themselves and by those most closely associated with them. But the fact that gladiatorial epitaphs were public, honorific memorials suggests that the Latin terms were appreciated by the Greek people more broadly. Although this is an argument *ex silentio*, it is doubtful that those wishing to commemorate and celebrate the lives and careers of gladiators would have used language vocabulary deemed distasteful by the Greek people at large. A widespread appreciation for the use of precise Latin technical terminology indicates a corresponding appreciation for the institution itself.

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<sup>36</sup> For example, French and Italian are today regarded as important in cuisine and fashion (*haute cuisine* and *haute couture*) although not in the field of technology where English dominates.

<sup>37</sup> For μονομαχεῖν used by gladiators, see nos. 21, 102, 168 (discussed above) and 190 (also discussed above); for μάχεσθαι, see no. 131.



### 2.3. ORIGINS

As discussed above, most evidence comes from the epitaphs usually of successful and relatively affluent gladiators. Indeed, many of these men may have been free at the time of their death. The *Senatus Consultum de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis* from Italica (more simply known as the *Aes Italicense*) makes it clear that with success came increased rank, increased monetary rewards, and probably freedom.<sup>38</sup> It is generally left unsaid, however, whether these men began their careers as free volunteers, as slaves, or even as convicts condemned *ad ludum*. In the West, there occurred a shift in the sources of gladiators from the republic to the empire. During the republic, the primary sources of gladiators were prisoners of war, slaves, and convicts, but during the empire, the sources were slaves, convicts, and free volunteers.<sup>39</sup> Prisoners of war were found in gladiatorial *ludi* generally only after large scale, successful military campaigns, such as those of Claudius in Britain or Domitian and Trajan in Dacia.<sup>40</sup> In the East, where gladiation was a phenomenon of the imperial period, the Greeks presenting gladiatorial combats probably had no direct access to prisoners of war as a source of recruits, although gladiators from the various imperial *familiae* in the East may have been available to highpriests presenting

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<sup>38</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 29-35 provides different values for different ranks of gladiators; lines 45-46 provides that a free gladiator be rewarded 25% of the prize money and a slave 20%; and lines 62-63 discuss the evaluation of a free gladiator who voluntarily returns to fight. See below p. 107.

<sup>39</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 255, estimates that by the mid-first century AD more than half the gladiators were free. Cf. Barton 1993, 14.

<sup>40</sup> One of the four imperial *ludi* in Rome was known as the Ludus Dacicus, perhaps so named following the Dacian war (AD 85-88) of Domitian's reign, which ended following a Roman victory at Tapae in AD 88, or because of Trajan's two Dacian wars (AD 101-2, 105-6); see Ville, *La gladiature*, 231 and 282-283; cf. Richardson 1992, 236 s.v. "Ludus Dacicus". Following his return from the North in 89, Domitian organized a spectacle of mass combat (*gregatim*) in which Dacian prisoners of war may well have been compelled to fight. More spectacular still were the celebrations in honour of Trajan's conquest of Dacia lasting 123 days in which 10,000 gladiators fought and 11,000 animals were killed: see Dio Cass. 68.15; cf. Edmondson 1996, 70-71.

combats in celebration of the imperial cult.<sup>41</sup> But the primary source of gladiators were convicts, specifically *damnati ad ludum*, slaves, and free volunteers.

In Bithynia, it came to Pliny's attention that many who had been condemned *in ludum* were instead working comfortably as public slaves. When Pliny referred the matter to Trajan, the emperor ordered those so condemned within the last ten years to be returned to their proper punishments.<sup>42</sup> Philostratus also suggests the criminal origin of gladiators. He criticized the Athenians who bought for large sums "adulterers and fornicators and burglars and cut purses and kidnappers and such rabble" then armed them in order to watch combats.<sup>43</sup> Two inscriptions from Aphrodisias (nos. 357 and 358) mention the inclusion of convicts (καταδίκου) in a *familia* along with gladiators and (in no. 357) *taurokathartes*. The convicts here may be intended for execution (*damnati ad gladium* or *ad bestias*), or they have been included in the *familia* as a source of gladiatorial recruits (*damnati ad ludum*)—although they have been clearly distinguished from the gladiators.

Although it is relatively rare, a gladiator may be referred to explicitly as a δοῦλος (nos. 191 and 308), while the servile status of others is indicated by a proper name in the genitive following that of the gladiator, for example the *thraex*, Narkissos, probably belonged to Hecataea (no. 58). Another, indirect indication of the servile status of many gladiators may be deduced from the fact that others stress their own free status (ἐλεύθερος) as either free or freed men. This was presumably meant to distinguish them

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<sup>41</sup> See Chapter 3.6. Financing, below at p. 229-230.

<sup>42</sup> Plin. *Ep.* 10.31 and 32.

<sup>43</sup> Philostr. *VA* 22: χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐωνημένοι ἦγοντο μοιχοὶ καὶ πόρνοι καὶ τοιξωρύχοι καὶ βαλαντιοτόμοι καὶ ἀνδραποδιστῆς καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔθνη, οἱ δ' ὄπλιζον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐκέλευον ξυμπίπτειν. Cf. Seneca's description of the noon day spectacle (*meridianum spectaculum*) in which robbers and murders condemned *ad gladium* slaughtered one another: Sen. *Ep.* 7.5: *sed latrocinium fecit aliquis, occidit hominem*. Perhaps this bloody spectacle, rather than true gladiatorial combats, were what Philostratus found so objectionable. See Chapter 4. The Greek Spectacle.

from their peers.<sup>44</sup> After lengthy or distinguished performance, a gladiator could earn his release from gladiatorial service and perhaps also his freedom. According to Robert, this is the meaning of the phrase, ἀπελύθη ἔξω λούδου, found in two inscriptions (nos. 155 and 322).<sup>45</sup> After earning his freedom, a gladiator could reenter the profession where he could command much higher fees for his appearance and enjoy great popularity.<sup>46</sup> The majority of gladiators, however, provide no indication of their status or social origin.

Artemidorus relates the story of a man who enrolled himself among the gladiators, ἀπεγράψατο εἰς μονομάχους, and fought for many years.<sup>47</sup> In the *Martyrdom of Pionios*, the proconsul Quintillian uses the same verb to refer to those who enlist to fight wild beasts for money: οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι.<sup>48</sup> Significantly, the middle-voice verb, ἀπογράφομαι, was a technical term also used in Greek athletics; one "signed up" or registered for an event before competition could begin.<sup>49</sup> But other terms used by Greek authors are less honourable and instead suggest a contractual relationship for financial recompense. Lucian, in his *Toxaris*, likewise implies the contractual nature of the gladiators whom Sisinnus saw at Amastris, μονομαχεῖν δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ μισθῷ ἀνδρολογηθέντες, as does the Christian writer Tatianus, καὶ πωλεῖ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ὁ πεινῶν, ὁ δὲ πλουτῶν ἀνειτάι τοὺς φονεύσοντας.<sup>50</sup> Various references to men selling

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<sup>44</sup> See nos. 13, 191, 389, 390, and 391. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 285-287, suggests that those gladiators buried by a wife were free, but cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 230-231 n. 9.

<sup>45</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 60.

<sup>46</sup> The *Aes Ital.* lines 62-63 concern the higher costs of such a volunteer gladiator "who has been freed" (*liberatus*) but then reenlists.

<sup>47</sup> Artem. 5.58.

<sup>48</sup> *Mart. Pion.* 20.6.

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, Polyb. 39.1.8: εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπογραψάμενος πυγμὴν ἢ παγκράτιον; and *Anth. Pal.* 11.75 (Lucillius): ἀπογραψάμενος πύκτης. Cf. especially, Robert 1978a. Along with one's name, one also provided one's hometown, partly as proof of Greek descent.

<sup>50</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 58: "these who had been enrolled to fight as gladiators for pay". Tatianus *Ad Gr.* 23: "the poor man sells himself and the rich man buys these murderers to be".

themselves to fight as gladiators are also found in Talmudic literature.<sup>51</sup> In Latin, such volunteer gladiators were referred to as *auctorati*, a term which carried with it the sense that these men had hired or sold themselves to fight as gladiators, their remuneration termed the *auctoramentum*.<sup>52</sup> The *Aes Italicense* set the initial limit for these volunteers at HS 2,000 until they had completed the terms of their contract, at which time they were able to reenlist for a maximum remuneration of HS 12,000.<sup>53</sup> The *auctoratio* required the volunteer to swear the sacred oath of the gladiator (the *sacramentum*), to hand themselves over to their master body and soul, and to submit to be beaten, burned, or put to the sword.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, according to the jurist Gaius, these men retained their freedom, however ambiguous, in the eyes of the law, despite the fact that they had sold themselves.<sup>55</sup> Although there is little evidence in the East for volunteer gladiators especially from the upper class, a gladiator or wild beast hunter from Philippi may claim noble birth (no. 98): εὐσήμου δὲ γένους καὶ ἐνδόξου.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Sisinnus, Lucian's

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<sup>51</sup> See Weiss 1999, 42; and 47-48: "Resh Lakish, a famous Amoraic sage of the 3rd c., was a gladiator before he entered the world of the Jewish academy".

<sup>52</sup> The *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II.372 explains *auctoramentum* as μισθὸς εἰς λοῦδον. See especially, Ville, *La gladiature*, 246-251, and Mosci Sassi, s.v. "auctoramentum etc." for a more complete discussion of *auctoratio*.

<sup>53</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 62-63. The *auctorati* are mentioned in line 60. In the early first century AD, Tiberius is said to have paid an *auctoramentum* of HS 100,000 to lure retired gladiators (*rudarii*) back to the arena: Suet. *Tib.* 7.2: *Munus gladiatorium in memoriam patris et alterum in avi Drusi dedit, diversis temporibus ac locis, primum in foro, secundum in amphitheatro, rudaris quoque quibusdam revocatis auctoramento centenum milium*: "He gave a gladiatorial munus in memory of his father and a second in memory of his grandfather Drusus at different times and in different places; the first was held in the forum and the second in the amphitheatre and some retired gladiators were brought back with a payment of HS 100,000".

<sup>54</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 117; Hor. *Sat.* 2.7.58-59; Sen. *Ep.* 37; and Juv. 11.5-8. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 32-33; Ville, *La gladiature*, 246-249; Wiedemann 1992, 106-109.

<sup>55</sup> Gaius *Inst.* 3.199: *Interdum autem etiam liberorum hominum furtum fit, velut si quis liberorum nostrorum, qui in potestate nostra sint, sive etiam uxor, quae in manu nostra sit, sive etiam iudicatus vel auctoratus meus subreptus fuerit*: "There might even be theft of free people, as where one of our children who is in our paternal power is kidnapped, or a wife who is subordinate to us is taken, or a judged debtor or my bonded gladiator".

<sup>56</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 304.

fictional visitor to Amastris from Scythia in the *Toxaris*, describes the gladiators he sees as "noble and handsome": εἶδε προκομπήν τινα, ὡς ἔφη, γενναίων καὶ καλῶν νεανίσκων.<sup>57</sup> Sisinnes himself later contracted to fight as a gladiator for money, although for only one combat.

At present, the hometown of 33 individual gladiators in the East is known and of these almost all are from Greek cities of the Balkan Peninsula or Asia Minor.<sup>58</sup> Some gladiators may have remained in their home town. For example, the gladiator Marcus who died at Smyrna was buried by his parents with the assistance of the *familia* (no. 211). Of the exceptions, Rhodios was from "the mouth of the Nile", that is, Alexandria, and so from an important Greek city (no. 271), and Victor (no. 430) was from Libya, perhaps intending Cyrene. Only two gladiators are explicitly from outside the Greek world. Skirtos, who died in Tomis, was from Dacia (no. 13), and Publius, who died in Beroia, claims the ethnic, Ἀρπεῖνος, perhaps meaning either the towns of Arpino (modern Arpi) or Arpinum, both in central Italy (no. 80). V. Allamani-Souri, however, has argued that Ἀρπεῖνος could instead refer to Arpi in Thrace for which the ethnic would be Ἀπρεινός, a reading which requires an emendation of the text, but one preferable given the relative proximity of Thracian Arpi to Beroia, the fact that the city produced another known gladiator (Dionysios, no. 207), and the fact that there are no clear parallels for Italian (or other western) gladiators coming to the East to fight.<sup>59</sup> This is opposed to the situation in the West, where gladiators are found from across the Empire, notably including Greece.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 58: "he saw a sort of procession, as he put it, of noble and handsome young men".

<sup>58</sup> See nos. 13, 39, 42, 46, 68, 69, 80, 87, 94, 101, 104, 131, 163, 175, 195, 203, 207, 211, 236 (four gladiators), 271, 314, 315, 331 (a *secunda rudis*), 352, 353, 430, 454, 455, and 465. No. 211 from Smyrna has been included here because the deceased gladiator, Marcus, was buried by his parents. It is presumed that he enrolled as a gladiator in his hometown.

<sup>59</sup> Allamani-Souri 1987, 45-46.

<sup>60</sup> See, for example, *CIL* XII 3323 = *ILS* 5095 from Nemausus in Narbonensis for the *essedarius*, Beryllus, *nat(ione) Graecus*, or García y Bellido 1960, no. 13 from Gades for the *samnis*, Germanus, *natione Graeca*.

This is not to say that Greek gladiators did not travel. The *secutor*, Phoebos, originally from Cyzicus claims to have fought in Asia, Thrace, Macedonia, and finally Larissa where he died (no. 104), while the unknown gladiator from Gortyn fought in Ephesus, Tralles, Laodiceia, Aphrodisias and Gortyn (no. 130). A commemorative relief from Smyrna (no. 236 = fig. 1) depicts four heavily armed gladiators standing and facing the viewer and holding a placard in their right hand and over their right shoulder. Beneath each gladiator is an inscription providing his name and ethnic: Seleinos from Nicomedeia, Kestillos from Smyrna, Lykophontes from Pergamon and Kastor from Laodiceia. These placards probably bore the information provided in the inscriptions.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, the attested cities in which Greek gladiators originated were often old and important centres of Greek culture such as Thessaloniki, Cyzicus, Pergamon, Philadelphia, Smyrna, Ephesus, or Laodiceia.

## 2.4. ICONOGRAPHY

### ARMATURA

The majority of gladiatorial reliefs from the East depict the gladiator in considerable detail, a situation which perhaps suggests that the observer may have been expected to recognize either the individual gladiator or the armament type from the portrait. For many gladiators, their armament type was as important as their name in identifying themselves and it is expressed (graphically or literally) with pride. For example, in a fragmentary inscription from Ephesus, a father burying his child felt compelled to identify himself as a *secutor*,<sup>62</sup> and in a similar inscription from Smyrna, Damas identifies himself as a *myrmillo*

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 54: "L'originalité est que chacun tient dans la main droite une pancarte, qui devait donner son nom". Cf. Lafaye, 1593-1594. See Chapter 2.8. Motivation, below p. 132, for the possibility that gladiators fought for the honour of their home city and cf. further discussion in Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>62</sup> No. 280: [- - - σ]εκούτωρ πάλου | [- - - τῷ ἰδίῳ τέκνῳ | [- - -]νο μνείας χάριν): "the *secutor* of the ... rank ... for his child ... in remembrance".

when burying his daughter (or wife?), Dianoia.<sup>63</sup> There is little evidence for a gladiator fighting in different armament classifications, with the notable exception of no. 21a from Marcianopolis, in which the deceased gladiator, Polyneikes, claims to have fought twice as a *secutor* and then became a *myrmillo*.<sup>64</sup> Especially for gladiators of low or servile origin, the arena offered an important means of social elevation; the profession of a gladiator was prominently advertised on tombstones as an emblem of success which could eclipse other social handicaps.<sup>65</sup> For Artemidorus, it was reasonable that one might not simply dream of being a gladiator, but dream of being a specific type. He discusses the significance of each type as an indicator of the character of one's future wife, and expects his reader to be familiar with these gladiatorial types.<sup>66</sup> The apparent importance which gladiators attached to their armament may explain why gladiators seldom refer to themselves simply as a μονομάχος or indeed never as a *gladiator*; such a designation would have been too vague. Given the importance of armament type, we should expect that the depictions of gladiators on tombstones and other commemorative monuments portray the arms and armour of the gladiator with a high degree of accuracy.

The most complete descriptions of gladiatorial types are still those of P.J. Meier in 1881 and G. Lafaye in his lengthy article on the gladiator in the *Dictionnaire des*

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<sup>63</sup> No. 209: Διάνοια Δαμῆ μορμίλλωνος | χρηστή{ι}, χαίρει: "Dianoia, daughter (or wife?) of Damas the *myrmillo*. Farewell good one".

<sup>64</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 307-308 and Matz 1980, 37. Cf. no. 167 for Chrysomallos who became a *retiarius* having been a wild beast hunter. The West provides exceptions. See Mart. 5.25: *Hermes belligera superbus hasta*, / *Hermes aequore minax tridente*, / *Hermes casside languida timendus*: "Hermes proud with the martial spear, Hermes threatening with the equal trident, Hermes with the plumed helmet must be feared". Hermes was a *retiarius*, but perhaps also a *hoplomachus* and a heavily armed gladiator. Cf. Friedländer, IV, 180; Robert 1946a, 131-132; Matz 1977, 151-155; Ville, *La gladiature*, 307. Consider also *CIL XIII 1997 = ILS 5097* (from Lugdunensis): *dymachero sive assidario*, and García y Bellido 1960, 143: *Smaragido murmilloni oiplomaca(e)*: "Smaragdus a *myrmillo* (and?) *hoplomachus*".

<sup>65</sup> Argued by Hope 1998, 191 re the gladiators of Roman Nîmes. For the origins and status of Greek gladiators, Chapter 2.3. Origins and Chapter 2.9. Social Status.

<sup>66</sup> Artem. 2.32; cf. 1.5. Artemidorus does apologize to his reader for the use of the Latin, technical vocabulary, however.

*antiquités* from 1896, although Robert and Ville especially have made more recent contributions. Eight gladiatorial types are epigraphically attested in the East: the θροῦξ, the ῥητιάριος, the σεκούτωρ, the προβοκάτωρ, the μυρμίλλων, the ἔσσεδάριος, and the ἰππεύς and the ἰπποδιώκτης. Significantly, there is no attestation of a *samnis* or a *gallus*.<sup>67</sup> These two gladiator types were probably modeled on the armour and weapons of the Samnites in southern Italy and the (Cisalpine) Gauls of the north respectively. They are attested primarily before the first century AD after which other heavily armed gladiators are attested in their place, generally the *secutor* for the *samnis* and the *myrmillo* for the *gallus*.<sup>68</sup> Neither the *samnis* nor the *gallus* are attested in the East probably because most inscriptions here date to the second and third centuries AD and so after these two types had ceased to exist. The *dimachaerus* is not epigraphically attested in the East, but Artemidorus does mention this type, and it is probably portrayed in a relief from Amisus.<sup>69</sup> Other gladiatorial types known in the West but not epigraphically attested in the East are the *hoplomachus*, the *laquearius*, and the *veles*.<sup>70</sup> Obviously a Greek loanword, the *hoplomachus* in the West was a type of heavily armed gladiator with a long shield, plumed helmet, and greave on his left leg.<sup>71</sup> In the East, however, the term

<sup>67</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 65, re *samnes*. Bean 1973 proposed to restore no. 190 lines 3-4: πάλων πρῶτον | [Γαλ]λικῶν. This proposal was rejected by Frisch 1974, who instead suggested [Θρ]υκῶν. Frisch's suggestion has been adopted here.

<sup>68</sup> Lafaye, 1584 (*samnis*) and 1587-1588 (*gallus*); cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "samnis" and "murmillo". But see *EAOR* III, no. 68 from Venosa (= *CIL* IX 466 = *ILS* 5083a) dated to the first century AD, where there appears a *samnis*, several *myrmillones* (lines 14-20) and a *gallus* (lines 29-30). Cf. García y Bellido 1960, no. 13 from Cádiz for the *samnis*, Germanus. It is undated, but probably early imperial.

<sup>69</sup> Artemidorus 2.32, cf. below p. 90-91. No. 178 from Amisus depicts gladiator with two daggers: see Robert 1948, 98 pl. 12 = Pfuhl-Möbius II, no. 1266 pl. 188.

<sup>70</sup> No. 161 from Cos depicts a probable gladiator standing "dans sa gloire" but holding in his right hand what appears like the the weapon of a *laquearius* instead of a palm: see Pfuhl-Möbius II, no. 1234 pl. 185, cf. Lafaye, 1589 fig. 3588. Friedländer followed by Meier 1881 emended Artemidorus 2.32 to read βήλης (Latin, *veles*), although this emendation now appears incorrect. See below p. 91.

<sup>71</sup> Lafaye, 1563 and Schneider, 760, note that "gladiator" could be rendered "ὄπλομάχος" in Greek as well as "μονομάχος". For the *hoplomachus*, see Lafaye, 1585; Mosci Sassi, s.v. "hoplomachus". Cf. Firm. Mat. *Math.* 7.26.3, quoted in Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, above p. 53.



*hoplomachus* specifically designated a trainer in arms and combat technique, although authors such as Dio Cassius occasionally refer to gladiatorial combat as ὀπλομαχία.<sup>72</sup>

The Latin term *thraex*, Thracian, expressed in Greek as θραξ,<sup>73</sup> first appears in the West during the late republic and referred to a new gladiator type modeled on the weapons believed to have been carried by the people of Thrace.<sup>74</sup> Unlike the other ethnically associated armament types, that is, the *samnis* and the *gallus*, however, the *thraex* continued into the empire.<sup>75</sup> The θραξ carried a shield (a *parma* or *parmula*) which was either round or rectangular and a curved or bent sword (*sica*) and wore a *subligaculum* over his mid-section, perhaps a *manica* on his right arm, greaves (*ocreae*) on both legs, and a visored helmet, perhaps with a griffin on top.<sup>76</sup> In only three instances does an inscription specifying a *thraex* accompany a relief. In no. 204 from Cyzicus the deceased is depicted reclining at a funeral banquet with his wife; his helmet and shield are shown in outline in the bottom right corner of the stone: the shield is rectangular and the helmet has protective flanges and a crest probably with a griffin. No. 362 from Aphrodisias is the graffito from the theatre seat, discussed above. It depicts the *thraex* with a round shield. No. 225, which is now lost, depicts a *thraex* standing facing the

<sup>72</sup> See, for example, Dio Cass. 54.2.3-4; 55.8; 59.14; or 60.17.9. Cf. Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, above p. 53.

<sup>73</sup> For clear attestations of the term, θραξ, see nos. 7, 58, 124, 190, 191, 204, 225, 362, 391, 409, and 455.

<sup>74</sup> Already during the late republic, Cicero knew of this particular type: cf. *Phil.* 6.13; 7.17; *Prov. cons.* 9. Ville 1969, 188, speculates that the *thraex* appeared in Rome following Sulla's victory over Mithridates in the East. Sulla would have met Thracians fighting for the Pontic king. Cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "thraex".

<sup>75</sup> Wiedemann 1992, 41 following Lafaye, 1584, has suggested that by the early empire, it was no longer appropriate to view fellow Italians, that is the Samnites and Galli, as "outsiders". According to this hypothesis it would follow that the *thraex* remained because the people of Thrace were not sufficiently romanized.

<sup>76</sup> For a description of their armament, see Mosci Sassi, s.v. "thraex", Lafaye, 1587, and Meier 1881, 32-34. For a detailed relief of a *thraex*, see the tombstone of M. Antonius Exochus from Rome: *CIL* VI 10164 (= *ILS* 5088); Lafaye, 1587 fig. 3583; *EAOR* I, no. 92 pl. 20. See also no. 7 from Apollonia which depicts the execution of a *thraex* by another gladiator: depicted in Patsch 1904, 157-158 no. 10 (fig. 125).

viewer with a small rectangular shield in his left hand, a *sica* in his right, armour on his right arm and two high greaves. His helmet sits on the ground with a flared peak (a griffin?) but does not appear to have shoulder flanges. Artemidorus describes the *thraex* as a gladiator covered in armour, who carried a curved sword and employed the advancing style (τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν).<sup>77</sup>

One of the most recognizable gladiators was the *retiarius*, a term borrowed into Greek as ῥητιάριος.<sup>78</sup> The *retiarius* was armed with a net (Latin, *rete*), a *iaculum*, typically a trident, and often a dagger. He wore little armour, no helmet or shield or greaves, but only a belt, *subligaculum*, and a *galerus* on the left shoulder and arm.<sup>79</sup> Such armament, although affording relatively little protection, did allow both for considerable mobility and agility,<sup>80</sup> and for personal recognition.<sup>81</sup> The classic confrontation pitted a *retiarius* against a *gallus* or *myrmillo*—the fisherman against the fish—although matchups with other heavily armed gladiators, especially the *secutor* and *contrarete*, were also common. Like most other technical terms, the gladiators preferred the Latin loanword to a loan translation, such as δικτυοῦχος, offered by the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, which, as Robert notes, is otherwise unattested.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Artem. 2.32.

<sup>78</sup> See nos. 3, 14, 42, 71, 132, 167, 173, 174, 175, 179, 189, 191, 238, 408, and 454.

<sup>79</sup> See Juv. 8.203-206; and Isid. *Etym.* 18.54. Cf. Lafaye, 1585-1586; and Meier 1881, 25-32. The *galerus* was held in place by a strap which ran across the gladiator's chest: see the detail in no. 13 (depicted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no. 44 pl. 4; Stoian 1962, no. 2 pl. 50, and Pfuhl-Möbius II, no. 1255 pl. 187). Other *retiarum* wore no *galerus*, but a *manica* perhaps of mail: see no. 15 (depicted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no. 46 pl. 13). For two bronze statuettes of *retiarum*, see nos. 28 and 152.

<sup>80</sup> Chrysolallos, a *retiarius* buried in Nicaea claims that he was formerly a κυνηγός, who in hunting beasts was also lightly armed but necessarily agile (no. 167).

<sup>81</sup> Juvenal thus criticizes an upper class gladiator, whom he calls Gracchus, not only for fighting in public as a gladiator, but also for doing so as a *retiarius*, for everyone could see his face when he fled: Juv. 8.205-6: (*Gracchus retiarius*) *nudum ad spectacula vultum / erigit et tota fugit agnoscendus harena*. Cf. Juv. 6.012.

<sup>82</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 40 n. 1.

The Latin term, *myrmillo*, was based on the Greek, μύρμα (or μορμούρος, μορμούλος), a type of fish which is believed to have appeared on the helmet of the *gallus* and the *myrmillo*. The Greek, μυρμίλλων, is a loanword borrowed from the Latin term, although alternative spellings may indicate Greek awareness of the origins of the word.<sup>83</sup> It first appears in the late republic and soon replaced the ethnic *gallus*, although, as noted by Lafaye, there was overlap in the use of these terms during the first century AD.<sup>84</sup> Only one relief from the East is clearly identified as a *myrmillo* (no. 162 = fig. 2), but this gladiator has the *sica* of a *thraex* and the great shield of a *secutor*.<sup>85</sup> The similarity between the *secutor* and the *myrmillo* is suggested by a stele from Marcianopolis for the gladiator Polyneikes, who was first a *secutor* who then became a *myrmillo* (no. 21a). It is reasonable to assume that the fighting styles were sufficiently similar. The change may have been motivated by perceptions of prestige: a *myrmillo* may have been more prestigious than a *secutor*. A recently found stele from Aquileia for the *myrmillo* Q. Sosius Albius depicts the deceased wearing a plumed helmet with shoulder flanges, a *subligaculum*, armour (*manica*) on his right arm, and a greave on his left leg. He carries a large, rectangular shield and a sword (*gladius*).<sup>86</sup>

The term, σεκούτωρ, is an obvious loanword borrowed from the Latin, *secutor*.<sup>87</sup> The earliest use of this term is found in Suetonius from the early second century AD,

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<sup>83</sup> See nos. 46, 54, 55, 58, 60, 61, 147, 162, 174, 191, 199, 209, 226, 389, 391, 409, and 431. Alternate spellings: nos. 209 and 409: μορμίλλων, no. 226: μερμίλλων, nos. 389 and 391: μορμύλλων, and no. 431: μρμίλων.

<sup>84</sup> Lafaye, 1587-1588. Cf. *EAOR* III, no. 68 from Venosa (= *CIL* IX 466 = *ILS* 5083a) dated to the first century AD, where there appears both several *myrmillones* (lines 14-20) and a *gallus* (lines 29-30). Cf. also Mart. 8.75.16; and Festus 285M (cited by Lafaye, 1587 n. 18): *Retiario pugnanti adversus myrmillonem cantatur: non te peto, galle, quia myrmillonum genus armatura gallica est insigne; myrmillones ante galli appellabantur.*

<sup>85</sup> Lafaye, 1588 and fig. 3585, offers a description of the *myrmillo*. Meier 1881, 37, notes the great difficulty in describing this gladiator type.

<sup>86</sup> See Bertacchi 1994, fig. 3.

<sup>87</sup> For clear attestations of the term, σεκούτωρ, see nos. 87, 104, 174, 280, 307, and 430.

although the term probably originated in the first century AD.<sup>88</sup> The *secutor* was a heavily armed gladiator who carried a large, rectangular shield (*scutum*), and a sword (*gladius*), and wore a visored helmet with a crest, a *subligaculum* with a wide belt, a *manica* on his right arm, and greaves (on one or both legs).<sup>89</sup> The term, *secutor*, however, may suggest that tactics rather than arms were the primary onomastic consideration; the *secutor* was one who pursued an opponent. The *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* provides the literal translation of *secutor* as ἀκόλουθος, but this word appears nowhere else in reference to a gladiatorial *secutor*.<sup>90</sup> Artemidorus says that the *secutor* always chases (ἀεὶ διώκει).<sup>91</sup> Having borrowed σεκούτωρ as a loanword, it is uncertain whether the Greeks, especially those Greek spectators unconnected with the gladiatorial *familiae*, understood the literal Latin meaning of *secutor* as "pursuer", as Artemidorus seems to have done, or only as an abstract Latin term to describe this particular type of gladiator.

Meier, Lafaye, Schneider, and Mosci Sassi believed that a *secutor* could also be known as a *contrarete* (or *contraretiarius* or *ret.*) because, according to Isidorus, he especially pursued the *retiarius*.<sup>92</sup> But, although *secutores* are known to have fought the *retiarius*, the heavy arms of the *secutor* may have made this gladiator an easy target for the net of the lightly armed and nimble *retiarius* and, if caught in a net, a large, cumbersome shield would especially have been a hindrance. Furthermore, it is probable that a gladiatorial type as specifically focused as a *contrarete* would have required unique

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<sup>88</sup> Suet. *Cal.* 30. Ville, *La gladiature*, 277-278 n. 113, following Meier 1881, 19, rejects the possible emendation of *scutorum* to *secutorum* in Cic. *Att.* 7.14.2: *Scutorum in ludo (5,000) fuerunt*, because there are no attestations of *secutores* in the republican period. Cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "secutor".

<sup>89</sup> Mosci Sassi, s.v. "secutor"; cf. Lafaye, 1584-1585 and Meier 1881, 19-22. See the reliefs with nos. 87 (= Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no. 12, pl. 22) and 104 (= H.W. Catling, *AR* (1983-84) 36, fig. 56).

<sup>90</sup> Cited by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 40 n. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Artem. 2.32. Cf. Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat. Robert believed that some gladiatorial types could describe tactics: see, for example, his reading of *πουλσάτωρ* (Latin, *pulsator*) as a new type of gladiator: see no. 32 and Robert 1949a, no. 325 pl. 18 cf. p. 245.

<sup>92</sup> Meier 1881, 22; Lafaye, 1585; Schneider, 777; Mosci Sassi, s.v. "secutor". Isid. *Etym.* 18.55: *Secutor ab insequendo retiarium dictus*.

armour, weapons, and tactics with which to counter the strengths and tactics of the *retiarius*, specifically his speed, agility, and his net and trident.

Artemidorus makes no mention of a *contrarete*, but does refer to an otherwise unattested gladiator, the gladiator commonly called ἀρβήλας:

διμάχαιρος δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος ἀρβήλας ἤτοι φαρμακὸν ἢ ἄλλως  
κακότεροπον ἢ ἄμορφον εἶναι τὴν γυναῖκα σημαίνουσι.<sup>93</sup>

This reading is derived from the 11th century *Codex Laurentianus* 87,8 (= L); the 15th century *Codex Marcianus* (= V) of Michael Apostolius has ὀρβήλας. Neither ἀρβήλας nor ὀρβήλας are elsewhere attested and were thought corrupt by many commentators. Indeed, this is perhaps not the only corruption in this passage from Artemidorus (2.32). In this same passage, he lists a number of gladiatorial types: the *thraex*, the *secutor*, the *retiarius*, the *essedarius*, the *provocator*, the *dimachaerus* and the *arbelas* gladiator, but does not mention the *myrmillo*, an otherwise frequently attested gladiator type. He does, however, mysteriously describe one gladiator as τις μετ' ἀργυρέων ὄπλων, an oblique reference which has also been suspected to be corrupt.

R. Hercher based his 1864 edition of the *Onirocritica* on the manuscripts L and V, but rejected the reading ἀρβήλας / ὀρβήλας and instead inserted the missing *myrmillo* in its place, emending the text thus: διμάχαιρος δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος μορμίλλων.<sup>94</sup> He did not explain why Artemidorus felt the need to qualify the *myrmillo* (ὁ λεγόμενος μορμίλλων) where he did not qualify any other types, nor why Artemidorus should have linked the *dimachaerus* with the *myrmillo*. L. Friedländer supported by P.J. Meier, however, rejected Hercher's emendation and preferred to emend ἀρβήλας / ὀρβήλας to βήλης, that is, a transliteration from the Latin *veles*. A *veles* was a type of lightly armed gladiator, so named after the light armed foot soldier, although it is not attested in the East

<sup>93</sup> Artem. 2.32: "The *dimachaerus* or that gladiator commonly called *arbelas* signify that one's wife will be either a poisoner, or otherwise malicious, or ugly". Cf. White 1975, 112.

<sup>94</sup> See Pack 1957, 190.

as a type of gladiator.<sup>95</sup> Meier's support for Friedländer's emendation was based on his belief that the missing *myrmillo* ought to be found in the phrase, τις μετ' ἀργυρέων ὀπλων, and suggested the following reading: τις μετὰ μορμίλλωνος ὀπλων.<sup>96</sup> But neither Friedländer nor Meier explain why Artemidorus should have associated the *dimachaerus*, a two-sworded gladiator, with the *veles* in his text, for none of the other types he lists are considered together. Robert on the other hand rejected the suggestions of Friedländer and Meier and preferred to emend ὁ λεγόμενος ἀρβήλας to ὁ λεγόμενος μορμίλλων in agreement with Hercher, although he gave no explanation for his preference.<sup>97</sup> In 1957, however, R. Pack questioned the initial assumption that ἀρβήλας / ὀρβήλας was corrupt and noted that, although these terms are otherwise unattested, the term ἄρβηλος did exist to denote a semi-circular knife typically used in leather working.<sup>98</sup> The *Etymologicum Magnum* confirms this and adds an important detail; under ἌΡΒΗΛΟΝ it has, σμιλίον σκυτικὸν περιφερές· ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ὄπλον, "a semi-circular shoe-maker's knife; it is also a weapon". Pack therefore suggested that the word ἀρβήλας was a noun of agent to signify a person who used the ἄρβηλος (or neuter ἄρβηλον) and that an ἀρβήλας was a type of gladiator who fought with such a weapon. He proposed that the ἀρβήλας should be added to the list of known gladiator types, but made no attempt to identify this type graphically.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Friedländer, IV, 177 and Meier 1881, 43-44 would read here: διμάχαιρος δὲ καὶ ὁ λεγόμενος βήλης. See *CIL* VI 37844: *C. Furtius, C(ai) l(ibertus), Philargyrus, doc(tor) vel(itum)*. Cf. *CIL* IX 466 = *ILS* 5083a, and Isid. *Etym.* 18.57 discussed by Ville, *La gladiature*, 305 n. 187 and 307; and Mosci Sassi, s.v. "veles".

<sup>96</sup> Meier 1881, 43.

<sup>97</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 65 n. 3.

<sup>98</sup> See Pack 1957, 190. He cites Hesychius, s.v. "ἀνάρβηλα"; Nicander, *Theriaca* 423 with scholium. See Thompson 1956, who describes being shown such a tool by a saddler, and Beazley 1956, who notes that this knife can be seen on Attic vases. Cf. *LSJ* with the *LSJ Suppl.* s.v. "ἄρβηλος". Pack has accordingly amended this passage in his 1963 edition of the *Onirocritica*.

<sup>99</sup> Mosci Sassi, 98 n. 102 notes Pack's suggestion, but does not offer any further remarks on the ἀρβήλας gladiator.

Several gladiatorial reliefs from the East do depict a gladiator with an ἄρβηλος. No. 78 (fig. 3) from Beroia, the gladiator, Nikephoros, is depicted in a belted tunic, holding a dagger in his right hand and attached to his left arm is a weapon matching the description of the semi-circular ἄρβηλος. Similarly, the gladiator Rhodon from Satala (no. 312 = fig. 4) and Myron from an unknown provenience (no. 467 = fig. 5) each depict a gladiator with a belted tunic, a spherical helmet and semi-circular crest, a dagger in the right hand and an ἄρβηλος attached to their left arm. The ἄρβηλος appears to have been fastened to a sheath which fitted over the left fore-arm of the gladiator. A relief from Tomis (no. 15 = fig. 7) depicts a similarly dressed gladiator in combat with a *retiarius*. His left hand and fore-arm are bare, but on the ground at his feet is an object very much like the sheath and ἄρβηλος of Nikephoros, Rhodon, and Myron. This weapon had probably been on the left fore-arm of the gladiator depicted. Finally, a stele from Patras also depicts such a weapon (no. 123 = fig. 6). Beneath the text of the inscription there are the paraphernalia of the gladiator: a dagger, a helmet with a semi-circular crest, and an unusual object roughly depicted as a long, narrow rectangle from which a bar with a semi-circular instrument at the end protrudes. A. Rizakis identified this object as the weapon of a *provocator*, although he did not explain his reasoning.<sup>100</sup> It is most probable, however, that this unusual object is instead a crude representation of the semi-circular ἄρβηλος. It is probable that the ἄρβήλας gladiator referred to by Artemidorus is precisely that gladiator depicted in nos. 15, 78, 123, 312, and 467. Furthermore, it is clear from Artemidorus' text that ἄρβήλας is not a technical term, but rather is an inexact expression: ὁ λεγόμενος ἄρβήλας. Of the terms used in this passage, only ἄρβήλας is qualified in this way.

Robert believed that this special weapon would have been especially able to counter the net of the *retiarius* and so that this type of gladiator was a *contrarete*,

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<sup>100</sup> Rizakis 1984, 537.

although the term is not attested in the East.<sup>101</sup> The ἄρβηλος was attached to a sheath which fitted over the left fore-arm of the gladiator and would have been a formidable weapon, especially useful to hook and pull away the net of the *retiarius*, or to cut through it if entangled. Once the net had been effectively removed from the *retiarius'* possession, the ἄρβηλος could be abandoned, as the gladiator in no. 15 (fig. 7) appears to have done. It is also relevant that Artemidorus linked this gladiator with the *dimachaerus*, a type of gladiator who also fought with a weapon in each hand (two daggers). Although Artemidorus is aware that the term ἄρβήλας was not the technically exact term, he and perhaps other Greeks came to call the *contrarete* by this name because of the awkwardness of the Latin term.

The term, προβοκάτωρ, is a loan from the Latin, *provocator*.<sup>102</sup> Lafaye claimed that the *provocator* carried a *scutum* and wore a helmet and greave (on the left leg) like a *secutor*, but instead of a *gladius* carried a *spata* (or *spatha*, Greek, σπάθη).<sup>103</sup> Robert, however, argued that a *provocator* wore a belted tunic, no greaves, and carried a small shield (a *parma* or *parmula*?) and wore a helmet. Thus equipped, the *provocator* would have had something of the speed of a *retiarius* although more protection.<sup>104</sup> Only three reliefs from the East are identified by an accompanying inscription as *provocatores*: no. 11 from Tomis has been broken across the middle of the relief, but clearly shows the bottom of a tunic, the bare legs (and feet) of the gladiator, Agroikos, as well as his shield (on his

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<sup>101</sup> Robert 1948, 78-79 (re no. 312); cf. Auguet 1972, 73-74.

<sup>102</sup> For clear attestations of the term, προβοκάτωρ, see nos. 11, 46, 49, 105, 174, 199, 202, 222 (probable), 291, 436, and 465.

<sup>103</sup> Lafaye, 1585; cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "provocator". Schneider, 777, claims the shield was the smaller *parma*, like that of the *thraex*:

<sup>104</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1979, no. 13, p. 416-417, cf. *BE* 1965, no. 265. Pfuhl-Möbius II, 294, claim that the *provocator* wore a breastplate (*Brustpanzer*). Cf. *BE* 1982, no. 107 re the *provocator*, Hapleros (no. 465): Robert believed that the relief depicts a *secutor*, not a *provocator*, although Hapleros is specifically identified as a *provocator*.



right arm) and his spherical helmet on the ground to the left.<sup>105</sup> No. 202 from Cyzicus is in poorer condition, but does again show the *provocator*, Euprepes, wearing a belted tunic and a *manica* on his right arm; on the ground at the right are his helmet and shield.<sup>106</sup> It may be, however, that the term, *provocator*, like *secutor*, is more an indication of tactics, that is, as one who challenges or incites combat. Agroikos describes himself as a *provocator* in battle: πυγμῆι προβοκάτορα (no. 11), and a funerary inscription from Padua for the gladiator Iuvenis unusually describes his profession with the participle, *provocans*, rather than with the expected noun, *provocator*, defining who he was by what he did.<sup>107</sup> This would support the idea that the appellation, *provocator*, is more a description of technique than an abstract name for gladiators of a particular armament type. Although the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* provides the loan translation: οἱ προκληταῖ for *provocatores* (plural), the epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the Greeks preferred the loanword, προβοκάτωρ.<sup>108</sup>

Lafaye and Schneider concluded that the weapon of a *provocator* was the *spatha* (or *spata*) on the basis of an inscription from Rome which mentions a *provocator spatharius*. In her volume on the gladiatorial inscriptions from Rome, P. Sabbatini Tumolesi gives two examples of the *provocator spatharius*, but notes that both a *myrmillo*

<sup>105</sup> Agroikos is poetically described as χειρετέροπλος, probably meaning that he had a weapon in both hands. See Stoian 1962, 199 no. 3 (pl. 51).

<sup>106</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no. 291 pl. 19; Pfuhl-Möbius II, no. 1232 pl. 185; and *I.Kyzikos*, no. 206 pl. 16.

<sup>107</sup> EAOR II, no. 43 (= CIL V 2884 = ILS 5107): D. M. | Purricina | Iu|veni provocanti co|iugi benemerenti | fecit, qui vixit an|nis XXI, in ludo a|nnis IIII, pugnas | V. Cf. no. 11 from Tomis, where the deceased, Agroikos, is described as: πυγμῆι προβοκάτορα: "the *provocator* in battle".

<sup>108</sup> For the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 40. n. 1. Merkelbach 1974 argues that ἐκκαλούμενος in Herodian, 1.15.6 could be a Greek translation for *provocator*. In the scene described, however, Commodus kills a leopard as it attacks one "who had been summoned into the arena". But the sense of *provocator* is active, not passive (recall, *provocans*). Furthermore, the *provocator* was a gladiator who fought other men, not animals, and while it is certainly possible that Commodus had gladiators fighting beasts, it is more likely that the leopard was attacking either someone condemned to die (*damnatus ad bestias*) or a *venator* or *bestiarius*.

and a *thraex* could also be qualified as a *spatharius*.<sup>109</sup> The qualification, *spatharius*, therefore, may only distinguish those gladiators who fought with the *spatha*, presumably a unique weapon, and not to characterize all *provocatores*. Indeed, if all *provocatores* did fight with a *spatha*, the epithet would have been redundant. Although the *spatha* was the name of the long sword employed by the Roman army from the third century onwards,<sup>110</sup> the Greek word, σπάθη, designated any broad-bladed instrument, such as an oar or a scraper or a weapon, and although the term is not attested in the East in connection with gladiation, five gladiatorial reliefs (nos. 13, 202, 207, 468, and perhaps 297) depict the gladiator wearing a tunic holding a flat, rectangular weapon, which perhaps ought to be identified as the *spatha*.<sup>111</sup> This weapon may have been used to slash an opponent but could not be used to stab and inflict deep, mortal wounds; instead its use may have been to cut and disfigure an opponent and to weaken him with loss of blood.

The term, *essedarius*, is derived from *essedum*, a Celtic war chariot, and was imported into Greek as the loanword, ἐσσεδάριος,<sup>112</sup> though it is unclear how these gladiators fought. Perhaps they entered the arena in a chariot, then engaged their opponent on foot, as the British are believed to have done or, indeed, as a Homeric warrior entered battle.<sup>113</sup> Only one relief is identified specifically as an *essedarius*. No. 385 from Aphrodisias portrays the *essedarius*, Eirenion, standing and facing the viewer

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<sup>109</sup> *Provocator spatharius*: EAOR I, nos. 59 (= CIL VI 10183 = ILS 5110) and 83 (= CIL VI 7659 = ILS 5109). For a *myrmillo spatharius* and a *thraex spatharius*, see EAOR I, no. 45 (= CIL VI 631 = ILS 5084).

<sup>110</sup> See Southern & Dixon 1996, 103.

<sup>111</sup> Robert offers no explanation of this unusual weapon. See fig. 8 (= no. 468) and fig. 9 (= no. 207). In discussing no. 13 from Tomis, Robert believed that the weapon had three points, although this is not clear; the three points of his trident, however, are clearly distinguishable. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 232 (implausibly) wonders whether this *bâton* is not a version of a *rudis*. Re no. 207 (fig. 9), Robert again speculates that this is a *rudis*.

<sup>112</sup> See nos. 60, 174, 191, 227, 319, 385, 390, 391, and 394.

<sup>113</sup> See Chapter 4.3. Location, below p. 273: there would not have been enough space in an orchestra for a chariot, but a stadium would have been large enough.

*dans sa gloire*: he wears the *subligaculum* and two greaves, holds a large palm frond in his right hand and rests his left on his helmet and (oval?) shield. There is no indication of a chariot, and in fact he appears quite like a *thraex* or *secutor*.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, the gladiator Aurigas (Charioteer) is depicted perhaps as a *retiarius* and with no indication that he drove a chariot (no. 397). Although it would perhaps be most logical to match these gladiators against one another, especially if they did fight from a chariot, it appears that this was often not the case.<sup>115</sup>

The ἵππεύς, like the Latin, *eques*, presumably fought on horseback and wore a helmet and tunic and carried a lance and small round shield.<sup>116</sup> Like the *essedarius*, the *eques* presumably fought with another *eques*, although again this might not always have been the case.<sup>117</sup> The ἵπποδιώκτης is either a "horse-chaser" or more likely, "one who chases on horseback", although the single relief appears to depict a gladiator *dans sa gloire*.<sup>118</sup>

In general, the gladiatorial types found in the East correspond to those found in the West, although with some notable exceptions. The (primarily) republican *sammis* and *gallus* are not attested, nor is the *hoplomachus*. In some cases, however, our best evidence for unusual or perhaps experimental arms comes from the East, as the scythe-like weapon (ἄρβηλος) carried by some or the broad-bladed weapon, perhaps identifiable as a *spatha*, carried by others. Ville noted that many eastern gladiators are depicted holding,

<sup>114</sup> See Roueché 1993, no. 43 pl. 12.

<sup>115</sup> Mosci Sassi notes that in *CIL* IV 2508, an *essedarius* seems to have been coupled with a *retiarius*. In no. 174 from *Claudiopolis* in Bithynia, for example, which describes a three day gladiatorial show, three *essedarii* fought, and so at least one had to have fought with a gladiator of a different type. (This assumes that all gladiators who fought are listed.)

<sup>116</sup> See nos. 56 and 174. Cf. Lafaye, 1589; Schneider, 777; and Mosci Sassi, s.v. "eques". Galen 13.601 (Kühn) describes the wounds of an *equis*: τινὰ μονομάχων τῶν καλουμένων ἵππέων.

<sup>117</sup> See no. 174 from *Claudiopolis* where only one *eques* took part in the φιλοτιμία.

<sup>118</sup> See nos. 228 and 310.

not the *gladius*, but rather a shorter, triangular dagger, which would not permit fencing.<sup>119</sup> For Pfuhl and Möbius studying the funerary reliefs from Asia Minor, the unusual weapons depicted confirmed Meier's observations that armour and weapons, and presumably combat techniques, in the East have been modified and were more confused than in the West. But it may be that the abundance of graphic material from the East presents a greater variety of individual gladiatorial portraits showing unique weapons employed by some gladiators.<sup>120</sup> The armament type of the majority of gladiators as depicted by a relief on their tombstone or commemorative monument can be identified and distinguished from other armament types. And while these detailed reliefs may have been intended to satisfy the deceased or his family, as "public" monuments, they were also meant to be appreciated by the typical Greek as well.

In the great majority of cases, a gladiatorial epitaph makes no mention of the opponent who defeated and killed the deceased, nor does the accompanying relief depict that opponent. As was mentioned above, the funerary relief usually only presents the deceased either advancing into combat or having emerged successfully from it. Similarly, many commemorative reliefs erected by one who had put on the combats in an attempt to preserve the memory of the honour brought to him depict a single gladiator and provide only his name. But other such commemorative reliefs, as well as private domestic mosaics do depict scenes of gladiatorial combat. The symbols of victory, however, do appear with frequency on the tombstones of gladiators to glorify the deceased.

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<sup>119</sup> Ville 1969, 192, notes that the short dagger carried by many gladiators was not ideal for fencing.

<sup>120</sup> On Meier: Pfuhl-Möbius II, 293.

## PALMS AND CROWNS

In many gladiatorial reliefs, the gladiator is depicted either holding or otherwise associated with a palm frond. The palm had been employed as a symbol of victory in a Roman gladiatorial contest since the late republic and remained so throughout the Empire.<sup>121</sup> For example, in no. 344 from Hierapolis, a large marble plaque containing four panels depicting different scenes from a *munus*, the victor in a gladiatorial combat is indicated by the presence of a palm frond beside one of the combatants. In no. 119 from Patras, the heavily armed gladiator, Trypheros, is depicted advancing to the right towards a small, naked, winged boy who holds a crown in his left hand and in his right offers a large palm frond to Trypheros. To the left of Trypheros are eleven crowns.<sup>122</sup> A commemorative inscription from Aphrodisias set up by the highpriest, Marcus Antonius Apellas Severinus, to celebrate his presentation of gladiatorial spectacles and wild beast hunts is accompanied by a relief of the goddess Nemesis with a wheel flanked by two goddesses (Nikai) holding palm fronds (no. 356).<sup>123</sup> Similar depictions can be found on coins from Pisidia and Pamphilia from the late second and (primarily) third century: a coin from Cremna from the reign of Aurelian (AD 270-275) depicts on the reverse a female figure, probably Nike, standing beside a gladiatorial shield and a palm frond. A similar coin from Synnada from the reign of Caracalla depicts on the reverse the goddess Nike holding a crown in her right hand and a palm frond in her left. Coins from Synnada dating to the reigns of Gordian III and Gallienus portray a rectangular gladiatorial shield flanked by two palm fronds.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Lafaye, 1596-7; Ville, *La gladiature*, 315. Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 11.5.11: *sexta palma urbana etiam in gladiatore difficilis*: "it is difficult, even for a gladiator, to win six civic palms"; Mart. *de Spect.* 32: *Cedere maiori virtutis fama secunda est. / illa gravis palma est, quam minor hostis habet*: "To yield to the stronger is the second prize of valour. Heavy is that palm which the weaker opponent wins."

<sup>122</sup> See Robert 1982a, 239-240 fig. 2, and Rizakis 1984, 534-535 no. 1 fig. 1. Trypheros appears to have been a *secutor*. Cf. no. 376 from Aphrodisias for another depiction of a naked, winged boy.

<sup>123</sup> See Hornum 1993, 285.

<sup>124</sup> See depictions and discussion by Nollé 1992/3, 54 (Cremna), 64 (Side), and 51-52 (Synnada).

According to Lafaye, the palm was the symbol *par excellence* of victory in gladiatorial combat and would be given to the victorious gladiator by the president of the contest after which he would wave it over his head and perhaps run around the arena.<sup>125</sup> After her victory in gladiatorial combat over the Egyptian, Perpetua says that she received a branch from the "lanista": *et accessi ad lanistam et accepi ramam*.<sup>126</sup> The importance of the palm as a symbol of victory explains its popularity in gladiatorial reliefs, especially the common pose described by Robert as the "gladiateur dans sa gloire".<sup>127</sup> The scene most probably depicts that moment following a victory in combat when the gladiator has put aside his shield, removed his helmet and received the palm of victory: a glorious and climactic moment.

The palm had long been given to victors in traditional Greek athletic and musical *agones* as an indication of *arete* and a symbol for a complex collection of attributes and virtues cherished by the Greeks.<sup>128</sup> Taken from the famously strong and long-lived palm tree, the palm frond was recognized as a representation of the strength, vigor and undying fame of the athletic victor.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, because of its association with the god Apollo,<sup>130</sup> the palm expressed the spiritual or religious aspect of victory for the Greeks: the physical triumph of bodily strength was linked to the spiritual excellence of the mind. Plutarch concludes his discussion of the palm comparing the palm to an athletic victor: οὐ

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<sup>125</sup> Lafaye, 1596-7, with reference to Suet. *Calig.* 32: practicing with an opponent, the emperor killed him and then ran around waving a palm for victory

<sup>126</sup> *Mart. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 10.12.

<sup>127</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 47; cf. above p. 69. Ville notes that a gladiatorial recruit (*tiro* / *τείρων*) who died after his first combat is not depicted with a palm: see Ville, *La gladiature*, 311.

<sup>128</sup> Tarbell 1908; and Fracchia Miller 1979, esp. 35-58.

<sup>129</sup> For the strength of palm wood, see Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.11; Plut. *Mor.* 724E-F; Gell. *NA* 3.6; Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 5.6.1; and Plin. *HN* 16.223. Cf. Cumont 1942, 481-482. The Greek gladiatorial name, Κλάδος (nos. 191 and 245), may originate in the same idea of strength, or may refer to the branch as a symbol of victory.

<sup>130</sup> Fracchia Miller 1979, esp. 6-18.

μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φρονήμασιν ἐπαίρονται καὶ αὐξοῦνται.<sup>131</sup> Such victory represented the complete attainment of *arete*, and so to the extent that the palm represented the full implication of athletic victory, spiritual and physical, so too did it represent *arete*. Although at the various *agones* different types of crowns were awarded, all competitions were awarded a palm frond.<sup>132</sup>

Because palms were presented to triumphant gladiators, they could be used to enumerate victories, as for example in no. 150 from Tenedos(?) on which seven palms have been incised beneath the inscription, each probably representing a victory.<sup>133</sup> Similarly, an inscription from Ptolemaïs in Egypt, in which the gladiator, Hippomedon, claims to have fought nine times, is accompanied by nine palms; did he win every time he fought?<sup>134</sup> Inscriptions from the West can be more explicit and verbally state the exact number of times the gladiator had been awarded a palm, as in the following inscription from Corduba:

Esse(darius) | Ingenuus (ludus gladiatorius?) Gallicia(nus) | an(norum) XXV,  
pal(marum) XII | natione Germanus. | Familia universa | de suo fac(iendum)  
cura(vit). | H(ic) s(itus) e(st). S(it) t(ibi) t(erra) l(evis).<sup>135</sup>

An inscription from Tomis perhaps presents a Greek parallel for the Latin *palmarum*, although the reading is difficult (no. 13). The stone reads παρμῶν | ἕξ, which was

<sup>131</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 724F: "they are raised up and exalted not only in body but also in mind". Plutarch's discussion of the palm is at *Mor.* 723A-724F = *Quaest. conv.* 8.4.

<sup>132</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 723B.

<sup>133</sup> For a depiction, see Pfuhl-Möbius II, no. 2200 pl. 313.

<sup>134</sup> No. 461: Ἴππομέδων. | Ἴππομέδων ὁ πρεῖν | Καρποφόρο(ς) πν(γμῶν) θ': "Hippomedon. Hippomedon, formerly Carphorus, who fought 9 times." Cf. no. 460 also from Ptolemaïs which depicts nine palms as well.

<sup>135</sup> García y Bellido 1960, no. 5: "The *essedarius*, Ingenuus, from the gladiatorial *ludus* Gallicianus, who lived 25 years, and won 12 palms, a German by birth. The whole *familia* took care to erect this from their own funds. Here he lies. May the earth rest lightly on you." See also García y Bellido 1960, no. 12 (= *CIL* II 1739 = *ILS* 5098) also from Corduba and no. 10 (as emended by Ville, *La gladiature*, 315 n. 2) from Gades.

perhaps a variant spelling or pronunciation for *καλμῶν ἔξ*.<sup>136</sup> In the East, however, it was rare for a gladiator to enumerate his victories by the palm. Instead, a gladiator in the East often recorded his victories either by means of a simple statement, for example, *ἑξάκι νικήσας*, "I was victorious six times" (no. 88), or graphically by depicting a series of crowns, such as the eleven crowns of Trypheros mentioned above (no. 119).<sup>137</sup> Gladiatorial crowns appear like wreaths or garlands, often tied with a bow, as in the especially detailed relief from Aphrodisias (no. 374) or in the relief from Rome of the *thraex* Marcus Antonius Exochus.<sup>138</sup> They are formed from foliage, not the wispy leaves of a palm but perhaps from olive or celery leaves. Ville believed that crowns were initially given only for especially brilliant victories, but that by the first century AD they were bestowed on nearly every victor with the result that their significance became debased and redundant through overuse.<sup>139</sup> A first century inscription from Thasos (no. 57) announcing the results of a gladiatorial combat may support his thesis:

A. Ναίουιος Σεουή[ρος]  
 [νι(κήσας)] κα', στε(φάνωθεις) κα' ἀπελύθη  
 A. Ἄννιος Ῥεστιτοῦ[τος]  
 [νι(κήσας) κ]α', [σ]τε(φάνωθεις) ιη' ἐνίκα<sup>140</sup>

<sup>136</sup> See Stoian 1962, 199 n. 2. This suggestion was rejected by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 105, who ultimately preferred to emend the text to *πυγμῶν ἔξ*, although he did admit that the word could somehow be related to Latin *parma*. See below n. 145.

<sup>137</sup> Lafaye, 1597, states that the concern for crowns as a symbol of victory, especially as opposed to palms, among gladiators was a particularly Greek phenomenon.

<sup>138</sup> No. 374: Roueché 1993, no. 19 pl. 7. Marcus Antonius Exochus: *CIL* VI 10194 (depicted in Lafaye, 1587 fig. 3583, and *EAOR* I, no. 92 pl. 20.2.

<sup>139</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 315-316: he suggests the eventual equivalence "*victoria = palma = corona*". But the distinction between a simple victory and an especially courageous or magnificent one, which may have been the initial impulse for the presentation of crowns, seems to have remained a significant feature of gladiatorial combat. An inscription on a sarcophagus from Gortyn on Crete which is dated to the late third century (no. 130) records the location, opponent, and result of a number of gladiatorial combats. Of the nine combats listed, one was a draw, *στάς*, five he won, *νικῶ*, and three he won illustriously, *νικῶ λαμπρῶς*. We do not know what constituted an illustrious victory. It is perhaps noteworthy, however, that he did not characterize his illustrious victories as crowned victories.

<sup>140</sup> "Aulus Naevus Severus, victorious 21 times, crowned 21 times. *Missus*. Aulus Annus Restitutus, victorious 21(?) times, crowned 18 times. Victor."



The first gladiator was victorious twenty-one times and crowned twenty-one times, although he was defeated in this fight. The second gladiator, here the victor, was also victorious twenty-one times but in only eighteen was he crowned. Consider also no. 389 from Iasos in which the gladiator boasts a record of twenty-eight victories and twenty-five crowns; no. 391 also from Iasos where seven of eight gladiators have the same numbers of crowns as they do victories;<sup>141</sup> no. 408 from Halicarnassus where the gladiator Stephanos describes himself as victorious eight times and crowned five times; no. 409 which is also from Halicarnassus details the results of a combat between the *myrmillo*, Zmaragdos, victorious five times and crowned five times, and the *thraex* Strenos, who was victorious once, crowned once; and no. 414 from Cibra in which two gladiators are matched against one another, one gladiator was victorious four times and crowned three times, while the other was victorious five times and crowned four times. These discrepancies are significant and demonstrate that most but not all gladiatorial victories necessarily earned a crown.<sup>142</sup> Many of these inscriptions, however, can be dated to the first century AD and so prior to the majority of the funerary monuments of gladiators which are dated primarily to the second and third centuries.

Gladiatorial tombstones present the gladiator's professional statistics in four different ways: (1) first, it should be noted that not all gladiators provide such information and some perhaps only present a stylized crown or palm to represent their victories. See, for example, no. 49 from Maroneia where the deceased *provocator* claims to have been victorious twenty times while an accompanying relief depicts only a single palm frond with

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<sup>141</sup> In no. 391, eight gladiators are listed and all have the same number of crowns as victories, with a single exception: the *myrmillo*, Peplos, was victorious thirteen times but crowned only twelve times. Cf. no. 390 and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 293-295.

<sup>142</sup> In no. 60 from Thasos, the inscription specifies that Aegipan the *essedarius* was victorious nine times but crowned eleven. Robert notes that this situation is unlikely and that the numbers were written in the wrong order, that is, that there were eleven victories nine of which were crowned. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 295.

a stylized crown. (2) Many gladiators provide several crowns in relief accompanying their epitaph and portrait. Presumably each crown corresponds to a victory, although given the above statistics these crowns may not necessarily represent all victories. Crowns are the primary graphic means of enumerating victories. (3) Many other gladiators simply state in their epitaph the number of times that they were victorious.<sup>143</sup> Ville suggests that this might be an attempt to camouflage those victories which were won without meriting a crown.<sup>144</sup> (4) Finally, many state the numbers of times which they fought (πυγμῶν) perhaps in addition to providing their victory total by another method.<sup>145</sup> For example, the *retiarius* Flammeates from Beroia records that he fought twenty times, yet was only crowned seven times (no. 71), while Alexander, a gladiator also from Beroia claims to have fought eight times apparently each time victoriously, to judge from the eight crowns depicted on the stone (no. 73).

Perhaps crowns were given, not for an especially illustrious victory (or even for every victory), but instead were given for a victory at a specific type of *munus*. It may be that crowns were given to victorious gladiators at celebrations of the imperial cult, and the overwhelming importance of the imperial cult in connection with the presentation of gladiatorial combat especially in the East, may explain why gladiators here were often crowned. Like victorious Greek athletes, victorious gladiators could boast of being crowned victors.

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<sup>143</sup> The abbreviations, ν or νε or νει for νεικῶν or νεικῆσας, are commonly followed by a number.

<sup>144</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 316.

<sup>145</sup> The abbreviations, π or πυ for πυγμῶν are common. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 18-19. Robert emended an inscription from Tomis (no. 13) from ΠΑΡΜΩΝ to πυγμῶν because of the relative frequency of this term. See above n. 136.

## 2.5. ORGANIZATION

The primary unit of gladiatorial organization was the *familia gladiatoria*, rendered in Greek as the φαμίλια μονομάχων.<sup>146</sup> As this expression would indicate, gladiatorial families were primarily composed of gladiators and their primary purpose was to provide gladiatorial combat. Most gladiators, especially recruits and unwilling gladiators, such as the *damnati ad ludum*, lived permanently within the *ludus*, probably under guard.<sup>147</sup> Often a fellow gladiator erected a tombstone for a deceased comrade, and in two cases the commemorator describes himself as a συνκελλαρίος, that is, a *contubernalis* or "roommate". In 239 from Smyrna, the gladiator Rhosos erected a tombstone for his συνκελλαρίος, Iphoris, and in 426 from Telmessus, the deceased Hermes was commemorated by Petraeites μετὰ τῶν συνκελλαρίων. Other gladiators, however, especially those of higher rank, may have maintained their own homes and returned to the *ludus* to train and practice, especially in the period immediately preceding a show. The majority of gladiatorial epitaphs were erected by the widows and children of the deceased gladiator. Although it is possible that such gladiators lived with their families in the *ludus*, it is more probable that successful gladiators, whose victories had brought them considerable financial rewards, maintained separate dwellings apart from the *ludus*.

As discussed above, gladiators were primarily organized according to armament type, and there is little evidence for gladiators changing their classification. Even *tirones* cannot be considered raw recruits since they had been trained in the weapons of a particular classification.<sup>148</sup> In addition to armament type, however, many gladiatorial inscriptions also attest the existence of another organizational system: the πάλος / *palus*

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<sup>146</sup> No. 31 from Stryme in Macedonia, however, does not define the φαμίλια, although it is obviously gladiatorial since the φαμίλια buries a deceased *retiarius*.

<sup>147</sup> See ILS 5107 where a deceased gladiator is said to have lived 21 years, four of which were "in *ludo*".

<sup>148</sup> See no. 54 for Leontas a *myrmillo* and *tiro*; cf. no. 56 for two other *tirones*.

system. A number of gladiators claim to have belonged to, for example, the first *palus*, or second *palus*, or third or fourth.<sup>149</sup> A *palus*, which was transliterated into Greek as πάλος, was the post against which both soldiers and gladiators practiced their swordsmanship.<sup>150</sup> To date, there exist 41 examples of gladiators stating a πάλος number in the Greek East, a number which represents only a fraction (about 10%) of the total number of Greek gladiators known.<sup>151</sup> Although working from a somewhat smaller corpus (26 attestations), Robert was nevertheless able to elucidate the nature of this system.<sup>152</sup> He argued that each armament type had its own πάλος ranking system as, for example, the gladiator Flammeates from Beroia (no. 71) claims the rank, πρώτος πάλος ῥητιαρίων (first *palus* of *retiarii*), while the gladiator Lukas from Demetrias (no. 190) claims the rank, πάλος πρώτος θραικῶν (first *palus* of thracians). By associating an ordinal number with the *palus*, a rank was established. Thus, in addition to the "first *palus* of thracians" we also see the "second *palus* of thracians", the rank claimed by Danaus from Cyzicus (no. 204), δεύτερος πάλος θραικῶν. Approximately two-thirds (64%) of the gladiators who provide a *palus* rank belong to the first *palus*; as Robert suggested,

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<sup>149</sup> No. 378 from Aphrodisias has been read as a 6th *palus*, while no. 379 also from Aphrodisias has been read as the 8th *palus*. For discussion, see below p. 106.

<sup>150</sup> Veg. Mil. 1.11: *palorum enim usus non solum militibus sed etiam gladiatoribus plurimum prodest. nec unquam aut arena aut campus invictum armis virum probavit, nisi qui diligenter exercitatus docebatur ad palum*: "The *palus* is useful not only to soldiers but also to gladiators. No one has ever shown himself to be invincible in arms either in the arena or on the campus who was not carefully trained and instructed at the *palus*". Cf. Juv. 6.247 and 267 where he criticizes women who practice as gladiators striking and stabbing the *palus*. See TLL vol. 10.1, fasc. ii, col. 175, s.v. "palus" and Mosci Sassi, s.v. "palus". Cf. Slater 1990, 216 with further references re *palaria*, the place where soldiers and gladiators practiced with the *palus*.

<sup>151</sup> See nos. 8, 64, 71, 76, 103, 104, 105, 119, 189, 190, 196, 204, 238, 241, 270, 280, 307, 308, 319, 337, 338, 339, 341, 369 (bis), 372 (bis), 373, 374, 375, 376, 378, 379, 394, 408, 415, 430, 431, 454, 455, and 457. Nos. 280 and 457 have been included in the corpus although, because the stones are broken, we do not know the level of *palus* the gladiator (a *secutor*) was in each case: no. 280 has - - - σ|ε|κ|ό|υ|τ|ω|ρ πά|λ|ου| | [- - -], and no. 457 has: Π|ό|υ|β|(λ|ι|ο|ς) Ἐ|λ|ο|υ|ί|ο|ς Μ|έ|λ|ι|γ|α|ς πά|λ|ος [- - -]. Thus, only 39 *palus* inscriptions give a rank.

<sup>152</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 29-31, Cf. Robert 1929, 40-41; Mosci Sassi, s.v. "palus primus".

gladiators were most likely to mention their rank only when it had reached the pinnacle.<sup>153</sup> Robert further argued that the *palus* also designated the "salle d'armes", that is, the room shared by gladiators of the same armament type. Each *ludus*, according to Robert, was divided into sections of men of the same armament type, that is, *retiarii* with *retiarii*, and *thracians* with *thracians*, and so forth. Within each armament type, a gladiator could advance from fourth to third to second and finally to the first *palus*.<sup>154</sup> Although only four *palus* ranks are commonly attested, C. Roueché has published two inscriptions from Aphrodisias which perhaps provide evidence for a sixth *palus* (no. 378) and eighth *palus* (no. 379).<sup>155</sup> These higher *palus* numbers may have been necessary in larger families which had more gladiators. The title, *primus palus* or *πρῶτος πάλος*, was the highest rank attainable by active gladiators and something for which they showed considerable pride. Commodus, for example, had himself acclaimed *palus primus secutorum* 620 times.<sup>156</sup>

This additional ranking system had many advantages. In the gladiatorial *ludus*, which was filled with armed, well-trained, and perhaps desperate men, order and rigid discipline were essential. Promotion to the upper *palus* ranks probably came not only as a gladiator advanced in skill and experience, but also as success and relative prosperity made him more trustworthy. With upper rank, the gladiator may also have assumed more

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<sup>153</sup> 25 of 39 attestations give the rank of first *palus*.

<sup>154</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 31, cites Dio Cass. 77.22 where Commodus is described as living among the gladiators in the "first room" (τὸν οἶκον τὸν πρῶτον) and as the *πρωτόπαλος σεκουτῶρων*. For Dio, the word, *πρωτόπαλος*, proves that Commodus occupied the first room of the *ludus*. Note Juv. 6.07-013 where he suggests the separation of different types of gladiators from one another. Consider also the specialized trainers: the *doctor thraecum* (ILS 5091), *doctor myrmillonum* (ILS 5102), and *doctor secutorum* (ILS 5116) etc, which likewise suggest divisions of gladiators by type. See below p. 109.

<sup>155</sup> Roueché 1993, 64-65, 67 no. 23 and 67-68. In the first inscription, Roueché states that the reading *πάλου F'* is absolutely certain, but that *πά(λου) H'* in the second could be read as a *Γ*, that is, third *palus*.

<sup>156</sup> SHA *Comm.* 15.8: *appellatus est sane inter cetera triumphalia nomina etiam sescenties vicies Palus primus secutorum*. Cf. Dio Cass. 73.20.2.

responsibility, especially to assist in the training of younger, less experienced gladiators. As will be discussed below, the skills and combat tactics required of gladiators varied between armament classifications. Experienced gladiators of the top ranks were the best instructors for their younger, less experienced counterparts. For example, Martial praises the gladiator Hermes as, among other things, *et gladiator et magister*.<sup>157</sup>

The *palus* ranking could also have served as the means used to evaluate the cost of hiring gladiators. As a way of regulating the costs of gladiatorial *munera*, the *Aes Italicense* of AD 177 sets out the prices which were to be charged for gladiators with the price of an individual gladiator determined by his rank. Depending on the overall cost of the *munus* / φιλοτιμία, the gladiators were to be divided into either three grades or five. The higher the gladiator's rank, the more expensive his services became:

Qui autem supra HS XXXI (sic) ad LX usque munus edent, is gladiatores tripertito praebeantur numero pari. Summum pretium sit primae parti quinque milia, secundae quattuor milia, tertia tria milia. A HS LX ad C usque trifariam coetus gladiator(um) divisus | sit: primi ordinis gladiatoris summum pretium sit VIII, mediae classis VI, deinde quinque. Porro a centum milibus ad CL quinque sint manipuli, cuius primi pretium sit XII, secundi X, terti VIII, quarti VI, postermo quinque. Iam hinc porro a CL ad CC et quidquid supra susum vers[um] | erit, infimi gladiatoris pretium sit VI, supra eum VII, terti retro VIII, quarti XII adusque XV—et haec sit summo ac <p>o<strem>o gladiatorum definita quantitas.<sup>158</sup>

The decree expects that there existed a standard and recognizable system by which gladiators were ranked within a *familia*. Since the priests were paying higher sums for

<sup>157</sup> Mart. 5.24.3: "both gladiator and instructor".

<sup>158</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 30-35: "That to those, however, who produce spectacles at an expenditure between 30,000 and 60,000 HS, gladiators be furnished in equal number in three classes: maximum price for the first class be 5,000 HS, for the second class 4,000 HS, for the third class 3,000 HS. That when it is from 60,000 to 100,000 HS, the company of gladiators be divided into three classes: maximum price of a gladiator of the first class be 8,000, middle class 6,000, lowest 5,000. Next, that when it is from 100,000 to 150,000 HS, there be five grades: for a man of the first grade the price be 12,000 HS, second 10,000, third 8,000, fourth 6,000, last 5,000. Next in order, finally, that when it is from 150,000 to 200,000 or any sum which may be over and above this, the price of the gladiator of the lowest grade be 6,000 HS, of the next higher 7,000, of the third by backward count 9,000, fourth 12,000, up to 15,000—which is the amount fixed for the gladiator of the highest and <last> grade." Translation by Oliver & Palmer 1955. Oliver and Palmer supplied "<p>o<strem>o" for "formonso" which was read on the stone.

better gladiators, they would have required a recognizable means of establishing the credentials of these better and more expensive gladiators. Found across the Empire, the *palus* ranking system provided just such a standard and recognizable means to ascertain the relative worth of different gladiators. The text of the decree does not refer to the gladiator ranks as *pali*, but variously as *partes*, *coetus*, *classes*, *ordines*, or *manipuli*. Being the more experienced and probably successful gladiators, those of the first *palus* would by this system be worth the most, followed by the second *palus*, then third, and so on, with the least expensive gladiators probably being the trained but untried *tirones*. But since less expensive *munera* required only three different price categories while the more expensive required five, the *palus* ranking system may have served only as a guide. Unfortunately, we are not privy to the negotiations to hire gladiators which took place between a *lanista* and a highpriest or between two highpriests transferring ownership of a gladiatorial *familia*.<sup>159</sup> It may be that first ranked gladiators, who could fetch HS 15,000 in the most expensive *munera*, did not regularly take part in less extravagant shows where the most they could summon was HS 5,000; it would not be worth risking the life of a famous gladiator for so little return.

Besides gladiators, other people were associated with the *familia* who, although seldom mentioned, also played an essential role in the preparation and presentation of gladiatorial combats. No. 211 from Smyrna perhaps alludes to such personnel with the phrase: φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ λουδαρίων. The *ludarii* / λουδάριοι may have comprised those associated with the gladiatorial *ludus* who supported the gladiators, specifically, trainers and officials, physicians, guards, and *ministri* such as *unctores* (masseurs) and *manicarii* (makers of *manicae*, that is, protective wrapping).<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> For a discussion of the ownership of gladiatorial families, see Chapter 3.6. Financing.

<sup>160</sup> For an *unctor* and a *manicarius* see EAOR I no. 45 (from Rome). Other *ministri* are known from the West, for example, a *tabularius* from Barcelona (CIL II 4519), *tabularii a muneribus* (EAOR I, nos. 1 and 2) and *tabularii summi choragi* (EAOR I, nos. 14 and 15), a *commentariensis* (EAOR I, no.

In the west, gladiatorial trainers were known as *doctores* or *magistri* and, like the *pali* ranks, were generally specific to type, for example, a *doctor myrmillonum* or a *doctor secutorum*.<sup>161</sup> It is probable that these trainers were drawn primarily from the ranks of retired gladiators who would have the technical knowledge and experience necessary to instruct gladiators in the different combat techniques required of particular armament types.<sup>162</sup> For example, the combat skills required of a *retiarius* were different from those of a *secutor*, and could best be taught by another, preferably experienced, *retiarius*.

There is no gladiatorial *doctor* attested in the Greek East, although an epitaph from Corinth for the deceased retiarius Draukos was erected by an ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]υ[—] (no. 111).<sup>163</sup> The *editores principes* proposed the restoration ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]υ[νδαρούδης], that is, *epistates secunda rudis*, believing that an ἐπιστάτης was the leader of a gladiatorial troop and a referee and that a *secunda rudis* was a retired gladiator and instructor. But besides this inscription from Corinth, an ἐπιστάτης is mentioned in only one other gladiatorial inscription. A freedwoman named Atalante was buried by her patron, Margarites: Μαργαρίτης κάλος πρῶτος | ἀσσεδαρίων εἶτα ἐπιστάτης.<sup>164</sup> Margarites had been an *essedarius* (ἀσσεδαρίων = ἐσσεδαρίων) but had become an ἐπιστάτης, presumably after retiring. Although his subsequent duties as an ἐπιστάτης

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32), *dispensatores* (EAOR I, nos. 16, 17 and 29) and a *cryptarius* (EAOR I, no. 47). Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 303-304.

<sup>161</sup> For specialized trainers, see, for example, EAOR I, nos. 46, 55 and 56 (*doctores myrmillonum*), 57 and 58 (*doctores hoplomachorum*), 59, 60 (*doctor secutorum*), 61 (*doctor thraecum*) and 62; cf. Garcia y Bellido 1960, 143-144; Mosci Sassi, s.v. "doctor" and "magister"; and Ville, *La gladiature*, 305 n. 187. The *lanista* himself could also be a gladiatorial trainer: see Caes. *B.Afr.* 71.1; Suet. *Caes.* 26.4; and Apul. *Apol.* 98.7.

<sup>162</sup> By comparison, coaches of sumo wrestlers in modern Japan are always retired wrestlers who had reached at least a middle rank (*makushita* rank) in their wrestling career. All wrestling stables are run by retired wrestlers, *oyakata*, meaning "masters". See Cuyler 1979, 140-143. From the world of the stage, a retired mime could become an "agent" (προμισθωτής). See ILS 5208 (Philippi) cited by Csapo & Slater, 218 no. 202.

<sup>163</sup> See Carter *forthcoming* for much of what follows.

<sup>164</sup> JG XIV 1832 = IGR I 207 = IGUR I 2, 770 = EAOR I, no. 54; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 28 and Robert 1982a, 263: "Margarites, first rank of *essedarii*, then *epistates*".



are not explicitly defined, the inscription does suggest a syntactic parallelism between the two nominative expressions, *πάλος πρώτος* on the one hand and *ἐπιστάτης* on the other. If this parallelism was intentional, then the genitive, *ἀσσεδαρίων* properly belongs both to *πάλος πρώτος* and to *ἐπιστάτης*. That is, Margarites was a *πάλος πρώτος ἀσσεδαρίων* who then (εἶτα) became an *ἐπιστάτης ἀσσεδαρίων*. Although rare in a gladiatorial context, Robert has shown that in the context of Greek athletics, the *ἐπιστάτης* signified an instructor or technical expert.<sup>165</sup> Since gladiatorial instructors were generally specific to type, it is reasonable to suggest that the *ἐπιστάτης* *σεκ[.]η[.]*—from Corinth ought to be restored *ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]η[τόρων]*, that is, a Greek version of the Latin, *doctor secutorum*. Margarites, therefore, a successful *essedarius*, retired to become an *ἐπιστάτης ἐσσεδαρίων*, that is a *doctor essedariorum*. Having both achieved first rank and acquired sufficient funds to be able to buy and free at least one slave, Margarites clearly succeeded and prospered in the profession. Margarites would therefore have made an ideal instructor for younger *essedarii*.

When released from gladiatorial service, a gladiator received a *rudis* which symbolized his freedom, although it is uncertain whether all retired gladiators were thus honoured or only those considered most deserving.<sup>166</sup> A retired gladiator honoured in this way was known in Latin as a *rudarius*. Robert has seen such a retirement depicted in a relief and an inscription from Thyateira (no. 322). It depicts a gladiator standing with his

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<sup>165</sup> Robert 1974, 520: "l'ἐπιστάτης est un maître de gymnastique, un soigneur, un entraîneur; il a le même emploi que παιδοτρίβης, γυμναστής, ἀλείπτης, termes synonymes, malgré leur étymologie différente et bien qu'ils n'aient pas été introduits au même moment dans la langue". Eustathius cites Aristophanes of Byzantium who argued that *ἐπιστάτης* could mean an athletic trainer, a παιδοτρίβης, and also a trainer or instructor more generally, a καθηγητής, of other specific skills. See Slater 1985, 26-27 no. 35 for discussion.

<sup>166</sup> See for example Suet. *Claud.* 21.10: when the four sons of an *essedarius* pleaded for their father's release before Claudius, the emperor granted him the *rudis* amid the cheers of all the people. Cf. no. 3 from Salona where Thelonicus, a former *retiarius*, who was freed with the *rudis* by the piety of the people: *pietate populi rude liberatus est*. Cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "rudis, rudarius"; Ville, *La gladiature*, 325-329.

shield and helmet to his side and, according to Robert, holding a stick, the *rudis*, across his left arm,<sup>167</sup> with the accompanying inscription: Εὐγραμμας· οὗτος ἀπελύθη ἔξω λούδου.<sup>168</sup> It is this stick which explains the inscription: Eugrammos has been released from gladiatorial service (in the *ludus*) and awarded the *rudis* depicted. The phrase ἔξω λούδου is needed to distinguish his ἀπόλυσις from the regular ἀπόλυσις / *missio* by which a gladiator's life was spared after combat.<sup>169</sup> A retired gladiator could return to combat and, as the *Aes Italicense* tells us, command higher sums for his services. Or if he no longer wished to fight, he could become an instructor of gladiators, specifically those gladiators of the same armament type in which he had fought. Since the combat skills required of gladiators varied between the classifications, the ideal instructors for each armament type were those who had experience in the use of the arms and tactics of that armament type. Such an occupation would have been a reasonable one for a retired gladiator. The gladiator who retired after a successful career had the skills and experience necessary to instruct younger gladiators in the tactics of the armament type in which he had succeeded. He would also command their respect. The employment of retired gladiators as instructors explains the reference in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (II.175) to the use of a *rudis* by the ἐπιστάτης: *rudis*, ῥάβδος ἢ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν τῶν μονομάχων. As a retired gladiator, the ἐπιστάτης had a *rudis* as a mark of his status, and perhaps also as a tool with which to supervise the mock combats between gladiators which were probably part of the training regime.

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<sup>167</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 60: "le gladiateur est représenté tenant une baguette contre son bras gauche; c'est la *rudis* du gladiateur libéré". I cannot see the *baguette* in the published photos (see *TAM V*, 2, no. 1039, pl. 8).

<sup>168</sup> "Eugrammos. This man was released from the *ludus*." For a similar statement, see no. 155 from Cos.

<sup>169</sup> See Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

A *rudis* was also the mark of the referees of gladiatorial combat: the *summa rudis* (σομμαρούδης) and *secunda rudis* (σεκουνδαρούδης).<sup>170</sup> In representations of gladiatorial combat, there is often depicted a person who can only be understood as the referee.<sup>171</sup> He generally wears a long (knee-length) white tunic with two red or purple *clavi*, and carries in his hand a stick (it often appears flexible), the *rudis*, presumably used to signal the beginning or end of the match, to separate the combatants, or to point out fouls, all from a relatively safe distance.<sup>172</sup> The long white tunic would have been highly visible and contrast sharply with the armour or bare skin of the gladiators, and for this reason might thus have provided a further measure of defense. If all referees wore white they would have been immediately recognized by the gladiators who, even in the heat of combat, would instinctively avoid striking them. Robert has argued that the *summae* and *secundae rudes* were present at performances of gladiatorial combats in order to supervise the combatants and ensure that they fought bravely, skillfully, and according to the established rules and popular expectations.<sup>173</sup> They were a necessary part of the spectacle and could have been contracted from a *lanista* along with the gladiators,<sup>174</sup> or hired independently. The *summa rudis* Publius Aelius who died in Ancyra (no. 450) was

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<sup>170</sup> For the *summa rudis* as a referee, see no. 178 from Amisus where the deceased, Diodorus, blames his defeat and death on "the cunning treachery of the *summa rudis*". Diodorus claims to have defeated his opponent although he did not kill him. The referee (the *summa rudis*), however, compelled them to continue fighting.

<sup>171</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 369 suggests that gladiatorial combats may have been frequently overseen by two officials, thus the *summa* and *secunda rudes*. Two mosaics from Rome, though now in the Museo Archeológico Nacional in Madrid (inv. nos. 3600 and 3601) each depict gladiatorial combat overseen by two officials in tunics. See fig. 12 for inv. no. 3600. As Ville himself notes, however, most depictions of gladiatorial combat have only one referee.

<sup>172</sup> For a very clear relief depicting a *summa rudis*, see no. 214 = fig. 11 from Smyrna and no. 32 = fig. 10 from Tatarovo in Bulgaria. Cf. the references by Robert 1946, 84-85; a mosaic from Patras (no. 114) and a mosaic from Cos (no. 160). Ville, *La gladiature*, 416, discusses the intervention of *summa rudis* to stop a fight and refer decision to the *editor muneris*.

<sup>173</sup> Robert 1982a, 262-263 for the *summa rudis* as "arbitre technique"; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 403-406. These officials may also have been present to help to prevent the gladiators from wounding one another too seriously. For discussion, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below at p. 245.

<sup>174</sup> As suggested by Robert 1982a, 263.

proudly a member of the *Collegium of Summae Rudes* in Rome and does not indicate any affiliation with a gladiatorial *familia*.

Robert considered the *summa rudis* and *secunda rudis* to have been retired gladiators, who then became referees.<sup>175</sup> Ville, on the other hand, argued against identifying the *rudarius* with the *summa* or *secunda rudis*.<sup>176</sup> He insisted that the *rudis* of a *rudarius* is not qualified or ranked in any way,<sup>177</sup> and that the social status achieved by a number of known *summae rudes* is not consistent with the status of a gladiator, even retired.<sup>178</sup> But given the high level of technical knowledge required of the *summa rudis*, it is probable that such men were drawn primarily from the ranks of retired gladiators and instructors, whose experience provided them with the requisite expertise. This is not to suggest that all *rudarii* or gladiatorial instructors became *summae* and *secundae rudes*. Instead, because different instructors were most familiar with the tactics of a specific gladiatorial type, they would have required further training and experience in order to develop the ability to supervise combats between various gladiatorial types—training and experience most readily available in supervising mock combats between gladiators in the *familia*. The better of these instructors could also have served as the technical experts necessary for public presentations of gladiatorial combats. Of course, such referees and instructors could have been drawn from others besides gladiators, but few men would

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<sup>175</sup> Robert 1929, 32 n. 3; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 263; Robert 1946, 161; and Robert 1948, 85: "Il faut donc, me semble-t-il, supposer que ces arbitres des combats étaient d'anciens gladiateurs, libérés après une activité brillante, et honorés de la *summa rudis* ou de la *secunda rudis*." Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1971, no. 650a and Robert 1892a, 262-263.

<sup>176</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 326. In general, Ville believed the majority of ancient literary statements that condemn the gladiator as a worthless individual whose life and suffering did not matter. On p. 344, however, Ville does briefly note individual gladiators could achieve considerable prestige.

<sup>177</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 326, cf. 370, emends the earlier reading of *CIL XIII 1997 = ILS 5097* to: *Hylatis, | dymachero sive | assidario p(ugnarum) VII ru(dario) | Ermais coniux | coniugi karissimo*, where it had earlier been read *...ru(di) (prima)*... and incorrectly equated with a *summa rudis*. Contra Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 27-28.

<sup>178</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 370: "nous verrons que les *summae rudes* paraissent occuper dans la société un rang que les gladiateurs n'ont jamais tenu". Cf. 218-220 and 372.

have had the technical knowledge to match that of a retired gladiator who had not only survived in the gladiatorial arena, but who had probably also prospered there. Two inscriptions from Italy indicate that the *summa rudis* was also able to instruct others in the techniques of gladiatorial combat. A group of *iuvenes* from Paestum honoured a freedman and Augustalis, M. Tullius Primigenius, as "their *summa rudis*", *summarudi suo*,<sup>179</sup> and another inscription from Lucus Feroniae refers to a *summaruda (sic) iuvenum*.<sup>180</sup> It is most probable that these men helped to instruct the *iuvenes* in combat techniques. As the titles imply, such a referee began as a *secunda rudis* and with further training and experience advanced to the rank of *summa rudis*. The ranking of first or second (*rudis*) happened only after a *rudarius* became a referee. The lower rank of referees was the *secunda rudis* and the top was the *summa rudis*; a *rudarius* was simply a retired gladiator. Furthermore, the fact that the *summae rudes* were afforded considerable status does not exclude them from a gladiatorial past. Indeed, if gladiators were truly held in such disdain, then any connected with them, as the *summae rudes* clearly were, would have suffered by association. They did not. An inscription from Telemessus clearly honouring the *secunda rudis*, Quintus, is accompanied by a relief depicting a man holding a shield who appears to be an active gladiator (no. 427).<sup>181</sup> There is, then, no support for the contention that *summae* and *secundae rudes* were not drawn from the ranks of retired gladiators, and every reason to suggest that they were.

Some *summae* and *secundae rudes* may have been directly associated with gladiatorial families. For example, a certain Trophimus was a *secunda rudis* in an imperial

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<sup>179</sup> *AE* 1935, no. 27 = *EAOR* III, no. 64.

<sup>180</sup> *EAOR* II, no. 36. The inscription has not been fully published.

<sup>181</sup> The inscription reads: Κοίντος σεκουνδαρούδης. See also the drawing of the relief in *TAM* II, no. 117. Ville, *La gladiature*, 370 n. 55, did not know what to make of this: "je ne vois pas comment l'expliquer".

*familia* which trained in the Ludus Magnus in Rome.<sup>182</sup> An inscription from Beroia in Macedonia from the mid-second century perhaps demonstrates the association of *summae* and *secundae rudes* with a *familia* in the East (no. 70):

Πούπλιον σουμμαρούδην οί  
 ὑπογεγραμμένοι μνήμης χάριν.  
 Ἔκλεκτος σουμμαρούδης  
 4 Ὀνήσιμος σεκουνδαρούδης  
 Ἀχαϊκός Κλασσικός  
 Λ. Πουφίκις Ῥεστιτούτος  
 Κάρειος  
 8 Δημήτριος Ἄθικτος  
 Πηριδίων Ἀγάθων  
 Λ. Ναιβηνος Σπάταλος πραίκων.  
 Εὐτυχᾶς σαλπιστής.<sup>183</sup>

The exact nature of the association between Publius and the undersigned who honour him is uncertain, although a gladiatorial context is most probable. Tataki has speculated that there was a gladiatorial *ludus* in Beroia to which this inscription is in reference.<sup>184</sup> E. Bouley and N. Proeva, however, have recently argued that the undersigned who set up this epitaph were not gladiators first because the names are not found as gladiatorial names (although they do admit that Ἄθικτος and Ἀγάθων could be gladiatorial), and second because none of those listed provide an armament type.<sup>185</sup> Bouley and Proeva have instead suggested that these undersigned individuals were *ministri ludorum*, that is, other officials associated with a *familia*. Both Restitutos and Demetrios, however, are attested as gladiatorial names in the East, but the uniqueness of most of the rest of these

<sup>182</sup> CIL VI 10170 = ILS 5129 = EAOR I, no. 51: *Trophimus Augusti l(ibertus) secunda rudis familiae gladiatoriae Caesaris Ludi Magni*.

<sup>183</sup> "The undersigned (honour) Publius the *summa rudis* in remembrance: Eklektos the *summa rudis*; Onesimos the *secunda rudis*; Akhaikos; Klassikos; L(ucius) Poupnikos (= Fuficius); Restitutos; Kareios; Demetrios; Athiktos; Peridion; Agathon; L(ucius) Naevnos; Spatalos the herald; Eutuchas the trumpeter."

<sup>184</sup> Tataki 1988, 264. The inscription is perhaps to be dated to the Hadrianic epoch or shortly thereafter. See Sakellariou 1983, 214 n. 40 where he comments on the likeness between the deceased and the emperor Hadrian.

<sup>185</sup> Bouley & Proeva 1997.

names does not prevent the possibility that they were in fact gladiators, for most gladiatorial names in the East are attested only once.<sup>186</sup> Indeed, many of the other names are perfectly suitable as gladiatorial names.

The inscription lays out a hierarchical arrangement, with the most important figure (after the deceased Publius himself) being Eklektos the *summa rudis*, followed by Onesimos the *secunda rudis*. Then we have the names of ten people whose profession or significance to Publius is unstated, followed finally by Spatalos the herald and Eutuchas the trumpeter. It is probable that these central ten men represent the gladiators of the *familia*. It is also possible that this group represents only a subdivision of a larger gladiatorial *familia*, which could have been grouped into units of some ten men (*decuria*) under a two trainers (a *summa* and *secunda rudis*).<sup>187</sup> In order of importance, gladiators would necessarily follow the *summa* and *secunda rudes* but precede the heralds and musicians who accompanied the combats. If indeed these men were gladiators, then this inscription demonstrates the association between *summae* and *secundae rudes* and gladiators within a single *familia*.

Others were associated with a gladiatorial *familia*. Galen was employed as a physician for the gladiators of five successive highpriests in Pergamum.<sup>188</sup> As a young man just returned from Alexandria, he was retained by the highpriest in his native Pergamum (τῷ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχιερεῖ) for the purpose of treating his gladiators and was subsequently retained by the next four highpriests:

κατὰ τύχην δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἔτεσιν, ἐμοῦ δὲ οὔτε τῶν ὡς εἴρηται τετρωμένων ἀποθανόντος τινός οὔτ' ἐξ ἄλλου τραύματος, ὁ μετὰ τὸν ἐγχειρίσαντά μοι τότε τὴν θεραπείαν δεύτερος ἀρχιερεὺς ὁμοίως

<sup>186</sup> For Ῥεστιτοῦτος, see no. 57; for Δημήτριος, see nos. 20 and 178.

<sup>187</sup> See *EAOR* I, no. 45 (= *CIL* VI 631 = *ILS* 5084) dated to AD 177 where the *familia* has been subdivided into four *decuriae* each having ten men (except the fourth *decuria*), although no *summa* or *secunda rudis* is specified.

<sup>188</sup> See Scarborough 1971.

καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν μονομάχων μετὰ μῆνας ἑπτὰ μέσους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος περὶ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ ἤρος ἠρχιερεύσατο· πάλιν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ σωθέντων ἀπάντων ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος καὶ πέμπτος ὡσαύτως ἐνεχείρισάν μοι τὴν θεραπείαν τῶν μονομάχων, ὥστε πολλὴν βάσανον ἔχειν τῆς ἀγωγῆς.<sup>189</sup>

It is uncertain, however, whether Galen was involved in the day-to-day care of the gladiators or only brought in to handle emergency situations, such as those following combat presentations. He claims only to have treated the seriously wounded gladiators and says nothing of daily medical supervision, as for example:

ἐν θέρει, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν αἰεὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ τῶν ἀρχιερέων τὰς καλουμένας μονομαχίας ἐπιτελούντων, τοὺς κάκιστα τραθέντας ἐθεράπευσα.<sup>190</sup>

He generally refers to the nature of his practice as *θεραπεία τῶν μονομάχων* and speaks always of treating (and saving) wounded (*τετρωμένοι*) gladiators, suggesting that he was directly associated with the *familia* only during and after combats in order to treat those wounded in the events.<sup>191</sup> This is not to say that he was not in contact throughout the year, for accidents requiring medical attention undoubtedly happened in training, but to maintain a man of Galen's rank permanently may have been both prohibitively expensive and probably unnecessary. Presumably he was the physician to the *familia*. Appreciation among the combatants for competent medical treatment was undoubtedly great, though

<sup>189</sup> Galen 13.600 (Kühn), also quoted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 285 n. 1 (where he mistakenly has vol. 19): "Fortunately, while many (gladiators) died in the previous years, under me neither did any of the wounded die, as was said (above), nor (did any die) from any other wound, and the second highpriest—after the medical treatment had been entrusted to me (by the first)—did likewise and he also entrusted the care of the gladiators to me after seven and a half months. For the first served as highpriest around the autumnal equinox, and the second in high spring. Once again with all saved, after him the third and the fourth and the fifth likewise entrusted the medical treatment of the gladiators to me, so that I had a great test in my training".

<sup>190</sup> Galen 18b.567-568 (Kühn); cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 280 n. 1: "in summer, when the highpriests here in Pergamum present *monomachiai*, I attended to those most seriously wounded".

<sup>191</sup> The larger gladiatorial families and schools, however, especially those of the emperor in Rome, may have maintained permanent physicians (*medici*), perhaps of servile status. See for example, see *EAOR* I, nos. 18, 30, 33 and 35. Aul. Gell. *NA* 12.5 refers to multiple physicians in an imperial *ludus*: *fuisse accepimus ferum quemdam in ludo Caesaris gladiatorem qui, cum vulnera eius a medicis exsecabantur, ridere solitus fuit.*" Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 281 n. 124 (re Aulus Gellius) and 306.



seldom documented. An inscription from Corinth (no. 110) reveals this gratitude felt by a group of wild beast hunters for their physician, Trophimus. Not only did such men appreciate a talented physician, but they relied on him.

Also connected with a *familia*, perhaps under the umbrella-term, *ludarii*, were heralds and musicians whose performance preceded, accompanied or followed gladiatorial combats. Like many other terms related to the gladiatorial arena, the Latin term, *praeco* (herald) was borrowed and transliterated into Greek as *πραίικων*, although the Greek *κῆρυξ* tends to appear in literary sources.<sup>192</sup> The herald served primarily as means by which the *editor* could communicate with the assembled people. For example, the proconsul before whom Polycarp was brought sent his herald (*κῆρυξ*) into the middle of the stadium to announce to the crowd that Polycarp had confessed to being a Christian.<sup>193</sup> The heralds may also have announced the names and status of the gladiators before they fought and the prizes and reward or payment money afterward.<sup>194</sup> In Lucian's *Toxaris*, for example, a herald (*κῆρυξ*) steps into the arena with the gladiators to announce the competition.<sup>195</sup> Furthermore, since the gladiators chose special stage names presumably to elicit popular appeal, it is reasonable to assume that the people would have been told the names of the gladiators. A necessary part of the spectacles, heralds were probably maintained within a *familia*. In nos. 205 and 231, a *πραίικων* buried a deceased gladiator, in both cases presumably the herald and the gladiator had become friends while both

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<sup>192</sup> For *πραίικων* see nos. 70, 205, and 231; for *κῆρυξ* see no. 300, and, for example, Lucian *Tox.* 59; Dio Cass. 60.13.4; and *Mart. Polycarpi* 12.1-2.

<sup>193</sup> *Mart. Polycarpi* 12.1-3. Cf. Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>194</sup> Cf. especially the herald (*curio = praeco*) from the mosaic at Smirat who announces the money to be given to the Telegenii. See Beschtaouch 1966, 136 and Dunbabin 1978, 67. See also Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>195</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 59: ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσηλθόν οἱ μονομάχοι καὶ τινα παραγαγὼν ὁ κῆρυξ εὐμεγέθη νεανίσκον εἶπεν, ὅστις ἂν ἐθέλῃ τούτῳ μονομαχήσαι, ἤκειν εἰς τὸ μέσον δραχμῶς ληψόμενον μυριάς μισθὸν τῆς μάχης: "Then the gladiators entered and the herald who brought in a large young man said, that whoever wanted to fight with this man should come down into the arena and would receive 10,000 drachmas for the fight."

members of a *familia*. In no. 70, Spatalos the herald participated in the burial of a *summa rudis*.

Explicit references to individual musicians associated with a gladiatorial φαμίλια are rare. The σαλπικιστής, Eutuchas, from Beroia (no. 70), whose name is found at the very bottom of the inscription, has already been mentioned. From Tartavo in modern Bulgaria comes a remarkable sculpture of gladiatorial combat depicting on the left a heavily armed gladiator and on the right a *retiarius* who has lost his trident and sits in defeat on the ground (no. 32 = fig. 10). Between the two is a referee, the *summa rudis*, who steps in to stop the fight. Above the group on a square column is a relief of unequal pipes, similar to those of a water-organ (*hydraulis*) as depicted, for example, on the mosaic from the Villa Dar Buc Amméra (Zliten, Libya).<sup>196</sup> Below the heavily armed gladiator on the left is the inscription, Ἐπιπτάς, while immediately below the fallen *retiarius* is, Πουλσάτωρ. A *pulsator* is the Latin term for one who plays a water-organ, which significantly is depicted above the scene. The monument, however, does not depict a musician, but rather gladiatorial combat, specifically that moment when one gladiator has been defeated and the *summa rudis* steps in to stop the fight. Robert believed that a *pulsator* was a type of heavily-armed gladiator (like a *secutor* or a *provocator*) but also suggested the alternative possibility that a *pulsator* was a sobriquet or nickname used by Epiptas to describe his combat techniques: he battered people. It is more likely, however, that Epiptas and Pulsator were the names of the two gladiators depicted.<sup>197</sup> The artist depicted the organ probably as a visual pun on the name of one of the gladiators; the organ was not out of place because music from it typically accompanied the combat.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> See Chapter 4.2. Associated Spectacles.

<sup>197</sup> For the names of gladiators, see Chapter 2.6. Nomenclature. It is odd, however, that the name Pulsator is written beneath the *retiarius*, while the name Epiptas is written beneath the heavily armed gladiator.

<sup>198</sup> See Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

But the music was not only a means to complete the public display of combat, for it was also a significant part of training. The ancients recognized the importance of rhythm in any physical activity and athletes, like soldiers, at times practiced to a musical accompaniment.<sup>199</sup> It would therefore have been expedient to maintain within the *familia* a number of musicians whose music could accompany both the training of the gladiators and the spectacle of gladiatorial combat.

## 2.6. NOMENCLATURE

The epitaphs and commemorative reliefs provide us with the names of a number of gladiators. These names are not birth names, but rather are *sobriquets*, that is, "stage names" or "noms de guerre" chosen presumably by the gladiators to identify and define themselves.<sup>200</sup> Significantly, it was primarily by these chosen names that the gladiators wished to be remembered: wives and friends say farewell to the departed gladiator, typically addressing him by his chosen gladiatorial name rather than his birth name.<sup>201</sup> Rarely does the epitaph of a deceased gladiator mention the name of the opponent who killed him. Another important source of gladiatorial names is the commemorator or testator who put up the funerary monument; while such commemorators are most often the widows, fellow gladiators and others from the gladiatorial *familia* are known to have done so.

Occasionally a gladiator may also provide his former, non-gladiatorial name, often using the formula *ὁ τὸ πρὶν*, such as Φλαμμεάτης *ὁ τὸ πρὶν* Ζώσιμος (no. 71). His

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<sup>199</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 15 and 167 n. 19. Cf. Cic. *de Orat.* 3.200, quoted in Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below at p. 244.

<sup>200</sup> A chosen *nom de guerre* could be expressed as an addition to the gladiator's birth name according to the formula A *ὁ καὶ* B, or B *ὁ πρὶν* A, where A was the gladiator's birth name and B his chosen name. See Ameling 1987, 2 and Kontoyannis 1981, 42.

<sup>201</sup> See, for example, no. 245 from Smyrna: Κλάδω μυρμιλλωνι Τρύφα ἡ ἴδια γυνὴ ἐποίησεν μνίας χάριν. Κλάδε εὐψύχι.

former name may be qualified as a *paganus* (name), as in no. 99 from Edessa: Μειλήσις ἐκλήθην παγανός δὲ Μεστριανός, "I was called Milesios and the *paganus* name, Mestrianos", or no. 163 from Nicomedeia for the gladiator with the *paganus* name Apollonios.<sup>202</sup> J. Keil has explained the use of the term *paganus* / παγανός in its gladiatorial context adopted from Roman military vocabulary in which case it has the meaning, "non-military" or "civilian". In the same way, the term, *tiro* / τείρων was borrowed from the Roman military to refer to a gladiatorial recruit.<sup>203</sup> At other times, the gladiator provides a second name, generally by means of the following formula: Πόπλις ὁ καὶ Μαρίσκος, "Publius also known as Mariskos".<sup>204</sup> These second names could further characterize a gladiator's nature or combat skills, as with Melanippos from Beroia: Μελάνιππος ὁ κὲ Καύμας (no. 71), "Melanippos the Scorcher", or Araxios from Thyateira: Ἀραξίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀνταίῳ (no. 326), "Araxios, who is also known as Antaios".<sup>205</sup>

Although, as Robert said, many names are relatively common Greek names, others have more telling origins such as those derived from mythology or Latin, while still others (and including some of those taken from mythology and Latin) stress the qualities or characteristics of the individual gladiator.<sup>206</sup> By choosing a mythological name (perhaps 25 % of the attested names are mythical in origin), the gladiator sought to draw upon the

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<sup>202</sup> See also no. 3 from Salona for the former *retiarius* Thelonicus, perhaps with the *paganus* name, *Homo: D. M. | Homini (?) pagano | Thelonico quendam | retiario qui pietate | populi rude | liberatus est | Xustus amicus | et Pepticius sodalis*: "To the immortal gods. For the *paganus* man, Thelonicus, once a *retiarius*, who was freed by the piety of the people with the rod, his friend Xustus and his associate Pepticius (erected this)".

<sup>203</sup> Keil 1942. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1943, no. 14; and Klaffenbach 1949, 322. See from Rome *CIL* VI 631 = *ILS* 5084 = *EAOR* I, no. 45 for a list of gladiators and others in a *familia*, including two *pagani* (lines 33 and 36), a term probably meant only to distinguish them as non-gladiators.

<sup>204</sup> For another gladiator named Mariskos, see no. 77 (probably) also from Beroia.

<sup>205</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 297. In no. 71 from Beroia, the importance of both names is stressed, for the phrase, "Flammeates formerly Zosimos" is said twice in the inscription.

<sup>206</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 298.

widely-spread glory, reputation, and perhaps even semi-divine status held by these mythical heroes. For this same reason athletes and other performers also adopted mythological stage names.<sup>207</sup> Bravery and prowess in battle made names like Achilles, Aias, Alkeides, Idomeneos, Patroklos, Hectorios, Eteokles, and Polynikes, to name but a few, attractive to a gladiator and the spectators who watched. But heroic names were also chosen to stress other important aspects of a gladiator's requisite abilities or advantageous attributes. It is significant that Zephyros and Okus are both *retiarii*, a type of gladiator who, being lightly protected, relied on speed and agility. Other gladiators chose names such as Hylas, Hyakinthos, or Narkissos to stress their physical beauty. In a second century epitaph from Cyzicus (no. 208), the brotherly relationship between two mythological figures, Zethos and Amphion, is played on by the dedicator, Zethos, who refers to the deceased gladiator, Amphion, as his brother; whether they were brothers in birth or in arms is unsaid. Consider also the female gladiators, Amazon and Achillia, depicted in a relief from Halikarnassos (no. 413), whose names were clearly chosen for their mythological significance. The qualities and characteristics of heroic figures were widely known and appreciated in the Greek world and by choosing a mythological name, the gladiator could draw on this important element in Greek culture. Shared mythological and historical past was important to the Greek sense of self-definition and cultural identity. That such fundamentally important personalities from the Greek heroic past could have been brought to life in the form of Roman gladiators and presented by the local elite in their duties as highpriest of the imperial cult is significant, for such a spectacle may have served to locate Greek culture within the Roman Empire and to define Roman culture within the Greek experience.

Latin was another common source of gladiatorial names, supplying perhaps 25 % of those attested. These names tend to stress the martial qualities or other desirable

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<sup>207</sup> Ameling 1987.

characteristics of the gladiator. The names, Victor, Strenuus, Martialis, Mucro or Ferox, for example, all emphasize combat ability and success, while names such as Alector, Decuratus or Species instead emphasize beauty, and Pinna, Passerinos, Draukos,<sup>208</sup> and Argutus, speed and agility. In one epitaph probably from Smyrna (no. 240), a gladiator bears the name, Αἶαξ, the Latin version (Ajax) of the Greek, Αἶας.<sup>209</sup> While some of these Latin names may suggest a degree of knowledge of the Latin language on the part of the Greek spectators, other names may have been chosen simply because they were obviously Latin: there is no particularly martial connection in names such as Marcus, Gaius, Publius, Iulianus, Ingenuus or Maximinus. The only association between these names and gladiation is that both are Roman in origin; by giving themselves such names, the gladiator was presenting himself to the people as a "Roman".

Gladiators could also provide names in Greek which stress the particularly important qualities. Amarantos (Unkillable), Aniketos (Unbeatable), Exochos (Eminent), Hierokles (Sacred-Glory), Kallinikos (Beautiful-Victor), Pasinikos (All-Conquering), and Polydoxos (Famous), emphasize the gladiator's success. Some names, like Araxios (Striker), Xiphias (Sword), Sphekas (Wasp), Lykophontes (Wolf-Slayer), Panther, Pardos, and Pardalos (Leopard), advertise the gladiator's fighting ability. One gladiator bore the unusual name, Eirenios (Peaceable), an ironic misnomer probably meant to suggest the opposite, just as modern boxers may take the name "Babyface" or "The Kid". But most Greek language names stress either a gladiator's speed: Epiptas (Fly-At), Prestor (Lightning), Strobeilos (Cyclone), Oxypteros (Swift-Winged), Polydromos and Tacheinos (Speedy), and Chrysopteros (Golden-Winged), or his beauty: Eugrammos (Well-Formed), Euprepes (Beautiful), Euchrous (Healthy), Kallimorphos (Beautifully-Shaped), Thelonicus

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<sup>208</sup> For Draukos, see Carter *forthcoming*.

<sup>209</sup> The inscription provides the name in the dative: Σελήνη Αἶακι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνηΐας χάριν: "Selene (erected this) for Ajax from her own money in remembrance."

(Woman-Winner),<sup>210</sup> Trypheros (Voluptuous), Chrysos (Goldie), Chrysampelos (Golden-Vine), and Chrysomallos (Goldilocks).<sup>211</sup> Such literal nomenclature spoke immediately to the Greek-speaking crowd gathered to watch a presentation of gladiatorial combats. The attributes most stressed by these names are speed and beauty, and the ability to be victorious.

Gladiatorial names, finally, may have been adopted from other, more famous gladiators or other popular performers such as mimes or pantomimes,<sup>212</sup> for the same reasons that a gladiator might have chosen a name such as Achilles: these names were already charged with meaning. Petraites, for instance, was a famous gladiator who fought at the time of Nero and may have inspired other gladiators to adopt the same name.<sup>213</sup> Also famous was Spiculus, again under Nero and Palumbus under Claudius.<sup>214</sup> Furthermore, many gladiatorial names are attested in both the East and West.

## 2.7. ATTRIBUTES

Gladiators also boasted of other important attributes. Audacity was without doubt an asset for a gladiator and so this quality commonly appears in the epitaphs of fallen gladiators. Five epitaphs from the East specifically describe the deceased gladiator as a "bold man" or the "bold man in the stadia": ὁ θρασύς ἐν σταδίοις,<sup>215</sup> while another from

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<sup>210</sup> Cf. Colin 1952/3, 344-346 re no. 3 from Salona, an epitaph for the *retiarius*, Thelonicus. She stresses the effeminate nature of the name, Thelonicus, as derived from θηλύνη. But instead of a compound from θῆλυς, (female), it may have been formed from ἐθέλω and suggest a meaning such as "Victory-Wanter".

<sup>211</sup> A relief from Rome provides the gladiatorial name, Auricomus: see Gregori 1995 = *AE* 1995, no. 225. Auricomus is a Latin translation of the Greek stage name, Chrysomallos.

<sup>212</sup> For pantomime names, see esp. Leppin 1992, 189-319: "Prosopographie der Histrionen".

<sup>213</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 52.3 and 71.6; cf. no. 426; and Ville, *La gladiature*, 336-337.

<sup>214</sup> Spiculus: Suet. *Nero* 30.2 and 47.3; cf. no. 12, and *CIL* IV 1474. Palumbus: Suet. *Claud.* 21; cf. no. 283.

<sup>215</sup> See nos. 102 from Larissa, 167 from Nicaea, 189 from Alexandria Troas, 387 from Alabanda, and 454 from Ancyra in Galatia. The phrase ὁ θρασύς ἐν σταδίοις scans for a hexameter.

Thessaloniki isolates bravery: ἀνδρεία (no. 94). Other epitaphs praise the gladiator for being "great in the stadia": ὁ μέγας ἐν σταδίοις (no. 11), or "mighty in the stadia": ὁ στεναρὸς (sic) ἐν σταδίοις (no. 104).<sup>216</sup> Achilles from Prusa is more explicit: ἀυχίσας Ἄρεως σταδίοισιν...καὶ πολλοὺς δαμάσας χεῖρεσι ταῖς φονίαις.<sup>217</sup> As many gladiators chose heroic names, so too were they and their combats often described as heroic. In no. 16 from Tomis, the (probable) gladiator, Amarantos, is said to have died ἐν ἡρώων μάχαις, "in the battles of the heroes", while the gladiator Zeuxes also known as Kinyras from Cos is honoured as Ἡρῶς χρηστός, "a deserving hero". The *retiarius* Melanippos with thirteen combats even boasted that he had surpassed Heracles, who managed to complete only twelve labours (no. 189):

φασὶν δ' Ἡρακλέα δύο καὶ δέκα ἄθλα τελέσσαι | [ταῦτα δ' ἐγὼ  
τελέσας τρισκαιδέκατο] τέλος ἔσχον.<sup>218</sup>

Greek athletes similarly claimed these manly and military virtues and are often described or compared to warriors or heroes, at times even favourably.<sup>219</sup>

In addition to audacity, gladiators also make reference to other attributes, such as their youth or beauty.<sup>220</sup> For example, the gladiator Kallimorphos, from Laodiceia on the Lycus, was known as "the beautiful": Καλλίμορφος ὁ καλὸς (no. 353). Consider also the opening lines of the epitaph of the gladiator, Miletos, who died in Attaleia:

<sup>216</sup> In this inscription, στεναρὸς has been written for σθεναρὸς. See also no. 190 from Alexandria Troas.

<sup>217</sup> No. 171: "I boasted in the stadia of Ares, having overpowered many men with these man-slaughtering hands". Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 303.

<sup>218</sup> "They say that Herakles completed twelve labours, but I completed these same and finished with thirteen." For similar heroic expressions, cf. nos. 100, 164, 171, 203, 278, 456, and 459. Cf. Mart. *Spect.* 27 for a comparison between Heracles' labours and arena spectacles.

<sup>219</sup> See Dio Chrys. *Or.* 29. 9 and 15, and Lucian *Anach.* 24. Cf. Robert 1968; Pleket 1976, 76-77.

<sup>220</sup> The elder Seneca notes in passing that the best looking slaves often end up in the (gladiatorial) *ludus*: *speciosissimum quemque ac maxime idoneum castris in ludum coniciunt* (Sen. *Controv.* 10.4.18).



Τὸν καλὸν ὀφθῆναι, τὸν πύ[κτην] | ἐν σταδίοισιν ὀκτάκι νεϊκήσαν]τα  
καλὸν Μείλητον ἀθρεῖτ[ε], | [οἶ]ον πρὶν θήραις Κινύρου καλό[ν] | υἱὸν  
Ἄδωνιν, ἧ ποτε δισκευθέντα πᾶν καλὸν | ὡς Ὑάκινθον.<sup>221</sup>

Besides his eight victories, Miletos' principal claim to fame appears to have been his physical beauty. From the accompanying relief of a trident, it is probable that he was a *retarius*, a gladiator type which most facilitated the display of physical beauty since the *retarius* wore no helmet and little to cover his body.<sup>222</sup> Physical beauty and strength were qualities for which Greek athletes had long been praised: Pindar praises an Olympian wrestler as καλὸς ἐσορᾶν, while Dio Chrysostom praises the appearance of the boxer, Melankomas. In Lucian's *Anacharsis*, Solon too admires athletes for their beauty.<sup>223</sup>

But however important bravery and beauty were to a gladiator, success in combat was the objective and was the most celebrated achievement presented on gladiatorial tombstones. Victory was often represented in the form of a palm frond or crown, although explicit statements either of victory or invincibility are also found. For example, a gladiator from Philippi died "going graced with crowns": εὐστεφίη στείχων (no. 98), others claim to have been unconquered: ἄλιπτος.<sup>224</sup> A gladiator could also claim success of sorts by proclaiming either that he chose his own death, as did the gladiator, Aias: καί με κατέπεφνεν ἀντίος οὐδεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰδίῳ ἔθανον,<sup>225</sup> or that he had killed the opponent

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<sup>221</sup> No. 433: "You are gazing upon the beautiful Miletos, the fighter, him who is beautiful to be seen, who won eight times in the stadia, just as long ago in the hunts of Kinyras his beautiful son Adonis, the beautiful boy was hit like Hyacinth was".

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Juv. 6. 012: *qui nudus pugnare solet*, cf. Juv. 8.205-6, and Suet. *Claud.* 34: the emperor ordered gladiators who fell accidentally to have their throats cut, especially *retarii*, so that he could see their faces as they died. Since they wore no helmet, the *retarii* were best suited for such a spectacle. Cf. Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below p. 247.

<sup>223</sup> Pindar *Ol.* 8. 19. Cf. *Ol.* 9.94 and 111, and *Ol.* 10. 100-105. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 28 and 29. Lucian *Anach.* 12. Cf. Pleket 1976, 75.

<sup>224</sup> See nos. 51 from Bergoulai, 71 from Beroia, and 179 from Amaseia. Cf. the gladiator in no. 131 from Gortyn who claims never to have yielded in combat.

<sup>225</sup> No. 62: "no opponent killed me, but I died my own death". Cf. *CIL VI 33983 = ILS 5106* from Rome for a gladiator who died his own death: *sua morte obit*. Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 331.

who killed him, as did Phoibos who died in Larissa: συνκαταβιβάσας τὸν εἶδιον ἀντίκαλον,<sup>226</sup> or Zeuxes also known as Kinyras from Cos who boasts that νεικήσας καὶ ἀποκτείνας τὸν σύνζυγον ἀπέθανεν.<sup>227</sup>

Victory was the ultimate goal of competition, for it yielded fame, admiration, and popularity, features also commemorated in the epitaphs of some gladiators. Stephanos, who died in Hierapolis, was a gladiator τὸ πρὶν ἐν σταδίοις κελαδούμενος,<sup>228</sup> and Polyneikes was great in popular opinion: δόξη μέγας ὢν Πολυνείκης (no. 434). This quest for fame and admiration through victory in competition was as old as Homer and was of profound importance in Greek culture.<sup>229</sup> But presenting oneself as victorious and invincible is of limited validity on the tombstone of a gladiator who died in combat, and so many gladiators apologetically ascribed their death either to natural causes such as, sickness and old age or to the workings of Μοῖρα (Fate) or the Δαίμων. The gladiator Polyneikes protests that he was not defeated by skill (τέχνη) but rather that a young body killed an old one (no. 387). This is the only description of gladiatorial combat as a τέχνη. Gladiators, like athletes, avoided giving the impression that they were professionals who fought for money.<sup>230</sup> Other gladiators who fell to sickness rather than an opponent are certain to say so.<sup>231</sup> Fate, however, is the most common reason given for defeat.<sup>232</sup> Often Fate is even assigned an active role in the death of the gladiator, as in the death of

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<sup>226</sup> No. 104: he died "having brought his opponent's life to an end as well".

<sup>227</sup> See no. 159 from Cos: "having defeated and killed his opponent, he died". Cf. nos. 178 from Amisus, and 221 from Smyrna. Rarely is an opponent mentioned by name.

<sup>228</sup> No. 345: "once applauded in the stadia".

<sup>229</sup> See Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

<sup>230</sup> For athletes, see Pleket 1976, 82-83.

<sup>231</sup> See nos. 44, 62, 180, 181, 315, and 459. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 293 and 304.

<sup>232</sup> See nos. 13, 21, 46, 73, 91, 100, 102, 104, 131, 150, 163, 164, 167, 171, 178, 195, 207, 222, 314, 315, 320, 337, 338, 430, 431, 433, and 454. Cf. *ILS* 5111 from Salona: *Amabili secutori | nat. Dacus, pug. XIII | fato deceptus | non ab homine*.

Meiletos in Attaleia: νῦν δέ με πυκτεύσαντα κατήγαγε Μοῖρα βιαίως.<sup>233</sup> Gladiatorial combat could even be perceived as a direct confrontation with Fate: thus Skirtos who died in Tomis claims to have avoided Fate six times previously: ἕξ παρὰ Μοῖραν ἀπελθὼν (no. 13). As in the Homeric epics, Fate was perceived as the invincible and immutable force governing the universe against which it was impossible and futile to stand. Perhaps gladiators were taught to accept Fate absolutely. If they believed that they were to die when Fate decided—no sooner, no later—then such indoctrination would help to explain the apparent willingness of a gladiator to accept the death blow should the people decide he had not fought satisfactorily, or indeed, help a gladiator to administer such a blow to a comrade or perhaps even to a convict.<sup>234</sup> This "moment of truth", when a gladiator is either condemned to death or allowed to live, is the dominant scene in a great number of depictions of gladiatorial combat.<sup>235</sup> This was the moment when one met one's fate.

Four epitaphs carry unusual boasts that appear to be incompatible with the deceased's profession as a gladiator: Milesios who died in Edessa boasts that "he fought five times and hurt no one": πέντε πυκτείσας καὶ μηδένα λυπήσας (no. 99); Olympos claims that "he saved many in the stadia": πολλοὺς δ' ἐν σταδίοις σώσας (no. 102); and Autolukos states that he "took care and wished to save (his opponent)": οὕτως πῶς προλαβὼν σώσαι δὲ θέλω (no. 150). Aias, buried on Thasos, claims that among other accomplishments he saved many souls from under necessity:

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<sup>233</sup> No. 433: "now Fate has forcefully brought me down after I had fought".

<sup>234</sup> Consider the painful uncertainty of the gladiatorial recruit (*tirunculus*) assigned to finish Perpetua, *Mart. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 21.9: *Perpetua autem, ut aliquid doloris gustaret, inter ossa compuncta exululavit, et errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in iugulum suum transtulit*: "Perpetua, however, so that she might taste some pain, screamed when struck on a bone, and then herself guided the trembling hand of the gladiatorial recruit across her throat".

<sup>235</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 410; 423-424; Barton 1993, 32; and Wiedemann 1992, 95-96. Cf. fig. 14 from Apollonia, in which one gladiator waits on his hands and knees for a second gladiator to thrust a sword into his back.

ψυχὰς πολλὰς σώσ[α]ντα κρατερῶς ὑπ' ἀνάγκην, ἐλπίζων καὐτὸς ὅτι κάμοί τις ταῦτ' ἀποδώσει<sup>236</sup>

Robert postulated that the expression of such sentiments was a product of gladiatorial camaraderie.<sup>237</sup> For example, Phoibos, who was buried in Larissa claims to have "lived well and lived among friends": καλῶς δὲ βιώσας, φίλοις ἑτέροις συμβιώσας (no. 104). Quintilian notes that gladiators who trained under the same instructor were often pitted against one another in the arena.<sup>238</sup> Many gladiators could have sympathized with their fellow gladiators and, while they may have fought boldly and courageously in hope of victory, they may not necessarily have fought in order to kill an opponent with whom they lived and trained in the same *familia*. If victorious, there was little to be gained by killing an opponent, and the gladiator who did so may have been perceived as needlessly cruel by his fellow gladiators.<sup>239</sup> Stephanos who was buried at Hierapolis proclaims that he killed his opponent because "he (his opponent) was filled with thoughtless bitterness": κτείννας ἀντίπαλον μεστὸν πικρίας ἀλογίστου.<sup>240</sup> Perhaps some gladiators did not always press an advantage to the point of killing their opponent. In support of this interpretation comes a warning from the grave: Diodoros, a gladiator who died in Amisus, laments the fact that he did not kill his opponent when he had apparently defeated him, for that same opponent later recovered and killed him:

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<sup>236</sup> No. 62: "who mightily saved many souls from under necessity, myself hoping that someone would return such for me". Cf. Seyrig 1928, 391. Klaffenbach 1949, 322, understood ὑπ' ἀνάγκην as "zur Zeit, während der ἀνάγκη", where the ἀνάγκη represented gladiatorial combat.

<sup>237</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 306.

<sup>238</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 2.17.33: *saepe gladiatores sub eodem magistro eruditi inter se componuntur*, cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 362 n. 42. Martial praises Hermes as *turba sui tremorque ludi*: "the confusion and terror of his own school" suggesting that others in the same *ludus* had to fight him. Fortunately for them, Hermes was also *vincere nec ferire doctus*: "taught to conquer not to kill". Cf. Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below at p. 248.

<sup>239</sup> For this "unwritten code" of conduct, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below p. 256.

<sup>240</sup> No. 345. Stephanos also seems to lament the fact that he had to kill a friend: Τὸ γὰρ σθένος οὐ ποτ' ἔλειπε| πρὶν | κτείνειν καλὰ μαις ΠΤΕΟΝ ψυχῆς ἐπικούρον.

Ἐνθάδε νεικήσας κείμαι Διοδώρος | ὁ τλήμων· ἀντίπαλον ῥήξας |  
 Δημήτριον οὐκ ἔκτανον εὐθύς· | ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὀλοή και σουμμοφρου<δου>  
 δόλος αἰνός ἔκτανον, ἐκ δὲ | φάους ἤλυθον εἰς Ἄϊδην. [Κεῖ]μαι δ' ἐν γαίῃ  
 αὐτοχθόνων· ἠδὲ μ' ἔθαψεν ἔνθα φίλος ἀγαθὸς εὐσεβίης ἔνεκεν.<sup>241</sup>

Diodoros defeated his believed that he had defeated his opponent and did not press his advantage and wound or kill him. The *summa rudis*, however, disagreed and compelled to two to continue. A similar opinion was famously expressed by the *secutor* Urbicus from Milan: *te moneo, ut quis quem vicerit occidat*.<sup>242</sup> The warning does not suggest that gladiation was necessarily a murderous and cruel institution. Rather it suggests the opposite was usual, that gladiators did not regularly attempt to kill their opponent.

The qualities and sentiments claimed by gladiators in their epitaphs harmonize with what the Roman thinkers and writers especially valued in the institution of gladiatorial combat: the demonstration of perfect military virtue, the ability or even apparent desire of the gladiator to face life-threatening danger boldly, bravely and scorning death. Interestingly and perhaps surprisingly, however, it does not appear that an especially violent or murderous character was considered an appropriate gladiatorial quality.

Many of the attributes claimed by Greek gladiators, such as beauty, bravery, and invincibility, were similar to those claimed by Greek athletes. Athletic symbols of victory were also borrowed, notably palms and crowns, as was much athletic or agonistic terminology. Gladiators, when they name a location for their combats, always specify ἐν σταδίοις (plural). Gladiatorial combat often did in fact take place in the stadium since there are few amphitheatres in the East, although the phrase, ἐν σταδίοις, used in the

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<sup>241</sup> No. 178: "Here I lie victorious, Diodoros, the wretched. Having felled my opponent, Demetrios, I did not kill him immediately. But murderous Fate and the cunning treachery of the *summa rudis* killed me, and leaving the light I have gone to Hades. I lie in the land of the original inhabitants. My good friend buried me here because of his piety."

<sup>242</sup> *CIL* V 5933 = *ILS* 5115: "I advise you that one should kill him whom one has conquered". Cf. Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

epitaphs of gladiators or athletes could imply either the stadium or the theatre.<sup>243</sup> And an opponent was often referred to as an ἀντίπαλος, a word which properly meant a wrestling opponent.<sup>244</sup> Even Epictetus considers the victories of gladiators to be comparable to those of boxers and pankratiasts:

ἵνα τις, νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, δικαίως ἀσπάζηται αὐτὸν, χαῖρε παράδοξε, οὐχὶ τοὺς σαπροὺς τούτους πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστὰς οὐδὲ τοὺς ὁμοίους αὐτοῖς, τοὺς μονομάχους.<sup>245</sup>

The idea of dying in victory is also one known from the world of Greek athletics. Philostratus and Pausanias both celebrate the sixth century BC victory of Arrachion in the pankration at Olympia in which Arrachion gave his life for victory rather than live having conceded defeat.<sup>246</sup> A first century AD pankratiast continued fighting in the final at Olympia believing that "it was better to sacrifice one's life than to give up hope of winning the wreath", and a second century AD boxer, again from Olympia, prayed to Zeus, ἦ στέφος ἦ | θάνατον.<sup>247</sup> But while an athlete might boast that he preferred victory to his own life, he rarely lived up to these ideals. The gladiator, on the other hand, presumably risked his life for victory whenever he entered the arena. Although a gladiator may die in combat, his dying claim to have taken his opponent's life as well stands as a proclamation of his refusal to surrender; he demonstrated his belief that it was indeed better to sacrifice one's life than to abandon hopes of victory.<sup>248</sup> When drawing comparisons between

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<sup>243</sup> Gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts tended to be held in the theatre or in the stadium. See Chapter 4.3. Location.

<sup>244</sup> For ἀντίπαλος, see nos. 21, 43, 71, 104, 131, 178, and 345.

<sup>245</sup> Arrian *Epict.* 2.18.22: "So that, by the gods, justly one could greet him, "Hail incredible man!" but not those foul boxers and pankratiasts, nor those like them—the gladiators".

<sup>246</sup> Philo. *Imag.* 2.6; Paus. 8.40.1-2. Cf. Poliakoff 1987, 1, 62-63, and 91; and Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, above p. 49-50.

<sup>247</sup> See Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, above p. 50. See also Pleket 1976, 77 with reference to Robert 1968, 198-199 and 288, and to Merkelbach 1975, 122-123.

<sup>248</sup> S. Brunet has argued that athletes who boasted of having fought to a draw in competition are in fact proclaiming their refusal to surrender. S. Brunet, "Fighting to a Draw: the Competitive Spirit in Greek Athletics" paper delivered at the meeting of the *American Philological Association*, Chicago, 1997.

athletics and gladiation, the gladiators seldom failed to stress the severity of their "sport" compared even to the brutality of the pankration and boxing. An epitaph from Gortyn on Crete (no. 131), for example, proclaims that gladiators did not fight for the olive, but rather for their lives: οὐ κότινος τὸ θέμα, ψυχῆς δ' ἔνεκεν μαχόμεσθα. The gladiator thus presents himself a paradigm of the Greek agonistic spirit.

## 2.8. MOTIVATION

The tombstone of a gladiator, often set up by his wife or comrade in arms, is an honorific monument intended to praise the deceased and preserve his memory. By far the most common sentiment presented is that of victory: relief images of victorious gladiators, as well as the symbols of victory, palms and crowns, and statements of success and invincibility. Chrysomallos, who died in Nicaea, even suggests that he was killed over a point of honour when he laments the fact that a certain Tydeus has killed him: ἐκ[τ]εινεν δέ [μ]ε [Τ]υδεὺς ὃν οὐκ ἤσχυσα.<sup>249</sup> Could gladiatorial combat be perceived as a duty of honour? Rarely, but not exceptionally, do gladiators mention their home city. The *retarius*, Euphrates, buried in Thessaloniki, claims that his six victories glorified his fatherland:

Εὐφράτης πάϊς ἦλθον· | ΑΙΘΕ πλοκαμείδες ἐπησαν. Ἐξάκι νικήσας |  
πατρίδ' ἐπη<υ>κλείσα.<sup>250</sup>

Perhaps the homeland of a gladiator was announced when he entered the arena, as is suggested by a relief from Smyrna depicting four gladiators each carrying a placard in their right hand (no. 236 = fig. 1). A *myrmillo*, whose name is now lost, may have claimed to be "the glory of Smyrna", although this reading has been reconstructed: Ζμύρνης |

<sup>249</sup> No. 167 line 4: "Tydeus killed me, a gladiator whom I have not shamed". In no. 345 from Hierapolis, Stephanos claims that he died after he killed his opponent who was filled with thoughtless bitterness; line 2: κτείννας ἀντίκαλον μεστόν πικρίας ἀλογίστου.

<sup>250</sup> No. 88: "I, Euphrates, came as a child, still having my long (youthful) hair. I was victorious six times and I glorified my homeland". Peek 1955, no. 1019 suggests, ἔθ' αἰ for ΑΙΘΕ.

[κλέος? . . .] (no. 46). Reading the epitaphs, one would believe that the gladiators fought purely for their personal honour and glory and perhaps that of their homeland.

Furthermore, the ideal of fighting for one's homeland and bringing glory to it through victory is an important element in athletic ideology and finds expression in athletic inscriptions.<sup>251</sup> Like athletes and other competitors, however, there is no mention of monetary recompense which could follow a victory, although other evidence, epigraphic and literary, suggests that such remuneration was typical.

The *Aes Italicense*, which dates to the year 177, concerns the maximum prices to be paid for gladiatorial *munera* and the monetary remuneration due victorious gladiators. Free gladiators could expect to receive 25 % of their value as determined by both their rank and the overall size of the *munus*, while slave gladiators received 20 %:

Item censeo de exceptis ita opservandum ut praecipuum mercedis gladiator sibi quisque paciscatur eius pecuniae quae ob hanc causam excipi|ebantur quartam portionem liber, serv<u>s autem quintam accipiat.<sup>252</sup>

Earlier in the decree (lines 46-55), the prices for gladiators were established according to their rank and the cost of the overall *munus*; for example, the lowest ranked gladiator fighting in a *munus* worth HS 30,000 to 60,000 cost HS 3,000. A free gladiator fighting in this category, therefore, ought to have received for a victory HS 750 (= 25 %), and a slave, HS 600 (= 20 %). The highest ranked gladiator competing in the most expensive *munus* category (HS 150,000 to 200,000+), however, was evaluated at HS 15,000, with the result that a free gladiator won HS 3,750 (= 25 %), and a slave, HS 3,000 (= 20 %).

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<sup>251</sup> See Robert 1967, 14-32; and Robert 1978a, 287-288: when the athlete registered for an event (ἀπογράφεσθαι), he provided not only his name, but ethnic as well. Often the victorious athlete would return home and present his crown to his hometown: ἐνίκησε καὶ ἐστεφάνωσε τὴν πόλιν.

<sup>252</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 45-46: "Likewise I support the opinion that in the matter of prize money care must be taken that as his own share of the reward each free gladiator contract to receive a quarter of that money, whatever used to be set aside for that purpose in the past, but each slave receive a fifth." Translated by Oliver & Palmer 1955. Cf. Lafaye, 1572.



Moreover, a volunteer could earn HS 2,000, and should he return to risk his life in combat after his initial duty was completed, he could receive up to HS 12,000:

Is autem qui aput tribunum <p>lebei c(larissimum) v(irum) sponte ad dimicandum profitebitur, cum habeat ex lege pretium duo milia, s[i] libertatus discrimen instauraverit, aestimatio eius posthac HS XII (milia) non excedat.<sup>253</sup>

No longer subject to a *lanista*, such a free veteran gladiator could contract to fight for these much larger sums, perhaps payed in advance. These gladiators had been demonstrably successful and offered a thrilling attraction to the people, to judge from the reaction of Echion to the presence of *liberti* rather than a *familia lanistica* at the *munus* of his friend Titus.<sup>254</sup> Furthermore, the payment of money to a successful gladiator may have been part of the spectacle; Suetonius recounts how Claudius counted on his fingers along with the rest of the crowd the gold coins presented to a victorious gladiator.<sup>255</sup> Consider also the mosaic of Magerius from Smirat in North Africa which depicts the prize money due the Telegenii, who had performed in his *venatio*, and the accompanying inscription recording the demands of the people that the performers be paid. Significantly, the people also praised Magerius for his generosity.<sup>256</sup> Lucian relates a story in which the Scythian characters, Toxaris and Sisinnus, find themselves penniless in the Greek city of Amastris on the Black Sea. In need of money, Sisinnus sets out to find work and sees in the market a procession of handsome young men who had been hired to fight in gladiatorial combat.

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<sup>253</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 62-63: "In the case of him, however, who voluntarily, in the presence of His Excellency the Tribune of the People, may announce his intention to fight at the legal price of HS 2,000, (I suggest that) if this man, when he has obtained his release, will have reentered this dangerous profession, his valuation thereafter not exceed HS 12,000." Translated by Oliver & Palmer 1955.

<sup>254</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 45: *Et ecce habituri sumus munus eccellente in triduo die festa; familia non lanistica, sed plurimi liberti*: "But look, we are soon to have an outstanding *munus* lasting three days, not the gladiators of a *lanista*, but a great number of freedmen". Cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.18: Thiasus, the *duovir quinquennalis* in Corinth, travelled to Thessaly in search of famous gladiators (*famosos gladiatores*).

<sup>255</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 21.5.

<sup>256</sup> See Beschtaouch 1966, Dunbabin 1978, 67 and pl. 22.

ἔωθεν δὲ περιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἶδε προκομπὴν τινα, ὡς ἔφη, γενναίων καὶ καλῶν νεανίσκων. μονομαχεῖν δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ μισθῷ ἀνδρολογηθέντες.<sup>257</sup>

On the day of the spectacle, a herald announces a reward of ten thousand drachmas for anyone who would fight a gladiator and Sisinnus quickly accepted the challenge, receiving his money in advance.<sup>258</sup> Although there is no supporting evidence for such open contests, Lucian does strongly suggest that the lucrative nature of gladiation was well-known.

A gladiator, if successful, could earn a substantial amount of money, something already indicated by the existence of inscribed and carved tombstones: only people of at least moderate wealth could afford such memorials. More ominously, the proconsul Quintilian compared the zeal for death shown by the martyr Pionios to those who enlist to fight wild beasts for a bit of money: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι ἐλαχίστου ἀργυρίου πρὸς τὰ θηρία θανάτου καταφρονοῦσι.<sup>259</sup> These wild beast hunters were paid. In addition to professional combats, gladiators could also be used as bodyguards by the highpriests and their associates who owned them.<sup>260</sup> Tacitus tells us that Nero protected himself with soldiers and gladiators when he roamed the streets at night.<sup>261</sup> To guarantee their loyalty, it is reasonable to assume that gladiators who were so employed were well-paid. Horace evoked the image of a retired gladiator, Veianius, living comfortably in the

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<sup>257</sup> Luc. *Tox.* 58: "The next morning when he went down to the market he saw a parade, as he said, of high-born and handsome young men. They had been enlisted for pay to fight as gladiators".

<sup>258</sup> Luc. *Tox.* 59.

<sup>259</sup> *Mart. Pion.* 20.6: "For those who enlist to fight the beasts for a very little bit of money despise death". Cf. Robert 1994, 113.

<sup>260</sup> For ownership of gladiators by highpriests, see Chapter 3.6. Financing. Presentations of gladiatorial combats were rare and special events. Gladiators, therefore had ample time when not in training or actually performing. See Chapter 3.5. Frequency. For the importance of bodyguards, see, for example, MacMullen 1988, 71-72; and Wiedemann 1992, 123.

<sup>261</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 13.25: *Nero tamen metuentior in posterum milites sibi et plerosque gladiatores circumdedit.* Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.22 for the use of gladiators as personal guards and thugs by a military commander.

country, having hung up his weapons: *Veianius armis / Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro, / ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.*<sup>262</sup> With large amounts of money available to be won, it is conceivable that a gladiator could retire to lead a peaceful life in the country. It is significant, however, that the gladiators do not mention the financial gains made and prefer to exhibit the symbols of glory and victory, for by so doing, they behave much like athletes and other competitors who took part in the great agonistic festivals of the East.<sup>263</sup>

## 2.9. SOCIAL STATUS

Nowhere is the ambiguous social status of the gladiator and similar performers in Roman society more clearly expressed than in Tertullian's essay *De Spectaculis: quanta perversitas! amant quos multant, depretiant quos probant, artem magnificant, artificem notant.*<sup>264</sup> While such performers were considered the lowest of the low, *perditi homines*, and as a group were officially despised in Roman society for their low status and occupation, it was nevertheless possible for them as individuals to earn money and fame and to enjoy immense popularity.<sup>265</sup> T. Wiedemann notes this inconsistency in the status accorded Roman gladiators: "the contrast between the fame of individual gladiators and the *infamia* with which gladiators as a group were stigmatised is striking."<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.4-6: "Veianius, his arms hung on Hercules' door, lies hidden in the country, lest he have to beg the people again and again for his life on the sand."

<sup>263</sup> Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 66.11) talks of a man who hired a famous Olympic champion to appear in a local contest. Cf. Pleket 1976, 65.

<sup>264</sup> Tert. *de Spect.* 22: "What perversity! They love those whom they punish, they degrade those whom they approve, the art they esteem, the artist they stigmatize". Cf. Barton 1993, 12-15.

<sup>265</sup> Many modern scholars have emphasized the Roman conception of the gladiator as utterly worthless, a person whose suffering did not matter, a conception so well-known from literature. See esp. Ville, *La gladiature*, chapter VI, "L'idéologie et l'arène: contestations et morale du 'munus'". On 344, however, Ville treats the ambivalent social position of the gladiator, who could be treated with both "honneur et mépris".

<sup>266</sup> Wiedemann 1992, 28. Cf. Imholz 1972; and Merkelbach 1995, for the use of the term "gladiator" as an insult. The social ambivalence of the gladiator is the central concern of Barton.

The *infamia* suffered by gladiators and other performers in Roman society was a social and quasi-legal disability involving the loss of reputation (*fama*) and good name (*existimatio*) imposed on criminals, those found guilty of a breach of faith, and those engaged in certain disreputable professions, especially if so engaged for pay. It was a means of preserving the esteem of the ruling classes in Rome and was applied on an *ad hoc* basis both punitively against those (primarily) from the ruling classes who by their actions violated the social and moral standards of the elite, and preventively to justify various forms of discrimination against social mobility of certain members of the lower classes.<sup>267</sup> Thus the *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum pertains:

ad eos qui contra dignitatem ordinis sui in scaenam ludumv[*v* prodirent ?seve auctora][*rent*] u(ti) s(ancitur) s(enatus) c(onsultis) quae d(e) e(a) r(e) facta essent superioribus annis, adhibita fraude qua maiestatem senat[us] minuerent<sup>268</sup>

Yet *infamia* as a social stigma proclaiming the loss of face is a dilemma only for those with status to lose. In other words, *infamia* was primarily the concern of the upper classes. But what the upper classes said officially and did privately were often not in agreement, for many senators and equites were great aficionados of gladiation, many even practiced their swordsmanship with gladiatorial trainers and perhaps even in the arms and armour of a specific gladiator. Three inscriptions from Italy clearly link the *iuvenes* with gladiatorial training. A group of *iuvenes* from Paestum honoured a freedman and Augustalis, M. Tullius Primigenius, as *summarudi suo*,<sup>269</sup> and another inscription from

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<sup>267</sup> See *OCD* s.v. "infamia"; Crook 1967, 83-85; Levick 1983, 108-110; Ville, *La gladiature*, 339-344; and Wiedemann 1992, 28-29. The *Tabula Heracleensis* (*FIRA* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 18, lines 112-113), dating to the late republic, provides a list of those disqualified from the local *ordo* (including gladiators), although the decree itself does not specify *infamia* as the reason for their disqualification, this disability can be argued to have been the reason.

<sup>268</sup> Lines 5-6: "to those who contrary to the dignity of the order to which they belonged, were appearing on stage or at games or were pledging themselves to fight as gladiators (?), as forbidden by the SCC that had been passed on that subject in previous years, employing fraudulent evasion to the detriment of the senate". Translated by Levick 1983.

<sup>269</sup> *AE* 1935, no. 27 = *EAOR* III, no. 64.

Lucus Feroniae refers to a *summaruda iuvenum*.<sup>270</sup> Similar is an inscription from Spoletium for C. Cominienus Fortunatianus, an Augustalis and *pinn(irapus) iuvenum*.<sup>271</sup> Upper class Roman youth were clearly interested in weapons training,<sup>272</sup> a skill which they practiced probably in the local *campus* or *ludus*,<sup>273</sup> and which they demonstrated in regular games, the *Iuvenalia*.<sup>274</sup> There is little evidence for comparable gladiatorial instruction by Greek youth, although Livy does say that the *munera* presented by the Seleucid king, Antiochus IV Epiphanes in the second century BC inspired in the youth a love of arms: *etiam familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit, et armorum studium plerisque iuvenum accendit*.<sup>275</sup> Robert compares Livy's *armorum studium* with Greek φιλόπλια, a later expression of Greek enthusiasm for gladiatorial combat.<sup>276</sup> As an association of young men who followed gladiatorial combat, the φίλοπλοι could reasonable have been composed of young men who also practiced gladiatorial combat techniques like their Roman counterparts. Certainly the Greek gymnasium was home not only to traditional Greek athletics, but also to certain paramilitary training for the *neoi* and *ephebes*.

Although members of the elite families in the West and perhaps the East did enroll to fight in the arena, most gladiators were drawn from the lowest orders of society: slaves,

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<sup>270</sup> EAOR II, no. 36. The inscription has not been fully published.

<sup>271</sup> CIL XI 7852 = ILS 6635 = EAOR II, no. 39. For the *pinnirapus* as instructor in arms for the *iuvenes*, cf. Juv. 3.157-158: *hic plaudat nitidi praeconis filius inter / pinnirapi cultos iuvenes iuvenesque lanistae*. The SC from Larinum prohibits senators and equestrians from *pinnas rapere* (line 10).

<sup>272</sup> See Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation.

<sup>273</sup> Devijver & van Wonterghem 1985 have argued that the *campus* in western cities was a training ground for the local *iuventus*. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 45.

<sup>274</sup> See especially Kleijwegt 1991, 109; Slater 1994, 133; and Kleijwegt 1994, 83-88 and 93-94. Contra Ginestet 1991, 153. The *Iuvenalia* included demonstrations in arms, as well as hunts. For example, as a younger man, the emperor Titus had been involved in youth games (Dio Cass. 65.15.2: ἐν ταῖς νεανίσκων παιδιαῖς) fighting in armour (ὄπλους) in a σκιαμαχία at Reate. Dio specifically contrasts this σκιαμαχία with a gladiatorial μονομαχία. Suetonius (*Tit.* 8.2) adds that Titus practiced in the arms of a *thraex*: *studium armaturae Thraecum*.

<sup>275</sup> Livy 41.20.12.

<sup>276</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264 n. 1, cf. 24-27. For discussion, see Chapter 4.4. Spectators.

prisoners, and the poor.<sup>277</sup> Provided that they were sufficiently courageous and possessed a certain proficiency in arms, their status in society could only rise. That they may have incurred *infamia* in the eyes of some from the senatorial or equestrian elite was virtually meaningless, especially when compared to the possibility of fame and monetary gain with which successful gladiators were rewarded. Indeed, the recorded restrictions against the elevation of gladiators and ex-gladiators into positions of prestige would imply that such social mobility was not only possible, but that it occurred.<sup>278</sup> An embassy to Septimius Severus ended in failure when the emperor discovered the ambassador had once fought in the arena. Despite his failure, this retired gladiator had clearly achieved a position of prominence in his own community.<sup>279</sup> *Summa* and *secunda rudes*, who were probably drawn from the ranks of retired gladiators,<sup>280</sup> could also become important members of society. The *summa rudis* M. Tullius Primigenius from Paestum mentioned above was not only an instructor for the local *iuvenes*, but also an Augustalis. Other examples from the East confirm the social importance of these men. For example, a *summa rudis* from Ancyra in Pisidia made a dedication to the god Men (no. 442), and the *summa rudis* Lucius Vettonius Alexander from Mylasa erected a statue of Zeus Labraundos from his own resources on behalf of the town elders (no. 393). These men could also receive high civic honours. Thus P. Aelius, a *summa rudis* who died in Ancyra in Galatia, had been awarded citizenship in a number of cities in the East (no. 450), and the tomb of the deceased *summa rudis*, Apollonius, was honoured annually with flowers by the local *gerousia* in Hierapolis (no. 347). If these men had once been gladiators, then it is clear

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<sup>277</sup> See above Chapter 2.3. Origins. For Greek gladiators possibly of noble birth, see no. 98 and Luc. *Tox.* 58, discussed above p. 135.

<sup>278</sup> See the *Tabula Heracleensis* (*FIRA* I<sup>2</sup>, no. 18, line 113) and Tert. *de Spect.* 22.

<sup>279</sup> Dig. 50.7.5.1: *sed et eos, quibus ius postulandi non est, legatione fungi non posse et ideo harena missum non iure legatum esse missum divi Severus et Antoninus rescripserunt.* Cf. Potter 1994, 231.

<sup>280</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization.

that their participation in the institution had not prevented their social advancement, and it is possible that success as a gladiator had aided in their social standing. Certainly, their obvious association with gladiation did not adversely affect their social status. Even Epictetus could extol the desire for competition and combat displayed by gladiators;<sup>281</sup> Plutarch could see in some Greek gladiators a good Hellene rather than a barbarian;<sup>282</sup> Galen never hid his association with the gladiatorial *familia* in Pergamum; and Libanius in the fourth century even equated gladiators with the Three Hundred who stood at Thermopylae.<sup>283</sup>

Artemidorus relates the story of a man who enlisted as a gladiator and fought for several years after dreaming that he was raised and carried in a trough full of blood, even eating some of it. He also dreamt that he met his mother who said that he had disgraced her.<sup>284</sup> Artemidorus analyzes the dream thus:

τὸ τε γὰρ ἀνθρώπειον αἷμα ἐσθίειν τὴν ἀπὸ αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου ὤμην, τε καὶ ἀνόσιον ἐσθίμαιεν αὐτοῦ τροφήν, καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς φωνὴ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοῦ βίου προεμαντεύετο.<sup>285</sup>

Artemidorus is echoing the standard (upper class) disapproval recorded by many Roman authors. In general, however, competitors and performers in the Greek East never suffered from the same opprobrium as did their counterparts in the West and in fact a desire to compete and win victory was central to Greek aristocratic ideology. Gladiators

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<sup>281</sup> Arrian *Epict.* 1.29.37, quoted in Chapter 3.5. Frequency, below p. 217.

<sup>282</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 1099c. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 115 and 145; Swain 1996, 419; and Chapter 4.4. Spectators.

<sup>283</sup> Lib. *Or.* 1.5.

<sup>284</sup> Artem. 5.58. In his dream, his mother said: "ὦ τέκνον, ἄτιμόν με ἐποίησας". In *Onirocritica* 1.8, Artemidorus discusses the cultural relativism known most famously from Herodotus (3.38: καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκέει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι). He notes that in Larissa, the most noble youths take part in the bull fights (the *taurokathapsia*) while in the rest of the world this is done by convicts sentenced to death.

<sup>285</sup> Artem. 5.58: "For the fact that he ate human blood signified his cruel and unholy livelihood of spilling men's blood. The voice of his mother foretold the disgrace of his way of life". This translation is based on that of White 1975.

in the East appealed to, represented, and displayed many of the same values as other Greek competitors, especially athletes: courageousness and audacity in the face of death, physical beauty, strength, skill, manliness, and military ability. They placed the same overriding importance on victory and were rewarded with the same symbols of victory: palm fronds and crowns. And like athletes and other performers, they never boasted of the money which their victories brought them. This athletic ideology of gladiators in the East is significant, for, according to Ulpian, athletes were not stage performers, since an athlete competes to demonstrate his prowess (*virtus*). In general, all those who performed in the sacred contests did not suffer *infamia*:

Athletas autem Sabinus et Cassius responderunt omnino artem ludicram non facere: virtutis enim gratia hoc facere. et generaliter ita omnes opinantur et utile videtur, ut neque thymelici neque xystici neque agitadores nec qui aquam equis spargunt ceteraque eorum ministeria, qui certaminibus sacris deserviunt, ignominiosi habeantur.<sup>286</sup>

The passage, of course, does not mention gladiators, but as important performers in the celebrations of the imperial cult (see Chapter 3), it may be that the famous gladiators also escaped *infamia*.

While the belletristic elite may have occasionally expressed positive sentiments concerning the institution and those involved with it, their stated opinions were typically negative. Ultimately, however, the social standing of a gladiator was established by the society in which he lived, that is, by the collective attitudes of the masses of citizens and others who watched and cheered. The opinions of the upper class do not provide an accurate gauge of the attitude of the larger mass of Greek people. Unfortunately, the opinions of the masses of Greek citizens toward the institution of gladiation are seldom heard directly. But they may be heard indirectly through their support for those ambitious

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<sup>286</sup> *Dig. 3.2.4 praef. 1*: "Sabinus and Cassius said in replies that athletes in no way performed on stage, for their object was to display their prowess. The general opinion and it seems the correct one is that neither musicians, nor athletes, nor charioteers, nor those who sprinkle water on the horses and others who work in the sacred contests should be held to incur *infamia*".



politicians who did present gladiatorial combats. Plutarch, for example, criticized those ambitious politicians who borrow money to present shows saying that the popularity engendered by them is fleeting. While this passage may or may not indicate Plutarch's personal biases, it does indicate that the people enjoyed and appreciated shows such as gladiatorial combats and were willing to support the ambitions of those who would provide them.<sup>287</sup> Indirectly also are they heard through the tombstones of the gladiators themselves. Gladiatorial epitaphs not only celebrate the profession of the deceased, but praise it and glorify it. The gladiators proudly identify themselves by their gladiatorial name rather than by their birth name, proudly state their armament type and other aspects of the institution using Greek athletic or Latin technical vocabulary, and proudly describe the attributes for which they claim to have been famous. It is through this pride that we can measure the attitude of the Greek people more generally, for pride must be socially endorsed and socially maintained. It is doubtful that the gladiators would have boasted of their proficiency in a profession which was widely considered ignominious. Many of the values presented and celebrated by the gladiators, moreover, were entirely honorable and laudable in a Greek context, for gladiation was not necessarily an especially murderous or needlessly cruel form of combat, but a display of military bravery and ability where two champions fought in single combat in an attempt to win ostentatious victory. The values at the heart of Greek gladiation were the same as those at the ideological heart of Greek athletics and Greek agonistic culture more generally, that is, victory before all else—including one's own life.

Greek gladiators may not be merely borrowing the symbolism, ideology, and terminology of Greek athletics; instead they may have come to represent a more complete version of the ideals encompassed in Greek agonistic values. The origins of these values

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<sup>287</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 823E. Plutarch is here attempting to argue the superiority of rhetorical ability over wealth. See also Chapter 3.7. Motivation.

lay in the Homeric and aristocratic values of the warrior and the glory and fame which had come from single combat. These energies or impulses were subsequently channeled into athletics, where initially aristocrats and soon most Greeks could compete and win victory, glory, and fame.<sup>288</sup> Gladiation, although Roman in origin, manifested the heroic ideals of athletes. An athlete may pray for "victory or death", but a gladiator meant it.

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<sup>288</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

## CHAPTER 3.

### ADMINISTRATION

#### 3.1. EVIDENCE

Gladiatorial combats were presented by members of the wealthy upper classes who could both afford such an expense and who were in the position to profit from the popularity such spectacles occasioned. As opposed to the gladiators whom we know primarily from their epitaphs, the upper classes have left considerably more evidence, both literary and epigraphic, from which we can learn details of their lives and public careers and the motivations which compelled them to present the spectacles. But while authors such as Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, Apuleius, Lucian, and Galen occasionally mention gladiatorial spectacles and the reasons for their presentation, they generally only do so in passing or to illustrate a larger point which they are making, and so the information to be gained is decidedly imperfect. Additionally, those references to gladiation found in literary works must be read with care, for they are likely to be an expression of the author's personal opinion—or rather what the author wished his reader to think his personal opinion was—instead of a statement meant to capture or express the attitudes of the Greek people more generally. Many Greek and Roman authors, moreover, practiced a studied disinterest in the shows.<sup>1</sup> Tacitus explains that the writing of history is about momentous events (*res illustres*) rather than amphitheatres and gladiators, and Dio Cassius feels the need to apologize to his reader when he discusses Commodus' infatuation with gladiatorial

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<sup>1</sup> Cic. *Mur.* 40 concedes that everybody enjoys the shows although some pretend not to. Cf. Plass 1995, 66.

shows: καὶ μὴ μέ τις κηλιδοῦν τὸν τῆς ἱστορίας ὄγκον, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα συγγράφω, νομίσει· ἄλλως μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν εἶπον αὐτά.<sup>2</sup>

We have a number of inscriptions set up either by an individual for himself or by another which provide evidence for the reasons for the adoption and presentation of gladiatorial combats in the East. Inscriptions of this type include commemorative monuments, set up ostensibly to announce an upcoming presentation but whose underlying aim was to commemorate it, and honorific inscriptions celebrating the offices, accomplishments and benefactions—which can include the provision of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts (μονομαχίαι καὶ κυνηγέσια)—of a notable member of the community. At present, there are about 120 "elite" inscriptions from the cities of the Greek East which directly relate to gladiation there. In most cases, the inscription was one element of much larger monuments, either commemorative displays perhaps accompanied by gladiatorial reliefs, or statues of the honorand set up in public locations. Such monuments were meant to impress the passer-by and so information included in the inscription was that which would have added to the renown and honour of the individual thus commemorated. Taken together, these inscriptions provide evidence for the terminology used to describe the gladiators and their combats; the ownership of gladiatorial troops and the relationship between the gladiators and the elite; the dates, duration, and size of the spectacles; and often the purported reasons for the presentation of the spectacle.

Many of these inscriptions can be dated with more precision than is possible for the epitaphs of deceased gladiators. Some provide the names and titles of the reigning emperor or other governing officials which allows for precise dating, while others give the exact date (using local or Roman calendars). Moreover, much larger epigraphic corpora

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<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 13.31.1 cf. 13.49.1; cf. Wistrand 1992, 11-14. Dio Cass. 73.18.3: "And let no one think that I am sullyng the dignity of history when I write about such things; in other cases I would not have said anything".

which have been assembled from several Greek cities in the East, especially in Asia Minor, have made prosopographical identification and approximate dating of important individuals and families possible. The earliest of these inscriptions date to the reigns of the first Roman emperors, Augustus and Tiberius, but the majority are from the second to the third centuries, a period of time which generally corresponds to the date of the gladiatorial epitaphs from across the East.<sup>3</sup> And as with the gladiatorial epitaphs, this period of time corresponds to the general epigraphic pattern discussed by S. Mrozek and R. MacMullen in which the quantity of epigraphic material across the Empire rises gradually throughout the imperial period and peaks generally in the late second or early third century after which it falls off.<sup>4</sup> Given this larger phenomenon, therefore, the number of inscriptions is expected to peak in the late second century and the early third. But this does not *necessarily* mean that gladiation was less frequent before this time, only that it is less well-attested.

### 3.2. TERMINOLOGY

As opposed to the gladiators themselves who proudly used both Latin terminology and Greek athletic terms to describe themselves and their profession, the elite who produced the spectacles preferred older Greek words and phrases. The fact that it was generally the elite and seldom the gladiators who used the terms *μονομάχος* and *μονομαχία* to express "gladiator" and "gladiatorial combat" has already been noted.<sup>5</sup> At present, all 37 epigraphic references to *μονομαχία* are made in honorific inscriptions set up by or for the elite, while of the 34 attestations of the term *μονομάχος*, only three appear to have been

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<sup>3</sup> See Chapter 2.1. Evidence, p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> See Chapter 2.1. Evidence, p. 68. Cf. Mrozek 1973; MacMullen 1982; and Mrozek 1988.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 2.2. Terminology.

used by a gladiator in reference to himself.<sup>6</sup> As in the West, gladiatorial combats were typically presented in conjunction with wild beast hunts (*venationes*), although these spectacles were known in the East by the Greek word, κυνηγέσια, or alternatively, κυνηγέσιον, κυνήγια, κυνήγιον or θηριομαχία.

The term, μονομαχία, and its cognates suggested heroic single combat and enjoyed a pedigree which suited the classicizing sensibilities of the upper classes under the Empire, for this word and its cognates, although not used by Homer, had been employed by classical Athenian writers as significant as Aeschylus, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Plato, along with Herodotus and the later Polybius to refer to single combat.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, the description of Roman gladiatorial combat as μονομαχία evoked images of heroic single combat especially celebrated by Homer.<sup>8</sup> Rarely but not exceptionally are there more explicit references made in inscriptions to gladiators as heroic warriors, as for example in no. 445 from Sagalassus where Tertullus refers to them with a Homeric epithet: στρατιή ἀρηφίλων φωτῶν, "the army of men dear to Ares".<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the unnamed pontarch from Tomis describes his gladiators as Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες, "the athletes of Ares", and their combats as Ἄραιως ἄθλα, "the contests of Ares" (no. 10).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> For μονομαχία (generally plural, μονομαχίαι), see nos. 22, 23, 24 (probable), 25, 29, 30 (probable), 65, 66, 67, 86, 128, 129, 166, 176, 182, 183 (probable), 193 (probable), 257, 261, 286, 287, 301, 349, 399, 401, 403 (possible), 418, 420, 421, 422, 425, 432, 437, 447, and 449. For μονομάχος, see nos. 2 (= Latin, *monomachus*), 4, 109, 136, 147, 154, 174, 177, 184, 186 (probable), 190, 210, 211, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 282, 289, 330, 336, 350, 357, 358, 392, 404, 410, and 448. The three attestations of μονομάχος used by gladiators (nos. 2, 147, 458, and perhaps 190) are unusual: see Chapter 2.2. Terminology, above p. 72-73.

<sup>7</sup> Aesch. *Sept.* 798; Eurip. *Heracl.* 819; *Phoen.* 1220, 1300, 1325, 1363; Aristophanes *Phoenician Women* Frag. 558 (quoted by Ath. 4.154E); Pl. *Cra.* 391E; Hdt. 5.1, 5.8, 6.92, 7.104, 9.26 (bis), 9.27. Plut. *Mor.* 675C suggests that long ago the Olympic festival included a μονομαχίας ἀγῶν in which the defeated competitor was slain; see Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia, above p. 52. Cf. no. 2 from Dyrrachium where in a Latin inscription, the Greek word *monomachus* was borrowed, presumably because it was more prestigious than the Latin *gladiator*.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Il.* 2.788 where the epithet is applied to Achilles.

<sup>10</sup> See Chapter 2. The Greek Gladiator for uses of heroic names, language, and imagery by the gladiators themselves.

Although they often undertook the potentially enormous costs of keeping gladiators and presenting them in combat, these upper class Greeks stayed true to their classicizing tastes and with a few significant exceptions rarely used Latin terminology in honorific inscriptions to describe this Roman institution.

The regularity of this coupling, *μονομαχία καὶ κυνηγέσια*, enables an interpretation of the phrase, *δι' ὄπλων*, which appears primarily in Thracian and Moesian inscriptions.<sup>11</sup> Generally this phrase is attached to the office of highpriest thus, *ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων* (nos. 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, and 53), although expressions such as, *φιλότιμος δι' ὄπλων* and *φιλοτειμησάμενος δι' ὄπλων*, are also attested (nos. 26 and 48, respectively).<sup>12</sup> The precise nature of this phrase is explicable with reference to two inscriptions from Tomis (nos. 8 and 9) both of which honour a pontarch who also held the office of highpriest: *ἀρχιερασάμενος τὴν δι' ὄπλων καὶ κυνηγεσίων φιλοδόξως* (or *ἐνδόξως*) *φιλοτειμίαν*. Comparison with the more common expression, *μονομαχίαι καὶ κυνηγέσια*, would imply that *ὄπλων* here be equated with *μονομαχίων* and specify gladiatorial combat.<sup>13</sup> An *ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων*, therefore, was essentially a highpriest who held that position through or for the presentation of gladiatorial combat. This interpretation is most obvious in no. 48 from Abdera, in which Marcus Ulpius Autolycus was honoured for what can only be his three day presentation of gladiatorial combats for his homeland: *φιλοτειμησάμενος δι' ὄπλων ἡμέραις γ' τῆ πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ*, and in no. 47 from Bizye where Marcus Aurelius Calandio was honoured as *ιερεὺς καὶ ταλαντάρχης δι' ὄπλων* on a monument which depicts relief scenes of gladiatorial

<sup>11</sup> See nos. 8, 9, 26, 33, 34, 35, 36, 40, 41, 47, 48, 53, and 248. No. 434 from Attaleia is an epigram in which the gladiator writes about the *μάχαις δι' ὄπλων*, "the battles in arms".

<sup>12</sup> All attestations of this phrase are found *following* an office or other honour, typically that of highpriest. The proposed restorations of *δι' ὄπλων* *before* the word *ἀρχιερεὺς* in nos. 29 and 30 both from Serdica, therefore, ought to be considered suspect. No. 29 (line 4) has: - - -]ν ἀρχιερεὺς | [- - -, and no. 30 (line 6) has: - - -]ον ἀρχιερεὺς - - -. Contra Robert 1946a, 112-115 who does restore *δι' ὄπλων ἀρχιερεὺς* in both cases. See below p. 184.

<sup>13</sup> Seyrig 1928, 388-392; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 24; and Robert 1982b, 155.

combat. The plural term ὄπλα was used by Homer to refer to heroic weapons or armour.<sup>14</sup> It was a word which, like μονομάχος, carried with it a degree of prestige and cultural importance to the Greeks, and the use of it in reference to gladiators is likewise significant.<sup>15</sup>

Like *gladiator*, the words *munus* and *munerarius* were not imported into Greek, but, as Robert has repeatedly demonstrated, these concepts were expressed using the preexisting Greek terms, φιλοτιμία (or φιλοδοξία), φιλότιμος (or φιλόδοξος) and the verb, φιλοτιμείσθαι.<sup>16</sup> For example, in no. 109 from Megara, the honorand, Gaius Curtius Proclus, is said to have provided twenty pairs of gladiators: φιλοτειμησάμενον μονομάχων ζεύγη κ'. The term *philotimia* could be used to denote the presentation of gladiatorial combats (*munus*) and also wild beast hunts, as in two similar inscriptions from Beroia (nos. 65 and 66). Both are announcements and advertisements for upcoming gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts presented in honour of the reigning emperor (Severus Alexander in no. 65 and Gordian III in no. 66). In no. 65, Valerianus Philoxenos and his wife, Valeriana Ammia, announce that they will provide in Beroia three days of hunts and gladiators, and they then state: ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμῶν τῆ πρό Ζ καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίῶν.<sup>17</sup> The term *philotimia* and its cognates was, like μονομαχία and ὄπλα, an old Greek word whose semantic range was expanded to include the provision of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts. Not surprisingly, *philotimia* and its cognates

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<sup>14</sup> Homer: e.g. *Il.* 18.614; 19.21.

<sup>15</sup> Compounds made with ὄπλα were also used by gladiators themselves; see Chapter 2. The Greek Gladiator and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 24.

<sup>16</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 276-280; Robert 1946, 125-126; Robert 1982a, 236; Robert 1994, 102. For φιλοτιμία or φιλοτειμία, see nos. 8, 9, 65, 66, 182, 201, 288, 289, and 447; for φιλοδοξία, see no. 429. For φιλότιμος, see nos. 25 (possible) and 26; for φιλόδοξος, see nos. 432, 438 and 444. For φιλοτιμείσθαι, see nos. 48, 109, 128, 183 (possible), 200, 212, 249, 288, 321, 401, and 402. Also found are the adverbs, φιλοτιμῶς or φιλοδοξῶς.

<sup>17</sup> No. 65 line 14: "they will begin their *munera* 7 days before the Kalends of July".



are found only on inscriptions set up by or for the elite, not in gladiatorial epitaphs.<sup>18</sup> At its root meaning, *philotimia* means the love of or desire for honour, although the word came also to signify the liberality or munificence shown to one's city or fellow citizens which produced that honour.<sup>19</sup> The term *philotimia* on the one hand expressed the competitive euergetism which was the hallmark of the elite across the Empire, while on the other it could be employed more specifically to refer to the especially Roman spectacle of gladiatorial combat and wild beast hunts. The concept of *philotimia* was a widespread and ancient expression of honorable social ambition; the use of this term to refer also to presentations of gladiatorial combats indicates the acceptance of these Roman spectacles in the social and political life of the Greek community.<sup>20</sup>

The use of established Greek terminology in preference to Latin loans to describe the Roman institution of gladiation may be related in part to the nature of the inscriptions in which the words were used. The majority of inscriptions erected by or for the elite which mention the provision of gladiatorial combats are found on statue bases and are therefore honorific documents meant to impress and demonstrate the superior culture, status, and character of the honorand; these monuments not only honoured, but

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<sup>18</sup> The closest reference to a *philotimia* in a gladiatorial epitaph is found in no. 68 from Beroia: the gladiator Nympheros of Ephesus was buried by his friend Zmaragdos. At the end of the epitaph, there is the curious statement: ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κασσά<v>δρου. Robert believed that this probably indicates that Nympheros died during the games of the highpriest Cassander. See J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1956, no. 150. For discussion, see below p. 181.

<sup>19</sup> Consider no. 447 from Selge where P. Plancius Magnianus Aelianus Arrius Pericles is honoured by the city as ἄνδρα ἐν πάσαις φιλοτεμνίαις καὶ λειτουργίαις χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει: "a man serviceable to his city in all *philotimiai* and liturgies". It is improbable that φιλοτεμνίαι here refer only to *munera*.

<sup>20</sup> For *philotimia*, see especially, Veyne 1990, chapters 1 and 2. Although *philotimia* could refer to the presentation of gladiatorial combats, only those inscriptions which *specify* gladiators and wild beast hunts have been included in the catalogue. Those who presented gladiatorial combat but only referred to it as *philotimia* were probably numerous. Rarely is the term, *philotimia*, qualified as gladiatorial, but see *Mart. Pion.* 18.8, where Asclepiades, a Christian companion of Pionios is threatened by Terentius, probably a highpriest, with damnatio in the φιλοτιμία of his son: σὲ αἰτήσομαι κατάδικον εἰς τὰς μονομάχους φιλοτιμίας τοῦ υἱοῦ μου. Robert 1994, 102 notes that the adjectival use of μονομάχος is (otherwise) unattested after the classical period and so its use here may be a corruption.

demonstrated why the person deserved to be so honoured. For the Greek elite during the Roman Empire, language was a mark of their group identity, distinguishing them not only from their Roman rulers, but also from the less well-educated masses.<sup>21</sup> A quick survey of Greek literature of the imperial period reveals the almost complete exclusion of Latin loanwords, loanshifts, and loanblends,<sup>22</sup> although the obligation to avoid Latin is seldom explicitly stated. In one rare passage, Athenaeus details an amusing episode in which a certain Cynulcus is attacked for his request of a "δηκόκτα", that is, a *decocta*, a Roman drink with a Latin name.<sup>23</sup> We may also consider Lucian's criticism of a contemporary historian who mixes Latin military terminology with the Thucydidean prose in which he is writing.<sup>24</sup> Significantly, both Dio Cassius and Artemidorus apologize for the use of technical, Latin terminology relating to gladiation.<sup>25</sup> Given that linguistic borrowing is motivated as much by perceptions of prestige as by lexical need, however, the absence of Latin from the realm of high society is not unexpected.<sup>26</sup> The Greek language, especially the "pure" Greek of ancient Athens, was considered the most important language of higher culture, particularly literary culture, by both the Greeks themselves but also by (most) Romans.<sup>27</sup> While the use of prestigious Greek terminology to describe the Roman

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<sup>21</sup> See Swain 1996, 17-42 and 56-63. It is his central thesis that the educated, male, Greek elite used their knowledge of classical Attic Greek to define and empower themselves both against the masses of people claiming Greek identity and against the foreign power of Rome.

<sup>22</sup> For these terms, see Haugen 1950.

<sup>23</sup> Ath. 121E-F: Cynulcus defends his choice of words with the familiar argument, "When in Rome...", since he was then residing in that city.

<sup>24</sup> Lucian *Hist. conscr.* 15. For the avoidance of Latin and other foreign vocabulary in upper class Greek society, see briefly Swain 1996, 40-42, 50-51, and 63-64, where he argues that upper class Greeks resisted Latin because it contaminated the purity of their language. Cf. Rochette 1997, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Dio Cass. 73.19.2 and Artem. 2.32, discussed in Chapter 2.2. Terminology above at p. 75-76.

<sup>26</sup> McMahon 1994, 203. Cf. the discussion Chapter 2.2. Terminology, above p. 76-78.

<sup>27</sup> Kaimio 1979, 295-315 notes, however, the irregularity of the use of Greek loans in Latin and specifically the avoidance of Greek loans when Roman literary culture was beginning to assert itself. Rochette 1997, 61-66 and 81-82 notes that Greek authors were generally ignorant of the culture and literature of Rome, while the Romans themselves often felt the inferiority of their own culture compared with that of the Greeks.

institution of gladiatorial combats may represent a desire on the part of the elite to present gladiatorial combats in terms of the heroic Greek past, it must also be noted that the use of such archaic terminology was part of a larger linguistic phenomenon during the high Roman Empire.

But while the majority of attested references to gladiatorial combat made by the elite employ older, established Greek terminology, there are exceptions to this general rule. The primary example is the term, φαμίλια, which is found on monuments erected by the owners of gladiatorial families in order to commemorate their provision of gladiatorial shows. By commemorating these shows in this way, they hoped to prolong the popularity which had accrued during the *philotimia*. Furthermore, the ostentatious use of a Latin word on monuments meant for popular consumption would indicate that Latin technical terms relating to gladiation were appreciated on the more popular level of Greek society. This same popular appreciation for Latin technical terms was enjoyed by the gladiators themselves who proudly announced their armament type (etc.) using a Latin loanword, such as σεκούτωρ or ῥητιάριος, on their tombstone.<sup>28</sup>

Another Latin borrowing employed by the upper class is the expression, μονομάχων ζεύγη xx, a loan translation (a type of loanshift) from the Latin phrase *gladiatorum paria xx*, although there are only 3 clear attestations of this borrowing.<sup>29</sup> One example comes from Ancyra in Galatia (no. 448) and dates to the reign of Tiberius, much earlier than the majority of the gladiatorial inscriptions which date primarily to the second and third centuries. In another example from Apollonia in Illyria (no. 4) on the western fringe of the Greek world, the highpriest Q. Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus erected a monument in honour of his brother, a military officer, and gave twenty-five pairs

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<sup>28</sup> For φαμίλια, see Chapter 3.3. Commemorative Monuments.

<sup>29</sup> See nos. 4, 109, 184 (uncertain), and 448. For attestations of the Latin expression, *gladiatorum paria*, in the East, see nos. 1, 97, 112, and 439. Cf. the discussion of linguistic borrowing in Chapter 2.2. Terminology.

of gladiators at its dedication. The third example comes from Megara in the early second century (no. 109) where Gaius Curtius Proclus provided twenty pairs of gladiators.<sup>30</sup> This expression was not the usual means employed by the Greeks to describe the presentation of gladiatorial combat.

Also perhaps related to a Latin gladiatorial expression is the Greek dative phrase, τοῖς ὀξέσι, or more complete, τοῖς ὀξέσι σιδήροις,<sup>31</sup> which, as Robert demonstrated, also refers to gladiatorial combat.<sup>32</sup> For example, a gladiator from Cyrene (named Ares?) says that he died of illness though he had been saved from the steel.<sup>33</sup> The dative, τοῖς ὀξέσι σιδήροις, is instrumental and indicates that the presentation of gladiatorial combats was the means, manner or cause through which a particular office or munificence was accomplished. Thus, in no. 212 from Smyrna, Iulius Meneclis Diophantus is honoured as ἀσιάρχην ἐνδόξως φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε τοῖς ὀξέσιν, where τοῖς ὀξέσιν characterizes the nature of his *philotimia* which he produced as asiarch, and in no. 321 from Thyateira, Marcus Aurelius Diadochus is honoured for having united the highpriesthoods of Thyateira and Pergamum τοῖς ὀξέσιν, that is, by means of or for the presentation of gladiatorial combats, specifically with sharpened weapons. Although a Greek word, the idea of describing gladiatorial combat with reference to the iron weapons of the gladiators is also known from the West. Petronius' Echion while relating details of the upcoming *munus* of Titus says that *ferrum optimum daturus est sine fuga*,<sup>34</sup> and a

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<sup>30</sup> See below, p. 172.

<sup>31</sup> See nos. 128, 212, 259, 321, and 444. No. 392 has τῆ τοῦ σιδήρου χορηγία: "with the administration of steel" in reference to gladiatorial combats.

<sup>32</sup> Robert 1929, 31; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 23; Robert, 1948, 82; and J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 512.

<sup>33</sup> No. 459: ἐμὲ δὲ νῦν κατέπεφνε νόσος σωθέντα σειδήρου: "but now sickness has slain me who had been saved from the steel".

<sup>34</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 45: "he will give the finest blades and no escape". Cf. Suet. *Nero* 12.3: *exhibit ad ferrum* and *CIL X 3704 = ILS 5054* (from Naples): *et IIII paribus ferro dimicantib(us)* and *CIL IV 9978 = Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, no. 72* (from Pompeii): [*poste*]ro servi ferro s[anguinari].

mosaic from Rome which depicts gladiators in combat has the inscription: *quibus pugnantibus Symmachius ferrum misit*.<sup>35</sup> The Greek expression τοῖς ὀξεσι (σιδήροις) may therefore have been borrowed from this Latin phrase, although the emphasis on the sharpness of the weapons indicates a great prestige, for such weapons represented an increased likelihood of life-threatening wounds.<sup>36</sup>

A variety of verbs and expressions were employed to connote the presentation of gladiatorial combat, including διδόναι and ποιεῖν, verbs which parallel the Latin use of *dare* and *facere*,<sup>37</sup> and more frequently the verb, ἐπιτελεῖν, usually followed by the accusative μονομαχίας and perhaps κυνηγέσια.<sup>38</sup> For example, in no. 65 mentioned above, Valerianus Philoxenos and his wife Valeriana Ammia from Beroia advertise: ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλει κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς.<sup>39</sup> The use of ἐπιτελεῖν in relation to the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts is also found in contemporary literary works. Galen, for example, refers to the medical treatment he provided the gladiators: ἐν θέρει, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἀεὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ τῶν ἀρχιερέων τὰς καλουμένας μονομαχίας ἐπιτελούντων.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Terentius who threatens the Christian Asclepiades in the *Martyrdom of Pionios* is qualified as ὁ τότε ἐπιτελῶν τὰ

<sup>35</sup> Now in the Museo Arqueologico in Madrid, see *EAOR* I, no. 115 (pl. 29.3) = *CIL* VI 10185 (date: c. AD 300).

<sup>36</sup> For discussion, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat, below at p. 251-252.

<sup>37</sup> For διδόναι, see nos. 4, 47, 67, 257, 313, 350, 404, 410 (possible), 418, 419, 448, and 449. For ποιεῖν, see nos. 261, 286, and 287. For Latin *dare* in the East, see no. 112, and for Latin *facere* in the East, see no. 113.

<sup>38</sup> For ἐπιτελεῖν, see nos. 23 (probable), 65, 66, 86, 166, 176, 194, 422, 425, 432, and 437. Also found are the related verbs: τελεῖν: nos. 10, 398, and 401, and συντελεῖν: no. 399.

<sup>39</sup> No. 65 lines 12-14: "they will provide in the city of Beroia, the most illustrious metropolis in Macedonia, three days of hunts and gladiators". See also no. 66 also from Beroia for similar wording.

<sup>40</sup> Galen 18b.567-568 (Kühn): "in the summer when the highpriests in Pergamum present gladiatorial combats"; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 280 n. 1.

κυνήγια.<sup>41</sup> While ἐπιτελεῖν can express the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, the word also had a sacred sense suggesting the discharge of a religious duty.<sup>42</sup> Given the close connection between gladiatorial combat and the imperial cult (see below), such a connotation would underline the religious nature of these spectacles.

The presentation of gladiatorial combats could also be expressed more directly as a specific function of the office held by the person or persons who provided the show. As will be discussed below, the great majority of those who presented gladiatorial combats did so in connection with the administration of the imperial cult, and several inscriptions clearly associate these spectacles with the office of highpriest, ἀρχιερεύς. For example, in a number of inscriptions from Thrace and Moesia the office is qualified thus: ἀρχιερεύς δι' ὅπλων, a highpriest for gladiatorial combats. Perhaps to stress the importance of this function, the highpriest from Augusta Traiana, M. Aurelius Apollodorus, is honoured as ὁ φιλότιμος ἀρχιερεύς δι' ὅπλων (no. 33). The preposition, διὰ, when used with the genitive case indicates the means by which the office was fulfilled. Similar is the wording used by the two pontarchs from Tomis discussed above (nos. 8 and 9) who gave a *philotimia* as highpriest: ἀρχιερασάμενον τὴν δι' ὅπλων καὶ κυνηγεσίων φιλοδόξως (or ἐνδόξως) φιλοτειμίαν. The presentation of gladiatorial combats and similar spectacles represented the conditions or purpose of the highpriesthood. For example, P. Plancius Magnianus Aelianus Arrius Pericles from Selge was honoured, ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἐπὶ τε διανομαῖς καὶ θεωρίαις καὶ μονομαχίαις καὶ κυνηγεσίαις,<sup>43</sup> and in no. 301, M. Ulpius Flavianus Damas and his wife Ulpia Iulia Flaviana Glaphyra from Didyma were ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ

<sup>41</sup> *Mart. Pion.* 18.6: "he who was then presenting the wild beast hunts". Cf. also the use of ἐπιτελεῖν in *Ps.-Julian, Ep.* 198 (Bidez), 409A, quoted below, p. 237.

<sup>42</sup> See *LSJ* s.v. "ἐπιτελέω" and the *TLG* s.v. "ἐπιτελέω". Consider *Plut. Mor.* 119A: "ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θείαν".

<sup>43</sup> No. 447 lines 1-4: "he who has served as highpriest for the house of the Augusti notably for spectacles, gladiatorial combats, and wild beast hunts".

μονομαχίαις καὶ θυορίαις καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν.<sup>44</sup> The use of preposition, ἐπί, with the dative case likewise signifies the purpose or conditions of the office of highpriest (and highpriestess).<sup>45</sup>

### 3.3. COMMEMORATIVE MONUMENTS

In most cases, the term, φαμίλια, is directly attested within a class of similar documents, presently 24 in number, which at first seem to be little more than statements of ownership.<sup>46</sup> The majority of these inscriptions fall into two general types:

- (1) μονομάχοι (or μονομάχαι) τοῦ δεῖνος,<sup>47</sup>
- (2) φαμίλια μονομάχων τοῦ δεῖνος,<sup>48</sup>

although there are a number of attested variations on this theme. The group of gladiators could be associated with wild beast hunts:

- (3) φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων τοῦ δεῖνος<sup>49</sup>
- (4) ὑπόμνημα φαμίλιας καὶ κυνηγεσίων τοῦ δεῖνος<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> No. 301 lines 8-11: "highpriests of the city for gladiatorial combats, spectacles (θυορίαις = θεωρίαις), and distributions".

<sup>45</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 193, notes that ἐπί indicates the conditions under which the magistrate obtains the office.

<sup>46</sup> See nos. 136, 154, 177, 186, 201, 210, 211, 246, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 282, 289, 330, 336, 350, 356, 357, 358, 404, and 410. Three comparable inscriptions (nos. 184, 223, 446) have not been used in the following discussion: no. 184 is too fragmentary; no. 223 is simply a tombstone erected by the φαμίλια for a dead gladiator; and no. 446 is an honorary inscription for a highpriest erected by a φαμίλια. Not all attested uses of the term, φαμίλια, in the East are gladiatorial. See Cameron 1931, 245-246.

<sup>47</sup> "The gladiators of a certain person": see nos. 246, 254, 336. The most common nominative form is the second declension: μονομάχος but the first declension form: μονομάχης (plural: μονομάχαι in no. 336) also appears. The feminine, \*μονομάχα, is not attested. The use of the term μονομάχοι to refer a troop of gladiators is paralleled in Latin with the use of the term, *gladiatores* alone to make the same reference.

<sup>48</sup> "The *familia gladiatoria* of a certain person": see nos. 136, 177, 210, 211, 251, 252, 253, 255, 256, 282, 330 (probable), 357, 358. No. 177 has the expression: φαμίλια μονομάχων τῶν περὶ Καλυδῶνα. In nos. 251, 252 and 358, "family" appears in the genitive singular, φαμίλιας. See below p. 162.

<sup>49</sup> "The *familia gladiatoria* and the memorial of the wild beast hunts of a certain person": see nos. 154, 186 (probable).

Or, less commonly, the nature and purpose of the relationship between the owner and the group of gladiators may be expressed more clearly:

- (5) φαμίλια μονομάχων φιλοτειμίας τοῦ δεῖνος,<sup>51</sup>
- (6) μνήμα μονομάχων τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος,<sup>52</sup>
- (7) ὑπόμνημα φιλοτιμίας φαμίλιας μονομάχων τοῦ δεῖνος.<sup>53</sup>

Most of these documents date to the later second century or the early third century. When studied in isolation, the nature and purpose of these documents (especially types 1 and 2) are uncertain and as a result have been the subject of some speculation. Some scholars have suggested that they mark the burial spot of gladiators killed in combat, while others the location of gladiatorial barracks or a *ludus*.<sup>54</sup> Whatever their specific purpose, however, the general nature of all of these inscriptions is honorific; their ultimate function was to glorify the person or persons named, typically a highpriest or an asiarch and often his wife the highpriestess, who owned the family of gladiators and presumably presented them in displays of gladiatorial combat.<sup>55</sup>

When studied as a group, however, we are able to come to some understanding of their specific purpose as well. To begin, three inscriptions are prefaced with the common

<sup>50</sup> "The memorial of the *familia* and the wild beast hunts of a certain person": see no. 356.

<sup>51</sup> "The *familia gladiatoria* for the *munus* of a certain person": see no. 201. For the translation of *munus* as φιλοτιμία, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 276-280; Robert 1946a, 125-126; Robert 1982a, 236; Robert 1994, 102 and above p. 149.

<sup>52</sup> "The memorial of the gladiators given by a certain person": see nos. 350, 404, and 410 (possible). All attestations of this type are from Caria (nos. 350 = Laodiceia on the Lycus, 404 = Stratonicea, 410 = Halicarnassus), perhaps reflecting a local peculiarity in expressing the presentation of gladiatorial combat.

<sup>53</sup> "The memorial of the *munus* of the *familia gladiatoria* of a certain person": see no. 289.

<sup>54</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 55-56 n. 5 and 57 (for funerary arguments), and 55 n. 3 (for the idea that they marked the location of a *ludus*). For an earlier, brief summary of these opinions, see Liermann 1889, 26-27. The *ludus*, transliterated into Greek as λούδος, was the physical building where the gladiators trained, that is, their "school". See Mosci Sassi, s.v. "ludus".

<sup>55</sup> In 1890, while believing the specific nature of these inscriptions was funerary, E.L. Hicks did recognize their essential nature as honorific: "But the truth is, all such monuments are in their motive honorary, and not sepulchral. They were not intended to commemorate the dead, but to glorify the giver of the show (*munus gladiatorium*)": see *GIBM* III no. 620.



phrase, ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ, which, as Robert noted, is not sepulchral, but is instead found on honorific and commemorative documents.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, a type 3 document clearly but awkwardly parallels a *familia* of gladiators with a memorial (ὑπόμνημα) of wild beast hunts (not *hunters*), suggesting that, in this instance at least, the main force of the term *familia* may be commemorative of a gladiatorial spectacle rather than simply indicative of a troop of gladiators. Similarly, type 4 equates a *familia* with wild beast hunts (again, not hunters) implying that here again a *familia* could somehow indicate not only a group of gladiators but also the combats in which those gladiators took part. We shall have cause to return to these awkward document types shortly, but it is probable that they served to commemorate the presentation of gladiatorial combat and wild beast hunts rather than that they marked the location of a barracks or school. Furthermore, from type 5 it is clear that the *philotimia* described involves the presentation of the gladiatorial family in combats, and so this type too must imply the commemoration of the gladiatorial contests given by the person(s) named, rather than simply indicating the ownership of those gladiators. This idea of the presentation or giving of gladiators implicit in the term, *familia*, is overtly expressed in type 6,<sup>57</sup> and paralleled in type 7, both of which are obviously commemorative. Thus document types 3 to 7 were intended to celebrate and to commemorate the *philotimia*—the presentation of gladiatorial combat, perhaps given in conjunction with wild beast hunts—provided by the person(s) named apparently as owner of the *familia*.

But that the gladiators and gladiatorial *familiae* mentioned in document types 1 and 2 were involved in a *philotimia* given by the person(s) named and that these documents were meant to commemorate it is not immediately clear from the text of these

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<sup>56</sup> Nos. 177, 201, 356. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 57.

<sup>57</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58, cf. 63 n. 3. Robert also argues that the term, μνήμα, here has the same sense as ὑπόμνημα.

inscriptions. Indeed, they do seem to state overtly no more than the ownership of the gladiators or gladiatorial *familia*. Robert, however, proposed that all of these documents, including the enigmatic types 1 and 2, were associated with the many and varied reliefs depicting gladiators or gladiatorial combat frequently found in the cities of Asia Minor and throughout the East.<sup>58</sup> Often the gladiator's (or beast hunter's) name is provided, not in the dative but in the nominative: the relief is thus not dedicated to the gladiator, but is simply a representation of him. These reliefs portray either scenes of gladiatorial combat or more simply a gladiator standing in victory. But others show wild beast hunts and similar spectacles, such as the *taurokathapsia*, and the execution of convicts by wild beasts. As Robert indicated, an inscription proclaiming the *φамиλία μονομάχων και καταδικων και ταυροκαθαπτων* (no. 357) is especially relevant when associated with reliefs depicting all three types of display.<sup>59</sup> Once again, the main force of the term *familia* here may be more to commemorate a *philotimia* than simply to indicate ownership of a troop of gladiators. If Robert's hypothesis is correct, that these documents ought to be considered in association with a series of reliefs depicting gladiators, gladiatorial combat and similar spectacles, then the specific purpose of an inscription such as no. 282 (a type 2) from Ephesus:

Φαμιλία | μονομάχων | Τιβ(ερίου) Κλαυδίου | Πανκρατίδου | Ἀττικοῦ | ἀσιάρχου.<sup>60</sup>

is no longer vague. Although it is not clear from the text of the inscription alone that the gladiators of Tiberius Claudius Pancratides Atticus the asiarch were presented in his

<sup>58</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58-64.

<sup>59</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58. *Katadikoi* were criminals probably condemned to be publicly executed. For a relief of a *taurokathapsia*, see especially no. 213 from Smyrna, which depicts in detail the riders chasing the bull, jumping from their horses and grabbing the bull by the horns, and finally wrestling it to the ground, very much like a modern rodeo. Below is the inscription: Ταυροκαθαψίων ἡμέρα β' "Day two of the *taurokathapsia*". Cf. the description in Plin. *HN* 8.182 and Suet. *Claud.* 21.7 and the discussion by Liermann 1889, 27-35. See Chapter 4.2. Associated Spectacles.

<sup>60</sup> "The *familia gladiatoria* of Tiberius Claudius Pancratides Atticus the asiarch."

*philotimia* and that this is in fact what is being commemorated, the associated reliefs depicting gladiators in combat and standing in victory would have made this conclusion unavoidable. Likewise, the type 1 documents (μονομάχοι τοῦ δεινός), although without the commemorative force of the word *familia* would clearly have been intended to celebrate a *philotimia* if indeed accompanied by a series of celebratory gladiatorial reliefs.

Such commemorative monuments presenting the portraits of gladiators who fought in a *munus* are not unknown. Pliny the Elder, for example, while discussing famous painters, tells us of the great interest in displaying the portraits of gladiators:

libertus eius (i.e. Neronis), cum daret Anti munus gladiatorium, publicas porticus occupavit pictura, ut constat, gladiatorum ministrorumque omnium veris imaginibus redditis. hic multis iam saeculis summus animus in pictura, pingi autem gladiatoria munera atque in publico exponi coepta a C. Terentio Lucano. is avo suo, a quo adoptatu fuerat, triginta paria in foro per triduum dedit tabulamque pictam in nemore Dianae posuit.<sup>61</sup>

Though Pliny does not say so, it is reasonable to assume that these portraits would have been accompanied in some way by an inscription explaining who presented the *munus* commemorated in the surrounding depictions of gladiators. Without such an accompanying inscription, the point of such a display might be lost. Similarly a *munerarius* from Beneventum erected placards (*tabulae*) in the basilica in commemoration of the *munus* which he provided.<sup>62</sup> Although Pliny says that the exhibition in the public

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<sup>61</sup> Plin. *HN* 35.52: "His (Nero's) freedman, when he was giving a gladiatorial *munus* at Anzio, covered the public porticoes with portraits, it is said, of all the gladiators and their support staff rendered in true likenesses. This has been the greatest interest in art for many years, but to have a gladiatorial *munus* painted and exhibited in public was (a fashion) begun by Gaius Terentius Lucanus. In honour of his grandfather who had adopted him, he gave thirty pairs of gladiators in the forum over three days, and placed painted placards in the Grove of Diana." C. Terentius Lucanus lived in the later second century BC; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 48-49; Wiedemann 1992, 15.

<sup>62</sup> *CIL* IX 1666 = *ILS* 5068 (first century AD): *idem basilicam, in qua tabul(ae) muneris ab eo editi posit(ae), consummavit*: "likewise he completed the basilica, in which were placed placards of the *munus* given by him". Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 195 n. 42 = *CIL* IX 1705 for a *munerarius* from the time of Claudius, who also put *tabulae* celebrating his *munus* in a basilica.

porticoes by Nero's freedman was held at the same time as his *munus*,<sup>63</sup> these paintings may have been intended to serve as a longer-term commemoration of the *munus*, much like the stone reliefs which have survived in the East and West were undoubtedly intended to last. By depicting the gladiators who took part in one's *munus*, and even, as Pliny implies, procuring the finest artists to represent accurately and vividly these gladiators (*veris imaginibus redditis*), the *editor* or *munerarius* thus ensured that the honour which he had received during the *munus* continued to live on in the public imagination away from the arena and long afterward.<sup>64</sup> Plutarch warned that the the popularity which attached itself to those providing spectacles such as gladiatorial combats was short-lived:

πρὸς ἃ χρηὲ βλέποντα μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι μηδ' ἐκκεκλήχθαι τὴν ἐκ θεάτρων καὶ ὀπτανείων καὶ πολυανδρίων προσισταμένην τοῖς ὄχλοις δόξαν, ὡς ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπιζῶσαν καὶ τοῖς μονομάχοις καὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ὁμοῦ συνδιαλυομένην, ἔντιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ σεμνὸν ἔχουσαν.<sup>65</sup>

Such commemorative monuments, therefore, may have been an attempt to prolong the popularity gained at the shows.<sup>66</sup> Not only did one seek public honour in presenting gladiatorial combat, one also sought to advertise that honour publicly.

From this explanation of the general function of the φαμιλία μονομάχων documents, the awkwardness of types 3 and 4 might now be more clearly understood. While type 4 equates a *familia* with wild beast hunts, type 3 clearly parallels a *familia* of gladiators with a memorial of the wild beast hunts. To equate a troop of gladiators, not

<sup>63</sup> The use of the imperfect subjunctive, *daret*, in the *cum* clause implies an action contemporaneous with the main verb, *occupavit*.

<sup>64</sup> See Isager 1991, 125 and 136-137. Mosaics depicting gladiatorial *munera* laid on the floors of private houses were likewise attempts to keep alive the memory of the exceptional munificence associated with the presentation of gladiatorial combat. See no. 114 from Patras, and no. 160 and Robert 1948b, 98-99 from Cos. For North African gladiatorial mosaics, see Dunbabin 1978, especially 65-87.

<sup>65</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 823E: "And so seeing this, we must not be humbled or impressed at the immediate reputation with the masses, since it lasts only a short time and ends immediately with the gladiatorial combats and dramas, since they have nothing honorable or dignified".

<sup>66</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 60 nevertheless states that the combat fought by Sisinnus was remembered by the people of Amastris for a long time: ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ πάρεισιν Ἀμαστριανῶν μεμνημένοι τὴν μάχην τοῦ Σισίννου.

with wild beast *hunters*, but with the spectacle of wild beast *hunts* seems odd, as does the equation of the term, φαμίλια, with the word, ὑπόμνημα. But once it is recognized that the expression, φαμίλια μονομάχων τοῦ δεινός, or more simply still, μονομάχοι τοῦ δεινός, was frequently used in association with gladiatorial reliefs specifically for the purpose of commemorating the presentation of gladiatorial combat and so for the further purpose of honouring the person(s) who provided the spectacle, then the correlation with ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων no longer seems misplaced. The significance of the expression, φαμίλια μονομάχων, therefore has moved beyond the simple indication of a troop of gladiators to imply both gladiatorial combat itself and also the commemoration of that combat. Thus the phrase, φαμίλια μονομάχων τοῦ δεινός, might have been taken to indicate not only the ownership of a group of gladiators by a certain person, but also that that person was commemorating his provision of the gladiators in combat (*philotimia*). It is in this latter, abstract sense that the term *familia* could be conceived of as parallel either with wild beast hunts or with the memorial of wild beast hunts.

Comparison with the other similar inscriptions commemorating the presentation of gladiatorial combats can also help the interpretation of three extant inscriptions which begin with the genitive phrase, φαμίλιας μονομάχων, rather than the more usual nominative singular, φαμίλια μονομάχων. Of these three examples, two are identically worded and honour a certain asiarch from Ephesus, Tiberius Claudius Tatianus Iulianus (nos. 251 and 252):

φαμίλιας μονομάχων Τι(βερίου) Κλ(αυδίου) Τατιανοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ  
ἀσιάρχου.<sup>67</sup>

And the third is a newly published inscription from Aphrodisias in honour of a certain highpriest, Tiberius Claudius Paulinus (no. 358):

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<sup>67</sup> The line ordination, however, differs; no. 251: φαμίλιας | μονομάχαῖν Τι. Κλ. Τατιανοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου; no. 252: φαμίλιας | μονομάχων | Τι. Κλ. Τατιανοῦ | Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου.

φαμιλίας μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου  
 Παυλείνου | ἀρχιερέως ὑοῦ (sic) Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου | - - -

When compiling his catalogue for *Gladiateurs*, Robert was aware of only one of the inscriptions from Ephesus (no. 251). Lacking comparanda, he found the genitive, φαμιλίας, to be "très douteux" and, although he dutifully noted the reading of the editor, he emended the term to the more logical reading: φαμιλία (nominative).<sup>68</sup> When compared to the sizable corpus of similar documents assembled by him, this emendation appears quite reasonable. But the existence of the parallel text (no. 252) and the new inscription from Aphrodisias (no. 358), both of which have the genitive singular, φαμιλίας, invalidates Robert's emendation and necessitates an alternative interpretation. An understanding of these inscriptions as essentially honorific monuments, however, suggests that the genitive, φαμιλίας, is presupposing a word such as μνήμα, or ὑπόμνημα, that is, "(The monument) of the *familia gladiatoria* ...".<sup>69</sup> Another more explicit possibility, however, is suggested by no. 289 (= type 7 above) from Miletus, ὑπόμνημα φιλοτιμίας φαμιλίας μονομάχων, in which case the genitive, φαμιλίας, would imply not only the idea of a commemorative monument but also the φιλοτιμία itself which may have been expressed graphically in associated reliefs.

But Robert's hypothesis linking the numerous reliefs with these φαμιλία μονομάχων series of documents, although reasonable, is supported by little direct evidence, for none of these documents, most of which were discovered and first published in the last century, can be conclusively demonstrated to have been directly associated with any of these reliefs.<sup>70</sup> Although one recently published inscription from Aphrodisias (no.

<sup>68</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no. 204 (= no. 251).

<sup>69</sup> For an explicit parallel, see no. 356 (= type 4 above): Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. Ὑπόμνημα φαμιλίας καὶ κυνηγεσιῶν... . Cf. Roueché 1993, 62 no. 13 (= no. 358), who also posits a word such as μνήμα or ὑπόμνημα to explain the genitive, φαμιλίας.

<sup>70</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 62, refers to the great number of gladiatorial reliefs as "les *disjecta membra* d'ensembles monumentaux".

358) may provide evidence for an associated relief because the recessed epigraphic field appears to be surmounted by another recessed field, perhaps meant for a relief, nevertheless the scanty remains reveal no relief figures.<sup>71</sup> At any rate, this study has suggested that the phrase, φαμιλία μονομάχων, had perhaps developed an abstract sense, the use of which could itself imply the presentation and commemoration of a gladiatorial *philotimia*. If so, it may not be absolutely necessary to assume that reliefs depicting the gladiators of the *familia* were always associated with the inscription; simply stating one's ownership or association with a φαμιλία μονομάχων in such an inscription could itself imply the commemoration of a gladiatorial *philotimia*.

Furthermore, there is little indication as to where these monuments were situated. Many of the inscriptions are in fact cut on shallow marble blocks suggesting that they were meant to be set into a wall, perhaps as part of a relief frieze, but other stones seem to have stood alone.<sup>72</sup> This fact, however, need not hinder Robert's hypothesis, for several of the gladiatorial reliefs were on marble or limestone blocks also meant to stand alone. The discovery of some inscriptions outside of city walls and perhaps in necropoleis suggests a roadside location or an association with the tomb of the person who presented the *philotimia*, while a location near the structures used for the combats and beast hunts, such as theatres and stadia, would also be probable.<sup>73</sup> Two documents indicate a possible

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<sup>71</sup> See the comments and photograph in Roueché 1993, 62 no. 13 and plate 8. She claims that "there are traces of a decorated panel above", but no decoration can be seen in the published photograph.

<sup>72</sup> No. 404 is on a marble column (*I.Stratonikeia*, no. 1015: "*Marmorsäule*"). See also no. 336, which may also have been intended to stand alone.

<sup>73</sup> For inscriptions found outside the city walls, see nos. 210 (outside of Smyrna), 211 (outside of Smyrna), 256 (on the road south of Ephesus, near the tomb of the Vedii), and 289 (in the western necropolis of Miletus). For inscriptions found inside cities, see nos. 136 (near the baths in Mytilene), 252 (in the Artemisium in Ephesus), 254 and 255 (north of the theatre in Ephesus) and 358 (in the Portico of Tiberius in Aphrodisias). The original location of most of these inscriptions, however, is now unknown. Some, like nos. 282 and 356, were no doubt reused in city walls during times of military crisis.

association with the shrine of Nemesis.<sup>74</sup> In any case, these memorials, as with any commemorative monument, would of necessity have been situated in highly trafficked areas to maximize visibility. In the passage from Pliny discussed above, Nero's freedman displayed his gladiatorial representations in the public porticoes, and Gaius Terentius Lucanus had erected his in the Grove of Diana, that is, in a park, while the *munerarius* from Beneventum had placed his in the basilica—public places all. To enhance further the prominence of these generally simple inscriptions, large, marble blocks, several of which measured over a metre in length, were typically used to bear the text.<sup>75</sup> In function, these documents were honorific and served to commemorate of the presentation of gladiatorial combat. To fulfill this function, they were necessarily public as well.

Although a monument of the type described above, with its commemorative inscription and reliefs depicting gladiators in combat and other related spectacles, nowhere exists intact, a more modest celebratory memorial might simply list the gladiators who fought without any accompanying reliefs. This is perhaps the function of an inscription from Claudiopolis in Bithynia (no. 174), which provides the names of twelve highly successful gladiators who apparently took part in a three day *philotimia*.<sup>76</sup> Interestingly, the stone has been worked to depict a scene common enough in gladiatorial reliefs: a gladiatorial helmet rests atop a shield;<sup>77</sup> on each side is a herm stele. The inscription, cut on the surface of the shield, begins with the hexameter: Θῆκε με μονομάχοις ἱερεὺς

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<sup>74</sup> No. 356 from Aphrodisias carries a relief of Nemesis holding the wheel of fortune, for which see Robert 1965, 154-155 and Hornum 1993, 285. No. 410 from Halicarnassus was found near the Nemeseion.

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, nos. 246 (100 x 71 x 22 cm), 254 (111 x 90 x 26 cm) and 356 (146 x 87 x 28 cm).

<sup>76</sup> As noted by Roueché 1993, 62 n. 9.

<sup>77</sup> A great many gladiatorial reliefs depict the gladiator, perhaps in victory, standing and facing the viewer with his left hand resting on his helmet which in turn sits atop his shield at his side. In his right hand was often held a palm branch. Robert refers to these reliefs as "le gladiateur dans sa gloire". Interestingly, a left handed gladiator would rest his right hand on his helmet and shield: see Chapter 2.1. Evidence.



τόδε σῆμα Σεκοῦνδος,<sup>78</sup> after which follows the names of the gladiators, along with their types and number of victories. Again, σῆμα ought to have a meaning similar to μνήμα or ὑπόμνημα. The overall tone and impression imparted by the inscription is one of admiration, not so much for the priest, as for the gladiators themselves; this memorial was built for them (μουνομάχοις) rather than for the greater glory of Secundus, whose full name and parentage we are not even told. This esteem for particular gladiators evident in the Claudiopolis inscription, furthermore, may also perhaps be seen in the φαμιλία μονομάχων class of documents discussed above, for the reliefs generally believed to have been associated with these inscriptions frequently name and honour the gladiator by depicting him gloriously in combat or in victory. A large number of associated reliefs, perhaps brightly painted, would have overwhelmed the relatively simple inscriptions in the overall impression of the monument.

While there exists in the European areas of our study (that is, the Balkan Peninsula) no direct evidence for commemorative monuments of the φαμιλία μονομάχων type discussed above,<sup>79</sup> a number of documents from the Balkans may have served a similar role. These inscriptions, generally dating between the later second and early third centuries, are in the form of announcements and invitations to a gladiatorial *philotimia* to be presented by officials of the imperial cult for the health of the emperor and his family.<sup>80</sup> Although the use of the future tense in the terms ἐπιτελέσουσιν (they will present) and ἄρξονται (they will begin) indicates that at the time the inscription was erected the presentation of the combats and hunts was still to come,<sup>81</sup> the fact that these

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<sup>78</sup> "The priest Secundus made me, this memorial, for the gladiators".

<sup>79</sup> There are, however, a number of reliefs depicting gladiators of the type Robert believed were associated with the φαμιλία μονομάχων commemorative monuments of Asia Minor.

<sup>80</sup> See nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 65, 66 and 86.

<sup>81</sup> See especially the relatively complete inscriptions nos. 65 and 66 for ἐπιτελέσουσιν and ἄρξονται; no. 86 has ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα and ἄρξεται.

large and impressive inscriptions were cut in stone indicates that a degree of permanence was sought. The glory which attached to those presenting the φιλοτιμία through their presentation of gladiatorial combat and beast hunts put on in honour of the emperor was meant to endure long after the event itself had finished. Thus, in general motive, these inscriptions are similar to the φαμιλία μονομάχων set of documents discussed above. Although it is uncertain whether all of these documents were associated with depictions of gladiators, one from Nicopolis ad Istrum in Moesia (no. 22), which invites the people to a *philotimia* for the health and safety of Severus Alexander in AD 227, was decorated with reliefs of bulls and bull fights, and named gladiators in combat. If carved before the *philotimia*, these reliefs must depict the coming attractions: what one could expect to see (and to remember). But if carved after the *philotimia* was complete, the reliefs may actually depict especially memorable matchups and events,<sup>82</sup> in which case the commemorative purposes of the inscription would be clear. Although the immediate object of these inscriptions is to announce the *philotimia*, their primary motive, like that of the φαμιλία μονομάχων documents, was honorific: again the highpriest was to be remembered and honoured for having presented memorable displays of gladiatorial combat and beast hunts, here for the very health and safety of the emperor himself.

The φαμιλία μονομάχων documents were commemorative in force, celebrating the presentation of a gladiatorial *philotimia* by the highpriest or asiarch who was associated with the gladiatorial families. They thus link these officials of the imperial cult directly with the gladiators and with the presentation of gladiatorial combat. They also reveal the pride felt by these officials for their *familiae*, as Epictetus implies:

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<sup>82</sup> For example, one relief depicts the gladiators Τεύκρος and Λυαῖος in combat with a referee (*summa rudis*) intervening. Is this a combat which was expected to take place or a memorable one which had taken place? See *IGBulg I*, 2 no. 70, with plates 46 and 47 and the analysis of J. and L. Robert in *BE* 1972, no. 300.

καὶ χείρων γίνη κομψοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ὃς τοὺς μονομάχους διὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας ἔχει.<sup>83</sup>

### 3.4. OFFICIALS

The evidence, primarily epigraphic, for the officials who presented gladiatorial combats, the possible offices in which they did so, and the relationship between those offices and the gladiatorial shows is briefly examined in the following discussion. Generally, the discussion proceeds from the occidental fringes of the Greek East to Asia Minor in the east, but begins with an examination of the evidence from Roman colonies in the East. There follows a more general discussion of the motivation for the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the Greek East.

#### ROMAN COLONIES

Apuleius' portrait of Thiasus, a fictional magistrate of the Roman colony of Corinth, provides outstanding evidence for the motivation behind the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the Roman colony. Thiasus traveled north to Thessaly in search of "excellent beasts and famous gladiators" to present at the *munus* which he was to hold in Corinth for the office of *duovir quinquennalis* there:

Thiasus...oriundus patria Corintho, quod caput est totius Achaiae provinciae, ut eius prosapia atque dignitas postulabat, gradatim permensis honoribus quinquennali magistratu fuerat destinatus, et ut splendori capessendorum responderet fascium, munus gladiatorium triduanum spectaculi pollicitus latius munificentiam suam porrigebat. Denique gloriae publicae studio tunc Thessaliam etiam accesserat, nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores comparaturus.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Arr. *Epict.* 2.24.23: "And are you worse than an elegant highpriest who treats his gladiators with every attention?"

<sup>84</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.18: "Thiasus ... came from Corinth, which is the head of the whole province of Achaea, as his lineage and standing demanded, he gradually passed through all offices and reached the office of (duovir) quinquennalis, and to fulfill the splendor of the high office he was about to assume, he promised a gladiatorial show for a three day spectacle and so spread his generosity broadly. In search of this public glory he then came to Thessaly to purchase excellent beasts and famous gladiators".

Corinth was a Roman colony of Julius Caesar, the *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis*, established in 44 BC and as such the senior magistrates may have been obliged to present a theatrical or gladiatorial show, as were the duoviri and aediles at Urso in Baetica, also a Caesarian colony. Chapters 70 and 71 of the *Lex Ursonensis* require the duoviri and the aediles to provide during their magistracy gladiatorial combats or dramatic spectacles (*munus ludosve scaenicos*), for which the duoviri were entitled to HS 2,000 and the aediles to HS 1,000 from public funds, but were each also legally obliged to spend at least an additional HS 2,000 of their own money.<sup>85</sup> Thiasus' gladiatorial show and wild beast hunts are a literary parallel to those probably given by the senior magistrates in Corinth as part of the duties of their office.<sup>86</sup> There was, according to Dio Chrysostom, an amphitheatre outside the city, while the Greek theatre was refurbished with partition walls meant to protect spectators from the beasts and gladiators fighting in the orchestra.<sup>87</sup>

Patras, the other Roman colony in the Peloponnese, was similarly equipped with an amphitheatre and recent excavations have yielded a number of inscriptions relating to gladiation there.<sup>88</sup> Many of these inscriptions are the epitaphs of deceased gladiators,<sup>89</sup> although two inscriptions were erected by members of the local elite and again suggest the connection between the presentation of gladiatorial games and the duovirate. In no. 112 from the second century, a magistrate whose name is now lost (although he was son of

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<sup>85</sup> *Lex Ursonensis (Lex Colonia Genetiva)*: CIL II 5439 = ILS 6087. An inscription from Knossos (no. 133), which was made a Roman colony (*Colonia Iulia Nobilis*) in 36 BC, states that a certain *munerarius* spent the 500 denarii which by law was to be spent on shows. 500 denarii are equivalent to 2,000 sesterces. Cf. Harrison 1993, 130.

<sup>86</sup> See Ville, *La gladiature*, 175-188.

<sup>87</sup> On the amphitheatre: Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121 says the combats at Corinth occurred in a glen outside the city: οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινί". Cf. Fowler & Stillwell 1932, 89-91. On the theatre, cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 117 no. 60; and Stillwell 1952, chapter 5. Fragments of the barrier walls of the theatre survive, decorated with frescoes depicting wild beasts and perhaps a *summa rudis*. For the location of the shows generally, see Chapter 4.3. Location.

<sup>88</sup> For the amphitheatre, see Papapostolou 1989, 354-371. It was constructed in the mid-second century, perhaps with the assistance of the Emperor Hadrian.

<sup>89</sup> See nos. 114 to 126.

Publius) appears to have given gladiators for the honour of the office of duovir, while in no. 113 from the second or third century, Publius Pomponius Quintianus(?) was twice *munerarius* and offers what is perhaps a technical formula explaining the reason for the *munus*: *q(ui) pro Ilvir(atu) munus quinti d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)*: "who for the duovirate produced a *munus* of five days from his own funds".<sup>90</sup>

Other Roman colonies throughout the Greek East similarly connect the offices of aedile and especially duovir with the presentation of gladiatorial combats. At Philippi in Macedonia (*Colonia Augusta Iulia Victrix Philippensis*), founded first by the victors at Philippi after 42 BC and then refounded by Augustus, there are a number of inscriptions of local magistrates who had presented gladiatorial games. For example, Publius Marius Valens was an aedile, a decurion, a priest of the divine Antoninus Pius and a duovir and *munerarius*; he does not suggest that the presentation of gladiatorial games was connected with his priesthood in the imperial cult, but rather the title of *munerarius* is listed as yet another office, and if it is to be connected with any position, it ought to be with that of duovir.<sup>91</sup> In *CIL* III 660 also from Philippi, however, the *munerarius* is specified also as a *flamen divi Vespasiani* without any reference to a municipal magistracy.<sup>92</sup> In the Augustan colony of Antioch in Pisidia (*Colonia Caesarea*), founded in 25 BC by Augustus,<sup>93</sup> Gnaeus Dottius Plancianus was honoured at the time of M. Aurelius as patron of the colony, flamen, duovir for the second time quinquennalis, *munerarius* for the

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<sup>90</sup> Rizakis 1990. The title of *munerarius* is one which often accompanied by a magisterial office, either aedile or duovir; see Ville, *La gladiature*, 187 n. 29. Cf. Kleijwegt 1995.

<sup>91</sup> *RevArch* 33 (1949) 34 no. 21: *P. Marius Valens, or(namentis) dec(urionalibus) hon(oratus), aed(ilis) i(ure) d(icundo) Philipp(is), dec(urio), flamen divi Antonini Pii, Ilvir, mun(erarius)*. Cf. also from Philippi, *BCH* 62 (1938) 428-429 no. 10: *L. Valerius Priscus, orn(amentis) dec(urionalibus) hon(oratus), dec(urio), irenar(cha), Ilvir iur(e) d(icundo), munerarius*; *BCH* 61 (1937) 413 no. 6: *[Varin]ius Macedo, [ae]d(ilis), q(uaestor), Ilvir i(ure) d(icundo) Ph(ilippis), munerarius*; *CIL* III 659 = *ILS* 7189: *C. Vibius Florus dec(urio), Ilvir et munerarius Philippis*; and *CIL* III 660 (quoted below n. 92).

<sup>92</sup> *CIL* III 660: *Colo[n]iae Augustae Iuli[ae] Vict[ricis] Philipp[ensium] | muner[arius] | iterum [fla]m[en] d[ivi] | Vespasi[ani], | filius C[—]*.

<sup>93</sup> Levick 1967, 34.

second time and asiarch of the temples in Ephesus (no. 440). His two *munera* were therefore most probably connected with his two terms as duovir; although he was an asiarch and so involved in the imperial cult (see below), he says nothing of presenting gladiatorial combats in that capacity. Another honorary inscription also from Pisidian Antioch (second to third century) clearly specifies the connection between the duovirate and gladiation (no. 441):

- - -] Maximiano | aedil(i) Ilvir(o) qui Ilv[i]|ratu suo munus v[e]|nationum et gladia[torum] | ex liberalit(ate) sua bidu[um] | dedit, qui etiam testame[nto] | suo fidei commisit [- - -].<sup>94</sup>

The presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts was especially the responsibility of senior magistrates, aediles and duoviri, in the Roman colonies.

The colonies of Corinth and Patras in the Peloponnese, Knossos on Crete, Philippi in Macedonia, and Antioch in Pisidia were all founded in the late republic and may have followed the same charter model as that used at Urso, the Caesarian colony in Spain, which required the aediles and duoviri to provide *munus ludosve scaenicos*. Furthermore, according to the *Lex Ursonensis*, these shows were presented in celebration of the Roman Capitoline Triad of Juppiter, Juno, and Minerva and perhaps other gods and goddesses as well, thus giving such *munera* an important religious dimension. The colonies also served as readily accessible models of Roman culture which could be imitated by Greeks, especially in the first century AD when cults of the Roman emperors were established in Greek cities across the East.<sup>95</sup> Dio Chrysostom explains that concerning gladiators the Athenians had zealously emulated the Corinthians: οἶον εὐθὺς τὰ περὶ τοὺς

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<sup>94</sup> No. 441: "for Maximianus, aedile, duovir, who during his duovirate gave a *munus* of wild beast hunts and gladiators from his generosity for two days, who also in his will entrusted---".

<sup>95</sup> Contra Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 240. But see Levick 1967, 192 who has argued that colonies promoted familiarity with aspects of Roman civilization, and Brunt 1976, 162 for Roman and Italian settlers serving as models of Roman culture.

μονομάχους οὕτω σφόδρα ἐζηλώκασι (i.e. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι) Κορινθίους.<sup>96</sup> To celebrate the Roman emperor and to do so in a suitably Roman and spectacular way, the Greeks adopted the culturally and religiously significant institution of gladiation which the emperors themselves in Rome and Roman magistrates in the colonies were accustomed to present.<sup>97</sup>

#### FAR WEST

There is little evidence for the administration of gladiatorial combats in the cities on the coast of the Adriatic. Inscriptions from Dyrrachium (no. 1) and Apollonia (no. 4), both from the second century, connect the presentation of gladiatorial combats with the erection of a library by L. Flavius Gaetulicus at Dyrrachium, and an unknown structure by Q. Villius Crispinus Furius Proclus in honour of his deceased brother at Apollonia. Interestingly, Proclus was an ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου, a highpriest for life, but he does not specifically claim to have provided the gladiatorial show in this capacity.

#### ACHAEA

The Roman province of Achaea, has likewise yielded little evidence for the administration of gladiatorial shows. An inscription from Megara (no. 109) honours C. Curtius Proclus for his various services to his homeland. He was agonothete of the Pythaeaia, sustrategos, agoranomos, who presented twenty pairs of gladiators,<sup>98</sup> twice served as boeotarch for his city, a member of the Amphictyonian Council three times, the first Panhellene, a rhetor

<sup>96</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121; cf. Lucian *Demonax*, 57: Ἀθηναίων δὲ σκεπτομένων κατὰ ζῆλον τὸν πρὸς Κορινθίους καταστήσασθαι θεῶν μονομάχων: "when the Athenians were considering out of rivalry with the Corinthians to hold a spectacle of gladiators".

<sup>97</sup> Gladiatorial combats were not a part of the earlier (republican period) cults of Roma or individual Roman magistrates. These cults were celebrated by traditional Greek *agones*. See Chapter 1.3. First Contacts.

<sup>98</sup> Expressed after the Latin phrase, *gladiatorum paria*: φιλοτειμησάμενον μονομάχων ζεύγη κ'.

and προστάτης (patron) for life. These honours represent the lifetime achievements of Proclus, and it is noteworthy that the presentation of gladiators should rank with such prestigious offices. The office of Panhellene probably refers to Proclus' service as his city's representative to the Panhellenion established under Hadrian in 131 or 132 when the emperor was in Athens (although the first Panhellenia was not celebrated until 137).<sup>99</sup> Since Proclus was the first Panhellene from Megara, his service in this capacity should likewise be dated to the 130s AD, and so his career to the early second century.<sup>100</sup> Proclus' presentation of gladiatorial combats is indicated as one of the many ways in which he served his city, but does not indicate in what capacity he did so. Immediately following his statement that he had presented gladiators, Proclus says that he twice served as boeotarch, an office of the Boeotian *koinon*, and as such may have been connected with the imperial cult, but there is no firm indication that the gladiatorial combats were presented as part of the duties of this office. Indeed, he twice served as boeotarch, and only once presented gladiators.

Athens, despite its importance, has yielded no gladiatorial inscriptions,<sup>101</sup> although according to Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, and Philostratus, the Athenians presented a gladiatorial show in the Theatre of Dionysus out of rivalry with the Corinthians as early as the reign of Vespasian.<sup>102</sup> Similarly, only the literary remarks of Apuleius provide evidence for gladiatorial combats, wild beast hunts and executions (*ad bestias*) in Plataea.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> See now Jones 1996. Cf. Dio Cass. 69.16.1-2.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *IG* VII no. 106.

<sup>101</sup> No. 107 records what are perhaps three gladiator names inscribed in the rock above the Theatre of Dionysus: Καρτερός, Ἀνθηρός and Ἴερος.

<sup>102</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121-122; Lucian *Demonax* 57; Philostr. *VA* 22. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 246-247 n. 6. The particular event referred to in Athens probably occurred c. AD 70-75: see Jones 1978, 133.

<sup>103</sup> Apul. *Met.* 4.13.



Corinth has likewise provided little epigraphic evidence for gladiation there, although the testimony of Dio Chrysostom, Lucian, and Apuleius suggests that the spectacle was common in the city, perhaps because the city was a Roman colony.<sup>104</sup> But other evidence suggests that Corinth may also have been the centre for imperial cult for the Achaean *koinon*. A letter concerning a financial dispute between the Corinthians and the Argives over payments to support wild beast hunts in Corinth, once attributed to the Emperor Julian in the fourth century, has now been shown to date to the first century (see below).<sup>105</sup> Many cities, says the (now) anonymous author of the letter, contributed to these purchases, but Argos deserved a special exemption because of the burden that city bore in presenting the trieteric Nemean games along with the pentaeteric Heraea and Sebastea. A.J.S. Spawforth argues that both Argos and Corinth, together with these many other cities, were members of the Achaean *koinon*, and that this body established an imperial cult during the first century, perhaps first for the emperor Nero at his accession.<sup>106</sup> Spawforth cites an inscription from Corinth from early in the reign of Nero (AD 54-59) for Gaius Iulius Spartiaticus, the highpriest of the domus Augusti and first of the Achaeans, and speculates that the specific occasion for Spartiaticus' inaugural highpriesthood was the institution of a new cult for Nero on his accession in 54.<sup>107</sup> Some fifteen or twenty years earlier in or about AD 37, the Achaean *koinon* had been united with several other smaller *koina*, the Boeotian, Locrian, Euboean, Phocian, to form a Panachaeian League, with the result that this new, larger league appeared and perhaps functioned like a province-wide *koinon*.<sup>108</sup> At Gaius' accession, delegates from member

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<sup>104</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121-122; Lucian *Demonax* 57; Apul. *Met.* 10.18.

<sup>105</sup> Ps.-Julian *Ep.* 198 (Bidez) = W.C. Wright, *The Works of the Emperor Julian III* (Loeb Classical Library, London/New York, 1923) no. 28; for the date, see Spawforth 1994.

<sup>106</sup> Spawforth 1994.

<sup>107</sup> For Gaius Iulius Spartiaticus see Smallwood 1967, no. 264.

<sup>108</sup> *JG* VII no. 2711 (and cf. no. 2712) reports to the archons of Acraephia the service of their fellow citizen, Epaminondas, in keeping the Boeotian *koinon* in the larger Achaean League. Cf.

cities met at Argos to swear an oath of allegiance to the new emperor and together the cities celebrated a common festival.<sup>109</sup> Spawforth theorizes that Spartiaticus was first highpriest of the Achaean League (*primo Achaeon*) in or about AD 54, and that at the accession of Nero delegates from the cities of the *koinon* again met to offer sacrifices to the new emperor, as had happened for Gaius in 37,<sup>110</sup> but that on this occasion, a more organized imperial cult took shape under the first highpriest, Spartiaticus. This new imperial cult, as with those from across the Greek world, was celebrated in Corinth, the chief city of the province, partly by Roman-style entertainments: wild beast hunts (the object of Argive concern in Ps.-Julian, *Ep.* 198) and perhaps gladiatorial combats, performances which could already be seen in Corinth in the games of the senior magistrates. The letter concerning Argive payments to Corinth to support the purchase of wild beasts, if indeed from the first century, therefore would provide invaluable evidence for the collective financing of the wild beast hunts (and perhaps gladiatorial shows) of the imperial cult celebrated by the Greek *koina*. Note, however, that the money was earmarked for beasts, not the men to hunt them, nor indeed the gladiators to complete the spectacle; perhaps these expenses were to be born by the official in charge of the spectacle.<sup>111</sup>

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Deininger 1965, 88-91; Bowersock 1965, 93; and Spawforth 1994, 223. This larger Achaean League only survived until the late 60s AD, when the Boeotian and other *koina* were again distinct from it. Oliver 1978, 188, plausibly suggests that this larger, and somewhat artificial, *koinon* was created at the insistence of the Roman governor, P. Memmius Regulus (AD 35-41), to aid the Roman administration.

<sup>109</sup> *IG* VII no. 2711, lines 5-7: ὄρ[κον ὁμοσε]ν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὑμῶν, παρόντος καὶ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, [ἐναντίον] τοῦ συνεδρίου.

<sup>110</sup> Contra Larsen 1955, 188, who states that there was no cultic activity or divine honours for the emperor on this occasion. Contra also Cormack 1943, 40 who thinks that Spartiaticus was simply the first Achaean to be granted the highpriesthood διὰ βίου. For a contemporary, though aborted, cult for Gaius, see Robert 1949b; and Friesen 1993, 21-26.

<sup>111</sup> For costs, see Chapter 3.6. Financing. The highpriests and asiarchs in Asia often owned the gladiatorial *familiae* and this practice may reasonably have been followed in other provinces.

## THESSALY

The chief city of Thessaly was Larissa and, to judge from Apuleius, an important centre for the presentation of gladiatorial combats. At the beginning of the *Metamorphosis*, he relates a story of a certain Socrates, a merchant from Aegina, who desired to see the famous gladiatorial spectacles at Larissa but was attacked and robbed by a group of thieves on his way into town: *'Me miserum,' inquit, 'qui dum voluptatem gladiatorii spectaculi satis famigerabilis consector, in has aerumnas incidi'*.<sup>112</sup> Thessaly was also the region to which Apuleius' Thiasus, a duovir quinquennalis of Corinth, came in search of *nobilissimas feras et famosos gladiatores*.<sup>113</sup> Although the epitaphs of successful gladiators have been uncovered at Larissa, no inscription describing the administration of gladiatorial spectacles has yet been found in the city or in Thessaly as a whole.<sup>114</sup> By the third century at the latest, the Thessalians were in some way responsible to the Macedonian *koinon*.<sup>115</sup>

## MACEDONIA

By at least the end of the first century AD, Beroia was established as the seat of the Macedonian *koinon* as especially made clear by an inscription recording, among other achievements, the successful embassy made by Q. Popillius Pytho of Beroia to the

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<sup>112</sup> Apul. *Met.* 1.7: "'Wretched am I,' he began, 'who seeking the pleasure of a gladiatorial spectacle, famous enough, fell into these troubles'".

<sup>113</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.18.

<sup>114</sup> For gladiatorial epitaphs, see nos. 102, 103, and 104. No. 105 is (probably) from Demetrias. The gladiator Phoibos (no. 104), a *secutor* of the first rank, died at Larissa, but had fought in Asia, Thrace, and Macedonia. Also note that the *summa rudis*, Publius Aelius, who died at Ancyra in Galatia had been awarded the citizenship of Larissa, among other cities (no. 450). Little of ancient Larissa has been excavated beneath the modern town.

<sup>115</sup> Ptolemy *Geog.* 3.12, already in the second century classified Thessaly with Macedonia. See also an inscription set up by the Macedonians for Licinius Rufinus in the third century thanking him for intervening concerning the monetary contributions of the Thessalians: συναγορεύσαντα τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ περὶ τῆς συντελείας τῶν Θεσσαλῶν. See *ArchAnz* 57 (1942) 172-184, at 176 no. 9, discussed by J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1942, no. 96 and esp. Robert 1948a; cf. Deininger 1965, 96 and 163.

emperor Nerva to secure for the city the titles of *neokoros* and metropolis (no. 67).<sup>116</sup> The inscription honouring Pytho was erected by a civic tribe from Beroia and lists first, even before his name, the fact that Pytho was highpriest for life of the Augusti and agonothete of the *koinon* of the Macedonians (ὁ διὰ βίου ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων). Only after these two offices are declared (as nouns) is the name of the honorand, Q. Popillius Pytho, provided, followed by a catalogue of his services to the city and province, expressed in (aorist) participial form: he served as ambassador to the divine Nerva and won the titles of *neokoros* and metropolis for Beroia; he paid the head tax for the province during the time of his highpriesthood (ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ); he built roads; he publicly promised and provided isactian games worth a talent, thymelic and gymnastic; and he gave wild beast fights with all sorts of beasts, both local and exotic, and gladiatorial combats:

καὶ καταγγείλαντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα | εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας ταλαντιαίους, |  
 θυμηλικούς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόματα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζώων |  
 ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, καὶ μονομαχίας

Given the fact that the name of these *agones* is not mentioned, it is likely that they were in fact those of the Macedonian *koinon* for which he was agonothete. In line 1, Pytho is honoured as highpriest for life, and he is later said, in lines 8-10, to have paid the head-tax for the province at the time of his highpriesthood—an act of generosity which appears at the time of writing to be complete (that is, he did not pay the tax "for life"). Were these two highpriesthoods the same? Given that his service as agonothete of the Macedonian *koinon* listed in line 2 was probably the capacity in which he produced the isactian *agones*

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<sup>116</sup> Deininger 1965, 91; Papazoglou 1979, 305 and 351-353; and Tataki 1988, 447. Cf. Cormack 1940, 50-52 where he demonstrates that the title metropolis and probably that of *neokoros* had been granted to Beroia earlier and confirmed by Nerva. The term, *neokoros*, meaning "temple warden" was originally a temple official with a variety of possible responsibilities, such as guarding and maintaining the temple grounds and facilities, and assisting in sacrifices, but by the end of the first century AD was used to indicate a city which had a provincial temple for the imperial cult. See Price 1984, 64-65; Friesen 1993, 50-59.

listed in lines 12-14, it is reasonable that the title "highpriest for life" in line 1 was in reference to the same highpriesthood in which he paid the head tax for the province. Indeed, had he twice served as highpriest, we should expect this fact to be mentioned.<sup>117</sup> If these two highpriesthoods were in fact the same, then this would imply that his active service as highpriest lasted for a set term in office (during which time he paid the tax, presumably among other duties), but that he was then permitted, or granted, the right to be known as highpriest for life.

It is also unspecified in what capacity he gave the wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats; although they follow the isactic *agones* on the list, there is no grammatical reason to link the two presentations together. But given Pytho's strong connection with the Macedonian *koinon* and imperial cult in Beroia and that city's status as *neokoros* and seat of the *koinon*, it is reasonable to assume that the combats were presented in relation to his services for the imperial cult. These gladiatorial combats, presented by Pytho at the very end of the first or very beginning of the second century are the earliest attested in Macedonia, although their popularity and frequency soon increased to judge from the large number of gladiatorial epitaphs belonging to the second or third century which have been found and published from Beroia.<sup>118</sup>

Also from Beroia are two parallel inscriptions from the first half of the third century each advertising an upcoming *philotimia* (nos. 65 and 66). Both are ostensibly announcements, but their main force is most obviously commemorative. These large, impressive inscriptions were set up before the events, but undoubtedly remained long after

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<sup>117</sup> See, for example, no. 128 from Gortyn where Titus Flavius Iulius Volumnius Sabinus claims to have served as highpriest for a second time: τὸ β'. Cormack 1943, 40, also believes that these two references are to the same highpriesthood.

<sup>118</sup> See Tataki 1988, 437. Note that Pytho's inscription gives more detail concerning the wild beast hunts: the beasts were "both local and exotic", an inflation of the spectacle which may suggest competition with earlier presentations of wild beast hunts, while the spectacle of gladiatorial combat is not embellished. For the gladiatorial epitaphs from Beroia, see nos. 68 to 85, and especially Allamani-Souri 1987.

to remind those reading them of the *philotimia* which they advertised. It is interesting to note, however, that the names of those who provided the expensive shows are found in the centre of the inscription, thoroughly subordinated to the name and offices of the emperor at the top. The first inscription dates to AD 229 and announces three days of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts to be presented beginning on 25 June for the health, safety, victory, and eternal endurance of the emperor Severus Alexander, and for his mother, Iulia Mamaea, and for every god of their house, and for the Senate, and the provinces, and the armies and the Roman people (lines 1-9). The inscription states that Valerianus Philoxenos, "macedoniarch and highpriest of Augustus and agonothe of the *koinon* of the Macedonians for the Alexandreian games", and his wife Valeriana Ammia, "the highpriestess of the Augusta":

ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων  
πόλει κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας | τρεῖς.<sup>119</sup>

The second inscription (no. 66) dates to AD 240 and similarly announces an upcoming *philotimia* for the emperor to begin on 27 June: for the health, safety, victory, and eternal endurance of the great and most holy and unconquerable lord the emperor Caesar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, and for the god of his house, and the Senate, and armies, and the Roman people, and the provinces of the *praetorium*. The inscription then states that Lucius Septimius Insteianus Alexander, "macedoniarch and highpriest [of the Augusti(?)] and agonothe of the *koinon* of Macedonians for the Alexandrian games, sacred, iselastic, is[olympic]", and his wife, Aelia Alexandra the highpriestess:

ἐπιτελέσο[υσιν ἐν τῇ] | λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ Β νεωκόρῳ μητροπόλει τῆς  
Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων | πόλι (sic) κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν | ἡμέρας  
Γ, προσεισάγοντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν καὶ | ἕτερον  
ζεῦγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ

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<sup>119</sup> No. 65, lines 12-14: "will provide in the city of Beroia, the most illustrious metropolis of Macedonia, three days of hunts and gladiators".

συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου | ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς,  
εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ.<sup>120</sup>

The similarity of these two inscriptions is striking and suggests the existence, by the mid-third century, of a regular and formalized *philotimia* for the continued prosperity of the reigning emperor and the overall ruling structure of the Empire. Those presenting the spectacle hold the same offices: in each case the husband was macedoniarch, highpriest, and agonothete for the Macedonian *koinon*, while the wife was simply highpriestess. In each inscription it is clear that the gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were distinct from the traditional Greek Alexandreian games, and so it was not as agonothete that the men in each inscription presented the *philotimia*, but rather as highpriest or macedoniarch. But since the wives as highpriestesses were actively involved in the presentation of the *philotimia* (the verb is plural: ἐπιτελέσουσιν), it is reasonable to assume that it was technically in their capacity as highpriest rather than macedoniarch that the husbands were so involved. Consider no. 68, a gladiatorial epitaph also from Beroia, in which a highpriest, Cassander, is mentioned:

Ζμαράγδος Νυμφέρῳτι Ἐφεσίῳ μνήνης χάριν· ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κασσά(ν)-  
δρου.<sup>121</sup>

Robert notes that it was not normal in this region to date epitaphs with reference to an eponymous official; instead, the phrase, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κασσάνδρου, is most readily explicable with reference to Nympheros' profession as a gladiator: he died during the *philotimia* of this highpriest.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>120</sup> No. 66, lines 8-12: "will present in the city of Beroia the most illustrious metropolis of Macedonia three days of hunts and gladiators, introducing as well each day of the *philotimiae* (*munera*) a pair who will contend for their lives in addition to the normal two (pairs) by the indulgence of our lord, Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius, felix Augustus".

<sup>121</sup> "Zmaragdōs (erected this) for Nympheros of Ephesus in remembrance. (He died in the games of ?) the highpriest, Cassander." Date: second century; see Tataki 1988, 159 no. 505.

<sup>122</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1956, no. 150. For a T. Flavius Cassander, highpriest and agonothete of the *koinon* of the Macedonians, see Cormack 1943, 39 no. 1. His name indicates a date in the last quarter of the first century or early second, although it could be later.

The duties and responsibilities of macedoniarch and highpriest of the Augusti are blurred in Macedonia, just as the offices of "*koinon-arch*" and highpriest are blurred in many eastern provinces.<sup>123</sup> The use of the two titles would indicate, *prima facie*, that they were two different offices: "terms and titles, despite their profusion in the imperial epoch, were not employed arbitrarily".<sup>124</sup> The office of μακεδονίαρχης, which is not found in the first century, may initially have been the title of the president of the *koinon* when the various civic representatives (σύεδροι) met; consider the generosity of Popillius Pytho in providing διαδόμασιν παρ' ὄλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχιαιρωσύνης χρόνον πανδήμοις κατὰ πᾶσαν σύνοδον ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν ἐπαρχείαν.<sup>125</sup> This high office at the provincial assembly, held by Pytho at the very end of the first or very beginning of the second century, may have come to be called the office of the macedoniarch.<sup>126</sup> But if all three central *koinon* offices, that is, ἀρχιερεὺς (τῶν Σεβαστῶν), μακεδονίαρχης and ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακεδόνων, came regularly to be held by the same person (as in nos. 65 and 66) and all of the duties of those offices to be performed by that one person, then it is perhaps not surprising that the exact nature of these offices came to be somewhat blurred.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Already fifty years ago, Cormack 1943, 43 demonstrated the difficulty of the question. Deininger 1965, 93, equates the two: "auch in Makedonien die Ämter des ἀρχιερεὺς des Koinon und Makedoniarchen miteinander identisch sind". Cf. discussion below.

<sup>124</sup> Mihailov 1979, 40.

<sup>125</sup> Lines 19-21: "distributions to all the people during the entire time he held high office at the assembly for the whole province".

<sup>126</sup> Tataki 1988, 458-460, notes the later appearance of the office of macedoniarch (she knows of 11 macedoniarchs) and suggests that the office "probably represents a development in the title or duties of the magistrates charged with the organization of the imperial cult".

<sup>127</sup> *JG X*, 1 no. 153 (AD 219-220) attests a μακεδονίαρχισσα: (τὸν δεῖνα) Μαρεινιανοῦ Φιλίππου τοῦ μακεδονίαρχου καὶ Φλαβιανῆς Νεπωτιανῆς μακεδονιαρχίσσης υἱόν. Mihailov 1979, 40 claims there is no evidence for women serving in a *koinon* council and so excludes macedoniarchissa as a genuine title. He then speculates that this title was applied to her in her capacity as archiereia, which would then indicate that her husband's title as macedoniarch could also be conceived as equal to archiereus. Women, however, did play important civic roles in Greek society, both in local government and local benefactions: see, for example, Kirbihler 1994.



Another significant feature of the two inscriptions (nos. 65 and 66) is the obvious inflation of titulature and events. In the eleven years between AD 229 and 240, Beroia was awarded a second imperial temple, for the city is in no. 66 twice *neokoros*. In no. 65, the Alexandreian games put on by Valerianus Philoxenos as agonothete for the *koinon* are otherwise unqualified, but in no. 66 they are advertised as sacred, iselactic, and "is[olympic]".<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, the gladiatorial events in no. 65 are similarly unembellished, while those in no. 66, although still only three days long, are said to include a fight to the death on each day, a spectacle which required and had received the approval of the emperor himself (κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου).<sup>129</sup> This inflation of events was a product of competitive euergetism among members of the ruling elite and inevitably led to greatly increased expenses (see below).

An inscription from Thessaloniki perhaps illustrates the strength of the association between the imperial cult and the presentation of gladiatorial combats (no. 86). The will of a certain Herenni[us?]<sup>130</sup> provided funds for three days of wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats which were then presented by order of the city council and people through (διὰ) the politarchs who attend the (probably local) highpriest, (Tiberius) Claudius Crispus.<sup>131</sup> Furthermore, the show was not directly offered to the memory of Herenni[us?] himself, but specifically for the health and safety of Antoninus Pius and his

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<sup>128</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1971, no. 400, prefer "isolympic" to isactic; they cite the career of a certain herald, Valerius Eclectus from Sinope, who was victor at the "Alexandreion isolympic": cf. Moretti 1953, no. 90. But Pytho's games had been isactic.

<sup>129</sup> For the importance and significance of imperial *indulgentia*, see below p. 219.

<sup>130</sup> The name of the has been partially lost: lines 6-7 read Ἐρεννί-[- - -6 or 7 - - -]ας Ἴσπανῆς. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 78-79, tentatively proposes something such as: "Ἐρεννί[ου] χειλιάρχου or ἑκατοντάρξου σπείρας Ἴσπανῆς", and because there does not seem to be enough room for this reading, he suggests an abbreviated form of χειλιάρχου or ἑκατοντάρξου. Cf. Sherk 1957, 56-58, who supports this reading and discusses evidence for the posting of a *cohors Hispanorum equitata* in Macedonia and Thrace in the mid-second century. Ville, *La gladiature*, 198-199, however, believes that a woman, Herenni[a...] Hispana is meant. Cf. *JG X*, 2, 1 no. 137.

<sup>131</sup> See Oliver 1941, where a Claudius Crispus is mentioned in a letter of Hadrian dated between 119 and 128.

adopted son, M. Aurelius Caesar, in AD 141, and would presumably continue to be offered for the reigning emperor in future presentations generated from this fund.<sup>132</sup> The foundation needed the approval of the local βουλή because the fund was to be administered from the office of the local highpriest of the imperial cult, an official drawn from the same elite members of the city as those who filled the βουλή. Since the highpriest would in the future be responsible to make up any shortfalls in the fund from his own resources, such a foundation required the official sanction of the council.

#### THRACE

Two inscriptions from Serdica (nos. 29 and 30), though both fragmentary, are essentially documents advertising an upcoming *philotimia* to be held for the emperor(s): no. 29 appears intended for M. Aurelius and L. Commodus, although the text is fragmentary and difficult to read; no. 30, also fragmentary, for M. Aurelius and L. Verus (AD 161-169).<sup>133</sup> Yet despite the difficulty in reading these inscriptions, both indicate that the spectacle was to be given by a highpriest and probably also a highpriestess. Lines 4-7 of no. 29 read as follows:

- - - ]ν ἀρχιερεὺς  
 - - - ]ανος καὶ ἡ ἀρ-  
 [χιέρεια? - - κ]αὶ μονομαχί-  
 [ας - - - - - κ]αὶ τῆ προ ζ' [καλάδων or νωνῶν or εἰδῶν?]

Clearly, an ἀρχιερεὺς and most probably an ἀρχιέρεια are to provide a spectacle of gladiatorial combats to begin on the date mentioned: seven days before either the Kalends

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<sup>132</sup> The final line of the inscription states that this was the first presentation produced from the fund. Another such foundation was established at Side by Titus Licinnius Mucianus in the late second or early third century which was still supporting gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts a generation later (no. 437). For discussion, see below, p. 212.

<sup>133</sup> No. 29: the top and left side of the inscription are now lost, and the first legible letters are - - - Λουκί[ο]υ Κο[μ]μόδο[υ]. No. 30: the top and left side are also missing, and the first letters are: Μ. Αὐρ.] Ἀν[τ]ο[ν]ίνου καὶ Λουκίου Οὐέρου | [- - - - -] Σεβ. υγείας.

or the Nones or the Ides of an unknown month. For line 4, Robert tentatively suggested the reconstruction: " ...ὁ δι' ὄπλων ἀρχιερεὺς".<sup>134</sup> But such a reading ought to be considered suspect since all other complete attestations of the phrase, δι' ὄπλων, are found *following* an office or other honour, typically that of highpriest.<sup>135</sup>

A much more complete example of an inscription advertising the presentation of a gladiatorial *philotimia* has been discovered at Nicopolis ad Istrum dating between the years AD 161 to 163 (no. 25).<sup>136</sup> It states that the spectacles were to be given for the good fortune, safety, and eternal endurance of the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, but also for that of Faustina, wife of Marcus, their children, the senate, Roman people, the *legatus Augusti propraetore*, Appius Claudius Martialis,<sup>137</sup> and, significantly, for that of the council and people of Nicopolis ad Istrum. The gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts here advertised were to be presented by a man and woman: Minicius O---, a local highpriest (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως), and his daughter, Minicia Firmina, who is not an ἀρχιέρεια. Nicopolis was not the seat of the Thracian *koinon*, and so the spectacles presented here, although given in celebration of the imperial cult, were entirely local in nature. Note, however, the similarity in purpose to the games held in Beroia for the Macedonian *koinon* (nos. 65 and 66).

Although Philippopolis was the seat of the Thracian *koinon*, no inscriptions directly attesting the presentation of gladiatorial spectacles have as yet been published

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<sup>134</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 98; Robert 1946a, 112-115. No. 29 (line 4) has: - - -]ν ἀρχιερεὺς | [- - -, and no. 30 (line 6) has: - - -]ων ἀρχι[ρεὺς - - -]. Robert would restore "δι' ὄπλων ἀρχιερεὺς" in both cases.

<sup>135</sup> See above p. 148-149.

<sup>136</sup> Mihailov 1979, 27, states that Nicopolis ad Istrum was not included in Lower Moesia until c. AD 202 when the southern borders of that province were moved further south to include this city and Marcianopolis. Since the two gladiatorial inscriptions from Nicopolis date to the later second century, this city has been included with Thrace here.

<sup>137</sup> Appius Claudius Martialis (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C, 931) was *legatus propraetore* in Thrace under Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in AD 161-163.

from here.<sup>138</sup> There are, however, two inscriptions (nos. 40 and 41) which do mention the office of ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλων, one of which (no. 40) was almost certainly a highpriest for the *koinon*. In no. 40, the city itself, through the agency of Titus Flavius Priscianus, the thracarch and highpriest for arms, honours the emperor, Severus Alexander:

τὸν θεοφιλέστατον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης | δεσπότην  
Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεουήρον [Ἄλέξανδρον] Σεβαστὸν ἢ | λαμπροτάτη  
Θρακῶ μητρόπολις Φιλιπποπόλις νεωκόρος | πρωταρχοῦντος ἐπιμελουμένου  
Τ(ίτου) Φλ(αβίου) Πρειακιανοῦ | θρακάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως δι' ὅπλων.<sup>139</sup>

The dedication to the emperor, probably a statue, was provided by one of the prominent citizens of Philippopolis, Titus Flavius Priscianus, who happened to hold not only the highest office in the city (protarch) but also leading positions in the Thracian *koinon* as θρακάρχης and ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλων. Priscianus had presented gladiatorial combats clearly as highpriest, but they do not appear to be connected with the office of thracarch. It is significant that when cataloguing his offices, his highpriesthood was properly qualified as δι' ὅπλων rather than simply given as ἀρχιερεὺς. In a similar way, the *legatus pro praetore* for the province of Thrace in AD 202 or 203, Quintus Sicinius Clarus, was honoured with a statue by Publius Adrianus Sallustius, who also identified himself as ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλων rather than simply ἀρχιερεὺς (no. 41, also from Philippopolis).<sup>140</sup> The presentation of gladiatorial combats would therefore seem to have been of defining importance for the office of highpriest, either to mark that such spectacles had been given in that capacity or that they were a fundamental element of the office.

The title, ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὅπλων, is also found on four honorific inscriptions from Augusta Traiana (nos. 33, 34, 35, and 36). In each case, the explicative δι' ὅπλων

<sup>138</sup> Re Philippopolis: see Deininger 1965, 97-98; cf. Goceva 1981.

<sup>139</sup> "With Good Fortune! Philippopolis, the illustrious metropolis of Thrace, *neokoros*, (honours) the especially god-loved emperor and master of the whole world, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus, with Titus Flavius Priscianus, the thracarch, and highpriest for arms, chief magistrate (protarch) in charge".

<sup>140</sup> Q. Sicinius Clarus (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> S, no. 494) was *legatus propraetore Thraciae* in c. 202 or 203.

follows the office of ἀρχιερεὺς and would serve to indicate the means by which the holder of the title had fulfilled the office of highpriest through the presentation of gladiatorial combats. Presumably, not all ἀρχιερεῖς were δι' ὅπλων, or at least did not have to be to serve as highpriest, for if every highpriest had provided the spectacle, the phrase, δι' ὅπλων, would have been redundant.<sup>141</sup> No. 36 offers the possibility of an ἀρχιέρεια δι' ὅπλων, although the termination and so gender of the word ἀρχιερε[--- has been lost:

Αὐρ(ηλίαν) Μαρκέλλαν Βειθυνικοῦ ἀρχιερέως? οἱ εἰας?] δι' ὅπλων,  
σύμβιον Αὐρ(ηλίου) Τήρου Σκελητος ἀρχιερέως δι' ὅπλων οἱ γονεῖς.<sup>142</sup>

It is tempting to understand Aurelia Marcella as a highpriestess for arms to parallel her husband's office as highpriest, though the title may also refer to her father, Bithynicus. Since these four inscriptions do not explain the circumstances in which the spectacle was presented, we cannot be certain whether the highpriesthoods are local or that of the Thracian *koinon*.

Thrace also provides rare epigraphic evidence to suggest that not all gladiatorial combats were presented exclusively by officials of the imperial cult. In no. 26 from Nicopolis ad Istrum (from the second half of the second century), a certain Titus Aelius Oclatius was honoured with a statue and praised as φιλότιμον δι' ὅπλων, gerousiarch, and chief archon, with no mention of the imperial cult or the office of the highpriest. Similarly, in an epitaph from Abdera probably dating to the second century (no. 48), a wife, Cassia Asklepiodote, says that a sarcophagus was made for herself and her deceased husband, Marcus Ulpius Autolykus, φιλοτειμησάμενος δι' ὅπλων ἡμέραις γ' τῆ πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ: "who served as a φιλότιμος δι' ὅπλων for three days for his homeland". Again, there is no mention of the imperial cult. Yet given the intimate

<sup>141</sup> Seyrig 1928, 388-392.

<sup>142</sup> "Her parents (honour) Aurelia Marcella, daughter of Bithynicus the highpriest(ess?) for arms, and the wife of Aurelius Teres, son of Skeles, the highpriest for arms". The ordination is uncertain.

connection between the imperial cult and gladiatorial combats found throughout the Greek cities of the East, it is tempting to assume that the office of highpriest is to be understood in each of these cases.<sup>143</sup>

An inscription from Bizye in eastern Thrace from the late second or early third century (no. 47) honours Marcus Aurelius Calandio, ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ ταλαντάρχης δι' ὄπλων: "the priest and *talantarches* for arms", who specifies that he gave an ἀνάλημψις<sup>144</sup> and *taurokathapsia*. The stone was decorated with reliefs depicting a combat between a *retiarius* and a *secutor*, scenes from a *taurokathapsia* and *ursarii* (bear-trainers), which reinforces our supposition that ὄπλα refer to gladiators. The term, ταλαντάρχης, is otherwise unattested but is probably a rare reference to the value of the spectacle which Calandio had presented.<sup>145</sup> But unless Calandio's priesthood (ἱερεὺς) was of the local imperial cult, which is possible, this inscription by itself does not support an absolute connection between gladiation and emperor worship.

#### LOWER MOESIA

Inscriptions providing information on the presentation of the combats are also found in Lower Moesia, primarily in the cities of Tomis and Odessos on the western shore of the Pontus, although gladiatorial epitaphs have been found at Dionysopolis and Marcianopolis as well.<sup>146</sup> Three remarkable inscriptions from Tomis (nos. 8, 9, and 10), all dating to the late second or early third century, provide information for the presentation of gladiatorial

<sup>143</sup> In no. 33, M. Aurelius Apollodorus is honoured as ὁ φιλότιμος ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων.

<sup>144</sup> Robert 1982b, 154-158, connects the ἀνάλημψις with the taking up of the crown by a priest (cf. *SIG* 888 line 37). Could this instead relate to gladiatorial combat?

<sup>145</sup> Robert 1982a, 154-158 (with figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7), suggests that a ταλαντάρχης δι' ὄπλων was a "munerarius qui a fait les frais d'un concours talantiaios". Sayar 1983, 144-146, however, (improbably) suggests that it refers to a balance, as in *Iliad* 22, 209-13 here denoting the power of life and death over the gladiators.

<sup>146</sup> Bouley 1994, 44 notes the existence of an amphitheatre at Marcianopolis, a city founded by Trajan.

combats and wild beast hunts by pontarchs. In no. 8, the metropolis, Tomis, honours the pontarch, Aurelius Priscus Isidorus, and his wife, Ulpia Matrona, the ἀρχιέρεια. With respect to the provision of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, Isidorus is specifically said to have done so as highpriest:

ἀρχιερασάμενον τὴν δι' ὄπλων | καὶ κυνηγεσίων φιλοδόξως φιλοτειμίαν |  
ἐφεξῆς ἡμερῶν ἕξ μὴ διαλιπόντα<sup>147</sup>

No. 9 is similar: the metropolis and first city of the Pontus, Tomis, honours the pontarch, Priscus Annianus, and his wife, Iulia Apolausta, the ἀρχιέρεια. Annianus is said to have held the first office of both the *Koinon* of the Hellenes and the metropolis, and, in terminology nearly identical to that of no. 8, to have acted as highpriest holding a *philotimia* through gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts.<sup>148</sup> Although in each case the wife is honoured as an ἀρχιέρεια, she is not involved (grammatically) in the presentation of the gladiatorial show. Furthermore, the grammar suggests the subordination of the office of highpriest to that of pontarch, for while the office of ποντάρχης was written as a noun and closely associated with the honorand's name as an important identifying title, the highpriesthood was expressed as a verb, ἀρχιεράομαι (in participial form), with the direct object, τὴν φιλοτειμίαν: "to present the *philotimia* as highpriest". One might have expected both titles of ποντάρχης and ἀρχιερέυς to have been provided together. The grammar also represents the office of highpriest as the means by which the gladiatorial *philotimia* was presented.

Inscription no. 10 also from Tomis refers to an anonymous pontarch who, although born in Flavia Neapolis in Syria, lived and rose to prominence in Tomis:

Σπείρατο μὲν Συρίας με Νε[ίη] | πόλις εὐρυάγυια, |

<sup>147</sup> No. 8, lines 8-10: "who acted as highpriest holding gloriously a *philotimia* through arms and through wild beast hunts for six continuous days with no interval".

<sup>148</sup> No. 9, lines 9-11: καὶ ἀρχιερασάμενον τὴν δι' ὄπλων καὶ κυνηγεσίων ἐνδόξως | φιλοτειμίαν μὴ διαλιπόντα: "who acted as highpriest holding gloriously a *philotimia* through arms and through wild beast hunts with no interval".

πλείονα δ' αὐτὸν πάτρης | ἐστεφάνωσε Τόμεύς, |  
 ἢ μ' ἄλλων μερόπων | πλέον εἶσιδε κοσμηθέντα |  
 χρυσεῖσι στεφάνοις | πορφυραίοις τε πέπλοις.<sup>149</sup>

He boasts that Tomis saw him crowned and in purple robes, for he "twice served as pontarch and presented the contests of Ares" (δῖς γὰρ ἐποντάρχησα καὶ Ἄραιος ἄθλα ἐτέλεσα). The contests of Ares undoubtedly refer to the combats of gladiators,<sup>150</sup> but although the spectacle appears connected with the pontarchate, it does not appear that it was especially in that capacity that he presented the combats. The pontarchate, however, may simply have been the most prestigious office and one which would imply the highpriesthood. This was suggested by the grammar of nos. 8 and 9, where the highpriesthood was subordinated to the pontarchate and appears to be confirmed in this inscription. But this is not to say that the offices of highpriest and pontarch were identical, or that the highpriesthood had been subsumed into the pontarchate. The two were distinct offices which nevertheless could be, and often were, held by the same man: the ability to do so was directly a function of one's willingness and financial resources.<sup>151</sup> Also noteworthy in this inscription are the importance attached to the presentation of gladiatorial combats—they are listed as the most important accomplishment of his pontarchate—and the esteem in which the gladiators (the athletes of Ares) appear to have been held.

Although Tomis was the seat of the west Pontic *koinon*,<sup>152</sup> gladiatorial combats took place in other centres as well. At Odessos, also on the Pontus to the south of Tomis,

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<sup>149</sup> No. 10, lines 1-8: "Neapolis in Syria begot me, a city of broad boulevards, but then Tomis has crowned me more than my homeland, (Tomis) which has looked upon me decorated more than other men, with golden crowns and purple robes". This unknown pontarch may in fact be either Isidorus (no. 8) or Annianus (no. 9), for both of these men were pontarchs but both also profess to have been a councillor of Flavia Neapolis.

<sup>150</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 101-103, corrected the translation of the first editors who had, "jeux célébrés en l'honneur d'Arès".

<sup>151</sup> Mihailov 1979.

<sup>152</sup> See Deininger 1965, 120-121; and Mihailov 1979.



three inscriptions have been discovered all of which announce an upcoming display of gladiatorial combat and wild beast hunts (nos. 22, 23, and 24). Of these, no. 22 is by far the most complete. It announces that gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were to occur in AD 227 for the health and safety of the emperor Severus Alexander, his mother Iulia Mamaea as well as for the Senate and people of Rome, the army, for Lucius Mantennius Sabinus, the *legatus Aug. propraetore*,<sup>153</sup> and for the council and people of Odessos itself. In addition to the inscription, the stone was decorated with a series of reliefs depicting combats with animals and gladiators. These spectacles were to be presented perhaps by the highpriests of the city, Marcus Aurelius Simon and Marcus Aurelius Io---, although their exact office is uncertain for the stone is broken:

- - - ἀρχιερεῖς?] τῆς πόλεως Μ(άρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Σίμων Σίμωνος  
 βουλευτῆς] καὶ Μ(άρκος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἴο[ - - -  
 - - -]ν διὰ τε κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἤη πρό - - ] καλ(ανδῶν)  
 Μαί[ων (or Μαρ[τίων) Ἀλβίνω καὶ Μαξί]-  
 μω ὑπάτοις.<sup>154</sup>

But if both M. Aurelius Simon and M. Aurelius Io--- were highpriests, we have an unusual situation with two local highpriests in the same city, at the same time. The expression διὰ τε κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν in line 7 may explain the lacuna at the beginning of the line. Since the inscription is an advertisement for an upcoming *philotimia* to be presented by the two men, perhaps the lacuna at the end of line 6 and beginning of line 7 should be restored: ἐπιτελοῦσιν τὴν φιλοτειμίαν διὰ τε κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>153</sup> L. Mantennius Sabinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 172) was *legatus Augusti propraetore provinciae Moesiae inferioris* in 227, and had been *cos. suff.* sometime previously.

<sup>154</sup> Lines 6 to 8: "the highpriests? of the city, M. Aurelius Simon, son of Simon, the councillor, and M. Aurelius Io--- | through gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts ... days before the Kalends of May (or March) in the consulship of Albinus and Maximus".

<sup>155</sup> Lines 6-7: "they will present their *philotimia* with both wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats". The photograph of the stone published in *JGBulg* I, 2 no. 70 (pl. 46 and 47) reveal that both left and right border of the stone are missing. The restorations in earlier lines suggest that 10 to 15 letter spaces are missing at the end of line 6 and 10 to 20 letter spaces are missing at the beginning of line 7.

Whether or not these spectacles were given by a highpriest of the imperial cult, they were nevertheless given *for* (ὑπέρ) the reigning emperor.

The island of Thasos presents some of the earliest evidence for the presentation of gladiatorial combats by Greeks in the East. Several inscriptions (nos. 55, 58, 59, 60, and 61) detail the results of gladiatorial combats between gladiators owned by either a certain Hecataea or Euphrillus, whom Robert identified with a married couple mentioned in *IG XII, 8, 380* from the early first century AD.<sup>156</sup> This inscription suggests that this couple was involved with the cult of Roma and Augustus. These are some of the earliest attested gladiatorial matches in the Greek East which were given by the Greeks themselves, and they may already have been associated with the early imperial cult, as were the gladiatorial combats and beast hunts given in Ancyra by the priest of Augustus and Roma also in the early first century (no. 448). Gladiatorial events continued on Thasos to be associated with the imperial cult as attested by the career of Titus Aelius Magnus, a *vir egregius* and *ducenarius* who had also twice been ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων.

#### CRETE

Evidence for the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts on Crete comes primarily from a lengthy inscription from Gortyn, the seat of the Cretan *koinon* (no. 128).<sup>157</sup> In no. 128, Titus Flavius Iulius Volumnius Sabinus, the highpriest of the *Koinon* of the Cretans for the second time (τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν τὸ β'), is honoured for his lavish and especially bloody presentation of beast fights and gladiatorial

<sup>156</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 108. *IG XII 8 no. 380*: Θεᾷ Ῥώμη καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι θεοῦ υἱῷ | Θεῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῆ πόλει τῆ Θασίων | Εὐφριλλῶς Σατύρου καὶ Ἑκαταΐα ἡ γυνὴ (?) | τὸ μαρμάρινον στῶμα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐπεμελήθη δὲ (?) | ἐκ τῶν ἐπιδομένων ὑπ' αὐτῶν χρημάτων | Θαρσηνῶρ Ἡγησιπόλεως φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλόπατρις: "To the goddess Roma and the divine emperor Caesar Augustus, son of a god, and to the city of Thasos, Euphrillus, son of Satyrus, and his wife Hecataea (supplied) the marble pavement of the temple, and Tharsenor of Hegesipolis(?), who loves Caesar and who is loyal to his homeland, took care (to set this up) from the money given by them." Cf. Sève 1981, 194-5.

<sup>157</sup> Deininger 1965, 85. Now see Rouanet-Liesenfelt 1994.

combats for which he had received an imperial *indulgentia* (κατὰ θεῖαν μεγαλοδωρίαν). But although he was a highpriest and although these spectacles were probably given ostensibly in celebration of the imperial cult, the glory and popularity generated by the spectacles were claimed by Sabinus himself; the phrase, μόνον Κρητῶν (alone of the Cretans), is expressed twice in the inscription. The presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts does not here seem to have been a "burden" of the office of highpriest, but rather was used as an expression and demonstration of Sabinus' power, influence and importance. Indeed, their very lavishness and bloodiness may have been demonstration of the *indulgentia* he had received from the emperor, the *indulgentia* which and raised his status by association, however, tenuous, with the emperor.<sup>158</sup> An inscription on a sarcophagus from Gortyn reveals the importance of the centre as a site of gladiatorial contests, for the unknown gladiator lists the various locations of his fights, his opponents, and the results (no. 129). Gortyn appears along with Ephesus, Tralles, Laodiceia, and Aphrodisias as cities in which he had fought.

#### BITHYNIA AND PONTUS

An inscription from Nicaea in Bithynia in honour of Fl. Severianus Asclepiades demonstrates that gladiatorial combats were presented by those at the highest levels of local society (no. 166). The inscription records the highlights of Asclepiades' career: he held various local offices; he escorted Caracalla, probably in 214-215 when the emperor wintered in nearby Nicomedeia;<sup>159</sup> he presented spectacles of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts (ἐπιτελέσαντα θεᾶς μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων μεγαλοπρεπῶς);<sup>160</sup> he also escorted Elagabalus and helped to put up his army, probably

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<sup>158</sup> For the importance and significance of imperial *indulgentia*, see below, p. 219.

<sup>159</sup> Dio Cass. 77.18.1; cf. Magie 1950, 684.

<sup>160</sup> Dio Cass. 77.19 discusses the gladiatorial games on Caracalla's birthday in Nicomedeia.

in 218-219 when that emperor wintered in Nicomedeia;<sup>161</sup> he was honoured by Elagabalus with the priesthood of the goddess Roma and was awarded the right to wear purple in perpetuity.<sup>162</sup> It is not clear from the text in what capacity or for what reason Asclepiades presented the spectacles of gladiatorial combat and wild beast hunts, or even how many times he did so. The description of the show as θέαι is unusual.<sup>163</sup> It may be, however, that it was Caracalla's stay in Nicomedeia during the winter of 214-215 that prompted this citizen of Nicaea to present especially magnificent (μεγαλοπρεπῶς) spectacles of gladiatorial combat.<sup>164</sup> The presentation of gladiatorial combats is sandwiched in the inscription between the visits of the two emperors, perhaps making the imperial context clear.

In Claudiopolis, a priest named Secundus erected a commemorative monument to a number of gladiators who had fought in a three day *philotimia* (no. 174): θῆκε με μουνομάχοις ἱερεὺς τόδε σῆμα Σεκοῦνδος: "Secundus the priest erected me - this memorial - for (the following) gladiators". The cult with which Secundus was associated is uncertain. Furthermore, his status and importance are subordinated to that of the gladiators in this inscription.

An inscription from Amisus in Pontus (no. 177) commemorates the φαμιλία of gladiators which took part in the *philotimia* given by the pontarchs Marcus Iulius Iulianus

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<sup>161</sup> Dio Cass. 79.7.3; Herodian 5.5.3; SHA *Heliog.* 5.1.

<sup>162</sup> The reconstruction, διηνεῖκεῖ πορφύρα, that is, "pourpre perpétuelle", was suggested by J. and L. Robert in *BE* 1980, no. 508. This honour probably implies the right to wear purple at all times, perhaps in connection with his new office as priest of Roma. Sahin, *I.Iznik* no. 60, notes that this is the first epigraphic evidence for the cult of Roma at Nicaea.

<sup>163</sup> Reference to gladiatorial combats as θέαι is rare: its use in this inscription is paralleled only in no. 392 from Mylasa, which refers to the combats as a θέα (singular). Nos. 182 and 200 refer to θέαι but probably not to suggest gladiators. No. 448 clearly distinguishes between θέαι and μονομαχία. It is possible that the plural θέαι refers to only one *philotimia*, cf. Latin *spectacula*.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Dio Cass. 78.9.6: προσέτι καὶ θέατρα κυνηγετικά, καὶ ἵπποδρόμους πανταχοῦ ... κατεσκευάσαμεν. Corinth, for example, made major improvements to her theatre for beast hunts in anticipation of a visit by Caracalla in 217, although he was killed before he arrived. See. Robinson 1969.

and his wife Sestulia Cyrille in the (local) year 241 (AD 209-210).<sup>165</sup> In no. 176 from Sinope, a *taurokathapsia*, a wild beast hunt, and gladiatorial combat was presented again by a pontarch whose name has now been lost. In no. 182 from Sebastopolis, however, Marcus Antonius Rufus is honoured for his great generosity: he had been pontarch in Neocaesarea, and had served, with his wife Antonia Stratonice, as highpriest for life for the most holy emperor Hadrian and had presented wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats:

ἀρχιερασάμενον δὲ διὰ βίου τῶι θειοτάτῳ | αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῶι μετὰ  
τῆς διασημοτάτης [γ]υναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίας Στρατιο]νεϊκῆς κυνηγέσια  
καὶ μονομαχίας | διαφερούσας παρεσχημένον<sup>166</sup>

The presentation of beast hunts and gladiatorial combats by Rufus was most obviously connected with his duties as highpriest of Hadrian, rather than with his duties as pontarch.

#### ASIA

The province of Asia provides by far the most epigraphic evidence for the administration of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the East. In most cases, the shows were presented by officials of the imperial cult either in their capacity as highpriests or as asiarchs but never as both simultaneously, and so the situation is very much like that already observed in the European half of the Greek East. The inscriptions from Asia, therefore, allow us to speculate whether it was specifically the function of a highpriest (ἀρχιερεὺς) or of a *koinon-arch* (here asiarch) more generally to provide gladiatorial combats. As will be seen, although those bearing the title of asiarch are found in

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<sup>165</sup> Marek 1993, 53 has argued that the era of Amisus began in 31 BC after Actium when the city was freed by Octavian; cf. Strabo, 12.3.14.

<sup>166</sup> Lines 11-16: "he served as highpriest for life for the most holy emperor Hadrian with his most eminent wife, Antonia Stratonice, and who presented wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats without pause".

connection with the presentation of gladiatorial combats, it is most often persons serving as highpriest of the imperial cult who are specified as having provided the spectacle.

Galen, as we have seen, states that he was employed by five successive highpriests in Pergamum, and Epictetus also specifies that it was the highpriests who doted over their gladiators.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, several inscriptions from Asia explicitly describe the presentation of gladiatorial combats as a function of the highpriesthood. For example, in no. 399 from Stratoniceia (second century) Titus Flavius Aeneas is praised for his presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts which specifically took place during his highpriesthood:

ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοκρεπῶς, ἐν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη κ[αὶ] | μονομαχίας  
καὶ κυνήγια σ[υ]νετέλεσεν<sup>168</sup>

Similarly, in no. 257 from Ephesus, an inscription on a statue base honours Titus Flavius Montanus highpriest of Asia for the temple in Ephesus of the *koinon* of Asia, priest of Augustus, and agonothete for life who:

τελειώσαντα τὸ [θ]έατρον | [καὶ] κα[θ]ιερώσαντα ἐν τῇ [ἀ]ρχιερωσύνη |  
δ[ό]ντα καὶ μ[ο]νομαχί[α]ς καὶ κυνήγια<sup>169</sup>

The single temple in Ephesus would indicate a date at a time before Ephesus received the honour of a second temple of the imperial cult (briefly) during the reign of Domitian and permanently during the reign of Hadrian.<sup>170</sup> It was most likely during his highpriesthood

<sup>167</sup> Galen vol. 13.599-600 (Kühn) and vol. 18b.567-568 (Kühn) (both quoted above p. 117). Arr. *Epict.* 2.24.23 (quoted in Chapter 3.3. Commemorative Monuments, above p. 168 n. 83).

<sup>168</sup> Lines 9-13: "and who acted as highpriest with distinction, during which highpriesthood he provided both gladiators and wild beast hunts". The date is second century: see *I.Stratonikeia* no. 1025. Cf. no. 400 also for Titus Flavius Aeneas, line 15 which has been restored by M. Sahin: - - -] καὶ κυνήγια? - - - . This may be another reference to Aeneas' gift of wild beast hunts and perhaps gladiatorial combats. See *I.Stratonikeia* no. 210

<sup>169</sup> Lines 8-10: "completed the theatre, dedicated it during his highpriesthood, and gave both gladiators and wild beast hunts".

<sup>170</sup> For the second cult at Ephesus, see Friesen 1993. Campanile 1994, 96 no. 90 and Rossner 1974, 129 suggest a *floruit* date (late) between AD 102 or 103 and 116 for Montanus. Cf. *I.Ephesos* no. 2061, I and II.

that Montanus gave gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, perhaps in connection with his rededication of the theatre. The participial expression, δόντα καὶ as restored here, is probably explanatory, that is to illustrate what the highpriest did during his tenure. A similar explanatory expression is found in no. 313 from Philadelphia: Marcus Aurelius Manlius Hermippus explains more explicitly that he served as highpriest by giving expensive wild beast hunts:

ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ | δόντα  
κοντροκυνηγέσιον | ἐν ᾧ ζυγὸν ἀπότομον ἐκ θείας | φιλοδορίας<sup>171</sup>

The expression, καὶ δόντα, explains how he served as highpriest and the reasons for the expense.<sup>172</sup>

An important inscription from Thyateira honours Marcus Aurelius Diadochus especially for his duties in the imperial cult at the time of Severus Alexander (no. 321).

The inscription is worth citing in full:

Ἡ πατρις | Μ. Αὐρ. Διάδοχον ἰππικόν, τὸν | ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν |  
ἐν Περγάμῳ καὶ ἀρχιερέα κατὰ | τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διὰ  
βίου βούλαρχον, τιμηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου | αὐτοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρ.  
Σεουήρου | Ἀλεξάνδρου Σεβαστοῦ συνάψαι τὰς ἀρχιερεωσύνας τοῖς |  
ὀξέσιν ἐν ἑκατέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, φιλοτιμησάμενον | ἐνδόξως καὶ  
μεγαλοφρόνως, | ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἤθεσι καὶ ἐπεικειῖα | καὶ τῆι πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα |  
εὐνοίᾳ διαπρέποντα.<sup>173</sup>

Diadochus simultaneously (κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν) held both the local highpriesthood in Thyateira and the provincial highpriesthood in Pergamum, but was permitted by the

<sup>171</sup> Lines 5-9: "he served honorably as highpriest with the greatest expenditures and gave a *kontrokunegesion* in which a pair fought *apotomos*, and he had imperial indulgentia". Cf. Chapter 4.2. Associated Spectacles, below p. 260-261.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. no. 265 for the expression δόντα δὲ καὶ.

<sup>173</sup> "The fatherland (honours) Marcus Aurelius Diadochus, the *eques*, the highpriest of Asia of the temples in Pergamum and the highpriest at the same time of his homeland and boularth for life, who having been honoured by the most holy emperor, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Augustus to unite the highpriesthoods in each city with sharp (weapons), he presented the *philotimia* honourably and generously, a man who displays his eminence by his character and clemency and his goodwill towards his homeland."

Emperor Severus Alexander himself to present a single *philotimia* in fulfillment of both offices. Presumably, for each highpriesthood—both the local office in Thyateira and the provincial office in Pergamum—the highpriest was expected to present gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts. It is also significant that Diadochus, although here clearly a highpriest (*bis*), is elsewhere attested as an asiarch,<sup>174</sup> although in this office, he is not known to have given gladiators (see below). The fact that Diadochus was fulfilling both highpriesthoods simultaneously suggests that by the early third century it was becoming difficult to find people to undertake these expensive offices; perhaps it was because Diadochus was willing to fill both of these offices that the emperor reduced his financial burden by permitting him to present one joint *philotimia* in place of two.<sup>175</sup>

Other inscriptions similarly attest the relationship between the highpriesthood of the imperial cult and the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts. Timaeus son of Attalus as highpriest appears to have had access to public funds set aside ὑπὲρ τῶν κυνηγεσίων, that is, for the presentation of wild beast hunts (no. 265).<sup>176</sup> A late second century inscription from Stratoniceia honouring Ti. Claudius Aristeas Menander and Aelia Glycinna praises them for, among their other services, their highpriesthood (no. 398): ἐτέλεσαν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπὶ φιλοδορῆαις καὶ κυνηγεσίοις.<sup>177</sup> That is, they fulfilled their highpriesthood by means of *philodorai* (= *philotimiai*) and wild beast hunts. The preposition ἐπὶ with the dative is used to describe the causes or conditions under which the highpriesthood was held. In nos. 287 from Miletus and 301 from nearby Didyma, the parents of Flavianus Phileas, namely M. Ulpus

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<sup>174</sup> See *TAM* V, 2 no. 954. Cf. Campanile 1994, 64-65.

<sup>175</sup> See Chapter 3.6. Financing.

<sup>176</sup> See below Chapter 3.6. Financing for fuller discussion.

<sup>177</sup> Lines 4-5. For the date, see Campanile 1994, 73 no. 59; cf. Laumonier 1937, 251-252.



Flavianus Damas and Iulia Flaviana Glaphyra, are noted especially for their highpriesthood. Consider no. 287:

ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σεβαστῶν, ποιησάντων θεωρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτόμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκεδύο<sup>178</sup>

And no. 301:

ἀρχιερέων τῆς πατρίδος ἐπὶ μονομαχίαις καὶ θυορίαις (=θεωρίαις) καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν<sup>179</sup>

In no. 287, the couple are honoured as *highpriests of the Augusti*, but in no. 301 as *highpriests of their homeland*. Considering, however, that both of these inscriptions were in fact set up to honour their son, Flavianus Phileas, an adult and magistrate in his own right (he was prophet, kotarch, and stephanephorus), it is probable that their highpriesthood and gladiatorial show took place sometime in the past, which would therefore imply that the two highpriesthoods referred to (highpriesthood of the Augusti and the highpriesthood of their homeland) were in fact the same. In either case, it was as highpriest that they presented the gladiators.

An inscription from Ephesus dating to the reign of Commodus for Marcus Aurelius Mindus Matidianus Pollio, who pursued an impressive equestrian career, was honoured for the curious post of "highpriest of Asia of the temples in Ephesus for five days" during which he killed twenty-five Libyan animals, that is, in his *κυνηγέσια* (no. 247):

ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐν αἷς καὶ ἀνεΐλε ζῶα Λιβυκὰ εἰκοσιπέντε<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Lines 10-13: "the highpriests of the Augusti who presented spectacles for ten days and gladiatorial combats to the death for twelve days". For ἀπότομος, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat. Cf. no. 288 for an ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν, as reconstructed by Günther 1985, 124-130.

<sup>179</sup> Lines 6-11: "Marcus Ulpius Flavianus Damas and Ulpia Iulia Flaviana Glaphyra, the highpriests of their homeland for gladiatorial games and spectacles and distributions".

<sup>180</sup> Lines 14-16. Date: reign of Commodus: see Campanile 1994, 67-68 no. 52.

Since the highpriesthood is here described as lasting for only the five consecutive days during which the spectacles of wild beast hunts took place, it must be that the primary—or sole—function of this office was the production of a show. Furthermore, this five day highpriesthood was considered important enough to appear on an honorific inscription along side such distinguished offices and positions of his career in the imperial service.<sup>181</sup>

The relationship between the highpriesthood and gladiators and the spectacle of gladiatorial combat is also found in many of the *φамиλία μονομάχων* commemorative inscriptions, discussed above (specifically nos. 136, 186, 330, 350, 356, 357, 358, and 404). These inscriptions are brief, usually giving only a single office, presumably that in which capacity the gladiatorial combats were presented. In no. 350, for example, the memorial is specifically identified as a monument for those gladiators given by the highpriest: *Μνήμα μονομάχ[ων τ]ῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ ἀρχιερέως*. Often these inscriptions include both a husband (as highpriest) and his wife (as highpriestess) who together shared ownership of the *familia* and who together were responsible for the production of the show. It is interesting to note, however, that while many of the *φамиλία μονομάχων* commemorative type inscriptions have been found in Ephesus, none from this city identifies the owner as highpriest; all such *familia* owners from Ephesus claim instead to be an asiarch (see below).

The ownership of gladiatorial troops and the presentation of gladiatorial combats by highpriests was a feature of both the local highpriesthood and the highpriesthood of Asia. Recall Marcus Aurelius Diadochus (no. 321) who united the spectacles of the highpriest of Asia for the temples in Pergamum (*ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Περγάμῳ*) and at the same time, highpriest of his homeland (*ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὸν*

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<sup>181</sup> Cf. no. 259 also from Ephesus for an anonymous member of the Ephesian elite. Although the beginning of the inscription is missing, it commences with: *ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ὀξεσί*, that is, "four days of gladiatorial combats with sharpened steel". It is not known what office he held when presenting these combats.

αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρίδος). Galen also supports the relationship between gladiators and highpriests. The highpriests would purchase the *familia* from his predecessor in office, then sell it to his successor, a process described also by the *SC de pretiis gladiatorum mimuendis* from Italica (the *Aes Italicense*).<sup>182</sup>

The presentation of gladiatorial combats was associated not only with the highpriesthood but also with the asiarchate, although not so frequently. Only thirteen inscriptions from Asia attest to the possible or probable presentation of gladiatorial combats by an asiarch (nos. 154, 200, 201, 210, 212, 246, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 258, and 282), although of these, two are parallel inscriptions referring to the same person (nos. 251 and 252). It is uncertain, furthermore, whether no. 200 from Adramyttium (perhaps late second or early third century) in fact refers to the presentation of gladiatorial spectacles by the asiarch in question. It reads:

Ἄ[γα]θῆ Τύχη | Εὐνοῦς ἀσιάρχης ὑπὲρ υἱοῦ | [Ε]ὐφροσύνου τὰς θέας  
φιλο[ο]τιμησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν.<sup>183</sup>

The use of θέαι to refer with certainty to the combats of gladiators is rare in Greek, and so without clarification of the exact nature of the spectacles presented, it is best to exclude this inscription altogether. The majority of the asiarch inscriptions relating to gladiation are of the φαμιλία μονομάχων type of commemorative monument (discussed below).

In fact unlike the highpriesthood, there are very few inscriptions in which the asiarchate is specifically identified as the office in which capacity gladiatorial combats were presented, and most of these belong to the third century. In no. 249, Marcus Aurelius Daphnus from Ephesus in the third century, was honoured as "asiarch of the three temples in Ephesus", who also gave gladiatorial games and wild beast hunts:

<sup>182</sup> See lines 59 to 61, quoted and discussed below p. 226-227. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 284-285.

<sup>183</sup> "With Good Fortune! On behalf of his son Euphrosynus, Eunous the asiarch who acted as a *munerarius* (providing) spectacles set this up." Cf. Robert 1946a, 125 no. 313. Campanile 1994, 149 no. 181 dates the inscription.

ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τρίς, | φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι |  
 ἡμερῶν δεκατριῶν ζυγοῖς ἀποτόμοις τριακονταεννέα, ἀποσφάξαντα δὲ καὶ  
 Λιβυκὰ ζῶα<sup>184</sup>

The title "asiarch of the three temples in Ephesus" suggests a date in the third century and is parallel to, or perhaps identical with, the title "highpriest of the temples in Ephesus" as found, for example, in no. 247, above. Similar to no. 249 is an inscription honouring Iulius Meneclēs Diophantus from the first half of the third century (no. 212). The city of Smyrna honoured this man as an "asiarch who held a *philotimia* for five days in a row with gladiators fighting with arms sharpened" (ἀσιάρχην ἐνδόξως φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε τοῖς ὀξεσίῃν).<sup>185</sup> In this case, it is clear that Diophantus presented gladiatorial combats in his capacity as asiarch, although it is equally clear that his asiarchate was not necessarily defined by these five days, that is, it was not limited to five days in the way that the purpose of the highpriesthood of Marcus Aurelius Mīndus Matidianus Pollio from Ephesus (no. 247) appears to have been.<sup>186</sup> And an inscription from Ephesus again from the early third century (no. 258) for M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, however, does note that he was asiarch for four days: ἀσιάρχην ἔνδοξον ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων, but, unlike Diophantus in no. 212 above, Nicephorus does not explain the nature of these four days.<sup>187</sup> Comparison with nos. 247 and 212, suggests that these

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<sup>184</sup> Lines 9-13: "asiarch of the three temples in Ephesus, who held a *munus* in his homeland with thirty-nine pairs (of gladiators) fighting *apotomos* for thirteen days, and who killed Libyan beasts".

<sup>185</sup> The text of no. 212 perhaps helps to reconstruct no. 259, a contemporary inscription also from Ephesus which was erected in honour of a benefactor whose name is now lost. The top of this inscription is now missing, but the first legible line reads, ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ὀξεσίῃ: "for four days with gladiators fighting with arms sharpened". The similarity with no. 212 suggests that above this extant first line, we ought to consider something as follows: [ἀσιάρχην? ἐνδόξως] | [φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐξῆς] | ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ὀξεσίῃ. Although the office of asiarch may be proposed based on the similarity of the wording between nos. 212 and 259 there is no reason to reject the office of highpriest for this unknown benefactor.

<sup>186</sup> See above p. 199. In this inscription, Marcus Aurelius Mīndus Matidianus Pollio was honoured for his service as "highpriest of Asia of the temples in Ephesus for five days during which he killed twenty-five Libyan animals," that is, as the *editor* of a *κυνηγέσια*.

<sup>187</sup> For the date, see Campanile 1994, 134-135 no. 155. Nicephorus is epigraphically well-attested in Ephesus: see *J.Ephesos* nos. 444, 445, 632, 679, 679a, 739, 1080, 1087a, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2082, 3063, 3086, and 3049.

four days ought to be considered the duration of a *philotimia*, perhaps of gladiators or wild beast hunts, given by Nicephorus specifically as asiarch.<sup>188</sup> If in fact these four days do refer to a *philotimia* given by Nicephorus as asiarch, they would appear to define the purpose of the office in the same way that Pollio's highpriesthood was defined (no. 247) as existing for the presentation of the spectacles. The nature of these four days, however, is uncertain and so no solid conclusions are possible.

Thus, only three inscriptions (nos. 249, 212, and 258) describe the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts as a function of the asiarchate, and these three inscriptions are all from the third century, later than the most of our evidence. The remainder of the asiarch inscriptions relating to the presentation of gladiatorial combats are of the *φαιμίλια μονομάχων* commemorative monuments discussed above. The earliest of these inscriptions dates from the mid-second century (no. 253), although most are from the late second or third century. While these commemorative inscriptions are found in many cities across Asia Minor, the majority of those which give the office of asiarch rather than highpriest are from Ephesus (nos. 246, 251/252, 253, 254, and 282) with one from Smyrna (no. 210). Two inscriptions are from places other than Ephesus or Smyrna and include the wife of the asiarch, as a highpriestess. No. 154 from Cos commemorates the gladiatorial family of the husband and wife team of Nemerius Castricius Paconianus, the asiarch, and Aurelia Sappho Licinniana, the highpriestess. Similarly, no. 201 from Cyzicus (quoted below) commemorates the gladiatorial family of Plotius Aurelius Gratus, the asiarch, and his wife Iulia Aurelia Asclepiodora, the highpriestess.

Generally these commemorative inscriptions identify the owner of the *familia* with reference to only a single office: either the highpriesthood (see above) or the asiarchate.

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<sup>188</sup> As suggested especially by Kearsley 1989, with reference especially to no. 212 (= *I.Smyrna* no. 637). But she follows Deininger 1965, 46; Rossner 1974, 103 n. 11; and Campanile 1994, 135.

The brevity of titulature is no doubt due to the particular nature of these documents: they were not intended to catalogue all the accomplishments of the individual named, but rather to identify that individual who provided the gladiatorial *philotimia*, and to continue the association of his name with that popular event.

The nature of the relationship between the asiarchate and the highpriesthood in the province of Asia has been—and continues to be—the topic of much scholarly debate and division: *quot capita, tot sententiae*, as G. Mihailov has so succinctly summarized the situation.<sup>189</sup> This debate concerns the equivalence or distinction between these two titles. Whatever the nature of these two titles, it is clear that those who held them were drawn from the highest levels of Asian provincial society, for both offices required the outlay of considerable funds.

The idea that there should exist two names for the same office is unparalleled in the Greco-Roman world. Many scholars, most notably R.A. Kearsley, therefore, have argued for a separation of the two offices, generally by claiming that there is no evidence for a direct connection between the asiarchate and the imperial cult, and instead that the asiarchs performed a variety of civic duties which could occasionally have even included priestly functions.<sup>190</sup> Yet, although the presentation of gladiatorial combats was especially the privilege or responsibility of the highpriest, it is clear that by the later second century the office of the asiarchate could and often did embrace the duties of the highpriesthood.

Arguments favouring the unity of the asiarchate and highpriesthood generally start from a passage from the *Digest* where the third century lawyer, Modestinus, discusses some of those who were exempt from liturgies:

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<sup>189</sup> Mihailov 1979, 39.

<sup>190</sup> Scholars who would distinguish between the highpriesthood and the asiarchate include: C. Brandis, *RE* II, 2 s.v. "Asiarchen" coll. 1564-1578; Magie 1950, 450-452; especially Kearsley 1986; Kearsley 1987; Kearsley 1989; Kearsley 1996; Friesen 1993; and Zambrini 1994, 63 n. 32.

Ἔθνους ἱερ(ωσύνη), οἶον ἀσιαρχία, βιθυνιαρχία, καππαδοκιαρχία, παρέχει ἀλειτουργησίαν ἀπὸ ἐπιτροπῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἕως ἄν ἄρχῃ.<sup>191</sup>

This passage seems to confirm the religious character of the office of the asiarchs and other *koinon-archs*, although it may reflect only the situation in the third century (and beyond) rather than that of earlier periods. But it is primarily the nature of the epigraphic evidence concerning these two offices that provides the strongest arguments in support of what might be called the unitarian theory.<sup>192</sup> First, there are the curious observations that surprisingly few individuals are known to have been both an ἀρχιερεύς and an ἀσιάρχης,<sup>193</sup> and that the two offices never appear in the same inscription in reference to the same individual.<sup>194</sup> Both the asiarchate and the highpriesthood could be similarly qualified as τῆς Ἀσίας or ναοῦ τοῦ / ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (etc.). Furthermore, the wives of both the highpriests and asiarchs were often highpriestesses. Consider no. 201 from Cyzicus:

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι. | Φαμίλια μοινομάχων φιλοτειμίας Πλω(τίου) | Αὐρ. Γράτου  
ἀσιάρχου καὶ Ἰουλίαις Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρας τῆς | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ |  
ἀρχιερίας.<sup>195</sup>

P. Herz has shown that the highpriestess was a functioning official whose duties focused on the females of the imperial family. Thus a husband as asiarch and wife as highpriestess ought to be considered functionally equivalent to a highpriest and highpriestess.<sup>196</sup>

<sup>191</sup> *Dig.* 27.1.6.14; cf. Deininger 1965, 44 n. 5 re the reading, ἱερ(ωσύνη), for ἱερ(αρχία). Cf. Friesen 1993, 93-94; and Campanile 1994, 19.

<sup>192</sup> Scholars who would equate the highpriesthood with the asiarchate include: Vaglieri 1895, 728; Sherwin-White 1963, 89-90; Deininger 1965, 41-50; Bowersock 1969, 26; Rossner 1974, 102-107; Jones 1978, 69; Wörle 1992, 368-370; Herz 1992.

<sup>193</sup> A quick survey of Campanile 1994 reveals that of the over 200 individuals she names who were either asiarchs or highpriests, only 15 are known or suspected to have been both: see Campanile 1994, nos. 12, 34, 47c, 52, 53a (possibly), 71a, 91c, 96, 100, 106, 110a, 112, 115b, 147, 152. Cf. Friesen 1993, 100; and Magie 1950, 1300-1301 n. 61.

<sup>194</sup> Rossner 1974, 104; Friesen 1993, 105, although Friesen says that this situation is simply "a gap".

<sup>195</sup> "With Good Fortune! The *familia* of gladiators for the *philotimia* of Plotius Aurelius Gratus the asiarch and his wife Iulia Aurelia Asclepiodora, the highpriestess."

Several important conclusions may be stated with respect to the relationship between gladiation and the the offices of highpriest and asiarch. First, most of our evidence connects the presentation of gladiatorial combats directly with the *highpriesthood* rather than with the asiarchate, especially before the third century.<sup>197</sup> Second, those asiarchs expressly connected with gladiation are found in large numbers only in Ephesus and these are most often attested as having presented gladiatorial combats on the *φамиλία μονομάχων* series of monuments erected to commemorate a gladiatorial *philotimia*. These commemorative inscriptions are brief and only list one office which was presumably, by reason of its singularity, the most important or prestigious office one had attained. Since the evidence suggests that it was specifically in his capacity as highpriest that an official presented gladiatorial combats, the use of the single title, asiarch, on many of these commemorative monuments would indicate that this office embraced the duties of a highpriest. Gladiatorial combats were presented officially by highpriests of the imperial cult. Many highpriests (provincial specifically?) could also claim the related title of asiarch, a title which was more prestigious than the title of highpriest but which was understood to include (or to have included) the duties of a highpriest. That is, an asiarch was understood to have been also a highpriest, although a highpriest was not necessarily an asiarch. When erecting commemorative monuments to advertise that they owned a *familia* and had presented gladiatorial combats, therefore, those who could claim the prestigious title of asiarch naturally mentioned this title rather than the less prestigious title of highpriest. Beyond that, there is nothing in the gladiatorial inscriptions from Asia

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<sup>196</sup> Herz 1992, endorsed by C.P. Jones and G.W. Bowersock in Robert 1994, 102. Contra Kearsley 1986, 191; Kearsley 1990; and Friesen 1993, 104.

<sup>197</sup> Contra Friesen 1993, 98 and especially 103 where he attempts to distinguish between the highpriesthood and the asiarchate by claiming that *asiarchs* rather than *highpriests* were more often associated with gladiators. This is not the case.



which could be understood to distinguish the duties of two titles. Indeed, by the third century the two titles appear to have become virtually synonymous.

The evidence for the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the province of Asia supports Robert's claim that the spectacle in the Greek cities was always connected with the emperor and emperor worship.<sup>198</sup> There is little evidence, however, that the spectacle was ever regularly attached to traditional Greek *agones*, even if those *agones* themselves were dedicated to the emperor. Only one inscription from Asia (no. 286) from Magnesia (mid-first century), suggests that gladiation was possibly associated with an imperial festival, the Great Klaudiaea. In the inscription, Tiberius Claudius Zopas honours the career achievements of his father, including the following:

ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Κλαυδιῶν καὶ ποιήσαντα μονομαχιῶν  
ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἀποτόμους, ἀρξάμενον πρῶτον παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα τὴν τρίτην  
ἡμέραν<sup>199</sup>

It is possible that these three days of gladiatorial combats were attached to the festival, but there is no reason to believe that this attachment was permanent. Indeed, as Galen indicates, the *philotimiai* of the highpriests were not presented at the same time every year: one highpriest presented in the autumn and another in high spring, and in another passage, Galen mentions that gladiators were typically presented in the summer.<sup>200</sup> This inscription from Magnesia is also unusual because the office in which the gladiators were presented is not specified, unless as agonothete. The inscription, however, is quite early

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<sup>198</sup> Cf. no. 86 from Thessaloniki where a testamentary donation for the presentation of gladiatorial combats was put under the supervision of the local highpriests.

<sup>199</sup> Lines 8-12: "who acted as agonothete for the Great Klaudiaea and gave three days of gladiators fighting *apotomos*, he was the first to begin on the third day contrary to the decree".

<sup>200</sup> Galen 13.600 (Kühn): "For the first served as highpriest around the autumnal equinox, and the second in high spring". Galen 18b.567-568 (Kühn): "in summer, when the highpriests here in Pergamum present *monomachiai*, I attended to those most seriously wounded". See Chapter 3.5. Frequency for further discussion.

and so may indicate that the practice of presenting gladiators was not yet uniform across the East.

#### LYCIA

The town of Oenoanda in north central Lycia has provided a number of important inscriptions, four of which relate to the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the province (nos. 421, 422, 423, and 424). Nos. 421 and 422 commemorate the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in Oenoanda at the time of the eponymous highpriesthood of Claudius Sacerdos in AD 115.<sup>201</sup> In no. 422, a long inscription detailing the genealogy of the local *gens Licinnia*, Licinnius Longus is praised for having presented wild beast hunts, wild beast combats, and gladiatorial combats in Oenoanda:

Ὁ Λικίνιος Λονγος, ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου | Λικινίου Μουσαίου υἱός, γαμμεῖ  
Μαρκίαν Λυκίαν Μαρκίου Τιτιανοῦ θυγατέρα, τοῦ γενομένου |  
πρεμοπειλαρίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λυκιάρχου, μεθ' ἧς | πρὸ τῆς λυκιαρχίας  
ἱερατεύσας τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν | τῇ πατρίδι ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κλαυδίου  
Σακέρδωτος | [μη]νὸς Λῶου ἐπιτελεῖ κληνηγέσια καὶ θηριομαχίας | καὶ  
μονομαχίας, καθὼς δείκνυ[τα]ι ἐκ τοῦ γενομένου | [ψ]η[φί]σ[μα]τος  
εἰσδοσεως τει[μῆ]ς | ἐπὶ ἀ[ρχ]ιερέος Λουκίου [Οὐ]β[η]ρη[ίν]ου, μηνὸς  
Ξανδικοῦ ις'.<sup>202</sup>

Longus is specifically said to have produced (ἐπιτελεῖ) the spectacles while serving as the local priest (not highpriest) of the Augusti with his wife. Because of this spectacle, the council voted an honorary decree in thanks to Licinnius Longus the following year when

<sup>201</sup> For the date of Sacerdos' eponymous highpriesthood, see Wörle 1988, 42, and Letta 1994, 239.

<sup>202</sup> "Licinnius Longus, son of Licinnius Musaeus the second, marries (-ed?) Marcia Lucia, daughter of Marcius Titianus, who was a *primipilaris* and after this a lyciarch, with whom (ie Marcia) - before his lyciarchate - he served as priest of the Augusti in his homeland during the highpriesthood of Claudius Sacerdos, during the month of Loos (October) he provided wild beast hunts and beast fights and gladiators, just as is shown in the decree for the granting of the honour during the highpriesthood of Lucius Viberinus on the 16th of Xandikos". Xandikos corresponds to the month of June.

Lucius Viberinus was eponymous highpriest (AD 116).<sup>203</sup> Another inscription from Oenoanda (no. 421) commemorates an unknown person for, among other things, the presentation of spectacles in Oenoanda at the time of Claudius Sacerdos' eponymous highpriesthood:

καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Οἰνοανδέων πόλει, πατρίδι ἡμῶν, | ἀγαγόντα  
κυνηγέσια καὶ μονομαχίας ἡμερῶν δύο ἀρχιερέος | Σακέρδωτος πρὸ τῆς  
λυκισαρχίας<sup>204</sup>

Although the name of the honorand has been lost, this inscription certainly refers to Licinnius Longus, especially since the spectacle was presented in the same year as those of Longus (AD 115) and in Oenoanda. But there are differences. First, this *editor* is not specified to have been a priest of the imperial cult, and second, he celebrated (ἀγαγόντα, not presented, ἐπιτελεῖ) only wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats, with no mention of the wild beast fights (θηριομαχίαι). Nevertheless, the similarities are striking and it is probable that these two inscriptions do refer to the same event.<sup>205</sup>

The phrase, πρὸ τῆς λυκισαρχίας "before his lyciarchate", found in both inscriptions is curious and suggests that it was somehow noteworthy for one to present these spectacles prior to being lyciarch. It has been suggested that Longus presented these spectacles in connection with his election to the lyciarchate.<sup>206</sup> But M Wörrle, who equates the lyciarchate with the federal highpriesthood of the imperial cult for the Lycian *koinon*, has stated that this cannot be the case because Longus was highpriest (and so

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<sup>203</sup> See Wörrle 1988, 35 and 64.

<sup>204</sup> Lines 8-12: "and for the illustrious city of Oenoanda, our own homeland, he produced wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats for two days, before his lyciarchate, at the time of the highpriest Sacerdos".

<sup>205</sup> So Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 149.

<sup>206</sup> See W. Kubitschek, *JÖAI* 8, 1905, 117, cited by Wörrle 1988, 103 n. 136.

lyciarch according to Wörrle) in AD 132.<sup>207</sup> If it was unusual for Longus to have presented the spectacles "before his lyciarchate", this then would suggest that it was *normally* as lyciarch that one presented gladiatorial spectacles. Somewhat later than the gladiatorial games of Licinnius Longus in AD 115, the Lycian *koinon* honoured Opramoas of Rhodiapolis, highpriest in AD 136, who gave wild beast hunts, gladiatorial combats, and spectacles specifically as lyciarch: λυκιαρχήσαντι φιλοτείμως, δόντι κυνήγ[ια καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ θεωρίας- - - (no. 418).<sup>208</sup> Nevertheless, the direct connection with the imperial cult is clear: even though not lyciarch, it was in his capacity as local priest of the imperial cult that Longus presented his spectacles in Oenoanda. What is less certain is the equation of the office of lyciarch and that of highpriest of the *koinon*. But there is overlap between the two offices with respect to gladiation. First, the lyciarchate would seem to be the office in which it was normal or expected for one to present gladiatorial spectacles; second, this function was universally across the East the duty of the highpriest of the imperial cult. If the two offices are not the same, then there was an overlap in their responsibilities on this point.

Other inscriptions also attest to the relationship between a highpriesthood and the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the cities of Lycia. No. 425 erected by the *koinon* of Lycia honours Philippus son of Clearchus, who presented gladiatorial combats and wild beast fights for the offices of highpriest and secretary of the *koinon*.<sup>209</sup> And in no. 420 from Lydai, Gaius Iulius Heliodorus, also highpriest of the Augusti and secretary as well as commander of the guard of the *koinon*, presented gladiatorial combats too. The

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<sup>207</sup> Wörrle 1988, 103 n. 136: "Longus das mit dem Erzpriestertum identische Lykiarchenamt aber erst 132 bekleidet". Magie 1950, 531 and 1383-1384 n. 37 (cf. 1138 n. 54) concludes that the lyciarch was distinct from the highpriest. Letta 1994, 216 dates Longus' highpriesthood to AD 133.

<sup>208</sup> For the date of Opramoas' highpriesthood, see Wörrle 1988, 42-43, with Letta 1994, 243.

<sup>209</sup> Lines 4-7: ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ γραμματέα Λυκίων τοῦ | [κοινοῦ, δι' ὃς ἐτέλεσεν μεγαλοψύχως μονομαχίας καὶ θηριομαχίας: "the highpriest of the Augusti, the secretary of the *koinon* of Lycia, on account of which (offices) he magnificently produced gladiatorial combats and beast fights".

relationship between the highpriesthood and lyciarchate is, like the situation in Asia, a matter of debate, although, again like Asia, the two offices would seem to be essentially the same. Gladiatorial combats were presented by men either in their capacity of lyciarch and as highpriest.

Even earlier evidence for interest in gladiation comes from a unique inscription also from Oenoanda (no. 424). The text, now damaged at the top, records the journey made by a certain person through Lycia, Pamphylia, Phrygia, Bithynia, Thrace, Moesia, Scythia, and Dacia from which places he brought back *τείρωνας* at his own expense. J. and L. Robert agreed with G.E. Bean that these (probable) *τείρωνες* were gladiatorial rather than military, although the reason for such an extended journey for recruits is unstated and difficult to imagine.<sup>210</sup> Presumably gladiatorial recruits could be obtained anywhere. A gladiatorial *tiro* was not a raw recruit; instead, a *tiro* was one who had been trained in the arms of a particular classification but was considered a recruit because he had not yet fought publicly. Furthermore, if one was to undertake such a journey in search of gladiators, why not hire professionals and famous gladiators, like Apuleius' fictional Corinthian duovir, Thiasus, who travelled to Thessaly in search of *nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores* (Apul. *Met.* 10.18)? For these reasons, it is unlikely that these "recruits" were gladiators, although why there should have been such an extensive search for military recruits is uncertain. The inscription ends with the sentence: ἤρξα δὲ ἀπὸ ἀρχιερέος Κλαυδίου Πτολεμαίου: "I began my journey when Claudius Ptolemaeus was highpriest", which probably implies that the journey took over a year, rather than that the search was conducted on behalf of this highpriest.

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<sup>210</sup> Bean 1971, 18-20 no. 36, and J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1972, no. 443. The inscription mentions τὰ Νέρωνος στάβλα (*Neronis stabula*) in Thrace (at the foot of Mt. Haemus), for which see *CIL* III 6123: Nero ordered "tabernae et praetoria per vias militares". Bean suggests a date of c. AD 100 partially on letter forms.

## PAMPHYLIA

An inscription from Attaleia for Calpurnius Diodorus (no. 432) praises him for his service as highpriest for four years and his generous presentation of wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats, which were clearly given as part of his duties as highpriest. From Side in the mid-third century come two parallel inscriptions for Modestus and Modesta, whose relationship is uncertain (no. 438). Both inscriptions are accompanied by reliefs depicting lions above and gladiators. Modestus, however, bears only the title of φιλόδοξος, while Modesta is described as τὴν ἀρχιερίαν τὴν ἐκ προγόνων φιλότειμον: "the highpriestess *philoteimos* from her ancestors". The presentation of the gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts depicted in the reliefs can here only be directly associated with the highpriesthood of the imperial cult through Modesta, although Modestus is clearly described as a *munerarius*: φιλόδοξος. Further, Modesta is described as a φιλότειμος from her ancestors, that is, the presentation of such spectacles had been conducted by her family in the past.

An interesting inscription also from Side of the early to mid-third century attests the continued presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts according to a testamentary foundation established in the later second or early third century in memory of Titus Licinnius Mucianus<sup>211</sup> (no. 437):

προστατήσαντα κυνηγεσιῶν καὶ μονομαχιῶν τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
τῆς ἀρίστης | μνήμης ὑπατικοῦ Τίτου Λικιννίου Μουκιανοῦ | ἐνδόξως καὶ  
μεγαλοπρεπῶς<sup>212</sup>

As with the foundation established by Herreni[us?] at Thessaloniki in the mid-second century (no. 86), this foundation was administered by a wealthy and important member of

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<sup>211</sup> Titus Licinnius Mucianus was cos. suff. in 177/178: see *PIR* L 217 and W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 233, s.v. "Licinnius".

<sup>212</sup> Lines 7-10: "who served as president honourably and magnificently of the wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combat established by the consular man of the best memory, Titus Licinnius Mucianus".

the local ruling class, Aurelius Mandrianus Longinus, here as *προστάτης*, curator of the trust.

Longinus, honoured in this inscription with a statue erected by his wife, Aurelia Killaramotiane Ies, enjoyed a distinguished local career. He had been highpriest of the Augusti during the course of which office he gave distributions and *θεωρία*, that is, spectacles, which presumably did not include gladiatorial combats or beast hunts.<sup>213</sup> He also served as the agonotheite for the competition named after Phoebus (*ἀγωνοθετήσαντα σεμνῶς καλουμένου ἀγῶνος Φοιβείου*) and three times sent (= escorted?) the imperial *annona* to Syria. Although the name, Aurelius/-a, furnishes a *terminus post quem* of AD 212, the inscription cannot be dated exactly. G.E. Bean and T.B. Mitford, the *editores principes*, believed that the *agon* for Phoebus is here referred to by a popular name and that it was identical with the Sidetan ἀγῶν ἱερὸς οἰκουμενικὸς Ἀπολλώνειος Γορδιανεῖος Ἀντωνεῖνιος ἰσοπύθιος ἐκεχείριος ἰσελαστικὸς εἰς ἄπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην established by Gordian III in AD 242.<sup>214</sup> J. Nollé, however, argued that the games mentioned here were not the isopythian established by Gordian, but rather their predecessor, that is, simply the regional Pythian games. The date AD 243 then becomes the *terminus ante quem* for this inscription.<sup>215</sup> Elsewhere, Nollé speculates that if Mucianus was consul when he was about 40 years old, his death would perhaps have occurred during the reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193-211), or perhaps as late as the

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<sup>213</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 257: "spectacles théâtraux"; cf. Robert 1937, 318-319, and Robert 1980, 249 n. 30. Cf. Slater 1995b, 290-291 n. 74 for the performances of mimes and pantomimes as "spectacles" rather than agonistic competitions (with reference also to Robert, *OMS* 1. 610).

<sup>214</sup> Bean & Mitford 1970, 38-41 no. 19. Bean & Mitford 1970, no. 21 mention the festival established by Gordian. Bean and Mitford, therefore postulated a date shortly after this, perhaps during the reign of Philip the Arab, AD 244-249.

<sup>215</sup> *Side in Altertum* no. 196.

ascension of Caracalla to sole rule in 211, at which time the testamentary foundation would have been established.<sup>216</sup>

This record of the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts indicates that it was possible to establish a fund to finance these entertainments, despite the costs involved. But it also indicates the pride felt by the citizens of Side for the prosperity of their native son, Titus Licinnius Mucianus, who had risen to the highest levels of imperial society, but had not forgotten his home. Nollé also draws our attention to an inscription from nearby Perge which records an acclamation shouted in the city: ἀὖξε Πέργη ἢ ὑπατικοὶ φιλοδοξοῦσι.<sup>217</sup> It filled the citizens with pride that their native sons who had flourished in the wider world of the Empire did not forget their homeland and provided for the presentation of costly spectacles there. Although the inscription does not associate the gladiatorial combats and beast hunts with the imperial cult, it is likely that such an association was made obvious at the combats themselves. As a consular man, Mucianus had been a living and important part of the ruling structure of the Empire, and it was this structure, more than simply the person of the emperor, which was celebrated by the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts (see below).

#### PISIDIA

In an important inscription from Sagalassus (no. 444), Publius Aelius Quintus Claudius Philippianus Varus is honoured by the dyers' guild as highpriest of the Augustus:

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<sup>216</sup> Nollé 1992/3, 63-64. He has suggested a date in the second or third decade of the third century. Nollé then connected this foundation rather circumstantially with a number of coins minted at Side during the reigns of Caracalla (211-217) and Alexander Severus (222-235) which depict on the reverse a rectangular gladiatorial shield either accompanying a goddess (Nike?), or standing with a gladiatorial helmet resting on top and palm branches. For depictions of these coins, see Nollé 1992/3, 58-61 (figs. 6-10).

<sup>217</sup> Merkelbach & Sahin 1988, 115-116 no. 22, lines 17-18: "Prosper Perge, for which consular men give *philodoxiai* (= *philoteimiai*)". For acclamations in general, see Roueché 1984.



ἀρχιερέα | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ φιλόδοξον ἡμερῶν δ' ὀλοκλήρων ὀξέσι  
σιδήροις ἐπὶ ἀποτόμοις | ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ε' | καὶ σιδηροκόντρα<sup>218</sup>

The καὶ φιλόδοξον (καὶ-*explicativum*) serves to explain the nature of his highpriesthood, which was apparently especially noteworthy for its bloody combats. Again, gladiatorial combats are directly related to the celebration of the imperial cult. Similarly, Publius Plancius Magnianus Aelianus Arrius Pericles from Selge is honoured along with his wife, Aurelia Volussia Quirinia Atossa, in two side-by-side inscriptions from the mid- or later third century (no. 447).<sup>219</sup> Both husband and wife are highpriest(-ess) of the house of the Augusti, but the presentation of gladiatorial combats and other spectacles is only associated with his highpriesthood:

ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ οἴκου τῶν | Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἐπὶ τε διανομαῖς καὶ  
θεωρίαις καὶ μονομαχίαις καὶ κυνηγεσίαις<sup>220</sup>

The preposition ἐπὶ once again is used to explain the means by which his highpriesthood was accomplished. His wife, however, simply claims to have served as highpriestess, with no indication that she had presented any special munificence in this capacity:

ἀρχιερασαμένην τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς  
Μαγνιανῷ Περικλεῖ. It seems most likely that her highpriesthood was dependent upon her husband's position, although this does not necessarily reduce the significance of her position, since she appears to have been involved in the presentation of the spectacles (she served as highpriestess σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς).

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<sup>218</sup> Lines 5-11: "highpriest of Augustus and *philodoxos* for four complete days for gladiatorial combats with sharpened weapons with 5 fighting *apotomos* on each day, and (a gladiatorial contest) with barbed iron spears". For the specialized events involved, see Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat.

<sup>219</sup> Date: second half of the third century: see *I.Selge* no. 20a and 20b. Kirbihler 1994, 71 proposes the date: 225-250.

<sup>220</sup> Lines 1-4: "he who has served as highpriest for the house of the Augusti conspicuously and with distributions and spectacles and gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts".

## GALATIA

Perhaps the most widely-known gladiatorial inscription from the Greek East is that inscribed on the wall of the Temple of Augustus and Roma in Ancyra (no. 448). It dates to the reign of Tiberius and records the munificence of the Galatian priests of Augustus and Roma: Γαλατῶν οἱ ἱερασάμενοι θεῶι Σεβαστῶι καὶ θεᾷ Ῥώμηι. Several, although not all, of these priests presented gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, expressed after the Latin phrase, *gladiatorum paria xx dedit*: μονομάχων ζεύγη xx καὶ κυνήγιον ἔδωκεν. Other priests simply gave oil or a banquet. The presentation of gladiatorial combats, therefore, was not a requirement of the office of the priest of the imperial cult, at least not in Ancyra at this time. Most or all of these priests were Celtic or had strong Celtic connections. The fourth priest mentioned is Pylaemenes, son of King Amyntas, the most powerful dynast in Asia Minor during the late republic (died in 25 BC). Pylaemenes held priesthoods in 22/3 and 30/1 AD, the second a full 55 years after the death of his father and so was probably only a boy when his father was killed, perhaps explaining why he did not inherit some of his father's responsibilities.<sup>221</sup> As the son of the last king, Pylaemenes' support for the Roman imperial administration demonstrated by his participation in the imperial cult would have lent essential stability and credibility to the province during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.<sup>222</sup> Indeed, his public celebration of the imperial cult, which included the presentation of gladiatorial combats, legitimized the rule of Galatia by Rome.

Many of the priests have Celtic names, although some have Hellenized them. This points to the strong Celtic character of the province of Galatia and its *koinon*, which notably refers to itself as the *Koinon* of Galatians, as opposed to the other *koina* in the

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<sup>221</sup> Rome annexed most of his kingdom after his death.

<sup>222</sup> Mitchell 1993, 107-109.

East which typically are collections of specifically Greek cities.<sup>223</sup> Gladiatorial combats may have strongly appealed to the martial traditions of the Galatians which perhaps explains their very early presentation here, in the same way that gladiation appealed to and was taken up by the Celts of western Europe at this same time.<sup>224</sup> We must be careful, however, not to attribute gladiatorial popularity to barbarian tendencies; gladiation is instead a sophisticated representation of core Roman values and attitudes.<sup>225</sup> If those values and attitudes were shared by the Galatians, then gladiatorial combats could be appreciated and adopted with more ease. It is also noteworthy that the presentation of gladiatorial combats has more prominence in this list than traditional Greek *agones*.<sup>226</sup>

As Robert demonstrated, the great majority of attested gladiatorial combats were presented by officials connected with the imperial cult in the Greek cities of the East.<sup>227</sup> This in part distinguishes the imperial cult from the earlier (republican) cult of Roma found in many Greek cities, which was not celebrated with gladiatorial events.<sup>228</sup> In most cases, the office held and advertised in the inscription was that of ἀρχιερέυς, highpriest, although the ἀρχιέπεια, the highpriestess, and the various *koinon-archs* are also attested. While Galen does imply that by the mid-second century every highpriest was expected to present a gladiatorial show and beast hunt, not every highpriest is known to have done so. Certainly some highpriests instead presented other less expensive spectacles instead, as for example the highpriests of Augustus at Ancyra (no. 448): some presented gladiators and

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<sup>223</sup> Mitchell 1993, 109.

<sup>224</sup> See now especially Futrell 1997, 6 and 104-109 *et passim*. Gaius, *Inst.* 1.55, notes another cultural similarity between the Romans and the Galatians: the Galatians alone share the Roman institution of *patria potestas*.

<sup>225</sup> See Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation.

<sup>226</sup> Mitchell 1993, 109.

<sup>227</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 240, 267-275. The few possible exceptions noted in Thrace are unique.

<sup>228</sup> See Chapter 1.3. First Contacts, above p. 64.

beast hunts, or banquets, or athletic contests, and some presented combinations of these. At other times, the gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were referred to indirectly with the generic terms, *philotimia* or *philodoria*.<sup>229</sup> If so, then this would indicate the high degree to which these originally Roman spectacles were absorbed into Greek culture. But perhaps the presentation of gladiatorial combats had by the second century become so expected a part of the duties of the highpriest, that only those exceptional presentations were typically noted in inscriptions.

With respect to the presentation of gladiatorial combats, there is a remarkable degree of similarity in Greek cities across the East, despite the differences between different provinces and regions. The uniformity may suggest a degree of imperial guidance, either encouraging the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beasts hunts by officials of the imperial cult, or requiring that such performances be associated with the imperial cult. Such Roman involvement in the Greek imperial cult, however, would bring into some doubt the belief that this institution was a purely Greek response to the rule of Rome.<sup>230</sup> This Roman involvement, however, need not be so invasive and may have acted more by example, provided by the presence of Roman colonies, Roman governors and administrators, and Roman armies.

### 3.5. FREQUENCY

The inscription from Ancyra (no. 448), which dates to the reign of Tiberius, is the earliest epigraphic reference to the presentation of gladiatorial combats in the East. It records the yearly highpriests of the emperor and their acts of munificence in connection with that office. Gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were common feature of this

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<sup>229</sup> See Chapter 3.2. Terminology, above p. 149-150. Cf. no. 398 from Stratoniceia in which a husband and wife ἐτέλεσαν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπὶ φιλοδορίας καὶ κυνηγεσίαις, where φιλοδορίαί is found in place of the expected μονομαχίαί.

<sup>230</sup> Price 1984, 88, 89, and 116.

munificence, but not necessarily an annual one. That is, not every highpriest felt compelled to offer these particular spectacles, at least in the early first century. But by the mid-second century, the presentation of these spectacles in connection with the office of highpriest of the emperors became more regular and expected. Galen describes a scheme by which a gladiatorial *familia* was sold by the outgoing highpriest to his successor.<sup>231</sup> Despite the fact that the highpriests sustained the expense of a gladiatorial *familia* for an entire year, the evidence suggests that they presented their gladiators in only one official celebration during their term in office.

At one point, Galen states that he served one highpriest around the autumnal equinox and a second in the high spring: ὁ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτος περὶ τὴν φθινοπωρινὴν ἰσημερίαν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ ἤρος ἡρχιερεύσατο.<sup>232</sup> In another passage, however, he states that the highpriests in Pergamum presented their gladiators in the summer:

ἐν θέρει, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν αἰεὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Περγάμῳ τῶν ἀρχιερέων τὰς καλουμένας μονομαχίας ἐπιτελούντων, τοὺς κάκιστα τραθέντας ἐθεράπευσα.<sup>233</sup>

The presentations were held at some point during the tenure of one's highpriesthood, but obviously not necessarily at the same time each year. This may indicate that the time and the nature of the games were to be established in conjunction with the local and imperial authorities.<sup>234</sup> Especially dangerous combats required imperial *indulgentia*, and presumably a highpriest could not begin negotiations for an *indulgentia* until he was

<sup>231</sup> Galen 13.600 (Kühn). Galen's description is supported by the *Aes Ital.* 59-61. See below p. 226-227.

<sup>232</sup> Galen 13.600 (Kühn): "For the first served as highpriest around the autumnal equinox, and the second in high spring".

<sup>233</sup> Galen 18b.567-568 (Kühn): "in summer, when the highpriests here in Pergamum present *monomachiai*, I attended to those most seriously wounded"; cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 280 n. 1.

<sup>234</sup> No. 286 from Magnesia (first century) boasts that a third day of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts was begun contrary to the decree: ἀρξάμενον πρῶτον παρὰ τὸ ψήφισμα. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 281, has proposed that a local decree had limited *μονομαχίαι* to only two days.

elected or had assumed office. In other places, the time of the spectacles appears to have been more regularized. For example, the two announcement inscriptions from Beroia (nos. 65 and 66, which date to AD 229 and 240 respectively) both specify that the spectacles will begin seven days before the Kalends of July: ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τῆ πρό Ζ Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίῶν, although the Greek date differs somewhat: 15 Panemos (no. 65) and 17 Panemos (no. 66). The regularity of these two dates suggest that the imperial festival of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts was held at the same time every year in Beroia. This late-June date (25 June) suggests a possible association with the summer solstice. A connection with the turning of the sun is interesting for Galen indicates that gladiatorial combats in Pergamum were at times presented around the autumnal equinox, and in Rome gladiatorial combats occurred especially around the spring equinox and in December around the time of the winter solstice.<sup>235</sup>

Although highpriests thus bore the expense for maintaining a *familia* for an entire year, they may not have wished to risk their gladiators in public combat more than once, for a mortal wound to an established gladiator could be a costly loss. The relative rarity of gladiatorial combats is also suggested by Epictetus; gladiators complain when they are not matched against an opponent and beg to be allowed to fight.<sup>236</sup> What the highpriests did with their gladiators the remainder of the year is uncertain, although public mock-combats are possible, if only to keep the names and skills of the more famous gladiators fresh in the minds of the people. The gladiators could also be hired out to others, perhaps in

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<sup>235</sup> Spring: Ovid, *Fasti* 3.811-813; Dio Cass. 54.28; December: see Wiedemann 1992, 47; cf. Auson. *Eclogue* 23.33-37.

<sup>236</sup> Arrian *Epict.* 1.29.37: ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς Καίσαρος μονομάχοις εἰσὶ τινες οἱ ἀγανακτοῦντες ὅτι οὐδείς αὐτοὺς προάγει οὐδὲ ζευγνύει καὶ εὐχονται τῷ θεῷ καὶ προσέρχονται τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις δεόμενοι μονομαχῆσαι: "But among the gladiators of Caesar there are some who complain because no one brings them out or matches them against an opponent, and they go to their managers begging to fight".

neighbouring communities, who wished or were required to present combats. Galen's Pergamum was a large and important centre with a number of wealthy families and individuals who could each afford to maintain a troop of gladiators for a year. Other, smaller centres may not have had sufficient numbers of upper class families with the wealth needed to support a troop of gladiators from year to year. Ambitious politicians in these centres who desired or were expected to present spectacles may simply have hired gladiators, musicians, referees, and others from a *lanista* or from a highpriest in a neighbouring metropolis. Outside of performances and training, gladiators could also have served as personal bodyguards for the highpriest, his family, and his associates.<sup>237</sup>

Although some gladiators are known to have fought or won over fifty combats (see no. 174), most gladiators for whom we have such information do not claim to have fought that many times, perhaps only an average of ten or fifteen times.<sup>238</sup> We have no way of knowing the typical length of a gladiator's career, but the oldest active gladiator known in the East is Narkisos, a *thraex* who died at age 35 (no. 7). Only three other gladiators provide their ages: P. Spedios, age 16 (no. 64); Melanippos, age 18 (no. 72); and Alexandros aged 20, who already boasted eight victories at the time of his death (no. 73). There were dangers to fighting for too many years, as Polyneikes from Alabanda attests (no. 387), for he claims not to have been killed by the superior ability (τέχνη) of his opponent, but that a young body defeated an old one. Unfortunately we do not know how old Polyneikes was. Artemidorus says that a man fought combats *apotomoi* for many

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<sup>237</sup> See Chapter 2.8. Motivation, above p. 135.

<sup>238</sup> See nos. 6 (12 fights); 13 (7 fights); 21 (20 fights); 46 (11 fights); 71 (20 fights) 100 (5 fights); 101 (12 fights); 105 (2 fights); 119 (11 fights); 121 (22 fights); 163 (9 fights); 179 (5 fights); 197 (18 fights); 204 (9 fights); 309 (5 fights); 315 (8 fights); 320 (13 fights); 387 (20 fights); 417 (5 fights); and 461 (9 fights). These twenty epitaphs suggest an average of 11 fights in a career. Gladiators often prefer to enumerate their victories, and these numbers generally are comparable. See nos. 14 (6 wins); 28 (20 wins); 31 (17? wins); 49 (20 wins); 88 (6 wins); 119 (11 wins); 127 (8 wins); 158 (15 wins); 163 (8 wins); 203 (15 wins); 206 (12 wins); 207 (6 wins); 224 (48 wins); 307 (11 wins); 320 (12 wins); 345 (10 wins); 435 (16 wins); and 466 (11 wins).

years (πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐπύκτευεν), while a *provocator* Iuvenis lived 21 years, over four of them *in ludo*.<sup>239</sup> The typical career may have ranged from five to fifteen years, which, with only some 10 to 15 combats the career average, does not suggest participation in very many combats in a year. But the evidence is scanty and cannot be pushed too far.<sup>240</sup>

The evidence from Christian martyr acts may be helpful, although associated gladiatorial combats are seldom mentioned. Both Polycarp and later Pionios were martyred on the so-called "Great Sabbath", a day identified as seven days before the kalends of March (23 February).<sup>241</sup> In other places, the imperial connection is explicit: Perpetua and her companions, for example, were martyred in Carthage in festivities marking the birthday of the Emperor Geta.<sup>242</sup>

Gladiatorial combat was a rare spectacle perhaps presented only once per year in any particular city. But infrequency is not a synonym for insignificance. Rather, gladiatorial combats were an important part of the festival of the imperial cult and were eagerly anticipated well in advance and remembered well after. Plutarch does try to distinguish between genuine *philotimia* and that purchased through expenditure on extravagant shows, including gladiatorial combats. But his advice to avoid such forms of entertainment likely rang hollow, for he himself admitted that these shows were immensely popular, and that this popularity attached itself to the one who provided it.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>239</sup> Artem. 5.58. For Iuvenis, see *EAOR* II, no. 43 (= *CIL* V 2884 = *ILS* 5107), quoted in Chapter 2.4. Iconography, above p. 94 n. 108.

<sup>240</sup> The best discussion is Wiedemann 1992, 119-122.

<sup>241</sup> *Mart. Polycarpi* 21; *Mart. Pion.* 2.1. Gladiatorial combats may not have been associated with the martyrdom of Pionios and his companions, for a certain Asclepiades was threatened with condemnation *ad gladium*: *Mart. Pion.* 18.8: σὲ αἰτήσομαι κατάδικον εἰς τὰς μονομάχους φιλοτιμίας τοῦ υἱοῦ μου.

<sup>242</sup> *Mart. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 7.9 cf. 16.3. Cf. Bowersock 1995, 48.

<sup>243</sup> *Plut. Mor.* 820-823, discussed and partially quoted in Chapter 3.3. Commemorative Monuments, above p. 161. Cf. Plass 1995, 48.



### 3.6. FINANCING

The most important document to provide evidence for the costs associated with the presentation of gladiatorial combats during the Roman Empire is the so-called *SC de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis* (the *Aes Italicense*) from AD 177, the main copy of which is from Baetica, although a fragment of it has been found in Sardis. This imperial initiative aimed to reduce the financial burden which fell upon the priests of the imperial cult who were expected to present gladiatorial spectacles as part of their duties of office. The decree describes prices for gladiatorial presentations ranging from HS 30,000 to 200,000 and above—and these were reduced totals.<sup>244</sup> The attempt made in this *Senatus Consultum* by the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus to treat the escalating costs of gladiatorial spectacles was welcomed by the senators and wealthy elite across the Empire, many of whom had come to consider the duty to present spectacles too onerous:

Erat aliquis qui deploraverat fortunas suas creatus sacerdos, qui auxilium sibi in provocatione ad principes facta constituerat. Sed | ibidem ipse primus et de consilio amicorum: "Quid mihi iam cum appellatione? Omne onus quod patrimonium meum opprimebat sanc|tissimi impp(eratores) remis(er)unt. Iam sacerdos esse et cupio et opto et editionem muneris, quam olim detestabamur, amplector."<sup>245</sup>

The financial burden was also felt in the East. Aelius Aristides successfully sought immunity from the office of ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς Ἀσίας because he feared the expense

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<sup>244</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 29-35, quoted in Chapter 2.5. Organization, above p. 107. Cf. SHA *Marc.* 11.4 and 27.6. Attempts to control the costs of the games were not new; see Dio Cass. 54.2 for Augustus' attempts to control the size and cost of *munera* and SHA *Pius* 12.3 for an attempt by Antoninus Pius to do the same. In 384, Theodosius attempted, with limited success, to control senatorial expenditure on games (*CTh.* 15.9), for which he was thanked by Symmachus (*Ep.* 10.8). Cf. Hopkins 1983, 7-12.

<sup>245</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 16-18: "There was one who upon being appointed priest had given up his fortune for lost, had named a council to help him in an appeal to the Emperors. But in that very gathering, he himself, before and after consulting his friends, exclaimed: 'What do I want with an appeal now? Their most sacred Majesties the Emperors have released the whole burden which crushed my patrimony. Now I desire and look forward to being a priest, and as for the duty of putting on a spectacle, of which we once were solemnly asking to be relieved, I welcome it". Translated by Oliver & Palmer 1955.

involved,<sup>246</sup> and Plutarch in the early second century criticized those ambitious men of insufficient means who, eager for public recognition, would borrow money to finance their presentation of spectacles and other public benefactions.<sup>247</sup> Writing at the beginning of the third century, Dio Cassius has Maecenas advise Augustus to control the size of spectacles in the cities lest public treasuries and private fortunes be ruined.<sup>248</sup> Other ancient writers likewise deplored the bribery of the masses through the presentation of expensive public spectacles.<sup>249</sup>

R. Duncan Jones has argued, however, that the most expensive *munera*, that is, at a cost of HS 200,000 and more, were probably rare. The inscription records that the emperors had abolished the imperial tax on *munera* which was between 33 % and 25 %, and whose revenues ranged from HS 20 to HS 30 million per annum:

*Fiscus non sibi sed qui lanienae aliorum praetexeretur tertia vel quarta parte ad licentiam foedae rapinae invitatus. ... Itaque facessat sive illud ducentiens annum seu trecenties | est.*<sup>250</sup>

The tax rates suggest that the overall expenditure on *munera* across the Empire was between a minimum of HS 60 to a maximum of 120 million per annum, with an average perhaps of HS 90 million. Duncan Jones has suggested that if the cost of the typical gladiatorial *munus* had been as high as HS 200,000, then there would only have been

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<sup>246</sup> Aristid. *Or.* 26.101; cf. Deininger 1965, 40; Behr 1994, 1213-1217; and Bowersock 1969, 36-38. The inscription from Oenoanda honouring G. Iulius Demosthenes (second century) lines 91-92 mentions regulations which govern the elections of a priest of the emperors (τῷ ἱερεῖ τῶν Σεβαστῶν).

<sup>247</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 822D - 823E.

<sup>248</sup> Dio Cass. 52.30.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.* 32.45 and *Or.* 66.4; Clement of Alexandria *Paedagogus* 3.11.77 (cited by Wiedemann 1992, 138). Epictetus upbraided a man who wanted to be a priest of Augustus: see Arrian *Epict.* 1.19.26-29, cf. Millar 1965, 147. Likewise, Apollonius was said to have censured the Athenians because they spent great sums on convicts and other rabble in order to enjoy gladiatorial combat: see Philo. *VA* 22: χρημάτων τε μεγάλων ἐσσημένοι.

<sup>250</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 5-6, 8-9: "The Fiscus, not for itself but in order that it might serve as protection for the butchery in which others engaged, had been invited with an interest amounting to a third or a fourth portion to make the filthy plundering legitimate. ... And so away with that revenue, whether twenty or even thirty million sesterces a year". Translation by Oliver & Palmer 1955.

about 450 *munera* per annum throughout the whole Empire. The epigraphic record from North Africa and Italy, however, suggests that the cost of most *munera* are considerably lower.<sup>251</sup> It is noteworthy that the *Senatus Consultum* provides that the prices for the gladiators listed may be reduced in less wealthy areas of the Empire.<sup>252</sup>

The inscriptions set up by the highpriests in the East celebrating their gladiatorial presentations rarely mention the costs. Some idea of the sums involved in the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts may be gleaned from no. 421 from Oenoanda from AD 115 where Licinnius Longus gave 110,000 denarii (= HS 440,000) to the Lycian koinon, 40,000 denarii (= HS 160,000) to the city of Myra, 50,000 denarii (= HS 200,000) to the city of Tlos, and to Oenoanda, his hometown, he gave wild beast hunts and gladiatorial combats. Surely his munificence in his hometown Oenoanda would have at least matched in expense his gifts to Myra or Tlos, and probably surpassed them. This inscription, furthermore, expects that the reader was aware that the cost of presenting gladiators and wild beasts was great, an awareness which may have been expected from readers of inscriptions across the East. A few highpriests in the East less directly suggest the enormous financial burden of a gladiatorial show. In the late second or third century, Marcus Aurelius Calandio from Bizye (no. 47) was honoured as, τὸν ἱερέα καὶ ταλαντάρχην δι' ὀπλῶν: "a priest and *talantarches* for arms", where a *talantarches* is probably in reference to the cost of the gladiatorial show he provided.<sup>253</sup> A talent, however, was worth only HS 24,000 and, if indeed the total outlay, would suggest a relatively inexpensive show. But since the inscription is accompanied by reliefs not only of gladiators, but also of a *taurokathapsia* and trained bears and handlers, all of which performers were expensive (see below), it is perhaps more probable that the talent referred

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<sup>251</sup> Duncan Jones 1982, 245-246. For the prices, see his nos. 281-289 (N. Africa) and 1074a-1079 (Italy).

<sup>252</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 46-51.

<sup>253</sup> For *talantarches*, Robert 1982b, 154-158; cf. Sayar 1983, 144-146. See above p. 187.

to somehow signifies the value of the prize money to be won. Indeed, if the great expense of the shows was commonly known, then there would be little to gain by boasting of a show whose total cost was only a talent. Aurelius Hermippus from Philadelphia purposefully described his highpriesthood: ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων,<sup>254</sup> Philip from Xanthus (no. 429) similarly described his priesthood of Augustus: ἱερατεύσαντα τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ πλείστα εἰς τὴν ἱεροσύνην ἀνηλωκότα.<sup>255</sup> and rather more ominously, Tertullus from Sagalassus (no. 445) presented gladiators and wild beasts: σφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέριον θέμενος.<sup>256</sup>

A variety of factors contributed to the increased cost of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts. The acquisition of gladiators was, of course, a primary concern. Those responsible for the presentation of gladiatorial combats could purchase a gladiatorial *familia*, hire gladiators individually, contract a *lanista* for the use of his gladiators, or perhaps acquire gladiators from the emperor. Probably because of the great expenses associated with maintaining a troop of gladiators and their support staff, not to speak of the costs of presenting a display of gladiatorial combat, a strategy, indirectly described by Galen, developed whereby the highpriest purchased the *familia* from his predecessor at the beginning of his term in office and sold it to his successor at the end.<sup>257</sup> Thus, their initial expenditure could largely be recouped at the end of their term in office, provided that no expensive gladiators were killed in the combats. He does not refer to the troop of gladiators as a φαμιλία, but this is itself not surprising, for as a highly educated Greek of the second century, he was exact in his use of the Greek language and, although there is little direct criticism of the use of Latin in his works, he seldom has cause to employ Latin

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<sup>254</sup> No. 313 lines 5-6: "he served honorably as highpriest with the greatest expenditures".

<sup>255</sup> No. 429 lines 8-10: "he served as priest of the Augusti and he spent much during his priesthood".

<sup>256</sup> No. 445 line 6: "because he preferred his ancient homeland to his possessions".

<sup>257</sup> Galen 13.599-600 (Kühn) quoted above p. 117.

terms.<sup>258</sup> What Galen would seem to be describing in this passage is a process whereby one highpriest purchased a *familia* from his predecessor and passed it on to his successor. The fact that Galen was employed to treat the wounded gladiators suggests that the highpriests felt a responsibility to hand on a healthy group of gladiators to their successors and perhaps a degree of genuine concern for the well-being of the gladiators.<sup>259</sup>

This passage from Galen is supported by the *SC de pretiis gladiatorum mimuendis* from Italica in Baetica, a copy of which was also erected in Sardis, dating to the final years of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (generally dated AD 177) and so contemporary with Galen. It concerns the regulation of the prices to be paid for gladiators by various *munerarii*, including provincial priests. Lines 59 to 61 are especially relevant to our present purposes, for they support Galen's description of the process by which one highpriest passed his gladiators on to his successor:

Sacerdotes quoque provinciarum, quibus nullu[m cum lanisti]s nego[tiu]m e[ri]t, gladiatores a prioribu[s s]acerdotibus su[s]ceptos, vel si pla<c>et auctoratos, recipiunt, at post editi[o]n(em) pl[u]re ex p[re]t[er]itio in succedentes tran[sf]erunt. Ne quis singulatim aliquem | rei gladiatoriae causa vendat plure quam lanistis est pretium perscr[ip]tum.<sup>260</sup>

The passage does not refer to the gladiators which are passed between priests as a *familia*, but the overall text speaks in general about the prices to be charged for different ranks of individual gladiators and does not mention the cost of whole troops.<sup>261</sup> Furthermore, the

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<sup>258</sup> See Swain 1996, 58-59.

<sup>259</sup> However, there may have been little glory for the gladiators or for the highpriest for a gladiator to survive combat but die outside the arena away from public view. If they were to die, best to die or be killed gloriously in the arena.

<sup>260</sup> "There will be provincial priests who have no dealings with the *lanistae*. They take over gladiators bought by previous priests, or perhaps (free gladiators) who had bound themselves with a contract, but after their presentation they pass them on to successors at a higher price. Let no one sell anyone for gladiatorial service at a price higher than that prescribed for the *lanistae*." Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 284-285. E. Haley notes from personal observation (16 June, 1996) that "vel si pla<c>et" should be read "vel sibimet" and imply that the gladiators contracted with the priests directly.

<sup>261</sup> *Aes Ital.* line 39, however, does refer to the group of gladiators as a *familia*.

fact that these "provincial priests" were formerly able to sell their gladiators to their successor at a higher price implies that these officials were required or strongly expected to present gladiatorial contests as part of their priesthood. If the highpriests did not feel the requirement to put on gladiatorial *philotimiai*, they would not have paid inflated prices for gladiators. But by the new regulations of AD 177, gladiators were bought and sold according to their individual value. If a highpriest owned the gladiators for only his year in office and expected to sell them to his successor afterward, by the regulations introduced by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus here, he no longer sold the gladiators as a group, a *familia*, but evaluated them individually. It would not be in his best financial interests to kill off experienced and well known gladiators since these were the most highly priced, although to do so was to provide a great display of munificence.<sup>262</sup> It was therefore perhaps for more selfish reasons of finance that a physician of Galen's ability was retained by the highpriests: to save the lives of the gladiators and so preserve their investment. Indeed, the high cost of experienced and successful gladiators made presentations promising fights to the death especially philanthropic, perhaps requiring imperial permission to ensure that personal fortunes were not lost in thoughtless competition with the shows of others.<sup>263</sup>

The primary motive behind the transfer scheme to which Galen and the *Aes Italicense* allude was probably financial, for the maintenance of a gladiatorial troop was undoubtedly an expensive undertaking. In addition to the initial purchase price, the gladiators had to be housed and fed for the year.<sup>264</sup> But while in an important city like

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<sup>262</sup> See *Aes Ital.* esp. lines 29-35 for the price grades of gladiators, discussed in Chapter 2.5. Organization, above p. 107.

<sup>263</sup> No. 66 from Beroia: προσεισάγοντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν καὶ ἕτερον ζεύγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγανιούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ συνχάρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ . Cf. no. 128 from Gortyn where similar bloody combats were granted imperial *indulgentia*.

<sup>264</sup> See Scobie 1988, 200-203.

Pergamum there probably existed a number of wealthy men who could afford such a burden, other highpriests perhaps in smaller communities may not have been able to afford to purchase and maintain a *familia* for the year of their office. Since the presentation of gladiatorial combats was relatively infrequent, perhaps only once a year by any one highpriest,<sup>265</sup> the less well off officials may have contracted for the use of gladiators from those who owned a *familia*. Such a transaction would have had a number of advantages: first, the less well off highpriest was able to present gladiators as part of his office but neither had to purchase and maintain a whole *familia* for the term of his office, nor had to deal with a *lanista* (see below); second, the highpriest who owned the *familia* would receive some income to help off-set the costs of maintaining the troop. The jurist Gaius, in discussing the nature of sale and hire, provides as an example the transfer of gladiators, describing the transaction in the first and second person: *item si gladiatores ea lege tibi traderim....*<sup>266</sup> Gaius shows no embarrassment at the use of this example and there is no indication that the party hiring out gladiators was necessarily a low status *lanista*. This financial consideration, however, implies the opposite situation, that if one were wealthy enough, one could afford to maintain a *φομιλία* indefinitely. The Vedii in Ephesus may have permanently owned a gladiatorial *familia* as is perhaps suggested by the epigraphically attested association of the "lovers of the Vedii" and "lovers of arms" (φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι).<sup>267</sup> An association of φίλοπλοι was composed of young men who followed gladiatorial combat, perhaps practicing and engaging in it themselves as

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<sup>265</sup> See Chapter 3.5. Frequency.

<sup>266</sup> Gaius *Inst.* 3.146. Gaius is describing a form of insurance policy against the death of a valuable gladiator: the gladiator, for example, was worth 80 HS (20 drachmas) if he survived, but 4,000 HS (1,000 drachmas) if he died or was seriously maimed. Cf. Kyle 1998, 86.

<sup>267</sup> See nos. 249, 250, 260 and 264 and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 24-27.

amateurs,<sup>268</sup> while those who also "loved the Vedii" supported in particular the gladiatorial family owned by the Vedii in Ephesus.

If charged with the presentation of gladiatorial combats, one could also hire independent gladiators. The *Aes Italicense* provides for this, limiting the total remuneration such men could receive to HS 12,000.<sup>269</sup> Apuleius, for example, describes the fictional journey of a certain Thiasus, newly elected duovir quinquennalis in Corinth, who travelled himself to Thessaly in order to procur "excellent beasts and famous gladiators" for his *munus*.<sup>270</sup>

Those expected to provide gladiatorial combats could also contract with a *lanista* for the use of their gladiators. Indeed, the regulation of this transaction is the primary concern of the *Aes Italicense*. There is no direct evidence for *lanistae* in the East; highpriests and asiarchs do not inform us of any possible dealings they may have had with *lanistae*. Two inscriptions, however, do suggest a possible ownership of a *familia* by such a person. No. 211 from Smyrna indicates that the *familia* belonged to a certain Apellikon:

Μελιτίνη τέκνω ἰδίῳ | Μάρκῳ | καὶ Ἡρακλᾶς ὁ πατήρ | κατεσκεύασεν,  
συνκατενεγκάσης φαμιλίας Ἀπελλίκοντος μονομάχων κὲ λουδαρίων,  
τιμῆς ἕνεκον.<sup>271</sup>

Apellikon's name is connected with the *familia* because he owns it or manages it. This is simply how the *familia* identified itself: the φαμιλία Ἀπελλίκοντος.<sup>272</sup> Whatever his

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<sup>268</sup> An inscription from a sarcophagus for the baker Aurelius Neikon, no. 264 from Ephesus, ensures against the violation of his tomb by requiring any vandal to pay 1,000 denarii to the φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι and a further 10,000 to the φίλοπλοι of the sacred market. Presumably these organizations could enforce the fine.

<sup>269</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 62-63, quoted in Chapter 2.8. Motivation, above p. 134.

<sup>270</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.18: *nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores*. Echion, a guest at Trimalchio's dinner party, eagerly anticipates the three day *munus* of Titus, in which many freedmen gladiators were to fight: *familia non lanistica sed plurimi liberti*. Petron. *Sat.* 45.

<sup>271</sup> "Meletine and Heraklas, his father, built this for their son, Marcus, with the *familia* of gladiators and *ludarii* belonging to Apellikon having contributed, for the sake of honouring him."

<sup>272</sup> Cf. Cic. *ad Att.* 2.24.2-3: *dixerat adulescentium consilium ut in foro cum gladiatoribus Gabini Pompeium adorirentur*. Ville, *La gladiature*, 61, notes that this Gabinius is an obscure person who maintained a *familia* of gladiators and was willing to rent them out to troublemakers in addition to



position, Apellikon may have had in his possession all who were needed to put on a successful *philotimia*: gladiators and other support staff. The second inscription which possibly identifies a *lanista* is no. 177 from Amisus in Pontus. In this case, possession of the *familia* seems to rest with a certain Kalydon:

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη. | Τῷ σμα' ἔτει, πονταρχούντων | Μ. Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ  
Σηστυλλίας Κυρίλλης, | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, | φαμίλια μονομάχων τῶν | περὶ  
Καλυδῶνα.<sup>273</sup>

The phrase, πονταρχούντων Μ. Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Σηστυλλίας Κυρίλλης, is a genitive absolute and does not refer to the ownership of the gladiatorial *familia*. As a genitive absolute it may have been used to date inscription, that is, "in the year when Marcus Iulius Iulianus and his wife Sextillia Cyrille were pontarchs". But the inscription already provides the precise year: 241 (of the era of Amisus) or AD 209-210. Instead of being strictly temporal, however, the genitive absolute may be more causal in force, indicating not *when* but *why* this φαμίλια μονομάχων performed in Amisus. Here, it may be that these pontarchs, a husband and his wife, held a *philotimia* during their pontarchate in which this particular *familia* was engaged, and that this inscription was put up to commemorate it, perhaps even accompanied by a series of gladiatorial reliefs or depictions.

Since the genitive absolute serves to explain the reason for and circumstances of this commemorative monument, the phrase, φαμίλια μονομάχων τῶν περὶ Καλυδῶνα, must then be taken as indication of ownership. This phrase which translates literally as, "the *familia* of gladiators around Kalydon", implies that this Kalydon had a following of gladiators whom he presumably owned and so we may deduce that he was a *lanista*. The

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those presenting a *munus*. This specific *familia* is identified as the "*gladiatores Gabini*", perhaps just as the *familia* who helped bury Marcus in our inscription from Smyrna is the "φαμίλια Ἀπελλίκωντος".

<sup>273</sup> "With Good Fortune! In the year 241, when Marcus Iulius Iulianus and his wife Sesstulia Cyrille served as pontarchs, the *familia gladiatoria* around Kalydon (fought in their *munus*)." For the translation, see the following discussion.

scenario, then, is this: the pontarchs Marcus Iulius Iulianus and his wife, Sesstulia Cyrille hired the gladiatorial family of Kalydon to perform at their *philotimia* and set up this inscription in order to commemorate the event. That these pontarchs advertised their employment of a *familia lanistica* for their *philotimia* suggests that this family was not the typical lanistical family but rather was well-known and respected among those who followed gladiators and gladiatorial combat, for why else specify the gladiatorial troop? Also interesting is the relationship between Kalydon and his gladiators expressed by the phrase, οἱ περὶ Καλυδῶνα. It does not imply the typical master - slave relationship of most lanistical families, but more one of teacher - student, or of comrades, a relationship which would be fitting for a gladiatorial *ludus* especially if run by a retired gladiator.<sup>274</sup> Such camaraderie may explain the apparently higher quality of this *familia*. The expression, οἱ περὶ Καλυδῶνα, however, may also be a euphemistic means of describing Kalydon's ownership of a gladiatorial *familia* and his possible status as a *lanista*, although it may also have been a periphrastic method of signifying the person himself.<sup>275</sup>

Gladiators may also have been obtained from imperial authorities directly. A number of inscriptions attests the existence of imperial procurators who were in charge of *familiae gladiatoriae*, often in whole regions of the Empire. The emperor may have provided support for the presentation of local gladiatorial combats in the cities of the Empire through the maintenance of imperial *ludi* to train gladiators. The presence of imperial procurators charged with the supervision of gladiatorial *familiae* in the East attest existence of these facilities. For example, Sextus Pacuvius Restitutus was *procurator Augg(ustorum) ad familias gladiatorias per Asiam et adhaerentes provincias*, in the late

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<sup>274</sup> For Kalydon as a *lanista*, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 285. For the student - teacher relationship expressed οἱ περὶ, see, for example, Pl. *Cra.* 440c: οἱ περὶ Ἡράκλειτον for "Heraclitus and his school".

<sup>275</sup> A freedman from Arles in the second century (*CIL* XII 727) refers to himself as a *negotiator familiae gladiatoriae*, probably a euphemistic way of avoiding the term, *lanista*. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 272 n. 94. For periphrasis, cf. Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20: οἱ περὶ Φαβρίκιον = Fabricius himself.

second or early third century (no. 169).<sup>276</sup> Epictetus notes the special enthusiasm of the gladiators of the emperor, although it is uncertain whether these gladiators were in the provinces or in Rome itself.<sup>277</sup> The gladiators in the imperial *familiae* may have been made available at a price to local or provincial highpriests who required them to fulfill the expectations of their office. An emperor could also assist the highpriests by making prisoners of war or animals captured by military personnel available, either free or for a price, to provincial cities in addition to Rome itself. Titus, for example, is said to have sent Jewish prisoners of war to the provinces to be killed in theatres as well as to the great imperial spectacles in Rome.<sup>278</sup>

To protect their investments, the highpriests would hire a skilled physician such as Galen to attend to the gladiators' wounds and hopefully save their lives. In addition to purchasing or hiring the gladiators, the highpriest had also to house and feed them, and to hire a series of attendants: trainers and referees (*summa* and *secunda rudes*), musicians, heralds and others, who may or may not have been included permanently in the *familia*. Other elements of the spectacle, the executions and beast hunts, added further significant costs. The *Aes Italicense* specifies that convicts to be executed were to be purchased from the Roman authorities for HS 600, or from a *lanista* for no more than HS 2,000 each.<sup>279</sup> The acquisition of wild beasts presented a further expense, especially if the beasts were exotic,<sup>280</sup> and required long-term planning. M. Caelius asked Cicero to send

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<sup>276</sup> See also nos. 192, 451, 452, and 463, and *CIL X* 1685 = *ILS* 1397 = Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 124-5 no. 70 (from Naples) for L. Bovius Celer who was *procur(ator) ludi famil(iae) glad(iatoriae) Caesaris Alexandriae ad Aegyptum*. Cf. *EAOR* III, 26-27.

<sup>277</sup> Arrian, *Epict.* 1.29.37: ἐν μὲν τοῖς Καίσαρος μονομάχοις, quoted in Chapter 3.5. Frequency, above p. 220 n. 237. Cf. *EAOR* III, 26-27; and Potter 1994, 231.

<sup>278</sup> As suggested by Bouley 1994, 38 (re wild animals). Cf. Clavel-Lévêque 1984b, 194-196 and Coleman 1990, esp. 54-57 for prisoners as a commodity which could serve a social purpose. For Titus' gift, see Jos. *BJ* 6.418.

<sup>279</sup> *Aes Ital.* lines 56-58.

<sup>280</sup> Consider no. 67 from Beroia where Quintus Popillius Pytho boasted: δόντα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζῴων ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν: "he gave wild beast fights with all sorts of beasts both local and

panthers from Cilicia for his aedile games the year before they were to take place.<sup>281</sup> In the fourth century, the correspondence of both Symmachus in Rome and Libanius in Antioch reveal the extensive network of friends and contacts required to procure animals from distant and diverse parts of the Empire.<sup>282</sup> At the end of the third century, Diocletian's *Edict* assessed the price of Libyan lions and leopards between HS 75,000 to 150,000.<sup>283</sup> Furthermore, until the start of the show, the animals had to be penned, fed and guarded perhaps in a compound specifically constructed for the purpose (a *vivarium*).<sup>284</sup> Apuleius' Demochares of Plataea provided only the best gladiatorial troops: *gladiatores isti famosae manus*, but spent even greater sums on beasts, especially bears:

sed praeter ceteram speciosi muneris supellectilem totis utcumque patrimonii viribus immanis ursae comparabat numerum copiosum<sup>285</sup>

These bears he kept and fed at immense cost (*tutela sumptuosa*). The beast hunters (κυνηγοί) had also to be hired, although they may not have been paid the vast sums which an experienced and successful gladiator could command. The proconsul Quintillian compared the Christian martyr Pionios to those men who enlist to fight beasts "for a trifling bit of money".<sup>286</sup> In addition to the requisite performers, other expenses included:

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exotic", and no. 247 from Ephesus where M. Aurelius Mindus Matidianus Pollio boasted that he killed twenty-five Libyan animals. Cf. Chapter 4.2. Associated Spectacles.

<sup>281</sup> Cic. *Fam.* 8.2.2 (June, 51); 8.4.5 (1 August, 51); 8.9.3 (2 September, 51). Cicero states his inability to find many panthers: *Fam.* 2.11.2 (4 April, 50). See Ville, *La gladiature*, 348 n. 12. Petronius, *Sat.* 119.14-18, also comments on the great price of obtaining wild beasts. Cf. Jennison 1937, 137-153; and Bertrand 1987.

<sup>282</sup> Symmachus *Ep.* 2.76; 4.12; 6.43; 6.144; 9.142. Cf. Hopkins 1983, 8. *Lib. Ep.* 586; 587; 588; 598; 599. Cf. Liebeschuetz 1959, 116 n. 17. The army was used to capture beasts for imperial shows: see Velkov & Alexandrov 1988.

<sup>283</sup> Giacchero 1974, 210-211 no. 32, lines 1-6.

<sup>284</sup> The *vivarium* at Rome was located outside the Porta Praenestina and was supervised by the *custodes vivarii*: see Procop. *Goth.* 1.22-23. Cf. Scobie 1988, 203; Jennison 1937, 174-176; and Richardson 1992, s.v. "vivarium".

<sup>285</sup> *Apul. Met.* 4.13: "But beyond the other preparations for the grand show he spent the great part of his inheritance on a large number of savage bears".

<sup>286</sup> *Mart. Pion.* 20.6: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀπογραφόμενοι ἐλαχίστου ἀργυρίου πρὸς τὰ θηρία θανάτου καταφροῦσι, cf. Robert 1994, 113. The *retiarius*, Chrysomallos, from Nicaea claims that he

set design,<sup>287</sup> seating and safety improvements,<sup>288</sup> food and distributions for the spectators.

Another important factor increasing the costs of the shows was the competitive euergetism between ambitious benefactors. Personal ambition to surpass previous spectacles often compelled the officials to hire famous gladiators and *summae rudes* who may have demanded enormous sums.<sup>289</sup> In the eleven years between 229 and 240, the simple three day gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts presented by the highpriest and highpriestess in Beroia (no. 65) became much more elaborate, with an imperial *indulgentia* permitting a fight to the death on each day (no. 66). Yet only once is this competition explicitly mentioned in an inscription: Philip compared from Xanthus his munificence as priest of Augustus with the local highpriests: (ὡς) διημιλλῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχιερέων φιλοδοξίαις.<sup>290</sup> Their political standing was at stake: they must surpass previous presentations or pale by comparison.<sup>291</sup>

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was once a κυνηγός (no. 167). Was the transition to *retiarius* a "promotion" to a more prestigious or profitable occupation?

<sup>287</sup> Thiasus, Apuleius' fictional duovir from Corinth, had constructed a mountain with trees and a spring which flowed down the slope to the ground (*Met.* 10.30). A *munerarius* from Philippi sprinkled the arena with saffron (no. 97).

<sup>288</sup> Many of these improvements were permanent. Cf. Chapter 4.3. Location. A *munerarius* from Pisidian Antioch constructed a wooden amphitheatre for his three day *munus* (no. 439).

<sup>289</sup> Recall Apuleius' Thiasus from Corinth who travelled to Thessaly in search of *nobilissimas feras et famosos inde gladiatores* (*Met.* 10.18). The gladiator, Phoebos, (no. 104) boasts that he was a *πρωτόπαλος* who fought in Asia, Thrace, Macedonia and Larissa, and the *summa rudis*, Publius Aelius, who died in Ancyra (no. 450) had been awarded the citizenship of many cities. These men may have commanded larger fees for their presence. The *Aes Italicense*, lines 62-63, limits the evaluation of free fighters to HS 12,000.

<sup>290</sup> No. 429: "(so that) he contended hotly with the φιλοδοξίαι (*munera*) of the native highpriests".

<sup>291</sup> In fourth century Rome, Symmachus found himself in competition with himself: "I must now outdo the reputation earned by my earlier shows; the recent munificence of our house in my consulship and the quaestorian games of my son allow us to present nothing mediocre" (*Ep.* 4.60, quoted by Hopkins 1983, 8).

There are indications, however, that those presenting spectacles as part of their duties of office may have been supported with public money. In the Roman tradition, public money was available to the officials presenting state spectacles: the Urso charter, which may have been copied in other Roman colonies, allotted HS 2,000 or 1,000 to the *duoviri* and *aediles* respectively and in Rome the Augustan reforms seem to have provided some money from the *aerarium* to the praetors charged with the production of a *munus gladiatorum*.<sup>292</sup>

An inscription from Ephesus for Timaeus (no. 265) may indicate the partial subsidy of wild beast hunts by the highpriest. The inscription as we have it now was reconstructed by D. Knibbe from fifteen fragments and honours the highpriest Timaeus, son of Attalus, his wife, Apphilla and their son, Aquila.<sup>293</sup> While highpriest, Timaeus also served as *agonothete* of the Great Epinikia and the *koina Asias* in Ephesus:

φιλοτείμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς ἐπιτελέσ[α]ντα τῆν μὲν ἀρχιερω[σύν]ην, δόντα  
δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν το[ . . . τῆς] το[ῦ] Καίσαρος νε[ί]κης ὑπὲρ τῶν | κυνηγεσίων  
ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μ[υ]ριάδ[α]ς ἐπ[τά], ἀγωνιοθετήσαντα | τῶν τε  
Μεγάλων Ἐπιεικίων καὶ τοῦ [κ]οινοῦ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν | Ἐφέσῳ<sup>294</sup>

Knibbe suggested the reading for line 6: εἰς τὸν τόπον τῆς] το[ῦ] Καίσαρος νε[ί]κης, which would indicate that Timaeus had purchased the land for the imperial victory monument, perhaps in celebration of L. Verus' victory in the Parthian war in 166.<sup>295</sup> What is significant is that the money—70,000 denarii—which Timaeus seems to have donated

<sup>292</sup> Urso: *Lex Ursonensis*, chaps. 70-71. Rome: Dio Cass. 55.31.4 and 59.14.2, cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 119-121, and Edmondson 1996, 80-81. Bodel 1986, 9, says that there is no evidence that the money expended on *munera* (public or private) was ever referred to as "*lucar*", the term generally used to describe the financial contribution a magistrate received from public funds for shows. Bodel states that this is because *munera*, unlike *ludi*, had no formal religious connection.

<sup>293</sup> Engelmann 1996. Cf. *I.Ephesos* 721; J. and R. Robert, *BE* 1977, no. 417.

<sup>294</sup> Lines 5-9: "with expense and enthusiasm (φιλοτείμως καὶ ἐκτενῶς) he carried out his highpriesthood and gave 70,000 silver denarii for the ... of the Victoria Caesaris (from the money?) for the wild beast hunts, and he served as *agonothete* for the Great Epinikia and for the *koinon* of Asia in Ephesus".

<sup>295</sup> Cf. J. and R. Robert, *BE* 1977, no. 417. The reconstruction: τὸν τοίχον, is also possible.

was originally intended for wild beast hunts. H. Engelmann cites several inscriptions which show that public funds were directed toward the prytanis for his presentation of *spectacula* (θεωρία): for example, a prytanis was honoured by Ephesus for returning this money: [ἀνα]δόντα καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν θεωριῶν ἀργύριον,<sup>296</sup> while another Ephesian put this money into the gymnasiarchy: δόντα τὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρυτανείας (denarii) ,μ εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον γυμνασιαρχίαν.<sup>297</sup> Engelmann speculated that the city of Ephesus had in its annual budget a heading such as: ὑπὲρ τῶν θεωριῶν τῆς πρυτανείας, which allotted money to the prytanis for his spectacles.<sup>298</sup> On this analogy, Engelmann has suggested that the Asian *koinon* similarly provided funds to its highpriests, perhaps under the heading: ὑπὲρ τῶν κυνηγεσιῶν, specifically to support the presentation of wild beast hunts, but which Timaeus here redirected to a monument celebrating Verus' Parthian victory. Knibbe's reconstruction and Engelmann's interpretation require the article τὸ, which ought to be placed in the lacuna before ὑπέρ, as follows:

εἰς τὸν το[ . . . τῆς] το[ῦ] Καίσαρος νε[ίκης τὸ ὑπέ]ρ τῶν | κυνηγεσιῶν  
ἀργυρίου δηναρίω[ν μ]υριάδ[ας] ἐπ[τά]

This reconstruction, if correct, provides rare evidence for the subvention of public funds to the highpriests for the presentation of wild beast hunts, a spectacle so frequently associated with gladiatorial combats.

Other evidence, perhaps equally speculative, may be found in a letter long attributed the emperor Julian. The letter (Julian, *Ep.* 198, Bidez, discussed above) concerns an Argive complaint regarding payments made to Corinth, money with which the Corinthians were purchasing wild beasts.<sup>299</sup> It was addressed to an unknown person,

<sup>296</sup> *I.Ephesos* no. 702.

<sup>297</sup> *I.Ephesos* no. 3066. Cf. also *I.Ephesos* no. 462, and *TAM V*, 2 no. 1184 from Thyateira also cited by Engelmann 1996.

<sup>298</sup> For this use of ὑπέρ, see also J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1977, no. 417, noted by Slater 1996, 204.

<sup>299</sup> See Spawforth 1994, discussed above p. 175.

perhaps the Roman governor of Achaea, and recommends an Argive embassy seeking a hearing and dissolution of the Argive responsibilities for the payments. The author asks whether it is right to burden Argos with these payments:

πῶς οὖν εἰκὸς ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπράγμονας εἶναι λειτουργοῦντας ἅπαξ, τούτους δὲ ὑπάγεσθαι ἀκὶ πρὸς ἑτέρων συντέλειαν ἐπὶ τετραπλασίοις τοῖς οἴκοι λειτουργήμασιν, ἄλλως τε οὐδὲ πρὸς Ἑλληνικὴν οὐδὲ παλαιὰν πανήγυριν; οὐ γὰρ ἐς χορηγίαν ἀγῶνων γυμνικῶν ἢ μουσικῶν οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν πολλῶν δέονται χρημάτων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια τὰ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιτελούμενα ἄρκτους καὶ παρδάλεις ὠνοῦνται.<sup>300</sup>

The author continues saying that "many other cities, as is expected, also contribute to these purchases" (ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλῶν πόλεων, ὡς εἰκὸς, αὐτοῖς εἰς τοῦτο συναιρομένων). A.J.S. Spawforth argues that both Argos and Corinth, together with these many other cities, were members of the expanded Achaean *koinon* of the mid-first century, and that this body established an imperial cult during the first century, perhaps first for the emperor Nero at his accession in 54.<sup>301</sup> An inscription from Beroia in Macedonia thanks the jurist Licinius Rufinus for his aid in restoring the contributions of the Thessalians to the Macedonian *koinon*:

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ [Κατὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ | λαμπροτάτῳ συνε]δρίῳ Λικίνιον |  
Ῥουφείνον τὸν ὑπατικόν, συναγορεύσαντα τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ περὶ τῆς  
συντελείας τῶν Θετταλῶν, | Δομίτιος Εὐρύδικος | ὁ μακεδονιάρχης | ἐκ τῶν  
ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>302</sup>

<sup>300</sup> 408D-409A: "How then is it right that those others who bear the burden of this function only once should be free from the tax, whereas the Argives are obligated to contribute to other games on top of their fourfold expenditure at home, especially since the contribution is for a festival neither Hellenic nor ancient in date. For it is not to support gymnastic or musical contests that the Corinthians need so much money, but they buy bears and panthers for the wild beast hunts which they often present in their theatres."

<sup>301</sup> Spawforth 1994. See above p. 174-175.

<sup>302</sup> See *ArchAnz* 57 (1942) 176, no. 9 = Robert 1948a: "With Good Fortune! According to the decree from the illustrious council, Domitius Eurydicus the macedoniarch from his own funds honours the consular Licinius Rufinus, who spoke on behalf of the province concerning the financial contributions of the Thessalians". Robert 1948a, 29 n. 3 notes that there is no room on the stone for lines 2-3 and assumes that the lapicide forgot them (!).



Although it is uncertain to what purpose the financial contributions of the Thessalians were put, support for the expensive spectacles put on by the *koinon* is a possibility.

During the fourth century AD and so after the end of gladiation in the East, Libanius speaks of an imperial subsidy supporting the presentation of wild beast hunts by the syriarchs in Antioch. In AD 363 or 364, Celsus, a senator, presented chariot races, theatrical shows and wild beast hunts on behalf of his son at a meeting of the provincial assembly in honour of the emperor. The provider of this liturgy was entitled to a special robe and crown and to an imperial subsidy, which seems to have been provided after the presentation of the show.<sup>303</sup> The existence of an imperial fund specifically for the provision of gladiatorial combat is alluded to by Dio Cassius in his description of Commodus' gladiatorial shows: Dio says that the emperor received 25,000 from the "gladiatorial money" each day: τῷ δὲ δὴ Κομμόδῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν μονομαχικῶν χρημάτων ἐδίδοντο.<sup>304</sup>

### 3.7. MOTIVATION

Closely connected with the imperial cult, the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts was the responsibility of the individual highpriests.<sup>305</sup> They did not present these spectacles only as part of their religious duties of the office, but also as a reflection of their social status as wealthy local or provincial elite, in the tradition of the Greek liturgy as a sort of tax on status and wealth. The wealth and generosity of Demochares in Plataea described by Apuleius was specifically connected with his provision of shows (*munera*) and pleasures for the people:

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<sup>303</sup> Robe and crown: Lib. *Ep.* 1399. Subsidy: Lib. *Ep.* 1459; 1147 and 1148; cf. 970 and 971. See Liebeschuetz 1959, 118-119.

<sup>304</sup> Dio Cass. 73.19.3.

<sup>305</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 267-268. The highpriesthood, however, which was largely defined by the required presentation of spectacles, was itself a voluntary office, even if it may have been expected of the local elite.

nam vir et genere primarius et opibus plurimus et liberalitate praecipuus digno fortunae suae splendore publicas voluptates instruebat.<sup>306</sup>

Despite the protests of writers such as Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom who deplore the vast sums spent on the provision of spectacles,<sup>307</sup> many ambitious men and women were willing to undertake such a financial burden because of the popularity, prestige, and honour which it engendered. Augustine describes the esteem which the crowd accorded those presenting a show and compared this esteem to the bond between parents and their children,<sup>308</sup> and Dio Chrysostom describes the wealthy magnate who parades with his crown and purple of office, followed by a train of long-haired boys carrying frankincense.<sup>309</sup> Gold crowns and purple robes are mentioned in a number of inscriptions as a distinct privilege which was awarded the honorand. The unnamed pontarch $\eta$  from Tomis claims, ἐστεφάνωσε Τόμεύς, ἢ μ' ἄλλων μερόπων πλέον εἶσιδε κοσμηθέντα χρυσείοις στεφάνοις πορφυραίοις τε πέπλοις.<sup>310</sup> It is evident that these were the ornaments of the pontarchate in which office he twice served. Similar honours were bestowed on Severianus Asclepiodotus from Nicaea (no. 166): the emperor Elagabalus made Asclepiodotus priest of Roma and granted him the right to wear purple in perpetuity", as reconstructed by J. and L. Robert,<sup>311</sup> and on Marcus Aurelius Daphnus from Ephesus (no. 249): τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἅμα τῇ πορφύρᾳ: "the gold crown

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<sup>306</sup> Apul. *Met.* 4.13: "For the man was first rate in descent, great in his wealth, outstanding in his generosity and he used to provide public entertainments with a splendor worthy of his fortune".

<sup>307</sup> For example, Plut. *Mor.* 823E, quoted in Chapter 3.3. Commemorative Monuments, above p. 161; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 66.

<sup>308</sup> August. *Conf.* 1.10.

<sup>309</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 35.10; cf. *Or.* 34.29-30. Epictetus censures the man who looks forward to wearing the crown as an imperial priest: Arr. *Epict.* 1.19.26-29.

<sup>310</sup> No. 10 lines 4-8: "Tomis has crowned me (and) has looked upon me decorated more than other men with golden crowns and purple robes".

<sup>311</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1980, no. 508: δ[ι]νηνε]κεῖ πορφύρα. See above, p. 193.

with the purple robes". Perpetua in Carthage dreamt that a man in a purple robe had come to compel her to fight as a gladiator:

Ἐξῆλθεν δέ τις ἀνὴρ θαυμαστοῦ μεγέθους, ὑπερέχων τοῦ ἄρκου τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, διεζωσμένος ἐσθῆτα ἣτις εἶχεν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν δύο ὤκων τὴν πορφύραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους.<sup>312</sup>

The gold crown and purple robes were especially the costume of Greek agonothetes, and they served to satisfy the vanity of the local or provincial magnates who, perhaps required to present the expensive spectacles, sought to advertise their wealth, importance, and power.<sup>313</sup>

In a number of inscriptions from the East, the highpriest presenting the gladiatorial combats boasts of the imperial *indulgentia* he had received which allowed for especially spectacular or expensive games (nos. 66, 128, 288, 313).<sup>314</sup> In no. 66 from Beroia, for example, the highpriest and macedoniarch, Lucius Septimius Insteianus Alexander, promised to provide spectacles in which gladiators contend for their lives, for which he had received special permission from the emperor Gordian III: κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ. This honour is often expressed as κατὰ θεϊαν μεγαλοδωρίαν, as in no. 128 from Gortyn, or ἐκ θείας φιλοδωρίας, as in no. 313 from Philadelphia. It served a number of purposes: first, to ensure that the imperial authorities controlled the grandeur of such spectacles to prevent them from surpassing those of the emperor; second, to bind communal loyalty to the emperor by

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<sup>312</sup> *Mart. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 10.8 (from Robert 1994, 258 n. 112): "And out came a man of great height standing higher than the amphitheatre, and he wore a cloak which had purple stripes running down from his shoulders in the middle of his chest". The Latin version has: *et exiit vir quidam mirae magnitudinis ut etiam excederet fastigium amphitheatri, distinctatus, purpuram inter duos clavos per medium pectus habens.*

<sup>313</sup> Cf. *CIL* XII 6038 = *ILS* 6964, the so-called *Lex Narbonensis*, which lists the honours due the *flamines*, such as the permission to wear purple on festival days (line 6) and statues.

<sup>314</sup> See Lafaye, 1567-1568; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 274; Robert 1980, 251 n. 47; Ville, *La gladiature*, 209-210; Nollé 1992/3, 69-71; and Chapter 4.1. Gladiatorial Combat. The imperial restrictions probably controlled the duration of the spectacle, the number of gladiators who could take part and the number compelled to fight to the death.

associating him with the exemption and especially spectacular show; third, to prevent the financial ruin of the leading men of the provincial cities; and fourth, to honour publicly that person who had undertaken to provide such a magnificent spectacle, presumably on behalf of the emperor. Furthermore, the ability to bend or break the rules here demonstrated by the emperors was a sign of their true and absolute power.

Popularity and personal vanity, however, were not the reasons openly stated for holding the office of highpriest and presenting gladiatorial combats. While most inscriptions proudly indicate that such shows were put on by the highpriest, several inscriptions from Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia state official reasons for the presentations (nos. 22, 25, 29, 30, 65, 66, and 86). These are all announcement inscriptions advertising a coming presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts put on by the highpriest. Specifically, these inscriptions explain that presentations are given for (ὑπέρ) a combination of the health (ὑγεία), safety (σωτηρία), victory (νίκη), fortune (τύχη), and endurance (διαμονή) of not only the reigning emperor, but also of his immediate family and entire household, and usually also of a number of the following: the Roman senate, the Roman people, the Roman armies, the Roman governor, the provinces, and the local council and people.<sup>315</sup> Thus, the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts not only provided a popular form of entertainment for the people, but also advertised the importance and status of the local magnate who had undertaken to be highpriest and present the costly shows and, more importantly, celebrated the entire ruling structure of the Empire.<sup>316</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Cf. Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, no. 18: *Pro salute Neronis Claudii Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, Pompeis*: "For the health of the emperor Nero, and for the Pompeians"; and *ibid.* nos. 19, 20, 36, 41, and 77. These inscriptions are by comparison quite simple and only offer the games for the health of the emperor.

<sup>316</sup> For further discussion, see Chapter 4.5. Context.

## CHAPTER 4. THE GREEK SPECTACLE

### 4.1. GLADIATORIAL COMBAT

Because of the great expense and prestige attached to the presentation of gladiatorial combats, it is probable that these spectacles were advertised in order to draw as much attention to the upcoming spectacle as possible. There are several examples of inscriptions which served the dual purpose both of announcing the presentation of gladiatorial combats and, because carved in stone, of commemorating the event long after it was completed.<sup>1</sup> Another way to promote the coming spectacle was to parade the gladiators through the city in the days leading up to the event. Lucian describes a fictional account of such a procession which marched through the port city of Amastris in Pontus:

ἔωθεν δὲ περιῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἶδε προπομπὴν τινα, ὡς ἔφη, γενναίων καὶ καλῶν νεανίσκων. μονομαχεῖν δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ μισθῷ ἀνδρολογηθέντες εἰς τρίτην ἡμέραν διαγωνιεῖσθαι ἔμελλον.<sup>2</sup>

Marching two days before the gladiatorial combats were to take place, the parade was intended to draw attention to the coming spectacle. The fact that many highpriests owned and maintained gladiatorial families throughout the duration of their term in office provided them with ample opportunity to advertise any planned exhibitions. Another opportunity for the people to see the gladiators before the day of their combats occurred the night before when the participants were presented with a lavish, public meal (the *cena*

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<sup>1</sup> See nos. 22, 23, 24, 25, 29, 30, 65, 66 and 86.

<sup>2</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 58: "In the morning while going about in the agora he saw a sort of procession, as he put it, of noble and handsome young men. These men had been enrolled to fight as gladiators for pay and were to compete on the next day but one".

*libera*).<sup>3</sup> Greek evidence for this event is rare, although Plutarch claims that Greek gladiators, instead of enjoying the meal, took the time the evening before a combat to make arrangements for their wives and even to manumit their slaves.<sup>4</sup> The commemorative reliefs portraying gladiators and gladiatorial combat erected by many highpriests around the cities also served to keep gladiation in the minds of the people.<sup>5</sup>

Gladiatorial combats were introduced by the *pompa*, a procession of the participants and attendants into the arena,<sup>6</sup> most famously depicted in a frieze found outside the Stabian gate at Pompeii, now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples. The frieze is in three registers: the upper depicts a procession, the middle gladiatorial combats, and the lower *venationes* and executions *ad bestias*. The procession is led by two lictors and three musicians followed by attendants, one of whom carries a placard, the *editor muneris* in his toga, and then other musicians and attendants bearing the armour of the gladiators.<sup>7</sup> Although there is no parallel frieze known from the East, a commemorative relief from Smyrna (no. 236 = fig. 1) depicts four heavily armed gladiators standing and facing the viewer and holding a placard in their right hand and over their right shoulder. Beneath each gladiator is an inscription providing his name and ethnic. J. and L. Robert have reasonably suggested that these placards bore the information provided in the

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tert. *Apol.* 42.5; Lafaye, 1593. Even those condemned *ad bestias* were given a public feast the evening before their death: see Mart. *Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 17.1. Ville, *La gladiature*, 365-366 interprets this meal as a sort of compensation for those about to die. Meuli 1968, 49 instead suggests that the banquet was an attempt to turn vile, worthless victims into worthy sacrifices; cf. Zvi Brettler & Poliakov 1990.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 1099B.

<sup>5</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization.

<sup>6</sup> Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 9.6; Lafaye, 1593; Ville, *La gladiature*, 399-401. Consider Apul. *Met.* 10.29 where the ass Lucius describes his journey to the theatre: *dies ecce muneris desinatus aderat; ad consaeptum caveae prosequente populo pompatico favore deducor*: "the day of the *munus* had finally come; I was led to the enclosure of the theatre with the honour of a parade and the people following along".

<sup>7</sup> For a photograph of the entire frieze, see Kraus 1975, 52 fig. 53; cf. Lafaye, 1593 fig. 3593 and Wiedemann 1992, fig. 14.

inscriptions.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, those condemned to be executed may also have entered the arena in a sort of procession like that of the gladiators, although unlike the gladiators, whose procession was meant to glorify them, the procession of condemned convicts was meant to denigrate them. Several reliefs from the East depict men nearly naked marching in a line joined to one another by a rope tied around the neck of each.<sup>9</sup> Three of these reliefs, however, also depict at least one of the condemned men holding a placard: in no. 262 from Ephesus, two men are joined and one holds a placard; in no. 290 (= fig. 13) from Miletus, three men, the first of whom holds a placard in his left hand and over his right shoulder, are led again joined by a rope by a man in a tunic who pulls the rope; and in no. 342 from Hierapolis, three condemned men are tied at the neck and each holds a placard. Above the final figure is a name: Ἀπκᾶς.<sup>10</sup> The *Acts of the Martyrs at Lyons* explains that the name and crime of the condemned was written on the placard:

καὶ περιαχθεὶς κύκλω τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, πίνακος αὐτὸν προάγοντος ἐν ᾧ ἐγγέγραπτο Ῥωμαῖστί· οὗτος Ἄτταλος ὁ Χριστιανός· καὶ τοῦ δήμου σφόδρα σφριγῶντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ.<sup>11</sup>

The condemned criminal's name and crime was written on the placard which he carried into the arena before his execution in the same way that a gladiator's name and perhaps other information may have been written on a placard and carried into the arena.

The use of a herald (*praeco*/πραΐκων or κῆρυξ) was another way to introduce participants in the arena. Heralds were commonly included among the staff of a gladiatorial family,<sup>12</sup> and announced information to the people. For example, in Lucian's

<sup>8</sup> Cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1974, no. 54; and Chapter 2.3. Origins, above p. 83.

<sup>9</sup> For discussion, see especially Robert 1949a, 141-7.

<sup>10</sup> See nos. 262, 290 (= fig. 13), and 342. Cf. Potter 1993, 66-69.

<sup>11</sup> Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.43: "He was led around the amphitheatre behind a sign on which had been written in Latin: 'This is Attalus the Christian' and the anger of the mob was worked up against him". Cf. *The Acts of Saints Paul and Thecla* (cited by Price 1984, 170) where Thecla went to her death in Pisidian Antioch wearing a plaque describing her impiety.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization, above p. 118-119.

fictional account of the gladiatorial presentations at Amastris, a herald enters the theatre following the gladiators to announce the open competition.<sup>13</sup> Gladiatorial reliefs set up to commemorate the presentation of combats often provide the name of the gladiator depicted, indicating that the people had been given this information, either by a herald or by placards. In addition to introducing the gladiators by name, the herald probably also provided the armament type of the gladiators, hierarchical and statistical details, and various claims to martial excellence made by the gladiators. If the *editor muneris* had hired famous and expensive gladiators, it is probable that he would have wanted their fame, status, and attributes known to the people whom he was attempting to please and impress.<sup>14</sup> Such introductions can add to the excitement of a public show. Furthermore, gladiatorial epitaphs use the technical terminology of the arena with pride and with the expectation that the reader could understand it, suggesting that the people were both familiar with this terminology and appreciated it.<sup>15</sup>

Music, produced by trumpeters and organists and enhanced by the acoustical properties of the theatres, accompanied the combats.<sup>16</sup> An inscription from Alexandria Troas (no. 189) was erected for the deceased *retiarius*, Melanippos, in which he laments the fact that he will no longer hear the voice of the bronze trumpet nor when competing rouse the din of the unequal pipes:

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<sup>13</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 59: ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον οἱ μονομάχοι καὶ τινα παραγαγὼν ὁ κήρυξ εὐμεγέθη νεανίσκον εἶπεν, ὅστις ἂν ἐθέλη τούτῳ μονομαχήσαι, ἦκειν εἰς τὸ μέσον δραχμὰς ληψόμενον μυριάς μισθὸν τῆς μάχης: "When the gladiators came in, the herald leading a large young man said that whoever wanted to fight in single combat with this man should come forward and would receive ten thousand drachmae in payment for the fight".

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Apul. *Met.* 10.18.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Chapter 2.2. Terminology.

<sup>16</sup> Musicians were probably part of the gladiatorial *familiae*: see Chapter 2.5. Organization, above p. 119.



οὐκέτι χαλκε[λ]άτου φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἀκο[ύω], | [οὐ]δ' ἀνίσων αὐλῶν  
κέλαδον ἀ[εθ]λῶν ἀνεγείρω<sup>17</sup>

The late first or second century mosaic from the Villa at Dar Buc Amméra (Room D) at Zliten in modern Libya twice depicts an orchestra of four musicians providing orchestral accompaniment for the combat of multiple gladiators. The musicians include: one playing a trumpet (*tuba*), one playing a water-organ (*hydraulus*)<sup>18</sup> and two seated men playing the horn (*cornu*).<sup>19</sup> Of equal importance is the inscribed graffito from tomb 14 EN outside the Porta Nocera at Pompeii (fig. 15) which depicts the combat of the gladiators, Hilarus and Creunus. On the right are depicted three trumpeters while to the left are three (or four?) people playing the *cornu*.<sup>20</sup> Cicero expects that those trained in the use of arms were concerned not only with avoiding and striking blows but also with a certain grace of movement: *ut cum venustate moveantur*.<sup>21</sup> Petronius directly states that gladiators fought to the sounds of the *hydraulus*: *ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare*.<sup>22</sup>

The combats were fought between two matched gladiators (Latin *paria*, Greek ζεῦγος), perhaps of the same type, but more often of different armament and contrasting techniques. While these gladiators may have brought distinct tactics to the match, they

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<sup>17</sup> Lines 4-7: "No longer do I hear the voice of the bronze trumpet, nor when competing do I raise the din of the unequal pipes".

<sup>18</sup> See Patsch 1904, 165-166, fig. 138 for a depiction of a *hydraulus*; Hyde 1938, 393 for a photograph of a reconstructed *hydraulus* from Budapest; and Vit. 10.8 for a technical discussion. Roueché 1993, no. 11.A.v (pl. 4) provides a rough depiction of a water-organ. Roueché believed this depiction to be candles, but J.-C. Moretti in his review of *Performers and Partisans*, in *Topoi* 4/1 (1994) 355 n. 8, recognized that these "candles" were instead the pipes of an organ. Moretti's interpretation was cited with approval by G.W. Bowersock in *Gnomon* 69.1 (1997) 47.

<sup>19</sup> The orchestras appear at opposite corners of the mosaic. Aurigemma 1926, 150-154; Dunbabin 1978, 66 with Appendix I, 235-237 and pls. 1.1 and 20.46-49; Wiedemann 1992, 15-16 and fig. 5a. Cf. Robert 1946a, pl. 6.3; and Ville 1965.

<sup>20</sup> Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, no. 71 suggests that the gladiators depicted are Princeps and Creunus. For the tomb number and further description, see D'Ambrosio & De Caro 1983, 14 EN. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 94.

<sup>21</sup> Cic. *de Orat.* 3.200.

<sup>22</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 36.5: "so that you would think that the *essedarius* was fighting, while the water-organ sounded". Cf. Hyde 1938, 406-407; Ville, *La gladiature*, 373; and Simpson *forthcoming*.

were typically comparable in ability and experience.<sup>23</sup> In the East, most combats were presented in the relatively confined space of the orchestra (see below), thus limiting the possibility for mass spectacles with several simultaneous contests and focusing all attention on the two gladiators fighting.<sup>24</sup> Evenly matched opponents would have provided a longer and therefore more satisfying contest.

Also present during a gladiatorial match was the *summa rudis* (σουμμαρούδης) perhaps even with an assistant, a *secunda rudis* (σεκουνδαρούδης), to supervise the combats. Robert has shown that these officials served as technical experts to ensure that the gladiators fought bravely, skillfully, and according to the rules.<sup>25</sup> The *summa rudis* as technical expert seems to have been able to determine whether a combat should stop or continue. For example, the gladiator Diodorus blames "the cunning treachery of the *summa rudis*" for his death (no. 178): σουμμαρου<δου> δόλος αίνος. One explanation for this curious statement may be that the *summa rudis* compelled Diodorus and his opponent to continue to fight after one of them had submitted. If a *summa rudis* was able to oblige two gladiators to continue fighting despite a submission, it is probable that he also had the power to stop a fight before one gladiator was too seriously injured. D. Potter has reasonably suggested that one of the principal tasks of these referees may have been to prevent the gladiators from seriously wounding one another.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Consider Sen. *Prov.* 3.4: *ignominiam iudicat gladiator cum inferiore componi*: "A gladiator considers it dishonourable to be matched with an inferior". Cf. Barton 1993, 31. It was typical for *tirones* to be matched with one another in their first combat rather than with an experienced gladiator: see Ville, *La gladiature*, 311.

<sup>24</sup> Plass 1995, 43-44, notes that provincial games could make up in concentration what was lost in scale. This is especially the case with violent spectacles which may have been experienced "more compellingly" when presented in the spotlight with a minimum of distraction.

<sup>25</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization, above p. 112-116. Cf. Robert 1982a, 262-263 for the *summa rudis* as "arbitre technique".

<sup>26</sup> Potter 1994, 231.

Gladiatorial combat was not a desperate, bloody fight for life and death. Rather it was generally an ordered, rule-bound contest at arms: there were standards and techniques expected of gladiators in combat. Petronius' Echion criticizes the *mumus* of Norbanus, specifically the condition of his gladiators, and notes that only one was of any quality, a *thraex*, although even he fought according to his lessons (*ad dictata*).<sup>27</sup> Artemidorus notes that different armament types fought according to the tactics dictated by the weapons and defensive armour they had: some gladiators pursued and others were pursued.<sup>28</sup> Indeed, gladiatorial types and fencing tactics were regular and well-known enough to be a common and interpretable dream, and to provide a metaphor for rhetorical discourse. Quintilian, for example, compares the skillful orator to the gladiator who feints and varies his assault rather than attacking with simple and straightforward thrusts. Similarly, the give and take of discourse is comparable to the parry and thrust of gladiatorial combat.<sup>29</sup> Ps.-Quintilian contrasts the restrictions of gladiatorial combat with the freedom of military combat with reference to a *lex pugnandi: facinus indignum, illum animum, illum ardorem non contigisse castris, non bellicis certaminibus, ubi vera virtus nulla pugnandi lege praecircumscribitur*.<sup>30</sup> The techniques and skill involved in gladiatorial combat were appreciated and understood by the spectators and formed an important part of the overall spectacle. Aficionados of gladiation organized themselves according to the armament type (for example, the *parmularii* or *scutarii*), thus indicating that they were interested in the fighting styles or tactics of these distinct types rather than

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<sup>27</sup> Petron. *Sat.* 45.12: *unus alicuius flaturae fuit thraex, qui et ipse ad dictata pugnavit*. See also Suet. *Iul.* 26.3. Cf. Mosci Sassi, s.v. "dictata" for further references. The rest of Norbanus' gladiators are condemned by Echion as cowardly and weak.

<sup>28</sup> Artem. 2.32.

<sup>29</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 9.1.20; 5.8.54. Cf. Grodde 1997, 16-30.

<sup>30</sup> Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 9.9: "the infamous activity, that spirit, that passion, has not touched the camp nor military combat where true virtue is not restricted by a *lex pugnandi*". Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 403.

in their death.<sup>31</sup> Similarly, the unique ability and particular challenge presented by a left-handed gladiator was appreciated in both the West and the East, to judge from the proud statements of this talent made by gladiators on their tombstones.<sup>32</sup> The importance of fighting technique may also be deduced from the typically small number of combats presented. With only three or four pairs fighting in an afternoon, the anticipated length of the contest was probably 15 to 30 minutes or longer. Brief fights are hardly satisfying and would have left the *editor* with left-over time and nothing to present.<sup>33</sup> The proficiency in arms required for and ideally displayed in gladiatorial combat was appreciated by the spectators, but the gladiators, like athletes, avoided the description of their profession as a τέχνη.<sup>34</sup> In one inscription from Alabanda (no. 387), however, the deceased gladiator Polynices claims that he was not conquered by skill (τέχνη), but that a young body killed an old one.<sup>35</sup> The technical nature of gladiatorial combat, as well as the presence of the

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<sup>31</sup> As observed by Potter 1994, 231. According to Suetonius (*Claud.* 34.1), Claudius liked to watch *retiarum* die. But Suetonius presents this anecdote to demonstrate a personal quirk of the emperor. Pointing out this individual character trait, moreover, suggests that violent death in fact was not the typical or "normal" appeal of gladiatorial combat. Contra Plass 1995, 45. Cf. popular reaction against the especially bloody games of Drusus (*Tac. Ann.* 1.76.3) and against Pompey in sympathy with the elephants he was displaying at one of his shows (*Dio Cass.* 39.38.2-4 and *Pliny HN* 8.20-21).

<sup>32</sup> A left-handed gladiator was known as a *scaeva* (Latin) or σκευῶας (Greek). Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 70; Mosci Sassi s.v. "scaeva"; and Coleman 1996b. Commodus was a famous left-handed *secutor*: see *Dio Cass.* 73.19.2: τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ δὲ ξίφος τὸ ξύλινον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων καὶ πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέγα ἐφρόνει ὅτι ἦν ἐκαρίστερος: "he held his shield in his right hand and the wooden sword in in his left, and he took great pride in the fact that he was left-handed". See also *Sen. Controv.* 3. *praef.* 10: *quidam sic cum scaeva componi cupiunt quomodo alii timent*: "Some men thus desire to be placed with a left-hander, something which other men fear".

<sup>33</sup> As observed by Potter 1994, 231.

<sup>34</sup> .See Chapter 2.7. Attributes, above p. 127.

<sup>35</sup> No. 387: οὐχὶ τέχνη λειψθεῖς | ἀλλὰ νέος γεραρὸν σώμα κατειργάσατο. Cf. the hostile opinion of the third century Christian bishop St. Cyprian who nonetheless describes the profession as an art or practiced skill: *ad Don.* 7: *homo occiditur in hominis voluptatem, et ut quis possit occidere peritia est, usus est, ars est: scelus non tantum geritur sed docetur, quid potest inhumanius, quid acerbius dici? disciplina est ut perimere quis possit, et gloria est quod perimit*: "Man kills for the pleasure of man, and that one is able to kill is a skill, a practiced discipline, an art form: crime is not only carried out, it is taught. What can be more inhumane, what more violent? There is instruction to teach one to kill and glory when he does so". See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 304.

*summa rudis* to ensure that the rules of combat were followed, suggests that gladiatorial combat was a rule-bound contest.

Gladiatorial combat had two possible results: either one gladiator defeated his opponent or neither gladiator was able to defeat the other.<sup>36</sup> Serious or perhaps even mortal wounds were always possible, but despite the very real dangers, death was not a necessary or even common outcome.<sup>37</sup> Some gladiators could compile large numbers of victories. For example, some of the gladiators listed in no. 174 from Claudiopolis had as many as 65 victories, clearly life-time totals. There is no way to determine the frequency or rate of mortality among gladiators in the arena, but the evidence even suggests that there existed a sort of unwritten code followed by many gladiators: to fight boldly and courageously, certainly in hopes of victory, but not necessarily in order to kill an opponent with whom they may have lived and trained in the same *familia*. Victory was instead to be attained through superior courage, audacity, and martial ability. Some gladiatorial epitaphs carry the apparently odd boast that the gladiator had "hurt no one" (no. 99), or that he had "saved many in the stadia" (nos. 62, 102 and 150). To defeat an opponent while not killing or seriously wounding him (thus "to save" him) was a demonstration of extreme skill and ability to be boasted of and admired.<sup>38</sup> Thus Martial praises the gladiator Hermes as: *vincere nec ferire doctus*.<sup>39</sup> Those gladiators who did not adhere to the code but intentionally sought to kill their opponent rather than defeat him without inflicting serious injury were dangerous and had to be stopped. Stephanus explains that he killed his opponent because "he (his opponent) was filled with thoughtless bitterness" (no. 345), and Victor, who had been killed by a certain Pinnas, was avenged by his arms-mate Polyneikes

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<sup>36</sup> As noted by Meier 1881, 46.

<sup>37</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 318-325 argues that death in gladiatorial combat was relatively infrequent.

<sup>38</sup> See Chapter 2.7. Attributes, above p. 128-130.

<sup>39</sup> Mart. 5.24.7: "taught to conquer not to kill".

who then killed Pinna: ἔσχον ἐγὼ συνοπλᾶ Πολυνείκην, ὃς κτείνας Πίνναν ἐξεδίκησεν ἐμέ (no. 39).<sup>40</sup> Occasionally, the deceased gladiator names the opponent who killed him, probably not to commemorate his killer but perhaps to accuse him or to warn other gladiators. More explicit warnings from the grave to kill an opponent when the opportunity presented itself—lest given a second chance he kill you—does not suggest that gladiatorial combats were bloody and murderous; rather it implies that some gladiators deliberately chose not to kill an opponent.<sup>41</sup>

When no longer able to continue, either because of serious wounds or because of the loss of weapons or armour, a gladiator would signal his intention to submit by raising a finger, at which point the *summa rudis* would step in to stop the fight.<sup>42</sup> Martial refers to a *lex* of the arena requiring gladiators to fight *ad digitum*, that is, until one gladiator indicated submission.<sup>43</sup> By raising a finger in submission, the defeated gladiator conceded victory to his opponent and requested *missio* or ἀπόλυσις: permission to leave the arena and the fight, although it could also refer to release from the profession of gladiation.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> No. 278 from Ephesus also speaks of revenge and justice: [Ἐ]θνὸς Ἐνυάλιος, καὶ τις | κτανέοντα κατέκτα | τὸν κτείν[ο]ντ' ἐφόνευσ[α] | δίκην δὲ θεοῖς ἀπέτεισα: "The war god is impartial, who has killed the killer. I slew the killer and exacted justice for the gods". The *eds. prin.*, D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, suggest this inscription is gladiatorial (cf. *SEG* 1983, no. 889), although this is not certain. But if indeed gladiatorial, it provides another example of a sense of justice among gladiators with respect to their profession.

<sup>41</sup> See no. 178 from Amisus. Cf. *CIL* V 5933 = *ILS* 5115: the *secutor* Urbicus from Milan: *te moneo, ut quis quem vicerit occidat*: "I advise you that one should kill him whom one has conquered".

<sup>42</sup> See the combat depicted in no. 32 from Tatavevo for Epiptas: *IGBulg* III no. 1453 (pl. 207); Robert 1949a, no. 325 (pl. 18). Cf. the terra sigillata beaker from Colchester in which a *retarius* who has lost his weapons holds up a finger to submit before his opponent can strike (depicted in Wiedemann 1992, fig. 12). Similarly, the Zliten mosaic shows a *summa rudis* stopping a fight at the request of a defeated or wounded gladiator.

<sup>43</sup> *Mart. Spect.* 29 line 5: *lex erat, ad digitum posita concurrere palma*: "the law was: to fight until the finger was raised after the palm had been placed in the arena". Such a scene is depicted on the Zliten mosaic: one gladiator, who has lost his shield and been wounded in the leg, raises a finger to the *summa rudis* who points with his *rudis* and stops the fight. See also Quint. *Inst.* 8.5.20: *ad digitum pugnavi*, with Grodde 1997, 28-29.

<sup>44</sup> For *missio* / ἀπόλυσις as a release from the profession, see no. 155 from Cos: ἀπελύθη ἔξω λούδου and no. 322 from Thyateira: Εὐγραμμος· οὗτος ἀπελύθη ἔξω λούδου.

An inscription from Thasos records the results of gladiatorial combat: the victor is indicated: ἐνίκα, and the defeated gladiator: ἀπελύθη, *missus est*:

A. Ναίουος Σεουή[ρος]  
[νι(κήσας)] κα', στε(φάνωθεις) κα'· ἀπελύθη  
A. Ἄννιος Ῥεστιτοῦ[τος]  
[νι(κήσας) κ]α', [σ]τε(φάνωθεις) ιη' ἐνίκα.<sup>45</sup>

If neither gladiator was able to defeat the other, both could be released as *stantes missi*. For example, an inscription from Sicily for the *secutor* Flamma records his professional statistics: *pugnat XXXIII, vicit XXI, stans VIII, mis(sus) IIII*: he was victorious 21 times, was involved in 9 "no-decision" combats, and was defeated 4 times, for a total of 34 combats.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, an unknown gladiator from Gortyn lists one of his combats as *στάς*, that is, *stans*, a "no-decision" (no. 130).<sup>47</sup> The right to award *missio* ultimately belonged to the *editor* who provided the spectacle, although he often followed the wishes of the people, and perhaps the *summa rudis*, in making his decision.<sup>48</sup> Technically, *missio* was the release from the fight; if unsatisfied with his efforts, the *editor* and the people, like the *summa rudis*, could either compel the gladiator to resume fighting or even have him executed. This execution, however, was quick and dignified, especially compared to the torturous and degrading executions to which convicts and others condemned to death

<sup>45</sup> No. 57: "Aulus Naevus Severus, victorious 21 times, crowned 21 times. *Missus est*. Aulus Annus Restitutus, victorious 21(?) times, crowned 18 times. Victor." Cf. nos. 58, 59, 60, 61, 298, and 299.

<sup>46</sup> *CIL X 7297 = ILS 5113*. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 19. Greek gladiatorial epitaphs generally record only victories, and are silent concerning ties and defeats.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 120. The essential text is *Sen. Ep. 92.26: stans non potest mitti: aut vincatur oportet, aut vincat*.

<sup>48</sup> See *Juv. Sat. 3.36-37: munera nunc edunt et verso pollice vulgus quem iubet occidunt populariter*: "now they give *munera* and kill for popularity whom the people commands with their thumb turned" and *Mart. Spect. 29 line 3: missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est*: "*missio* was often sought by the people with a great shout" discussed by Meier 1881, 47 n. 1. Similarly the *retarius* Thelonicus from Salona was "freed with the *rudis* by the piety of the people": *pietate populi rude liberatus est* (no. 3). The acclamations recorded on the mosaic from Smirat in N. Africa show that the people were to be addressed as *domini*. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 419-421.

were subjected.<sup>49</sup> A commemorative inscription from Halicarnassus, reconstructed by Robert from three fragments (no. 409), states that the defeated gladiator was executed after his defeat rather than released:

Μορμύλων  
 Ζμάραγδος Ἀσιατικοῦ νικῆσας) ε' (στεφανωθείς) ε', νικῶ  
 Θράξ  
 Στρήνος Ἀσιατικοῦ ν. α' (στεφανωθείς) α', ἐσφάγη.<sup>50</sup>

A similar commemorative relief from Hierapolis (no. 343) depicts four gladiatorial combats with the results inscribed; one of the gladiators died, presumably from his wounds, but the other three were executed:

[- - - -]μον Βίκτωρ ἀπέθαναν (sic)  
 [- - - ?Με]λέαρο<ς>. ἐσφ(άγη)  
 [- - - -]νος. Ἰνγένης. ἐσφ(άγη)  
 [- - - -] Ἀντιοχιανός. ἐσφ(άγη).

In most cases, however, *missio* for a defeated gladiator was probably forthcoming.<sup>51</sup>

Gladiators, especially experienced gladiators, were valuable and popular. Different gladiatorial types had their own followers (such as the *parmularii* or *scutarii*) who would have vocally supported their favourites in their request for *missio* and so given the *editor* an opportunity to spare their lives and to save himself the expense resulting from the death of a gladiator.

Evidence from the Greek East with parallels in the West suggests that typical gladiatorial combats were not necessarily fatal, and that especially dangerous or life-

<sup>49</sup> Such a gladiatorial execution is depicted in a relief from Apollonia where a defeated gladiator is shown on his hands and knees while another gladiator points his sword into his back and prepares to lean on it: Patsch 1904, 157-158 no. 10 (fig. 125); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 77 no. 7; Golvin & Landes 1990, 193.

<sup>50</sup> "Myrmillo, Zmaragos, belonging to Asiaticus, victorious 5 times, crowned 5 times: victor. Thraex, Strenos, belonging to Asiaticus, victorious once, crowned once: throat cut."

<sup>51</sup> Suet. *Calig.* 30.3 relates a story about a group of *retiarii* matched against *secutores*. The *retiarii* fought poorly and surrendered, but when their death was ordered, one of them picked up his weapons and killed each *secutor* in turn. These *retiarii* may have surrendered so easily at first because they expected to be granted *missio* as a matter of course and so leave the arena alive.



threatening combats were rare and required the permission of imperial authorities—an *indulgentia*, expressed in Greek as φιλοδωρία, μεγαλοδωρία, or συνχώρησις. Various imperial regulations sought to limit the amounts spent on the spectacles, the duration, the number of participants (men and beasts), and the style of combat.<sup>52</sup> One form of gladiatorial combat attested in the East which probably required an imperial *indulgentia* are described as τοῖς ὀξεσι (σιδήροις), that is, combat fought with sharp weapons.<sup>53</sup> Two honorary inscriptions (nos. 128 and 288) indicate that imperial *indulgentia* had been granted for these spectacles. But the special qualification of sharpened weapons in some combats suggests that typical combats were instead fought with blunted ones.<sup>54</sup> According to Dio Cassius, Marcus Aurelius preferred gladiatorial combats fought with dull weapons, and his son Commodus himself fought occasionally with a wooden sword.<sup>55</sup> Although the emperor in Rome may produce, or even participate in, exceptional gladiatorial spectacles, there is no reason to suppose that combats with blunted weapons were unique.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 274-275; Ville, *La gladiature*, 209-211; Nollé 1992/3, 69-70; and Chapter 3.6. Financing.

<sup>53</sup> See nos. 128, 212, 259, 288, 321, and 444. Dio Cass. 57.13.1 reports that especially sharp weapons were referred to as δρουσιανά, so called after Tiberius' son Drusus who preferred gladiators' swords to be sharp. Petron. *Sat.* 45.6: *ferrum optimum daturus est, sine fuga, carnarium in medio ut amphitheater videat*. Nos. 128, 288, and 444 refer to a σιδηροκόντρα, a unique spectacle with iron spears. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 258-261.

<sup>54</sup> Suggested also by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 261.

<sup>55</sup> Dio Cass. 72.29: σιδήριον γὰρ οὐδέποτε οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ὀξὺ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμβλέσιν, ὥσπερ ἐσφαιρωμένοις, πάντες ἐμάχοντο: "For he never gave any of them a sharp weapon, but they all fought with weapons blunted as if rounded". Dio Cass. 73.19.2 re Commodus: τὴν μὲν ἀσπίδα ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ τὸ δὲ ξίφος τὸ ξύλινον ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων: "he had his shield on his right arm and the wooden sword in his left hand".

<sup>56</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 407, following Lafaye, 1594, suggests that the inspection of the weapons was a regular prelude to the gladiatorial show: cf. Suet. *Tit.* 9.3 and Dio Cass. 68.3.2. This custom, if indeed universal, does not require the weapons to actually be sharp.

Other gladiatorial combats in the East are qualified as ἀπότομος,<sup>57</sup> a term which has been explained as a Greek equivalent for the Latin *crudelis* or *crudelitas*.<sup>58</sup> The significance of the term, however, is uncertain, although the inscription from Gortyn (no. 128) indicates that gladiatorial combats described as ἀπότομος were more dangerous than typical gladiatorial combats. In this inscription, the highpriest Titus Flavius Iulius Volumnius Sabinus is honoured as the first and only Cretan to present a number of unique spectacles, all with imperial *indulgentia*, including gladiatorial combats, described thus:

τὰς δὲ τῶν μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ὧν ἐν ἐκάστη ζεύγη ἀπότομα τέσσαρα, τὰ δὲ ὑπόλοιπα ζεύγη τῷ ὀξεῖ σιδήρῳ<sup>59</sup>

J. Keil believed that combat ἀπότομος was to be fought to the death of one of the gladiators,<sup>60</sup> but Robert explained that there is little evidence to clarify the nature of combat ἀπότομος, and speculated that it simply implied a combat in which one of the gladiators must be defeated:

Quels étaient les règlements précis du combat d'un couple ἀπότομος? Il me paraît difficile de le déterminer; mais on est enclin à supposer que le combat ἀπότομος a été souvent, peut-être toujours, un combat dans lequel un des deux adversaires—homme ou bête dans la *venatio*—doit succomber, un combat *sine missione*, en tout cas un combat où il ne peut y avoir de *stantes missi* et où l'un des adversaires ne peut se déclarer vaincu avant de s'être écroulé sur le sol.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> See nos. 128, 218, 249, 286, 287, 313, and 444. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 259-261 and 282-283.

<sup>58</sup> *CIG* 2880; cf. Zingerle 1931, 81 and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 259-260. Cf. *CIL* X 6012 = *ILS* 5062 from Minturnae (AD 249) in which the editor boasts of his gladiatorial spectacles and "the ten bears he killed cruelly": *ursos quoque crudel(ite?) occid(it) X*. Note, however, that "crudel." could be expanded as *crudel(es)* and describe the character of the bears, that is, "he killed cruel bears".

<sup>59</sup> "And the four days of gladiatorial combats, of which on each day four pairs fought *apotomos*, and the last pair fought with the sharp steel". Cf. no. 444 from Sagalassus.

<sup>60</sup> J. Keil, *FiE* III 70, quoted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 260.

<sup>61</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 261.

Ville supported Robert's suggestion with an analysis of Martial *Spect.* 29 in which the poet describes a drawn out combat between two gladiators neither of whom were able defeat the other.<sup>62</sup>

Cum traheret Priscus, traheret certamina Verus, / esset et aequalis Mars utriusque diu, / missio saepe viris magno clamore petita est; / sed Caesar legi paruit ipse suae: / lex erat: ad digitum posita concurrere palma.<sup>63</sup>

The people cried for the *missio* of both gladiators, that is, that they be *stantes missi*, but Titus refused citing his own *lex* governing the spectacle (*paruit legi suae*) that required a fight *ad digitum*: until one gladiator submitted. Combat *sine missione* was not necessarily a fight to the death; rather it was a fight where one gladiator was compelled to defeat another: there had to be a clear victor. Such combats were certainly more dangerous and probably increased the chances of a fatality occurring in the arena. Because of the increased dangers involved, the chances of seeing a gladiator die in combat were much greater in gladiatorial combat *sine missione*, than they were in normal gladiatorial combat. Combat *sine missione* could be used metaphorically, as, for example, by Apuleius to describe the love-making of Lucius and Photis:

"Proeliare" inquit "et fortiter proeliare, nec enim tibi cedam nec terga vertam. Comminus in aspectum, si vir es, derige, et grassare naviter et occide morturus. Hodierna pugna non habet missionem".<sup>64</sup>

The danger of combat without *missio* is implicit, for Photis imagines that both combatants will perish. But the metaphor works in part because the combat imagined is rare and exceptional, and so highlights the encounter between Lucius and Photis as extraordinary.

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<sup>62</sup> Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 404-406.

<sup>63</sup> Mart. *Spect.* 29 lines 1-5: "While Priscus and Verus drew out their contest, and the military ability of both was long equal, *missio* was often sought by the people with a great shout; but Caesar himself obeyed his own law, which was to fight until the finger was raised after the palm had been placed in the arena".

<sup>64</sup> Apul. *Met.* 2.17: "'Fight,' she said, 'and fight bravely for I will not yield to you nor will I turn my back to you. Turn to meet me and attack energetically, if you are a man, and kill, you who are about to die. Today's fight does not have *missio*'".

The term ἀπότομος suggests cruelty or severity, but not necessarily mortality. Artemidorus, for example, analyzes a dream in which a man was carried about in a trough full of blood. In real life he became a gladiator and for years fought combats ἀποτόμοι. If such combats necessarily required the death of one of the defeated, it is unlikely that one could fight them for years and remain alive.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps a better translation for ἀπότομος is "extreme" rather than "severe", a translation which would capture not only the severity of combats fought thus, but also their uniqueness. Whatever their exact nature, combats ἀποτόμοι were extraordinary spectacles, probably especially dangerous and perhaps requiring imperial permission.

Other spectacles appear more obviously to be fatal and significantly also required imperial *indulgentia*. For example, in AD 240 the highpriest and macedoniarch Lucius Septimius Insteianus Alexander and his wife Aelia Alexandra the highpriestess presented:

κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν] ἡμέρας Γ, προσεισάγοντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν καὶ ἕτερον ζεύγος περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγωνιούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ συνχώρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Ἀντωνίου Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ.<sup>66</sup>

The expression περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς is reminiscent of a gladiatorial epitaph from Gortyn (no. 128) which proclaims that gladiators did not fight for the olive, but rather for their lives: οὐ κότινος τὸ θέμα, ψυχῆς δ' ἔνεκεν μαχόμεσθα. Also relevant is Philostratus' joke about the nervous gladiator: ἰδὼν μονόμαχον ἰδρῶτι ρέομενον καὶ δεδιότα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνα, οὗτος εἶπεν, ἀγωνιᾶς ὡς μελετᾶν μέλλων.<sup>67</sup> All gladiators,

<sup>65</sup> Artem. 5.58: ἀπεγράψατο εἰς μονομάχους καὶ πολλοὺς ἔτεσιν ἐπέκτευεν ἀπότομον πυγμῆν: "he enrolled among the gladiators and for many years fought combat *apotomos*".

<sup>66</sup> No. 66: "three days of hunts and gladiators, introducing as well each day of their *munera* a pair who will contend for their lives in addition to the normal two (pairs) by the indulgence of our lord, Marcus Antonius Gordianus pius, felix Augustus". Cf. 288 and 392 for other honorific, though more fragmentary, inscriptions indicating combat περὶ ψυχῆς.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Philostr. *VS* 1.25.9: "Seeing the gladiator soaked in sweat and fearing the contest for his life, he said, 'you are distressed as if about to give a speech'"; quoted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 255, cf. J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1971, no. 400.

according to Robert, could claim to contend for their lives, although in typical combat, one or both of the gladiators could seek and receive *missio*. But in gladiatorial combats specifically given "for one's life", such as at Beroia, one of the two combatants must succumb.<sup>68</sup>

The victorious gladiator was awarded a palm branch and probably a crown, the traditional tokens of victor for Greek athletes. Indeed, the scene depicting a victorious gladiator standing with a palm branch is common on gladiatorial tombstones and was referred to as "le gladiateur dans sa gloire" by Robert.<sup>69</sup> Money was also awarded to the triumphant gladiator, perhaps immediately following his victory. Suetonius recounts how Claudius liked to count aloud on his fingers with the rest of the people as the gladiators received their rewards.<sup>70</sup> Also, since many commemorative reliefs provide the name of the gladiator depicted, it is also probable that the herald announced his victory officially; thus the commemorative relief depicting a gladiator after his victory accompanied by an inscription with his name would have captured the moment of glory completely.

The place of death in "typical" gladiatorial combats—described as νενομισμένοι at Beroia to distinguish them from those extraordinary combats fought περι ψυχῆς—ought not be exaggerated.<sup>71</sup> Instead of desperate, bloody fights where death was a common occurrence, typical gladiatorial combats were displays of perfect martial *virtus*: skill with arms and extreme bravery in the quest for victory in ostentatious single combat.<sup>72</sup> Gladiatorial combat was a contest bound by rules understood and appreciated

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<sup>68</sup> J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1971, no. 400 p. 455 (re no. 66 from Beroia): "tout gladiateur risque sa vie, combat pour sa vie; mais les deux adversaires peuvent en réchapper; dans les paires gladiateurs engagés à Beroia dans 'le combat pour la vie', l'un des deux doit nécessairement succomber".

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter 2.1. Evidence, above p. 69; and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 47.

<sup>70</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 21. For the monetary rewards given to successful gladiators, see Chapter 2.8. Motivation.

<sup>71</sup> Contra Barton 1993 and Futrell 1997, who attempts to analyze gladiatorial combat as a form of human sacrifice. Wiedemann 1992 also over-emphasizes the place of death in gladiatorial combats.

<sup>72</sup> See the succinct but excellent comments by Potter 1994.

by the people and enforced by the presence of a referee, the *summa rudis*. An unwritten code adhered to by most gladiators compelled them to fight courageously and skillfully, but not to kill their opponent unless necessary. Furthermore, the fact that some combats were explicitly said to have been fought with sharp weapons (ὄξυς σίδηρος) suggests that the majority of gladiatorial bouts were fought with dull or at least blunted weapons. The risk of serious or mortal injury was still present, though much reduced when the combatants fought with blunt weapons. Galen, for example, while physician to a gladiatorial *familia* in Pergamum, claims to have saved all gladiators wounded in the games of five consecutive highpriests. Although he may simply be extolling (or exaggerating) his medical expertise, it may also be that the wounds were not serious or particularly life-threatening, especially if attended to by a competent physician.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, had the lives of gladiators been forfeit, there would be little reason to maintain physicians in association with the *familiae*. When he felt defeated, a gladiator could appeal for *missio* / ἀπόλυσις, which seems to have been forthcoming in most cases, especially for popular and expensive gladiators. Only in rare and restricted types of combats, the combat *sine missione* or ἀπότομος, was the possibility of death in combat inflated, though the precise nature of these particular displays is not understood and it seems likely that they were fought only until one gladiator raised his hand in submission: the fight *ad digitum*. The more dangerous combats may have been more popular, but that does not mean that the people necessarily desired or expected fatalities.<sup>74</sup> What the people did desire was a contest in arms, in which two expert fighters battled one another in an ostentatious display of martial bravery and excellence in a quest for victory.

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<sup>73</sup> Galen 13.600 (Kühn). Galen claims, however, that many died under the previous physician. See also Lucian *Tox.* 60: Toxaris survived his combat after long medical treatment: καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θεραπευθεὶς ἐπέζησε. Given the lack of antibiotics, it is unlikely that there was much even an especially competent physician could do about the most severe wounds; Galen's boast may not include those gladiators with serious wounds for whom there was nothing he could do.

<sup>74</sup> As observed by Potter 1994, 231.

In the great majority of cases, the highpriests in the East explicitly state that they have provided (or will provide) μονομαχίαι, gladiatorial combats; they do not say that they are killing gladiators. The exceptions are few. In no. 445 from Sagalassus, the *editor* claims, ἀρηιφίλων ὅτε φωτῶν τόσσην ἐν σταδίοις ἐστόρεσεν στρατίην, and to have killed (κατέκτανεν) bears, leopards and lions.<sup>75</sup> It is possible that this *editor* presented especially expensive spectacles, for he does indicate the great cost of his spectacles saying that he preferred his homeland to his possessions. The cost of these spectacles would have increased dramatically by including combats to the death. There is nothing to suggest that killing of gladiators was typical. In no. 10 from Tomis, the *editor* also refers to gladiators who died in the arena, saying that through their deaths, his own memory survives.<sup>76</sup> Purposely killing gladiators was a rare event which probably required imperial *indulgentia*. Those extraordinary occasions when gladiators were compelled to fight to the death should be understood to have been an especially generous display of magnificence on the part of the *munerarius* or highpriest. He thus honoured the people by demonstrating that they were worthy of such expediture. But the people were doubly honoured, for if imperial permission had been sought and received for such a show, it meant that the emperor too thought them worthy of the gift. A mosaic from Rome, now in Madrid, shows a munus in which a gladiator was killed (fig. 12). Accompanying the

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<sup>75</sup> No. 445, lines 3-4: "he laid low such an army of men dear to Ares". The verb στόρνυμι generally means "to spread"; there is no attested use of this verb to mean specifically: "to kill", although it was used in a similar sense metaphorically: for example, in Thuc. 6.18, Alcibiades says that the Athenians really ought to mount an expedition to Sicily, in part: ἵνα Πελοποννησίων τε στορέσωμεν τὸ φρόνημα: "so that we might lay low (στορέσωμεν) the spirit of the Peloponnesians." The Latin cognate of στόρνυμι, that is, *sterno*, *sternere*, while primarily meaning "to spread" or "to level" in the same way that στόρνυμι does, was also frequently used to describe what one (ideally) did to an enemy: that is, "to level him", "to lay him low", "to kill him". Cf., for example, *Aeneid* 10.310-311: in battle, Aeneas is said "to lay low the Latins": *primus turmas invasit agrestis / Aeneas omen pugnae stravitque Latinos*.

<sup>76</sup> No. 10, lines 17-20: Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες οἱ ἐμοὶ σταδιοῖσι δαμέντες μνήμην κἀν θανάτῳ τοῦτο φέρουσι γέρας: "the athletes of Ares who were killed for me in the stadium even in death they carry (my) memory and this gift of honour."

mosaic are the inscriptions: "Neco"; "Haec videmus"; and "Symmachi homo felix".<sup>77</sup> The first inscription was probably spoken by the *munerarius*, Symmachius. But the second two record the reactions of the people: first they witness the expensive display he provided, then they shout the chanted acclamation: *Symmachi homo felix*. Such a show was so remarkable (and so worthy of both acclaim and a special, commemorating mosaic) because of its rarity. In general, the crowd would have seen plenty of death in the associated wild beast hunts and executions. In providing *μονομαχία*, the highpriests were providing *combats*; gladiators could certainly die during or as a result of these combats, but combats specifically to the death were the exception, not the rule.

The term "gladiator" is sometimes used by both ancient and modern sources with imprecision to refer to any combatant in the arena.<sup>78</sup> True gladiators were highly-trained and expensive professionals who ideally fought single combats with extreme skill and bravery in a demonstration of perfect martial virtues. They fought with honour, for honour, in an attempt to win ostentatious victory. If defeated and required to die, they accepted death with the same resolute bravery. True gladiators, therefore, cannot be confused with convicts and other *noxii* condemned to die often inventive and spectacularly horrible deaths in the arena. Furthermore, the body of a dead gladiator was permitted proper burial, whereas the corpses of the *noxii* were not.<sup>79</sup>

True gladiatorial combats appear to have more in common with athletics, especially the combat sports, wrestling, boxing, and the *pancratium*, than they may at first appear to have had. Like gladiators, for example, boxers also fought *ad digitum*, that is

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<sup>77</sup> *CIL* VI 10205 = *ILS* 5140 = *EAOR* I no. 114. Cf. Oliver 1957; Dunbabin 1978, 214; and Brown 1992, 204-205. Cf. *CIL* X 6012 = *ILS* 5062 where the editor claims to have killed (*occidit*) the gladiators who died and also to have killed (*occidit*) bears.

<sup>78</sup> See Ville 1960, 283; and Kyle 1998, 78-79.

<sup>79</sup> See esp. Kyle 1998, chapter 5 "Disposal from Roman Arenas: Some Rituals and Options" 155-183. For gladiatorial burial, see Chapter 2.1. Evidence.



until one contestant signaled submission with a raised finger.<sup>80</sup> In his discussion of these combat sports, however, M. Poliakoff specifically excluded gladiation from his study, saying that it does not satisfy his definition of sport and that "a gladiator fighting to kill or disable his opponent and save himself in any manner possible is not participating in a sport but in a form of warfare for spectators".<sup>81</sup> He defines "sport" as:

activity in which a person physically competes against another in a contest with established regulations and procedures, with the immediate object of succeeding in that contest under criteria for determining victory that are different from those that mark success in everyday life.<sup>82</sup>

True gladiatorial combats, however, were physical contests fought according to established rules and expectations with the intention of defeating an opponent and claiming victory. Death, always possible in gladiatorial combat, was also a potential result of traditional Greek combat sports: one who died for victory rather than concede defeat was celebrated and glorified.<sup>83</sup> In many ways, gladiation fits this definition of "sport". Indeed, given the paramilitary ideology expressed by many Greek athletes, the gladiator even appears a paradigm of the Greek agonistic spirit.<sup>84</sup> But this is not to suggest that Roman gladiatorial combats were necessarily presented or thought of as a Greek athletic *agon*. Clearly they were not. There is little evidence that gladiatorial combats were presented in conjunction with traditional Greek agonistic festivals.<sup>85</sup> Instead, the athletic

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<sup>80</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 80 with fig. 71.

<sup>81</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 7. Harris 1972, likewise excludes gladiation from his discussion of Greek and Roman sport.

<sup>82</sup> Poliakoff 1987, 7.

<sup>83</sup> See Brophy 1978.

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 2. The Greek Gladiator, especially 2.7. "Attributes". Pearson 1973, 107-112 likens gladiatorial combat to "modern style mass sport" and Sansone 1988, 61-62, 116-117 considers gladiation an intensified form of sport.

<sup>85</sup> Most inscriptions indicate that gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were presented apart from other spectacles in celebrations of the imperial cult. See below Chapter 4.5. Context.

values present in gladiation helped to locate this Roman cultural element within a Greek ideological context.

#### 4.2. ASSOCIATED SPECTACLES

As in the West, gladiatorial combats were typically presented in association with wild beast hunts (*venationes*), although these spectacles were known in the East by the Greek words, κυνηγέσια, or alternatively, κυνηγέσιον, κυνήγια, κυνήγιον or θηριομαχία.<sup>86</sup> Κυνηγέσια (along with its cognates), the most frequently attested term, were probably wild beast hunts (*venationes*), in which κυνηγοί (*venatores*) wearing only a tunic and armed with a spear hunted a variety of beasts, while θηριομαχία would have comprised fights or combats against wild beasts.<sup>87</sup> An inscription from Oenoanda (no. 422) which dates to AD 115 draws a clear distinction between κυνηγέσια and θηριομαχία: ἐπιτελεῖ κυνηγέσια καὶ θηριομαχίας καὶ μονομαχίας. Wild beast hunts could also be described according to their venue: θεατροκυνηγέσια (no. 128 from Gortyn),<sup>88</sup> or according to the weapons to be employed: σιδηροκόντρα (nos. 128 and 444) and κοντροκυνηγέσια (no. 313), beast hunts probably conducted with the κοντός, a long spear or pike.<sup>89</sup> Other related spectacles which occasionally accompanied gladiatorial

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<sup>86</sup> No. 419 from Pinara and no. 429 from Xanthus add προκυνήγια as a distinct type of spectacle. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 310, notes that the precise nature of this spectacle is uncertain.

<sup>87</sup> See Artem. 5.49, below p. 262-263. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 311, suggests that a θηριομαχία was a "combat contre les bêtes". The spear depicted in no. 101 from Dion has a cross-bar, presumably to prevent the spear head from penetrating too deeply. Cf. the *vara* or pic used in Spanish bull-fighting which has a metal ring to prevent deep penetration: depicted in Hemingway, 1932, 336.

<sup>88</sup> Θεατροκυνηγέσια suggests wild beast hunts in the theatre, although amphitheatre may be meant. According to Harrison 1993, 128 there is an amphitheatre in Gortyn, as yet unpublished, but see Golvin 1988, 237. Cf. Dio Cass. 43.22.3 for Caesar's θέατρον κυνηγετικόν in 46 BC; was this an amphitheatre? Dio uses the same expression to refer to elliptical amphitheatres, such as that of Statilius Taurus (51.23.1) and the Colosseum (71.25.2): see Welch 1991, 276.

<sup>89</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 324: "nous indiquent que l'épieu jouait un rôle essentiel dans l'armement et la tactique des chasseurs". Zingerle 1931, 82-83 also suggests a possible derivation from κέντρον, Latin *stimulus*; cf. *CIL X* 1074 from Pompeii for "taurocentas". Lucian *Tox.* 59 (quoted below) describes a wild beast fight in which the animals were brought down by pikes: θηρία κατακοντιζόμενα.

combats include the ταυροκαθαψία,<sup>90</sup> and less commonly, the ταυρομαχία,<sup>91</sup> and the ταυροβολία.<sup>92</sup>

Exotic animals were especially expensive and so provided a rare and magnificent spectacle for the local people.<sup>93</sup> For example, the highpriest Q. Popilius Pytho from Beroia presented θηριομαχίαι with both local and exotic animals (no. 67): δόντα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζώων ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, while other *editores* specify Libyan animals.<sup>94</sup> In a letter incorrectly attributed to the emperor Julian, the Argives complain that the Corinthians were buying bears and panthers (ἄρκτους καὶ καρδάλεις ὠνοῦνται) for presentation in their wild beast hunts.<sup>95</sup> Some animals seem to have been trained to perform tricks, such as the "bear-taming" depicted on numerous reliefs,<sup>96</sup> or "circus acts" in which trainers fought or jumped over bears or bulls also depicted on commemorative reliefs.<sup>97</sup> While the display of wild beasts at large spectacles was not unknown in Greek history,<sup>98</sup> there is no evidence that these animals were killed for any reason other than ritual sacrifice until the advent of Roman venation during the imperial

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<sup>90</sup> For the *taurokathapsia*, see nos. 47, 108, 170, 176, 194, 213, 263, and 357. For description, see Plin. *HN* 8.182; Suet. *Claud.* 21.7; Dio Cass. 61.9; Liermann 1889, 27-35; and Robert 1982b, 148-156.

<sup>91</sup> For the *tauromachia*, see nos. 429 and 448.

<sup>92</sup> For the *taurobolium* (or *taurobolia*), see nos. 419. For analysis, see especially Duthoy 1969; and most recently, McLynn 1996.

<sup>93</sup> See Chapter 3.6. Financing.

<sup>94</sup> See nos. 247, 248, 249.

<sup>95</sup> Ps.-Julian, *Ep.* 198 (Bidez) 409A, discussed in Chapter 3. Administration, above p. 174 and 237.

<sup>96</sup> For depictions and discussion, see Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 90-92 no. 27 (pl. 24); Robert 1950, 71-72 no. 340 (pl. 26.2); Robert 1982a, 251-253 (fig. 11); and Robert 1982b, 157-162.

<sup>97</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 326-327; and Robert 1950, 57-60. For discussion of similar depictions elsewhere, see *BE* 1977, no. 431. No. 346 from Hierapolis was erected in remembrance of a θηρότροφος, an animal trainer.

<sup>98</sup> Consider the Grand Procession staged by Ptolemy Philadelphus in Alexandria at the second Ptolemaieia in 275/4 BC: see Ath. 197c-203B who cites Callixeinus. For discussion, see Rice 1983; Foertmeyer 1988; Coleman 1996a.

period.<sup>99</sup> Although some animals performed or were simply displayed because they were exotic, most animals presented at κυνήγεσια during the Roman period were hunted and killed by professional κυνηγοί, or pitted against other animals in fights to the death.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, although the *editor* himself took no direct part in the killing, he nevertheless could boast that *he* killed the beasts as well as any gladiators who died.<sup>101</sup>

Not only were animals killed by professional hunters or by other animals, but the wild beasts, such as bears, bulls, and big cats, were also set against bound human victims, a scene depicted in several reliefs from the East.<sup>102</sup> The condemned was often tied to a post, a spectacle even described by Artemidorus as a familiar dream:

Ἔδοξέ τις μεταμορφωθείς ἀρκτόχειρ γεγονέναι. καταδικασθεὶς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐθηριομάχησε καὶ προσδεθεὶς ξύλῳ ἐβρώθη ὑπὸ ἄρκτου.<sup>103</sup>

The execution of criminals in this way appears to have been commonly associated with the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts. This follows the general pattern established in the West for *munera* during the imperial period: *venationes* in the morning,

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<sup>99</sup> A passage from Polybius quoted by Athenaeus reports that Antiochus IV Epiphanes had presented μονομαχίαι καὶ κυνηγέσια at Daphne in 166 BC. Livy, however, says nothing about the presentation of wild beasts by Antiochus. Furthermore, wild beast hunts were not associated with gladiatorial games in Rome itself until the late republic or early empire. See Polyb. 30.25.1-26.1 (quoted by Ath. 5.194c-195f; cf. Diod. Sic. 31.16; Val. Max. 2.7.13) and Livy 41.20.10-13, discussed in Chapter 1.2. Greek Monomachia. Cf. Günther 1989.

<sup>100</sup> Kyle 1998, 189-194 has suggested that the animals were probably butchered and the meat distributed to the people, perhaps by means of scattered "lottery" tickets. Cf. Mart. 8.78: *nunc dat spectatas tessera larga feras*: "now a bounteous ticket assigns the animals which were seen in the arena". Dead animals could also be used to feed other animals, such as lions and other carnivores.

<sup>101</sup> See nos. 128, 247, 248, 249, and 445. For example, no. 247: ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφεσῶν κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐν αἷς καὶ ἀνεῖλε ζῆα Λιβυκὰ εἰκοσιπέντε: "the highpriest of Asia of the temples in Ephesus for five days in which he killed twenty-five Libyan animals". Cf. *CIL X 6012 = ILS 5062: ursos quoque crudel. occid(it) X*, discussed above. In no. 445 from Sagalassus, the *editor* claims that he "laid low" gladiators (called poetically "the men dear to Ares"), and "killed" bears, leopards, and lions: see above p. 257.

<sup>102</sup> For example, see Robert 1982a, 246-253 with plates; cf. Roueché 1993, 72 no. 41 (pl. 11).

<sup>103</sup> Artem. 5.49: "One dreamed that his hands were transformed into bear paws. Sentenced to death, he fought with wild beasts, and he was bound to a post and devoured by a bear". Not all condemned were bound, for Germanicus, the Christian martyr at Smyrna is said to have pulled the beast on top of himself to die more quickly: see *Mart. Polycarpi* 3.2.

executions at mid-day, and gladiatorial combats in the afternoon.<sup>104</sup> For example, in his fictional account of the gladiatorial combat at Amastris, Lucian describes what he and Sisinnus saw in the theatre before the gladiators were introduced:

καὶ καθίσαντες ἐωρῶμεν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον θηρία κατακοντιζόμενα καὶ ὑπὸ κυνῶν διωκόμενα καὶ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους δεδεμένους ἀφιέμενα, κακούργους τινάς, ὡς εἰκάζομεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον οἱ μονομάχοι.<sup>105</sup>

Similarly, Apuleius describes the *munus* at Corinth which began with pyrrhic dancers and a mythological re-enactment of the Judgment of Paris, followed by the "fatal charade" involving a woman condemned to be sexually assaulted by Lucius in the form of an ass and then attacked by wild beasts.<sup>106</sup> We may presume that gladiatorial combats were to follow this spectacle since Thiasus, the *editor*, had made a long journey to Thessaly in order to engage both beasts and famous gladiators. Apuleius, however, says nothing of the subsequent gladiatorial combats because Lucius fled the spectacle before he was brought into the theatre.

As discussed above, the *lanistae* and priests of the imperial cult who owned gladiatorial families may have maintained not only gladiators and staff to support them, but also *damnati* (καταδίκαι) to be executed at the games.<sup>107</sup> The names and crimes of the more infamous convicts were announced to the assembled people, either vocally by a herald or by a written placard carried by the convict himself (discussed above), and the people could demand the execution of the condemned or presumably his release. For

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<sup>104</sup> See Ville, *La gladiature*, 391-393; Weidemann 1992, 46; and Clavel-Lévêque 1984a, 71. Cf. Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation, above p. 40.

<sup>105</sup> Lucian *Tox.* 59: "Having taken our seats, we first saw wild beasts brought down with spears and hunted by dogs, and set against men in chains, evil-doers, we reasoned. When in came the gladiators..."

<sup>106</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.34-35. Plut. *Mor.* 554B describes a scene in which those condemned to die first dance a pyrriche before they were stabbed and set aflame. For discussion of similar executions, see Coleman 1990; Potter 1993. Cf. MacMullen 1986 for the increasing violence and cruelty of Roman punishments.

<sup>107</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization; and Chapter 3.6. Financing.

example, Apuleius states that following the recreation of the Judgment of Paris at the *mumus* in Corinth a soldier emerged to introduce the condemned woman according to the request of the people: *iam populo postulante*.<sup>108</sup> Similarly, the governor interrogating Polycarp commanded him to address the assembled people and defend himself, and when he refused, threatened him with beasts and fire. Had Polycarp been able (or desired) to convince them, the people could presumably have requested his release.<sup>109</sup> After his interrogation failed to convince Polycarp to sacrifice to the emperor, the governor ordered his herald to announce three times that Polycarp had confessed that he was a Christian: Πολύκαρπος ὁμολόγησεν ἑαυτὸν Χριστιανὸν εἶναι.<sup>110</sup> This incited the mob first to call on the asiarch Philip to turn a lion on Polycarp, and when he declined, to demand that Polycarp be incinerated, which he then was.<sup>111</sup> While many commemorative reliefs from the East depict the execution of convicts, inscriptions advertising gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts or honouring the *editor* of such spectacles do not mention that the execution of criminals was part of the presentation. But since the condemned were often sentenced to be killed by beasts (that is, *damnati ad bestias*), it may be that such executions were regularly a part of the *κυνηγέσια* / *venatio*. Thus in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, the asiarch Philip said that he was unable to turn a lion against Polycarp "because the *κυνηγέσια* was already complete": ὁ δὲ ἔφη μὴ εἶναι ἔξὸν αὐτῷ ἐπειδὴ πεπληρώκει τὰ *κυνηγέσια*. Furthermore, the participation of the people in these

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<sup>108</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.34.

<sup>109</sup> As suggested by Potter 1996, at 157. Cf. Dig. 48.19.31 Modestinus; Cic. *Fam.* 7.1.3; Pliny *HN* 8.21; and Tac. *Ann.* 15.44.5 for other examples of the crowd acting for mercy.

<sup>110</sup> *Mart. Polycarpi* 12.1. Cf. the Christian martyr Attalus who carried a placard in the arena in Lyon explaining his status as a Christian to the mob; as with Polycarp, news of this confession enraged the people: See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.43, discussed above p. 242. Attalus was executed *ad bestias* "to please the crowd" (τῷ ὄχλῳ χαριζόμενος) even though he was a Roman citizen and so had the right to be executed by decapitation: see Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* 5.1.50.

<sup>111</sup> *Mart. Polycarpi* 12.2-3.

executions actively involved them in the visible exercise of Roman justice: the emperor was rule-enforcer and the audience as witnesses and participants was its sanctioner.<sup>112</sup>

The spectacles were not simply to be seen, but experienced also through sounds and even smells. Music and the voice of the herald have already been discussed in association with gladiatorial combats, although musicians probably also performed in the time before and between combats. Also heard were the voices of the spectators shouting *acclamationes* in favour (or in criticism) of the *editor* and the authorities, condemning or supporting a prisoner, and encouraging their favorite gladiator while deriding his opponent. The gladiatorial mosaic from Rome, now in Madrid (fig. 12, discussed above), includes the acclamation for the *editor*, "Symmachi homo felix!", presumably a commemoration of the crowd's acclaim chanted on the day of the *mumus*.<sup>113</sup> Augustine's friend, Alypius, was thrilled and overcome by the roar of the crowd reacting to some incident in the fights.<sup>114</sup> The animals, especially lions and other big cats, may have been heard in the arena, but it is not probable that the voices of the gladiators were heard during combat because their helmets covered their mouths. It is possible that gladiators spoke before the combat perhaps addressing the *editor* and the people, as the gladiators did famously Claudius,<sup>115</sup> or issuing challenges to their opponent. It is tempting to think of the *provocator* as a gladiator who issued a challenge to his opponent before combat, but there is little evidence for this supposition.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Kyle 1998, 54: "The state as rule-enforcer cooperated with the audience as sanctioners by their participation: authoritarian power was approved by mass disapproval of the breaking of social norms". Slater 1995a notes that in antiquity justice had to be seen to be done. Cf. *FIRA* 2.557: *spectante populo*, cited by Slater 1995a, 146.

<sup>113</sup> *CIL* VI 10205 = *ILS* 5140 = *EAOR* I no. 114.

<sup>114</sup> August. *Conf.* 6.8.

<sup>115</sup> Suet. *Claud.* 21.12: *sed cum proclamantibus naumachiaris Ave Imperator, morituri te salutant! respondisset "Aut non"*. Leon 1939 suggests that this particular salutation was unique.

<sup>116</sup> See Chapter 2.4. Iconography, above p. 93-94. Agroikos describes himself as πυγμητι προβοκάτορα: a *provocator* in battle (no. 11).

Smells were also important. An inscription from Philippi describes how either the arena or the cavea was sprinkled with saffron (no. 97), perhaps as saffron-scented water or even saffron-scented wine, as Apuleius describes.<sup>117</sup> An inscription from Mylasa suggests that roses were sprinkled at gladiatorial spectacles (no. 392), a suggestion confirmed by a passage from Ps.-Lucian's *The Ass* in which Lucius, in the form of an ass, is transformed into human form after eating some roses in the theatre.<sup>118</sup> Not all smells at such spectacles were pleasant, however, for the odor of blood, especially if there were many beasts killed or multiple executions *ad bestias*, would carry through the theatre or stadium, as would the pungent smell of burning corpses.<sup>119</sup>

#### 4.3. LOCATION

The typical venue for the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the West was the amphitheatre, an oval—or more properly elliptical—building-form which first appeared in the early first century in Campania, but spread throughout the western provinces and along the frontiers during the imperial period.<sup>120</sup> The characteristic oblong

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<sup>117</sup> Ville, *La gladiature*, 428-429. Apul. Met. 10.34: *tunc de summo montis cacumine per quamdam latentem fistulam in excelsum prorumpit vino crocus diluta ... iamque tota suave fragrante cavea*: "Then from the top of the hill through a hidden pipe burst saffron dissolved in wine into a high spout ... and the whole cavea was filled with the sweet smell". Lucretius vividly described the exotic smells of the theatre: 2.416-417: *cum scena croco Cilici perfusa recens est / araque Panchaeos exalat propter odores*: "when the stage is freshly sprinkled with Cilician saffron and the nearby altar breathes the perfumes of the Orient".

<sup>118</sup> Ps.-Lucian *The Ass* 53-54: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τινος ἄνθη φέροντος παροδεύοντος, ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθεσιν ὄρω καὶ ῥόδων χλωρῶν φύλλα: "in this place is a person walking about carrying roses, among the other flowers I saw the petals of fresh roses" (quoted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 176 n. 6). According to Robert, this passage indicates that roses were sold or distributed in the theatre.

<sup>119</sup> Polycarp's burning flesh was said to have the sweet smell of baking bread or incense: see *Mart Polycarpi* 15.2: καὶ ἦν μέσον οὐχ ὡς σὰρξ καιομένη ἀλλ' ὡς ἄρτος ὀπτάμενος ἢ ὡς χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἐν καμίνῳ πυρούμενος. καὶ γὰρ εὐωδίας τοσαύτης ἀντελαβόμεθα ὡς λιβανατοῦ πνέοντος ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τιμίων ἀρωμάτων: "And he was in the middle (of the flames) not as burning flesh but as baking bread or as gold and silver being smelted in a furnace. And we perceived such a pleasant fragrance as if of burning incense or of some other costly perfume".

<sup>120</sup> The development and diffusion of the amphitheatre building type has received much recent scholarly attention. See: Benario 1980; Hönl & Henze 1981; Smith 1984; Golvin 1988; Domergue *et al.* 1990; Golvin & Landes 1990; Welch 1991; Bomgardner 1991; Bomgardner 1993; Wilson Jones 1993;



shape of the amphitheatre may have evolved from the shape of the forum at Rome and other Italian cities, the original site for the presentation of most gladiatorial combats in Roman Italy.<sup>121</sup> In the Greek East, however, there are comparatively few amphitheatres, probably because most Greek cities already had permanent venues suitable for large scale public spectacles, specifically the theatre and the stadium.<sup>122</sup> In order to stage gladiatorial combats and especially wild beast hunts safely in these structures, barriers separating the spectators from the spectacle were required. The necessary modifications are evident in many theatres and stadia, but because of the number of buildings and sites, it is impractical to examine them all. Instead, the general modifications themselves and the reasons for them will be examined.

Although gladiatorial combat was fought with armour and weapons and so was naturally dangerous, the gladiators themselves were proud and highly disciplined professionals who fought under the technical supervision of a *summa rudis* to defeat their opponent, though not necessarily to kill him. They used their weapons in close proximity and did not throw them, a fact which limited the possibility of random injuries occurring among the spectators.<sup>123</sup> There is, in fact, no indication that the gladiators represented any intentional threat to the spectators, but in order to prevent the combatants from unintentionally moving too close to the people, it was necessary to separate the spectators

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Welch 1994; and Futrell 1997. For military amphitheatres along the frontiers, see especially, Le Roux 1990.

<sup>121</sup> See Golvin 1988, 20 and 59; Welch 1994; Vitruvius 5.1.1-2 suggests that the Italian forum should be built at a 3:2 ratio to accommodate spectacles and seating.

<sup>122</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 33-35; Golvin 1988, 237-249; and Golvin & Landes 1990, 204-206. Cf. Weiss 1999 for stadia and amphitheatres in Palestine.

<sup>123</sup> It is unlikely that the *retiarius* would have thrown his trident, since one inaccurate throw would have left him without his most valuable weapon; see Scobie 1988, 212. Cf. Berger & Joos 1971, 21-25 for a (rare) gladiator fighting with a lance; again, he probably did not throw it. Lafaye, 1589; Schneider, 777; and Scobie 1988, 239 n. 127 note that a gladiator known as a *sagittarius* (bow man) is not widely attested. Dio Cass. 73.20.2 reports that the people were afraid to attend Commodus' shows because a rumour spread that the emperor was intending to shoot spectators in imitation of Heracles and the Stymphalian birds. Unusual enough to be mentioned by Dio, such a danger was probably not typical.

from the gladiators by means of a barrier. Because of the innocuous nature of the traditional events held in the theatre and stadium, that is drama and athletic events, the seats in both structures in the pre-Roman period typically came down to the orchestra or playing field without any sort of barrier.<sup>124</sup> In these structures, the separation required for the presentation of gladiatorial combats may have been initially achieved by means of a temporary barricade, either free-standing or set into prepared post holes. But it may also have been that this separation was achieved by simply leaving the first several rows of seats unoccupied when gladiatorial combats were presented. Indeed, a passage from Dio Chrysostom indicates that this may have been the case during the mid-first century in the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens: Dio is outraged that "often one (of the gladiators) is slaughtered among the very seats where the hierophant and other priests must sit".<sup>125</sup> Subsequent renovations to both theatres and stadia often took the requirements of gladiatorial combat (and wild beast hunts, see below) into account and set the seating above the orchestra or playing field on a short (typically 2 m) podium wall or behind a short parapet encircling the orchestra. The removal of the first several rows of seats in order to form a podium had the added benefit of increasing the size of the orchestra-arena. Evidence for such reconstruction of theatres across the Greek East is significant and has been discussed by a number of scholars, including P. Collart, L. Robert, M. Bieber, E. Gebhard, J.-C. Golvin, J.-C. Moretti, and E. Bouley, among others.<sup>126</sup> Less attention has been paid to renovations made to stadia although gladiatorial combats were probably

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<sup>124</sup> Roman theatres were equipped with podia in part to physically separate the spectators from the performers: see Edmondson 1996, 83.

<sup>125</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121: ὥστε πολλάκις ἐν αὐτοῖς τινα σφάττεσθαι τοῖς θρόνοις, οὐ τὸν ἱεροφάντην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱερεῖς ἀνάγκη καθίζειν. Dio here refers to the *proedria* thrones reserved for priests and civic officials. Although Dio does not indicate whether the priests were sitting in their seats at the time, it is unlikely that they were, for surely Dio's point would have been that much stronger had a wounded gladiator splattered blood in the lap of a priest.

<sup>126</sup> See Collart 1928; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 33-35; Bieber 1961, 197-201; Gebhard 1975; Golvin 1988, 237-249; Moretti 1992; and Bouley 1996.

presented there as well (see below). The seats of the stadia at both Aphrodisias and at Cibyra, for example, were separated from the playing field by short podia.<sup>127</sup> The stadium at Caesarea Maritima located along the coast south of the harbour has been identified as Herod's "amphitheatre" described by Josephus.<sup>128</sup> The seats here were raised above the arena on a podium wall about 1.7 m high, comparable to the height of podia walls in other converted theatres and stadia in the Greek East and sufficient to protect the spectators from the gladiatorial combats.

The greatest threat to the security of spectators came not from gladiators, but from the wild beasts introduced in the *κυνηγέσια* and executions *ad bestias*. Often the animals introduced into the arena had been starved to intensify their ferocity, especially if they were to be set against condemned men.<sup>129</sup> The behavior of such terrified beasts was unpredictable and there was no guarantee that they would necessarily restrict themselves to the intended victims. Bears and big cats are able to climb walls, leopards are able to leap as much as 13 feet (almost 4 m),<sup>130</sup> and a bull could break down a stone parapet or wooden fence. The measures employed to protect spectators from accidental injuries during gladiatorial combat, therefore, were insufficient to protect them from savage wild beasts. The presentation of wild beast hunts required additional precautions, specifically a barrier sturdy enough to restrain a bull and at least 4 m high to contain large cats. Ideally, this barrier was composed partially of heavy netting in order to facilitate observation of the spectacle.<sup>131</sup> The Colosseum, for example, was fitted with a series of stone sockets

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<sup>127</sup> Golvin 1988, 243 n. 46. The podium in the stadium at Aphrodisias was 1.6 m high: see Welch 1998a, 550.

<sup>128</sup> Porath 1995; and Humphrey 1996. Cf. Joseph. *BJ* 1.21.8. Similarly, the "stadium-amphitheatre" at Laodiceia on the Lycus (*JGR* IV 861: τὸ τε στάδιον] ἀνφιθέατρον, cf. *JGR* IV 845) was actually a stadium, as was the "amphitheatre" which Strabo (14.639) describes at Nysa. See Golvin 1988, 243; and now Welch 1998a, 563-565.

<sup>129</sup> Jennison 1937, 169.

<sup>130</sup> Jennison 1937, 155-165.

<sup>131</sup> See especially Scobie 1988, 209-213.

4.75 m apart and 4 m from the podium wall around the arena. Posts could be inserted into these sockets to support a fence, probably about 4 m high.<sup>132</sup> Such a temporary barrier could readily be raised before the wild beasts were introduced and removed before the gladiatorial combats were to take place. The excavations of several theatres in the East have revealed that similar modifications were made during the imperial period to accommodate the presentation of wild beasts. In addition to elevating the seats on a 2 m high podium and thus separating the people from the orchestra, many theatres during the imperial period were renovated so that a temporary post and net system could be installed around the orchestra either on top of the podium or simply in front of the seats.<sup>133</sup> The theatre at Stobi, for example, was built with a low podium (1.6 m high) which was equipped with post holes to accommodate such a protective system (fig. 16).<sup>134</sup> In other theatres, such as the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens, the orchestra was surrounded by a low parapet wall with protection against dangerous beasts offered by the erection of temporary fencing behind the *proedria* thrones.<sup>135</sup> The theatre at Eretria had no podium, but a series of large post holes have been found in front of the first row of seats presumably for the erection of a temporary fence.<sup>136</sup> In later renovations to some theatres, such as those of Corinth or Stobi, the net fence on top of the podium wall was replaced with a permanent masonry parapet as much as 2 m high to bring the total height of the wall to almost 4 m (Stobi: fig. 17).<sup>137</sup> The stadium at Aphrodisias has also revealed the existence of drilled holes in the crown molding of the podium which would have been used

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<sup>132</sup> Scobie 1988, 210-211, with earlier bibliography. Scobie also suggests that archers could have patrolled the space between the podium and the temporary wall to stop any beast which may escape.

<sup>133</sup> See especially Gebhard 1975; Gebhard 1981; and Golvin 1988, 237-249.

<sup>134</sup> Gebhard 1975. For similar systems at Philippopolis, see Bouley 1996; and at Philippi, see Collart 1928; and Collart 1937, 371-388.

<sup>135</sup> Gebhard 1975, 47 n. 21 and 60-61.

<sup>136</sup> See Fiechter 1937, 27.

<sup>137</sup> Noted by Gebhard 1975, 61-62.

to anchor guy ropes supporting a temporary net fence.<sup>138</sup> Additionally, many such dual-purpose theatres and stadia were equipped with rooms under the stage building or under the seating which opened into the orchestra-arena and permitted the safe introduction of wild beasts.<sup>139</sup>

Much of our evidence indicates that gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were presented in the theatres. Dio Chrysostom's outrage against the Athenians for holding these events in the Theatre of Dionysus echoed earlier statements by the sophist Apollonius, according to Philostratus.<sup>140</sup> Similarly, Apuleius set the *munus* of Thiasus in the theatre at Corinth and Lucian set his gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the theatre at Amastris.<sup>141</sup> Rough, incised depictions of gladiators have been found on seats of the theatre at Aphrodisias suggesting that these events took place there,<sup>142</sup> and several inscriptions and reliefs have been found in or near the ruins of the theatres across the East.<sup>143</sup> Few inscriptions, however, explicitly state the venue for the presentation of these spectacles. An inscription on a statue base found in the ruins of the theatre at Ephesus

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<sup>138</sup> Welch 1998a, 559 and see also her figs. 11 and 12. Few other stadia have been properly excavated and published so it is impossible to determine whether the stadium at Aphrodisias is typical or unique.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Golvin 1988, 239-242 and 319-320. The stadium at Aphrodisias was similarly equipped with a small room under the podium in Wedge 10, that is, in the centre of the north side of the stadium. See Welch 1998a, 558.

<sup>140</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121-122; Philostr. *VA* 22; Lucian *Demonax* 57. Cf. Chapter 3. Administration, above p. 173.

<sup>141</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10. 29-35; Lucian *Tox.* 59. See also Ps.-Lucian *The Ass* 49-53 (quoted by Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 176 n. 6; 278 n. 4; and 320 n. 3) which locates gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the theatre. The Roman colony at Corinth had not only an amphitheatre but also a theatre converted to enable the presentation of gladiatorial games there. The remains of frescos from this theatre depict lions, a spotted cat and a bull. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 117; and Stillwell 1952, chapter 5. The interrogation and torture of Pionius was conducted in the theatre at Smyrna.

<sup>142</sup> See nos. 360, 361, and 362, all published by Roueché 1993, 109-110. Papapostolou 1989, 366 n. 41 notes that the names of probable gladiators (Καρτερός, Ἀνθηρός, Ἔρας) have been found inscribed in the rock above the Theatre of Dionysus (= no. 107).

<sup>143</sup> See nos. 254, 255, 257, 268, 271, 272, 291, 298, 344, 385, and 438. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 159 no. 132 from the theatre at Aezani; Ritti 1985, 101-103 (pl. 12) from the theatre at Hierapolis; and in general, Robert 1982a, 249-253.

perhaps comes closest to specifically locating the spectacle in the theatre: it honours Titus Flavius Montanus who, in the early second century, "finished the theatre, dedicated it during his highpriesthood and gave gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts" presumably also in the theatre, although that is only inferred.<sup>144</sup> With an average diameter of 25 to 30 m, the orchestra was large enough for gladiatorial combat and the presentation of most wild beasts, such as bears and large cats, but it can hardly have provided sufficient space for spectacles involving bulls and horses, especially the *taurokathapsia*, an event in which riders on horseback pursued bulls, then jumped onto their backs and wrestled them to the ground by the horns, much like a modern rodeo event.<sup>145</sup> J.-C. Golvin has calculated the surface area of the arena in elliptical amphitheatres averaged between 1540 and 2120 m<sup>2</sup>, but that the average surface area of the orchestra-arenas was about 400 m<sup>2</sup>, only about 20 to 25 % the size.<sup>146</sup> Indeed, a typical Spanish bull fighting ring, a modern venue for events similar to the *taurokathapsia*, has a diameter of about 50 m, equivalent to a surface area of 1962.5 m<sup>2</sup>, comparable in size to the arena of an amphitheatre, but again much larger than the average orchestra-arena. The relatively small size of the orchestra-arena not only limits the type of spectacles which could be held there, but also limits the number of gladiators, executions, and wild beasts which could be presented at a time. As a result of the choice of venue, gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the East were not presented as mass confused spectacles, but rather as individual combats or fights which held the undivided attention of the spectators.

Instead of the theatre, spectacles requiring larger area were probably held in the stadium where the long course (400 to 600 m) offered ample space for bulls and horses to

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<sup>144</sup> See no. 257, lines 8-10: τελειώσαντα τὸ [θ]έατρον | [καὶ] καθιερώσαντα ἐν τῇ [ἀ]ρχιεροσύνῃ | δίδοντα καὶ μονομαχίας | καὶ κυνήγια.

<sup>145</sup> The *taurokathapsia* presented by Claudius in Rome was held in the Circus: Suet. *Claud.* 21.7.

<sup>146</sup> Golvin 1988, 244. Golvin tabulates the dimensions of the converted theatres from the Greek East in his Table 22. The largest orchestra-arena is that of the theatre in Corinth at 742 m<sup>2</sup> and the smallest (by far) is that in Alinda at 160 m<sup>2</sup>.

run in events such as the *taurokathapsia*. A relief from Cos records the name of one bull as Σταδιάρχης, a name which would have most significance if bulls were indeed often seen in stadia.<sup>147</sup> When the programme included both gladiatorial combat and events such as the *taurokathapsia*, the entire spectacle was probably presented in the stadium. An inscription from Aphrodisias commemorates the *familia* of the highpriest Zeno which included gladiators, convicts, and *taurokathaptai* (no. 357) and suggests that gladiatorial combats were presented on the same programme as *taurokathapsia* and probably in the same venue. Rare gladiatorial types, specifically the ἵππεύς and the ἵπποδιώκτης, may have required room for horses to run and so the stadium again was better suited to their combats. And if the *essedarius* entered the arena in a chariot, or indeed fought from one, he too required greater space than an orchestra could have provided.<sup>148</sup> Further evidence supports the presentation of gladiatorial combats in stadia. As in the theatre at Aphrodisias, a graffito depicting a *retiarius* has been discovered on a (loose) seat in the stadium in that city (no. 359) suggesting that gladiators fought there as well. Moreover, several inscriptions, most of which are gladiatorial epitaphs, locate gladiatorial exploits ἐν σταδίοις.<sup>149</sup> The expression (always found in the plural) is another example of the use of Greek athletic terminology by gladiators, for boxers, wrestlers and pancratiasts competed in the stadium during competitions, specifically in the σφενδόνη at one end of the stadium.<sup>150</sup> It is a general way of expressing the Latin *arena*, whether the combats were fought in the stadium itself or in the theatre.<sup>151</sup> There is no comparable expression ἐν

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<sup>147</sup> See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 191-192, no. 191a, part C (p. 192).

<sup>148</sup> Public executions could also be conducted in the stadium. For example, Polycarp in the mid-second century was twice threatened with execution *ad bestias* in the stadium at Smyrna, once by the proconsul and once by the people, before his death by fire: see *Mart. Polycarpi* 11-12

<sup>149</sup> See nos. 10, 11, 19, 62, 100, 102, 104, 163, 167, 171, 180, 189, 320, 338, 345, 387, 430, 433, 445, and 454. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 21 and 35.

<sup>150</sup> See Harris 1964, 165; and Poliakoff 1987, 20-21 and 169 n. 32. Cf. Hall & Milner 1994, 24.

<sup>151</sup> An inscription from Claudiopolis in Bithynia (no. 174) may provide an example of the Greek transliteration of the Latin term *arena*: line 12 reads: KAIME[.]A (vac.) APHNA[---] perhaps to be read:

θεάτρον or θεάτροις used in these epitaphs, even though gladiatorial combats are known to have been fought there.<sup>152</sup>

Like Greek combat sports, gladiatorial combats in the stadium may also have taken place in the σφενδόνη, but the best seats in the stadium at Aphrodisias seem to have been found half way along the north and south long sides,<sup>153</sup> perhaps suggesting that the combats actually took place in the centre of the stadium. The long sides of this stadium are bowed out so that the overall shape of the stadium resembles a flattened ellipse, an architectural refinement which would have enhanced the view of the spectacles for more distant spectators sitting towards the ends of the building, and the small refuge room in the stadium is located in the centre of the north side, not near one of the *sphendonai*. Indeed, if the purpose of presenting spectacles in the stadium rather than the theatre was to take advantage of the larger space, then it seems unlikely that the spectacles would have been restricted to the *sphendone*.<sup>154</sup>

That gladiatorial combats especially were presented in the theatres and stadia rather than in purpose-built amphitheatres has implications beyond reasons of economy. While it was certainly less expensive to convert pre-existing theatres and stadia to the requirements of gladiators and wild beasts, the Greeks of the imperial period, particularly

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καὶ μετὰ ἀρήνο(ν or ζ) or καὶ μετὰ ἀρήνα. The first possibility might imply the the gladiators subsequently listed died after fighting in the arena (presumably from their wounds). Cf. no. 219 from Smyrna: a fragmentary relief depicts the legs of a gladiator or bestiarius and below is the inscription: ΚΑΙΜΕΤΙ--- which recalls the wording of no. 174.

<sup>152</sup> Ps.-Julian *Ep.* 198 (Bidez) 408D-409A states that the Corinthians bought bears and panthers for wild beast hunts which they often presented "in the theatres": ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ κυνηγέσια τὰ κολλάκις ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις ἐπιτελούμενα ἄρκτους καὶ καρδάλεις ὄνοῦνται. In addition to an amphitheatre, the theatre and odeion at Corinth were also converted to accommodate gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts and may explain the plural (ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις), that is, that "theatre" could refer to all three possible venues. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 36.

<sup>153</sup> See Welch 1998a, 562.

<sup>154</sup> In the fourth century, the east *sphendone* of the stadium at Aphrodisias (as many stadia) was walled off to form an enclosed amphitheatre, though this occurred after gladiatorial combats had ceased to be presented in the cities of the East: see Welch 1998a, 565-569.



those in Asia Minor, were often only too eager to engage in vast and expensive building programmes, as the letters of Pliny from Bithynia and Pontus attest.<sup>155</sup> The decision to present gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in traditional Greek buildings may indicate that the Greeks had accepted these spectacles into the religious and cultural life of the city. Both the theatre and the stadium had political and religious significance, for they were the places in which the people assembled and where the festivals to the gods were celebrated. The supposed outrage of Apollonius and Dio Chrysostom at the Athenians arose because the Theatre of Dionysus was a religious building that had been profaned by the spilling of human blood there.<sup>156</sup> Their outrage, however, was clearly not shared by the majority of Athenians who filled the seats, cheered, and participated in the presentation of these Roman spectacles. A building so important to the city served as a suitable location for spectacles presented in honour of the Roman emperor.

#### 4.4. SPECTATORS

The attitude of the Greek people toward the spectacles of gladiatorial combat and wild beast hunts is difficult to estimate. There are occasional references in the literature of the period to gladiators and gladiatorial combat which betray a certain distaste for the spectacles.<sup>157</sup> But these references are mixed as evidence for Greek objections to gladiation. Dio Chrysostom, for example, censures the Athenians for presenting gladiatorial combats in the Theatre of Dionysus and Plutarch advises against pandering to the masses by providing costly spectacles such as pyrrhic dances or gladiatorial shows.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>155</sup> See Sherwin-White 1967, 525-555 for his introduction to Book 10 of Pliny's letters.

<sup>156</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31. 121-122. Dio says that the Corinthians hold their gladiatorial contests in a foul glen outside the city walls. Woolf 1994, 140 n. 47 and Swain 1996, 419 both note that Greek criticisms of gladiation were rarely made on the basis of its Roman origins.

<sup>157</sup> See especially Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 248-253; cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 453-455.

<sup>158</sup> Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121; Plut. *Mor.* 822c.

Both references can be read to demonstrate the mass *appeal* of the spectacles and indeed the importance of such presentations for ambitious local politicians eager for public acclaim. Such men and women even set up monuments to commemorate gladiatorial families and remind the public of their show.<sup>159</sup> Similarly, Epictetus' criticism of the highpriest who pampers his gladiators must be read in two ways: balancing Epictetus' disdain for such behavior is the appreciation and admiration for the gladiators displayed by the highpriest.<sup>160</sup> Artemidorus may describe how a man fighting as a gladiator could bring dishonour on his family, but Artemidorus fails to explain why the man continued to fight for so long.<sup>161</sup> All Greek criticism of gladiation was made on the basis of moral considerations, focusing either on the bloodshed and death or on its use by ambitious politicians to gain popular approval. Yet, this is essentially the official position taken by the Roman elite with respect to gladiators and other performers. There is no evidence that this criticism was based on the Roman origins of gladiatorial combats,<sup>162</sup> and indeed Plutarch at one point discusses the superiority of Greek gladiators to their barbarian counterparts. He does not here suggest that it was somehow un-Greek to be a gladiator.<sup>163</sup>

While the upper classes have a voice in the surviving literature, however difficult to interpret, the opinions of the larger masses of the people who filled the seats can only be ascertained indirectly. Literary references refer to the popularity engendered by such spectacles, and the willingness of ambitious members of the elite to present gladiators and

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<sup>159</sup> See Chapter 2.5. Organization.

<sup>160</sup> Arr. *Epict. diss.* 2.24.23.

<sup>161</sup> Artem. 5.58: καὶ ἡ τῆς μητρὸς φωνὴ τὴν ἀτιμίαν τοῦ βίου προεμαντεύετο: "and the voice of his mother foretold the disgrace of his way of life".

<sup>162</sup> As noted by Woolf 1994, 140 n. 47; Swain 1996, 174-175 n. 118. Contra Fuchs 1938, 49-50. Cf. Wiedemann 1992, 143-145. Moral criticism should not be mistaken for humanitarian concerns, however.

<sup>163</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 1099B. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 455; Swain 1996, 419; and Wiedemann 1992, 145.

then commemorate their presentations with stone reliefs also suggests their popular appeal.<sup>164</sup> Although clearly biased, gladiators likewise boasted of their popularity: Polynices was "great in popular opinion": δόξη μέγας ὦν Πολυνείκης (no. 434).<sup>165</sup> In support of these assertions of popularity are the φίλοπλοι or φιλοπλία organizations which, as Robert demonstrated, were composed, not of gladiators, but of men who followed gladiatorial combats, perhaps even followers of a particular troop of gladiators, such as the φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι from Ephesus.<sup>166</sup> As admirers of gladiatorial combat, it may also be that these men practiced fencing techniques, perhaps in the gymnasium. Writing at the time of Augustus, Livy describes the effect of the gladiatorial *munera* presented by Antiochus IV on the young men of Antioch: *etiam et familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit et armorum studium plerisque iuvenum accendit*.<sup>167</sup> The φιλοκύνηγοι were probably similar organizations of men devoted to the wild beast hunts.<sup>168</sup> Supporters of individual gladiatorial types are also probable. A theatre seat from Aphrodisias depicts a grafitto identified by an accompanying inscription as a *thraex* (no. 362). C. Roueché has reasonably suggested that the figure was carved by a *parmularius*, a supporter of the thracian-type gladiators.<sup>169</sup> The two best-known groups are the *parmularii* and the *scutarii* (supporters of the *myrmillones*), terms based on the shield carried by the gladiators: the *parma* and the *scutum*,<sup>170</sup> although a relief stele from Augusta Traiana depicting a gladiator *dans sa gloire* was erected by the σκουτλάριοι

<sup>164</sup> See Plutarch *Mor.* 822C-823E. Plutarch warns that such popularity was short-lived. Cf. Chapter 3.3. Commemorative Monuments, above p. 161.

<sup>165</sup> See Chapter 2.7. Attributes.

<sup>166</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 24-27. See nos. 249, 250, 260, and 264.

<sup>167</sup> Livy 41.20.12: "he even accustomed their eyes to the spectacle and made it pleasing and roused an enthusiasm for arms in most of the young men". Cf. Chapter 1.3. First Contacts, above p. 57-61. Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 264 n. 1, compares the *armorum studium* to the later φιλοπλία associations.

<sup>168</sup> Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 323.

<sup>169</sup> Roueché 1993, 110.

<sup>170</sup> See Ville, *La gladiature*, 443-445.

(no. 38), a term probably derived from *scutulum*, a smaller *scutum*.<sup>171</sup> The popularity of gladiators seems to have extended to acceptance and even appreciation for the technical, Latin terminology associated with the institution, for gladiators use this terminology with pride on their tombstones.<sup>172</sup>

Gladiators were entertainers of a sort, the most popular of whom had their own following among the spectators. The design of stadia and especially theatres was well-suited to the participation of the audience members in the overall spectacle. It is not improbable that these spectators would have shouted acclamations for their favorites, as indeed other entertainers, such as actors and pantomimes, were greeted by their supporters when on stage and as prisoners were condemned by the shouts of the crowd.<sup>173</sup> Commodus, as we have seen, was acclaimed 620 times as *primus palus secutorum*.<sup>174</sup> Were such acclamations shouted in support of other gladiators as well? There are examples. Tertullian despairs over those who would acclaim actors, athletes and gladiators with cries of "εἰς ἀπ' αἰῶνος!" (One for eternity!) from the same mouth with which they praised God.<sup>175</sup> Perpetua says that, after she dreamed of victory in gladiatorial

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<sup>171</sup> See J. and L. Robert, *BE* 1956, no. 423, and earlier Cameron 1931, 257.

<sup>172</sup> See Chapter 2.2. Terminology.

<sup>173</sup> See, for example, the acclamation recorded for the pantomime (or gladiator?) Chrysomallos in Aphrodisias: ἀὔξει ὁ Χρυσόμαλλος | ὁ τήξας τὸ μάρμαρον: "Long live Chrysomallos, he who melted the marble!". See the correction and discussion of this inscription by C.P. Jones, *JRS* 84 (1994) 286 supported by G.W. Bowersock, *Gnomon* 69.1 (1997) 48. See also Roueché 1984; and Csapo & Slater 1995, 306: noise and shouting were common in the theatre and the crowds could be moved to wild emotion. The crowd reaction may not always have been positive and actors are known to have been booed off stage: see e.g. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 30.

<sup>174</sup> The use of the term, *palus*, in funerary inscriptions may indicate that the ancient reader would have been familiar with the meaning and implication of this word.

<sup>175</sup> Tert. *de Spec.* 25.5. Robert 1938, 108-112, demonstrates that the acclamation recorded by Tertullian here should be read, εἰς ἀπ' αἰῶνος, a reading endorsed by Barnes 1971, 96. Robert also suggests that the wish for immortality may be inappropriate for a gladiator or venator and Dunbabin 1978, 80 suggests that such a wish may be better suited for the organization to which the combatants belonged. But the acclamation of a gladiator as immortal was probably in reference not to his lifespan but to his memory, his fame, and his reputation. The ideals are very much heroic: Achilles was not immortal, but his fame was.

combat over the Egyptian, the people began to shout and her supporters to sing: *et coepit populus clamare et favisores mei psallere*.<sup>176</sup> Suetonius describes Caligula's rage at the popularity of the *essedarius*, Porius.<sup>177</sup> From Miletus comes a short inscription which seems to record an acclamation given the gladiator, Eisas: Νίκη Εἰσᾶ, "Victory for Eisas!" (no. 292), while Stephanos was "once applauded in the stadia": τὸ πρὶν ἐν σταδίοις κελαδούμενος (no. 345). The *munerarius* from Mylasa (no. 392) boasts of the shouting of the whole crowd: τὴν παντὸς τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβόησιν. As entertainers, the true value of gladiators lay in their popular appeal and support, part of which no doubt developed from a series of combat victories: nothing succeeds like success. But popularity also evolves out of the intangibles of character and style: a freeborn gladiator perhaps even of the upper class, or a freed gladiator who returned to the arena for the love of the fight, or one especially daring or especially erotic.<sup>178</sup> Juvenal mocked Eppia, a senator's wife, who ran away to Alexandria with the scarred gladiator Sergiolus, and Tertullian despaired over those men and women who give themselves, body and soul, to charioteers, actors, and gladiators.<sup>179</sup> Such a crowd could demand a gladiator's freedom, as did the citizens of Rome for an *essedarius*, or the people of Salona for a *retiarius*, and they could conceivably demand his promotion and elevation.<sup>180</sup> Seeking popular approval,

<sup>176</sup> *Mart. Perpetuae et Felicitatis* 10.12.

<sup>177</sup> *Suet. Calig.* 35.

<sup>178</sup> For the excitement caused by freeborn gladiators, see Weidemann 1992, 106-107; in the East there are examples of gladiators with *tria nomina*: P. Folius Potitus, a *thraex* from Patras (no. 124) and M. Καϊκίλιος Ἐπάγαθος from Delos (no. 127), who may be *ingenuus* or *libertus*. *Retiarii*, who wore little clothing and no helmet, often have "sexy" or effeminate names like Chysomallos (Goldilocks), for which see nos. 167 and 198. Festus, 62M, says that a (Roman) bride's hair was parted with a *caelibaris hasta*, a spear which had been dipped into the body of a dead gladiator. For the erotic appeal of gladiators, see Colin 1952/3, 315-386; Ville, *La gladiature*, 303 and 330-331; Barton 1993, 47-48 and 65-66; and Gunderson 1996, 144-146.

<sup>179</sup> *Juv.* 6.82-113; see specifically line 110: *sed gladiator erat. facit hoc illos Hyacinthos*. *Tert. de Spec.* 22. See also *Lucian Tox.* 58 for the procession of noble and handsome youths (προπομπὴν τινα...γενναίων καὶ καλῶν νεανίσκων).

<sup>180</sup> Freedom for *essedarius*: *Suet. Claud.* 21.10; Salona: no. 3: *qui pietate populi rude liberatus est*. The people, of course, could also demand punishment or death for a gladiator who fought poorly.

the *munerarii* presented the people with the gladiators they most wanted to see. For this reason did Thiasus make the journey from Corinth to Thessaly in search of *famosi gladiatores*.<sup>181</sup>

There is considerable evidence that the spectators were socially organized in the stands during the performances.<sup>182</sup> Inscriptions, both formal and informal, survive from many theatres and stadia across the Greek East and indicate that certain seats or blocks of seats were reserved for various individuals or groups in society, just as the *caveae* in theatres and amphitheatres in the West.<sup>183</sup> Civic and visiting Roman officials as well as benefactors and honoured citizens enjoyed reserved seats, as did foreign dignitaries and various civic groups, such as tribes, trade and cultic associations, *neoi*, and ephebes.<sup>184</sup> Not the democratic chaos of the classical theatre, the organized seating displayed for the whole community the rank and relative importance of various individuals and groups in society; it confirmed social hierarchies but also reaffirmed one's position within the overall social structure of the city.<sup>185</sup> Furthermore, the podium wall served not only to protect the people from the dangerous spectacles, but to draw a clear social division between people in the stands and the performers and victims in the arena. In the traditional theatre or stadium, the seats generally came down to the orchestra or *dromos*; there was no ideological need to separate the people from the athletes or performers because of the traditional Greek emphasis on widespread popular participation in athletics, music, and

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<sup>181</sup> Apul. *Met.* 10.18.

<sup>182</sup> See especially Kolendo 1981; Rawson 1987; Small 1987; Gunderson 1996, 123-126; and Edmondson 1996, 84-95.

<sup>183</sup> Although seat inscriptions have been found in most theatres, stadia and odeia, those of Aphrodisias in Caria and of the theatre at Stobi in Macedonia are especially numerous: see Saria 1940; and Roueché 1993, 83-128. Cf. also the theatre at Hierapolis: Kolb 1974; and the stadium at Saittai: Kolb 1990.

<sup>184</sup> See, for example, the inscriptions collected by Roueché 1993, 83-128.

<sup>185</sup> The classical Athenian theatre was a representation of their democracy: see Whittaker 1997, 146, with his note to P. Wilson, *The Athenian Khoregia: Tragedy and Democracy* (forthcoming).

poetry. All had participated and competed in these subjects during their education and probably continued to do so in the gymnasium. The Romans, on the other hand, officially viewed any who performed in public for money as *infamis*.<sup>186</sup> The people in the stands may have been divided along hierarchical lines, but they formed a united whole physically and socially distinguished from the objectified performers in the arena below.

But more than the social structure of the city was on display, for statues of past benefactors as well as cult statues and images of gods and rulers decorated the theatres.<sup>187</sup> During the Roman period, statues of the emperor(s) were set up along with these other statues, either on the stage building facing the people for all to see, or in the stands among the spectators themselves, symbolically joining them in watching the spectacles presented in the orchestra-arena below.<sup>188</sup> When Hadrian visited Athens in AD 126, each tribe dedicated a statue to the emperor to be set up in their section of the theatre.<sup>189</sup> The donation of C. Vibius Salutaris at Ephesus in AD 103/4 provided for the creation of thirty-one gold or silver statues representing Artemis, the emperor and his wife, the personifications of the Roman senate, the Roman equestrians, and the Roman people, and the Ephesian people, tribes, council, and gerousia, among others. These statues were to be introduced into the theatre during all presentations and placed in the stands symbolically joining the people in watching the spectacles presented.<sup>190</sup> An inscription from Termessus Minor, near Oenoanda in Lycia, from the mid-third century

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<sup>186</sup> Q. Roscius Gallus, the famous Roman actor of the late republican period, was a wealthy knight. He did not suffer *infamia* because he took no pay for his performances, though he may have been given "gifts". For summary including references, see *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. "Roscius Gallus, Quintus".

<sup>187</sup> For a general discussion, see Gebhard 1996.

<sup>188</sup> People could also be reminded of the emperor through a visible but empty seat. See Clavel-Lévêque 1986, 2469-2470. Many theatres have special boxes or seats of honour. This special box in the theatre at Miletus, for example, is marked by two columns: see Golvin & Landes 1990, 205.

<sup>189</sup> *IG* III nos. 466, 467, 468, and 469; cf. Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 270; Small 1987, 87.

<sup>190</sup> *I.Ephesos* no. 27. For a revised text and English translation, Rogers 1991, 152-185. The text was inscribed on the east wall of the south parodos of the theatre.

commemorates the games and festivities which took place when the image of the emperor Valerian was brought into the "lusorium" (no. 423): Οὐαλέριον Στατεΐλιον Κάστον ... ἀγαγόντα δὲ καὶ ἰνέριον φιλοτείμως ἐν τῷ λουσωρίῳ τῇ πρὸς ζ' εἰδ(ῶν) Νοεμβρίῳ[ν], ἐν ἧ [ἡ]μέρᾳ ἐκομίσθη [ε]ἰκῶν ἱερὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανοῦ νέου Σεβαστοῦ.<sup>191</sup> Martyr acts indicate that a statue of the emperor was present when the Christians were asked to sacrifice and swear by the genius of the emperor.<sup>192</sup> For this purpose, Pliny had introduced a statue (*imago*) of the emperor Trajan when interviewing suspected Christians, although he does not name the venue.<sup>193</sup> Intimately associated with the celebration of the imperial cult, it is not unreasonable to suppose that gladiatorial combats were presented in front of statues of the emperors and other important local personages, human and divine, as well as the living citizens of the city.

The spectators assembled to watch the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts were themselves an important part of the spectacle, for arranged in their seats according to individual rank or inclusion in a recognized group or association, they formed an ordered representation of the structure of society. Images of local significance, such as past benefactors and local deities, helped to strengthen the sense of community and link contemporary society with its past. But the presence of imperial images served both to bring the emperor into the community<sup>194</sup> and to locate the community within the larger structure of the Roman Empire. Such spectacles can also serve to create communities. A larger collective identity is constructed by participation in a common audience. The viewer knew that thousands of other people across the Empire saw similar

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<sup>191</sup> No. 423 (AD 253/4): "Valerius Statilius Castus ... celebrated his imperium with *philotimia* in the *lusorium*, 7 days before the Ides of November, on which day the sacred icon of our lord Valerian the new Augustus was brought." Cf. Price 1984, 175.

<sup>192</sup> See *Mart. Polycarpi* 10.1: ἐπιμένοντος δὲ πάλιν αὐτοῦ καὶ λέγοντος ὁμοσον τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην, ἀπεκρίνατο: "But he insisted and again said, 'Swear by the Emperor's genius'".

<sup>193</sup> *Plin. Ep.* 10.96.5. Cf. Fishwick 1984.

<sup>194</sup> See Price 1984, 172-188.



spectacles, all in conjunction with the cult of the Roman emperor. All spectators everywhere were united as witnesses.

#### 4.5. CONTEXT

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, gladiatorial spectacles in the Greek cities of the East were always presented by officials of the imperial cult. But while the imperial cult was also celebrated with traditional Greek festivals (processions, sacrifices, and contests), and while many of those who presented gladiators also served as *agonothetai* for these traditional festivals, there is nevertheless little indication that gladiatorial combats were connected with these traditional Greek celebrations. For example, in AD 229 Valerianus Philoxenus, the macedoniarch and highpriest of the Augustus, and his wife, Valeriana Ammia, the highpriestess of the Augusta, advertised their intention to present three days of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts at the end of June (no. 65). Nothing is said of any other competition despite the fact that Valerianus was also agonothete of the koinon of the Macedonians for the Alexandreian games. Evidently, these traditional Greek celebrations were held independently. Gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts remained separate and distinctly Roman, despite the appropriation of athletic terminology and ideology by the gladiators themselves.<sup>195</sup>

The imperial cult in the Greek East was Greek in origin and impetus and developed within an established tradition for dealing with powerful external rulers and benefactors. While the Greek city states of the classical period were largely able to control their own destiny (with the help only of the gods), those of the post-classical and especially Hellenistic worlds increasingly required the assistance of powerful individuals, most notably the Hellenistic dynasts whose power to protect and enrich the city resembled and

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<sup>195</sup> In contrast, pantomimes were admitted to the sacred contests by the late second century: see Slater 1995b.

even surpassed that of the gods. At the end of the fourth century, for example, the Athenians honoured Demetrius Poliorcetes as greater than the gods, for while he was present in the flesh, they were distant and uncaring.<sup>196</sup> The importance of the role played by these powerful men can be seen in the titles commonly associated with their cult names: κτίστης (founder), εὐεργέτης (benefactor), and σωτήρ (saviour). The establishment of a cult was a means for the city to honour their benefactors and an attempt to ensure their continued beneficence, and as the practice spread and developed, so too did the variety and number of honours conferred. It was in this same tradition that the representatives of Roman power in the East during the republic, especially those with *imperium*, were afforded similar cults in many Greek cities, and that the goddess Roma, an abstract representation of Rome and Roman power, was also given a cult.<sup>197</sup> Not empty homage, such cults were accompanied by the honours associated with traditional Greek gods, *isotheoi timai*, such as the provision of a cult site, a statue, attendant priests, sacrifices, and traditional Greek festivals (*agones*) perhaps presented in association with an established festival.<sup>198</sup> As Greek initiatives, even cults established for individual Romans and the goddess Roma were celebrated with these traditional Greek ceremonies. In 29 BC shortly following his defeat of Antony and Cleopatra, the Greeks of Asia and Bithynia approached Octavian seeking permission to establish a cult in his honour.<sup>199</sup> S. Price especially has demonstrated that the imperial cult which developed from this beginning was an attempt to come to terms with the domination of Rome and to find a place for the

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<sup>196</sup> See Habicht 1970, 44-55; Price 1984, 38. Price quotes a passage from the hymn: "The other gods are far away or do not have ears or do not exist or do not pay attention at all to us, but you are present, not of wood or stone but real" (Athen. 6.253). Cf. Fishwick 1987-92, 12.

<sup>197</sup> See Mellor 1975; Fayer 1976; and Fishwick 1987-92, 46-55.

<sup>198</sup> Fishwick 1987-92, 21-31.

<sup>199</sup> Dio Cass. 51.20.7; Tac. *Ann.* 4.37; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 52. Cf. Bowersock 1965, 116; and Habicht 1972, 55-57. Cf. the parallel initiative made to Hadrian by the Athenians to establish the Panhellenion; discussed by Jones 1996.

emperor within the cultural and ceremonial context of the city.<sup>200</sup> But while the imperial cult thus established was celebrated with traditional Greek cultic honours, it was also celebrated, from the time of Augustus, with the presentation of the Roman spectacles of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, an innovation which was never assimilated into traditional Greek cultic practices.<sup>201</sup>

M.B. Hornum has recently demonstrated that the cult of Nemesis in the Roman Empire was comfortably associated with the arena as the place where those who opposed the imperial order were dramatically punished. Despite the fact that the cult of Nemesis was originally Greek, the association with the arena was Roman in origin, an aspect of the cult introduced to the East with the advent of Roman spectacles during the empire. As goddess of justice and indignation against those who confronted or rejected Roman order, Nemesis was found in the arena where those who threatened or rejected Rome were degraded and punished. But like the arena, and indeed like the Roman Empire, Nemesis also provided benefits to those she favoured.<sup>202</sup>

Several inscriptions from Moesia, Thrace, and Macedonia, set up as announcements advertising the forthcoming presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, state official reasons for the presentations (nos. 22, 25, 29, 30, 65, 66, and 86). Specifically, these inscriptions explain that the gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts are given for (ὕπερ) a combination of the health (ὕγεια), safety (σωτηρία), victory (νίκη), fortune (τύχη), and endurance (διαμονή) of not only the reigning emperor, but also of his immediate family and entire household, and usually also of a number of the following: the Roman senate, the Roman people, the Roman armies, the Roman governor,

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<sup>200</sup> Price 1984.

<sup>201</sup> See Chapter 3. Administration and Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 267-280. Price has virtually ignored the association between the presentation of gladiatorial combats and the imperial cult, discussing the phenomenon only in the most perfunctory way: see Price 1984, 88, 89, and 116.

<sup>202</sup> Hornum 1993; cf. Bouley 1990; and Futrell 1997, 110-118.

the provinces, and the local council and people. This is a much more elaborate and inclusive version of the Latin *pro salute imperatoris* formula from the West, where the formula includes only the emperor and perhaps his household.<sup>203</sup> An inscription from Odessos in AD 227 (no. 22) is most explicit:

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη. | [Ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεικίτου  
αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου] | [εὐσεβοῦς  
εὐτυχοῦς σεβ(αστοῦ) καὶ Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας σεβ(αστῆς)] τύχης καὶ νείκης  
καὶ αἰωνίου [διαμονῆς καὶ] | [τοῦ σύμπαντος οἴκου καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου  
καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ τοῦ] |  
[λαμπροτάτου (οἱ κρατίστου) ἡγεμόνος Λ(ουκίου) Μαντε]ννίου Σεβείνου  
πρεσβ(ευτοῦ) σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου  
Ὀδεσσιτῶν].<sup>204</sup>

As the official purpose for the presentations of wild beast hunts and gladiatorial spectacles, it is probably that a herald would have announced these reasons to the assembled people at the beginning of the spectacles, repeating what had been previously inscribed and set up to advertise the spectacles. Such a proclamation would have lent a considerable degree of solemnity and import to the forthcoming spectacles: the people were not merely there to be entertained, but were participating in something larger and more significant. The gladiatorial combats and wild beasts hunts were officially presented not only to honour the emperor, but also to honour and celebrate the political and social structure of the entire Empire, from the emperor to the local council and people. These official reasons stressed the inclusion of the local community within the overall structure of the Empire.<sup>205</sup> Even if the local connection was not emphasized in the stated reasons, it

<sup>203</sup> See Fishwick 1987-92, 393; and Chapter 1.1. Roman Gladiation, above p. 40-41.

<sup>204</sup> "With good fortune! For the fortune and victory and eternal endurance of the most holy and great and unconquerable emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, pious, felix Augustus and for Iulia Mamaea the Augusta and for their whole house and for the sacred Senate and people of Rome and for the sacred armies and for the illustrious(?) Lucius Mantennius Sabinus the legatus Aug. propraetor and for the council and people of Odessos".

<sup>205</sup> Cf. Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, no. 18: *Pro salute Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, Pompeis*: "For the health of the emperor Nero, and for the Pompeians"; See also Sabbatini Tumolesi 1980, nos. 19, 20, 36, 41, and 77.

was nevertheless obvious from the fact that local officials were charged with the production of the Roman spectacle. The presentation of gladiatorial games helped to establish the position of the local Greek community within the broader structure of the Empire. Local citizens were themselves located within the overall ruling structure of the Empire and honoured as worthy of inclusion within it.

The statues dedicated by C. Vibius Salutaris in Ephesus, mentioned above, visibly represented in the theatre the same imperial structure including both Roman and Ephesian elements. In his original donation, Salutaris provided for the casting of 29 gold and silver statues, the first nine of which were representations of Artemis, the most important local deity. The remaining twenty statues included one of the emperor Trajan, one of his wife Plotina, and representations of the Roman senate, the Roman equestrians, and the Roman people; and then fifteen statues relevant to the city of Ephesus: one of the Ephesian demos, one representing each of the six tribes, one of the Ephesian boule, one of the gerousia, and one of the ephebeia.<sup>206</sup> The identity of the final five statues is unknown because the text is missing, but G.M. Rogers has suggested statues of Augustus, Androcles (a mythical founder of the city), Lysimachus (the Hellenistic king), Euonumos (a mythical figure), and Pion (the mountain god).<sup>207</sup> Salutaris later added two more statues, Athena Pammousos and Sebaste Homonoia Chrysophoros. These statues were to be carried in a sacred procession through the streets of Ephesus on a great variety of occasions, following a route that passed through many of the city's religious and cultural centres before being introduced into the theatres and set up in the seats among the spectators to symbolically watch the performances with the people.<sup>208</sup> Several occasions are specified, including the day on which the provincial highpriest took office, the monthly

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<sup>206</sup> Rogers 1991, text: 152-185, lines 22-31.

<sup>207</sup> Rogers 1991, 83 and 117 n. 16.

<sup>208</sup> Compare the procession of imperial and local images paraded through the city and erected in the theatre at Gytheion: Ehrenberg & Jones 1955, no. 102; Sherk 1988, no. 32.

sacred and regular meetings of the assembly, the *Sebasteia*, the *Soteria*, the pentaeteric festivals, all athletic contests, and any other days decided upon by the *boule* and *demos*.<sup>209</sup> Rogers estimates that these statues could have been paraded on average once every two weeks.<sup>210</sup> Although not specified, it is likely that the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts, put on after all by the highpriest in celebration of the imperial cult, marked a suitable occasion for the procession and introduction of the statues into the theatre.

Given this important, unifying function of gladiatorial spectacles, it is not surprising that the emperors in Rome showed continual interest in maintaining the financial ability of the local and provincial elites across the Empire to present these expensive spectacles. The *SC de Pretiis Gladiatorum Mimuentis* of AD 177 was just one in a series of imperial attempts to support the provincial priests. Another is the importance of imperial *indulgentia* required for especially dangerous, and so expensive, spectacles. The original impetus for the presentation of gladiatorial combats and wild beast hunts in the Greek East probably came from the first emperors, specifically Augustus himself, who may have suggested their inclusion in the celebration of the new-found imperial cults.<sup>211</sup>

The official purpose for the presentation of gladiatorial combats had broader aims than simply an honour for the emperor far away in Rome, for not only was the emperor celebrated, but the entire ruling structure of the Empire—notably including the local community. Gladiatorial combats and associated spectacles were fundamentally Roman: the morning *venationes* demonstrated the extent and superiority of Roman civilization

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<sup>209</sup> Rogers 1991, text: 152-185, lines 52-56 and 202-214. Since five lines are missing after line 56, more occasions may have been specified. Cf. Gebhard 1996, 122.

<sup>210</sup> Rogers 1991, 136.

<sup>211</sup> Recall that earlier parallels for the imperial cult, that is, the cults of Roma and of individual Romans, were celebrated entirely with traditional Greek festivals. See Chapter 1.3. First Contacts, above p. 64. Later imperial interference in the Greek imperial cult may be seen in the mandated use of authorized imperial portraits: see Price 1984, 173.

over the natural world, reducing it from a threat to a form of entertainment;<sup>212</sup> the executions of criminals and others who rejected Roman civilization was a demonstration of imperial power in which the people themselves participated;<sup>213</sup> and the concluding gladiatorial combats demonstrated the virtues, specifically martial, which had made Rome great. But these were not alien spectacles which the Greeks presented and watched in order to honour or somehow please the far-away Roman emperor. Despite their Roman origins, these spectacles did not exclude the Greeks but worked to include them. Gladiatorial combats celebrated values at the heart of Greek culture as well as Roman, and the spectacle was presented specifically for the whole ruling structure of the Empire: from emperor at the top to the local people at the bottom. The spectacles were presented by Greeks, for Greeks, in a Greek space converted for an imperial celebration.

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<sup>212</sup> See Bouley 1994.

<sup>213</sup> See Potter 1993; and Potter 1996.

## CONCLUSION

### ROMAN CULTURE AND GREEK IDENTITY

In his fundamental work, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Louis Robert demonstrated the general popularity and widespread diffusion of Roman gladiatorial combats and their associated spectacles in the Greek cities of Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor. The present study has sought not simply to reexamine Robert's conclusions in the light of abundant new epigraphic evidence, but rather to ask and discuss new questions about the significance of these important spectacles in Greek culture and society.

Once believed by many to offer the historian little of value beyond a horrifying, if titillating, glimpse into the Roman psyche, gladiatorial combat is now appreciated as an important expression of Roman cultural priorities. Gladiatorial combat presented the spectator with examples of the martial values at the heart of what it meant to be a Roman: skill with arms in actual combat with an opponent, extreme courage in the face of mortal danger, and the rigid discipline necessary to fight and even die in the quest for victory. During the imperial period with which we are concerned here at least, gladiatorial combat was not necessarily or even frequently a fight to the death. Certainly there were those for whom death was the primary attraction, but the people witnessed a variety and a quantity of death, both animal and human, in the associated wild beast hunts and executions. Gladiatorial combat presented something different; though dangerous to be sure, its principal appeal was found in demonstration of perfect military *virtus*. Although originally presented at the funerals of great men, gladiatorial combat was a spectacle meant for the living, not for the dead.



Given that the Roman sense of cultural identity was based to a high degree on shared *mores* and on participation in the same moral universe, gladiatorial combat, which presented in a spectacular and exemplary way many of these fundamental *mores*, helped in the construction and maintenance of Roman sense of cultural identity. For J. Edmondson, the *munus* "functioned as a central act of Roman cultural performance".<sup>1</sup> The significance of military values for the Roman sense of cultural identity does not mean that all Romans were expected to train or to fight in hand-to-hand combat, but rather that the virtues essential to the Roman soldier, and on display in the spectacle of gladiatorial combat, were also fundamental to the formation of Roman identity.

What, then, was the reaction of the typical Greek citizen watching these spectacles? Did he see and understand the same thing from his theatre-seat that the Roman did from his seat in the amphitheatre? Did he somehow feel "Roman"? While we cannot know the thoughts and feeling of any given individual towards this spectacle, we may, in the light of the foregoing discussion, offer some general suggestions.

The presentation of Roman gladiatorial combat by Greeks for Greeks in the Greek cities of the East was an attempt to locate Roman culture within a Greek civic and ceremonial context, just as the imperial cult was a comparable attempt to find such a place for the Roman emperor. The institution was obviously Roman. Much of the technical terminology remained Latin and was used with pride by the gladiators in their epitaphs; many gladiatorial names were also transliterated from Latin; and the gladiatorial types which fought in the East are, for the most part, identical to the types which fought in the West. Furthermore, the fact that the combats were presented exclusively in connection with the imperial cult helped to identify them as specifically Roman. During these spectacles, the orchestra or stadium ground became imperial space and a sign of the Roman presence.

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<sup>1</sup> Edmondson 1996, 73, with further bibliographic references.

Presenting the combats in the local theatre or stadium indicates the acceptance of this Roman institution into the civic context of the Greek city. This acceptance is supported by the claims to widespread popularity made by gladiators in the epitaphs, and by the popularity which the highpriests expected would result from the expensive presentation of gladiatorial combats. Moreover, the eager attention of the Greek people to these Roman spectacles perhaps signals their participation, on some level, in a Roman sense of cultural identity. This may have been especially true among the lower classes for whom knowledge and awareness of the Greek past was in most cases imperfect and inexact. Especially by the second and third centuries AC, Greek subjugation to Roman rule was a long established and accepted fact. Furthermore, gladiatorial combat had been presented in the cities of the Greek East since the reign of Augustus and by the late second and third century had its own long and distinguished tradition there. The spectator knew that thousands of others saw the same—Roman—spectacles in cities across the Roman world; all were united as witnesses. It is conceivable that the typical Greek could have considered himself "Roman", in addition to his own civic, Greek identity.

But the Roman values present in gladiatorial combat, that is, martial ability, courage, and discipline demonstrated in an attempt to win ostentatious victory in single combat, are agonistic values found also at the heart of traditional Greek culture. The values of the gladiator are essentially the same as those of a heroic champion who fought in single combat to win glory and fame in victory. In the course of Greek history, these heroic values were transplanted from the battlefield to the gymnasium and the competitive athletics practiced there. Although military success and glory in the Greek historic past came primarily from the ordered formations of hoplite tactics, the more remote and idealized Greek heroic past was never far from their thoughts: excellence in single combat was appreciated as much by the Greeks as by the Romans. The concept of single combat invoked images from the epics of Homer and the Heroic Age, the legacy of which weighed

heavily on the Greeks throughout their history. While Homer does not use the words μονομαχία or μονομάχος himself, the single combat between two warriors is the noble ideal especially celebrated by the poet: the true hero sought out a suitable opponent, an equal, with whom to fight singly in combat. These aristocrats fought proudly and publicly, man to man, before their companions in a demonstration of their courage and military prowess. The fact that gladiatorial spectacles were presented primarily by Greeks, for Greeks, and were appreciated by Greeks, is significant, for, while Romans may have seen in gladiation a demonstration of what they are or ought to be, the Greeks could have seen what they used to be and ideally still were: the Greek past was always at the centre of the Greek sense of cultural identity.

The qualities displayed and celebrated by gladiatorial combat may have served as a demonstration of *romanitas* to the Greeks, engaging them in it, and so defining Roman culture within a Greek ideological context. To be sure, the Greek spectator knew the difference between boxers or Homeric heroes and gladiators. But it is just as certain that the former influenced the way he viewed the latter. The ideology of the Greek athlete and hero were picked up and developed by the gladiators who often portrayed themselves as victorious athletes and conquering heroes. This athletic ideology was not employed to the same extent by gladiators in the West. In the East, Roman gladiation was adapted to a Greek ideological framework. Gladiatorial combats ought not be understood to be murderous and desperate fights to the death, but instead genuine contests of bravery and skill and so had much in common with athletic competitions, even exhibiting idealized agonistic values so cherished by the Greeks. The acceptance of this aspect of Roman culture was sanctioned by its adequacy to the Greek heroic past and Greek agonistic present. Homeric paradigms and athletic ideals at the centre of Greek culture came alive in gladiatorial combat.

The process also works the other way around. Just as the familiarity of the values present in gladiatorial combats helped the Greeks to define this important aspect of Roman culture within their own traditions and world view, so too did the Greeks see a place for their own cultural traditions within the broader context of the Roman Empire. More than their culture was incorporated, however, for the spectacles themselves were expressly given, not simply for the health and safety of the far-away emperor in Rome, but also for the entire ruling structure of the Empire, from emperor and his family at the top, down to the local council and people seated in the stands watching. Recall the reasons for the games at Odessos (no. 22):

With good fortune! For the fortune and victory and eternal endurance of the most holy and great and unconquerable emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, pious, felix Augustus and for Iulia Mamaea the Augusta and for their whole house and for the sacred Senate and people of Rome and for the sacred armies and for the illustrious Lucius Mantennius Sabinus the legatus Augusti propraetor and for the council and people of Odessos.

These Roman spectacles helped to incorporate contemporary Greeks within the present reality of the Roman Empire. The study of gladiatorial combats in the East would indicate that romanization there was not a one-way process whereby the Greeks simply adopted an obviously Roman institution and presented it to honour the emperor. Romanization is not simply a word to indicate Roman influence. Rather, the process is more of a cultural dialogue. The Greeks saw what they wanted to see. Far from being an incomprehensible and alien spectacle, or indeed a disease which had infected the Greeks, gladiatorial combats instead provided a means for the meeting of the two cultures and societies.

# CATALOGUE OF INSCRIPTIONS

The following is a collection of inscriptions relating to gladiatorial combats. Unlike Robert's corpus, however, simple reliefs depicting gladiators, and scenes of wild beast hunts and executions have generally not been included unless inscribed. The bibliography provided is select, including only the most important, recent, or accessible sources. Due to technical difficulties, an underlined letter is to be read as an underdotted letter in the following catalogue. All dates are AD.

## 1. Dyrrachium

- first half of the 2nd C
- *CIL* III 607; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 75 no.2.

L. Fl(avio) T(iti) f(ilio) Aem(ilia) Tellur[i?] | Gaetulico, eq(uo) p(ublico) hon(orato) | ab imp(eratore) Caes(are) Traiano Aug(usto), | praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II equitat(ae) Hisp(anorum) Germ(an(ia)) | Sup(eriore), Ilvir(o) q(uin)q(uennali), pontif(ici), patr(ono) col(oniae), qui in | comparat(ione) soli oper(i) byblio[th(ecae) sestertium] CLXX m(ilibus) f(aciundo) | rem p(ublicam) impend(io) levavit et ob [ded(icationem) ejus | [munus d(e)] s(ua) p(ecunia) gladiatorib(us) p(aribus) XII edi[dit - - -]

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## 2. Dyrrachium

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 76 no.3.

Epicado monom[acho]. | Have am[ice].

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## 3. Salona

- 3rd C
- Dyggve 1933, 85-86 no.25 (ph.); *AE* 1934.284; Sašal & Sašal, 342 no.2617. Now in the museum in Split (inv.no.5053A).

D(is) M(anibus) | homini pagano | Thelonico quendam (sic) | retiario qui pietate | populi rude | liberatus est | Xustus amicus | et Pepticus sodalis

Line 2: Homini?

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## 4. Apollonia

- 2nd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 76 no.6; Cabanes *forthcoming*, no.187 (Apollonia).

Εἰς μνήμην καὶ τεμῆν [- - -] Οὐλλίου Οὐαλεντίνου Φουρίου Πρόκλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπάρχου σφείρης - - -ης ἐν Συρία, | χειλιάρχου λεγιῶνος [- - -] ἐν Παννονία, ἀγωνοθέτου ἀποδεδιγμένου Κοίντος Οὐλλίου Κρισπεῖνος Φούριος Πρόκλος, πρύτανις, ἀγωνοθέτης, ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου κατεσκευάσεν, | δοθέντων εἰς τὴν ἀποιέρασιν τοῦ [- - -] μονομ[άχων] ζευγῶν εἰκοσιπέντε.

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## 5. Apollonia

- imperial date
- Patsch 1904, 158-159 no.11 (fig.126); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 77-78 no.9; Cabanes *forthcoming*, no.215 (Apollonia).

• Only the lower portion of this relief stele survives, showing the legs and mid-section of the deceased. In his right hand he holds a dagger with a large pommel. On the right is palm branch and a dog.

[- - -] Λασκείβω | [- - -] μνήμης | [χάριν - - -]

#### 6. Apollonia

• imperial date

• Patsch 1904, 184-185 no.48 (fig.163); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 78 no.10; Cabanes *forthcoming*, no.242 (Apollonia).

[- - - - -] | . ων χάριν μ]νείας ἐποίηε. | Πυγμῶν β'.

#### 7. Nicopolis (Epirus)

• imperial date

• I. Andreou, *AD 37* (1982) [1989] B266 (ph.); *SEG* 1989.531. Now in the Nicopolis Museum (inv.no. unknown).

• The stele is broken on the right and across the bottom. Four lines of text are visible, though the surface of the stone is pitted. The final line of text is partly obscured by the bottom break. Between lines 1 and 2, there is a space of 3 cm into which could fit a line of text, but there does not appear to be any inscription.

Ναρκίσοϋ · θρῶξ | σκεῦας | ἐτῶν λε'

#### 8. Tomis

• late 2nd - early 3rd C

• *JGR* I 631; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 103-104 no.43; Stoian 1962, 101 no.2 (pl.19.2); Mihailov 1979, 14-15 no.13; *JSM* II, 2 no.96.

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι | Κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆ κρατίστη βουλῆ | καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς | λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως Τόμεως | Αὐρήλιον Πρεῖσκιον Ἰσίδωρον | τὸν ποντάρχην καὶ ἄρξαντα τὴν | πρώτην ἀρχὴν ἀγνώως καὶ ἀμέμπτως | καὶ ἀρχιερασάμενον τὴν δι' ὄπλων | καὶ κυνηγεσίων φιλοδόξως φιλοτειμίαν | ἐφεξῆς ἡμερῶν ἕξ μὴ διαλιπόντα, | καὶ τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν, σύμβιον αὐτοῦ, | Οὐλπίαν Ματρῶναν | πάσης τεμιῆς καὶ ἀρετῆς χάριν, | τὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων | τῆς λαμπροτάτης Φλαουίας Νέας | Πόλεως καὶ Ἀντιπατρίδος.

#### 9. Tomis

• late 2nd - early 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 103 no.42; Mihailov 1979, 13-14 no.12; *JSM* II, 2 no.97.

Ἀγαθῆι Τύχηι | Κατὰ τὰ δόξαντα τῆ κρατίστη | βουλῆ καὶ τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ δήμῳ τῆς λαμπροτάτης μητροπόλεως καὶ | α' τοῦ Εὐωνύμου Πόντου Τόμεως τὸν | ποντάρχην Πρεῖσκιον | Ἀννιαμόν, | ἄρξαντα τοῦ κοινού τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς μητροπόλεως τὴν α' ἀρχὴν ἀγνώως, καὶ ἀρχιερασάμενον τὴν δι' ὄπλων καὶ κυνηγεσίων ἐνδόξως | φιλοτειμίαν μὴ διαλιπόντα ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευτὴν καὶ τῶν πρωτευόντων Φλαβίας Νέας | Πόλεως, καὶ τὴν ἀρχιέρειαν, σύμβιον αὐτοῦ, | Ἰουλίαν Ἀπολαύστην, | πάσης τεμιῆς χάριν.

#### 10. Tomis

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 101-103 no.41, cf. p.256; Peek 1955, no.1040; Mihailov 1979, 13 no.11; *JSM* II, 2 no.188.

Σπείρατο μὲν Συρίας με Νε<ή> | πολίς εὐρυάγυια, |  
3-4 πλείονα δ' αὐ πάτρης | ἐστεφάνωσε Τομεύς, |  
ἦ μ' ἄλλων μερόπων | πλέον εἶσιδε κοσμηθέντα |  
7-8 χρυσεῖοις στεφάνοις | πορφυραίοις τε πέπλοις. |

- Δις γὰρ ἐποντάρχησα | καὶ Ἄραιας ἀθλα ἐτέλεσα, |  
 11-12 τρίς τελέσας ἀρχὴν | καὶ πόλι<ν> οὐχ ὕβρισας. |  
 Ταῦτα δ' ἄπαντα ἀνύσας | φθόνῳ πληγείς νεμεσῆ[θ]ην |  
 15-16 ἀλλὰ θεῶν βουλαῖς ἐχθρ[αῖς]K(?) | ψυχαὶ μεμάραντα[ι] |  
 (vac.)  
 Ἄρεως ἀθλητῆρες οἱ ἐμοὶ | σταδίοισι δαμέντες |  
 19-20 μνήμην κὰν θανάτῳ | τοῦτο φέρουσι γέρας.

Line 1: Νε<ή>, Mihailov, *JSM*; line 15: ἐχθρ(ῶν), Robert, Peek, Mihailov; ἐχθρ(αῖς), *JSM*.

### 11. Tomis

• imperial date

• Stoian 1962, 199 no.3 (pl.51); *BE* 1965.264; *JSM* II, 2 no.288. Now in the Museum of Ancient History (*Muzeul National de Antichitati*) in Bucharest (inv.no.L1417).

• The stele has been broken across the top. The inscription is found beneath a relief. The relief depicts the legs of a man standing and facing the viewer. He is barefoot and wears nothing on his legs. He seems to be wearing a tunic. On the right is the bottom of a palm branch and on the right is a circular object (his helmet?). The inscription is a heroic couplet.

Ἀγροῖκον πυγμῆι προβοκάτορα χειρετέροπλον, | τὸν μέγαν ἐν σταδίοις μεικρὸς ἔκρυσε  
 τάφος

### 12. Tomis

• imperial date

• A. Rădulescu, *Studii si cercetări de istorie veche* 14 (1963) 91-2 no.11; *BE* 1964.293; *JSM* II, 2 no.207.  
 • Only the head and the top of a palm branch remain of the relief. Below is the inscription (ordination uncertain):

Πανθία Σπίκλω ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν

### 13. Tomis

• 3rd C

• *JGR* I 646; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 104-105 no.44 (pl.4); Klaffenbach 1949, 322; Stoian 1962, 199 no.2 (pl.50); Vulpe 1965; *BE* 1968.361; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 304 no.1255 (pl.187); *JSM* II, 2 no.344.

• Limestone stele. It has a low pediment with acroteria above a square relief field. The relief depicts a retiarius holding a trident vertically and a dagger in his left hand, and in his right a three-pointed(?) weapon (or *spata*?). His left arm and shoulder are protected by a *galerus* which here appears to be supple, perhaps implying it was leather. The *galerus* is held in place by a strap around his chest. His chest and stomach are bare, as are his legs (except for bands around his ankles). At his feet sits a small dog. The inscription is in the relief field all around the figure. Intended as elegaic couplets:

Σκίρτος Δακήσις | ἐλεύθ(ερος) καρμῶν | ἔξ παρὰ μοῖραν ἀπελθὼν | κείμαι δ' εἰνὶ Τόμει,  
 τὸν | τάφον οἶκον ἔχαψ. Ἐρρ(ῶσθαι) ὑμᾶς εὐχομαι.

Line 2: καρμῶν(ος), *JGR*; πυγμῶν or καρμῶν (related to Latin, *parma*), Robert; καρμῶν = παλμῶν (Latin, *palmarum*), Stoian.

### 14. Tomis

• 2nd C

• *BE* 1939.224; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 105-106 no.45; Stoian 1962, 200 no.5 (pl.52); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 303 no.1251 (pl.186); *JSM* II, 2 no.343.

• The stele is of marble and is roughly worked. In the centre of the stone is a rectangular relief field containing the figure of a retiarius. He stands facing the viewer and holding a trident in both hands in front of him across his waist. In his left hand he also holds a dagger and has a *galerus*. On the bottom left corner of the relief field are five parallel striations (his net). The inscription is above the relief.

Ἄργουτος ἐνθάδε ἐγὼ | κείμιε ῥητιάριος νει(κῶν) ζ' | θάπτε δέ με Ὀρέστης | μνείας χάριν.  
Χαίρε | παροδεῖται.

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15. Tomis

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 106 no.46 (pl.13); Robert 1946a, 140. Cf. Golvin & Landes 1990, 166 for a large photograph of this relief.
- Fig. 7. A relief of two gladiators in combat. The relief panel is broken on the right and seems to have contained further scenes of combat since a hand holding a dagger handle is just visible. In the extant relief a retiarius (on the left) is locked in combat with a heavily armed gladiator (on the right). In his left hand the retiarius holds a dagger, pointing upwards, while in his right hand he holds a trident, the points of which are at (or in) the midsection of his opponent. His opponent attempts to hold back the trident in his bare left hand and draws back his dagger in his right hand preparing to strike. He is heavily protected by a full helmet which has flangs to protect his neck, and by body armour which covers both arms as well. His legs are protected by greaves. On the ground lies an oblong object with a scythe-like object on top (ἄρβηλος?). See nos. 101, 461, 170 and 700.

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16. Tomis

- imperial date
- Stoian 1962, 200 no.4 (pl.51); *ISM II*, 2 no.342.

Ἀμάραντον θανόνητα τῶν ἐν ἡράων μάχαις ἔθαψε Ὀφέλλης Λόνγηος· μνείας χάριν οὖν  
ἔστησεν εὐγραφον στήλλην | Σόφων· χαίρε παροδεῖται

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17. Tomis

- imperial date
- Stoian 1962, 200 no.7 (pl.53); *ISM II*, 2 no.341.
- The stone is broken on the right and across the bottom. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right, with a dagger in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. He wears a helmet with protective shoulder flanges. In the top left corner is the inscription: ΔΙΟ--

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18. Tomis

- imperial date
- Stoian 1962, 201 no.8; *ISM II*, 2 no.206.

- - Νηρκισσὸς ῥητιάριος? - - -  
- - -|ρ κατακεῖται? - - -  
- - -|κνυ| - - -

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19. Tomis

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 107 no.47; Stoian 1962, 200 no.6 (pl.53); *ISM II*, 2 no.340.
- The stone is broken across the bottom. Above the inscription in a semi-circular relief field are the busts of a man and a woman. On either side of the relief field are acroteria. Below is the inscription, bordered on the left (the right side is missing) by a detailed Corinthian column in relief. An impressive stone that has been well worked. The letters are also very neat and regular. The epitaph is in three hexameters.

Ἄτταλος ἐνθάδ' ἐγὼ κείμαι, παροδεῖται, κυνηγός, πόλλους [ἐν] | σταδίοις πλήξας βόας, ἴς  
(?) φθιμμένους δὲ ἤλυθον [ἀσχομέ]νο[ς] βοῦν ἄγριον, ὅς με κ[ατέκ]τα.]

Line 3: ἴς = εἰς, Robert; lines 4-5: [ἀσχομέ]νο[ς], Stoian, *ISM*.

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20. Dionysopolis

- later imperial date



- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 101 no.40; *IGBulg I*, 2 no.28 (ph.); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302 no.1246 (pl.186); *SEG* 1991.585. Now in the National Museum in Sofia (inv.no.1386).
- Above the inscription, is a relief of two gladiators in combat. On the right, a retiarius advances to the left against his opponent. His trident, held in his left hand, points toward his opponent's head while over his right forearm is draped his net.

[ - - - Δ]ημητρίωι - - - ] | [- - - Α]πφία ΦΑΝ[- - - ]

## 21. Marcianopolis

- imperial date
- V. Besevliev, *Epigraphski prinosi (Acad.Bulg.Sciences, Inst. et Musée Arch., Sofia 1952)* 30(?); *BE* 1954.185; *IGBulg II* no.816 (ph.); *SEG* 1991.585.
- To the end of line 5 are two hexameters (the second hexameter will not scan).

Πολλοὺς δ' ἀντιπάλους κτείνας, ὅταν ἤθελε Μοῖρα, εἰκοστὸν | μονομαχῶν τοι  
πεπρωμένον ὧδ' ἀπέδωκα. | Ἰουλία Σμαράγδοφ ἕκ | τῶν ἰδίων μνείας χάριν. | εὐ(τύ)χει,  
παροδεῖτα.

## 21a. Marcianopolis

- later 2nd or early 3rd C
- Angelov et al. 1996.
- Heavily armed gladiator (*secutor*) moving to the right. Palm branch on the right.

ἦμην ἐγὼ τὸ πρὶν Μαρκιανὸς | εἶτε σεκούτωρ Πολυνείκης· πυκτεῦω δὲ δύο· καὶ μετὰ  
ταῦτα μυρμιλλῶν παρέβην ΠΥΓΝΗ δὲ ἔχω κάλι μερίαν εἶτ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας εἰμαρμένης  
ἐνοχλήθην, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καλὴν πυγμὴν ποίσας | κάλιν ὧδε ἐν τῇ θειοτάτῃ  
Μαρκιανοκόλει | βασιλείῃ. νῦν δὲ τελευτήσας ὧδ(ε) ὁ τάλας κεῖμαι

Line 4: NH of ΠΥΓΝΗ in ligature, perhaps: πυγμή<ν>.

## 22. Odessos

- AD 227
- *IGBulg I*, 2 no.70 (pl.46 and 47); *BE* 1972.300. Now in the Odessos Museum (inv.no.II 4200).
- The inscription, which announces a gladiatorial spectacle and wild beast hunt, was decorated with a series of reliefs depicting combats with animals, mainly bulls, and gladiators. We have some of the names of the gladiators and beast fighters inscribed between the reliefs: Πάρδος, Τεῦκρος, Λυαῖος. The bottom of fragment no.4 depicts a heavily armed gladiator and, on the right, a referee. Similarly, fragment no.5 depicts two heavily armed gladiators and, on the right, a referee wearing a tunic with his right hand raised in the air.

Ἄγαθῇ Τύχῃ.

- 2 [Ἐπερ τῆς τοῦ θειοτάτου κ̅αι̅ μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεικήτου αὐτοκράτορος Μ(άρκου)  
Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σευήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου]  
[εὐσεβοῦς εὐτυχοῦς σεβ(αστοῦ) κ̅αι̅ Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας σεβ(αστῆς)] τύχης καὶ νείκης καὶ  
αἰωνίου [διαμονῆς καὶ]
- 4 [τοῦ σύμπαντος οἴκο]υ κ̅αι̅ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν  
στρατευμάτων καὶ τοῦ]  
[λαμπροτάτου (vel κρατίστου) ἡγεμόνος Λ(ουκίου) Μαντεῖνίου Σεβείνου πρεσβ(ευτοῦ)  
σεβ(αστοῦ) ἀντιστρατήγου καὶ βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ὀδεσσιτῶν]
- 6 [- - - - - ἀρχιερεῖς?] τῆς πόλεως Μ(άρκος) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Σίμων Σίμωνος βουλευτῆς] κ̅αι̅  
Μ(άρκος) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Ἰα[- - - - -]  
[- - - - - ]ν̅ διὰ τε κυνηγεσιῶν καὶ μονομαχιῶν π̅η̅ πρό - - ] καλ(ανδῶν) Μαίμων vel  
Μαρίτιαν Ἀλβίνα καὶ Μαξί-  
μω ὑπάτοις.

**23. Odessos**

• imperial date

• K. Schkorpil, *Bull.Inst.Arch.Bulg.* XIV (1940-42) [1943] no.28; *BE* 1948.156; *BE* 1952.89; *IGBulg* I, 2 no.71 (pl.48); Robert 1949a, 132-135 no.324. Now in the Odessos Museum (inv.no.II 242).

- - -ς βι - - -  
 - - -] ἀρχιερε - - -  
 - - -]του ἐπιτελέσει? - - -  
 4 - - - μονομαχίας - - -  
 - - - τῆ πρὸ δ' εἰδ(ῶν) καὶ τῆ - - -  
 - - - ] τὸ β' καὶ Α[- - -  
 - - - ὑπάτοης.

**24. Odessos**

• imperial date

• *IGBulg* I, 2 no.73; *BE* 1952.89. Now in the Odessos Museum (inv.no.II 1507).

[- - - κυνηγέσια καὶ μονο-  
 [μαχίαι - - -]ΒΡΙΩΝ  
 [- - - - - ]ν μηνός  
 - - - - -

**25. Nicopolis ad Istrum**

• AD 161-163

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 100-101 no.39; *IGBulg* II no.660.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη  
 2 Ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Μάρκου Αὐρη-  
 λίου Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος Σεβ(αστου) καὶ Αὐρηλίου [Οὐήρου]  
 4 Σεβ(αστου) καὶ Φαυστίου Σεβ(αστής) καὶ [τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος]  
 [αὐτῶν οἴκου τύχης καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ αἰωνίου] διαμονῆς ἱερᾶς τε συνκλήτου  
 6 καὶ δήμου Ῥωμαίων καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγείας] τοῦ [ἡγεμόνος] Ἀππίου Κλαυδίου Μαρτιάβλου  
 [πρεσβ.]  
 Σεβ. ἀντιστρατηγοῦ βουλῆς τε καὶ δήμου Οὐλπίας Νεικοπόλεως τῆς πρὸς]  
 8 Ἴστρον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς πόλεως [Μινίκιος Ο[- - - καὶ]  
 Μινικία Φιρμεῖνα θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ φιλοτειμοῦμενοι? - - - ἐπιτελέσαντες]  
 10 κλητῆ καὶ μονομαχίας [τῆ (?) ] β' καὶ Π - - - - - ]

**26. Nicopolis ad Istrum**

• second half of 2nd C

• T. Ivanov, *Actes LXe Congrès*, 289-293 (ph.); *SEG* 1987.629.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη | Τὸν φιλότιμον δι' ὀπλων καὶ γεροῦς[ιαρ]χην Τ(ίτον) | Αἴλ(ιον)  
 Ὀκλάτιαν ἄρξαντα τὴν ἀ' ἀρχὴν τῆ κατ[ε]ίδι | ἀμέμπως καὶ πολλὰκις τιμῆθεντα  
 δόγμασιν τῆς κρατ[ι]στῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου δήμου Τ(ίτος) Αἴλ(ιος) Φῆστος |  
 ἀνέστησεν.

**27. Khersonesos (north coast of the Pontus)**

• imperial date

• E.I. Solomonik (Kiev, 1973) no.124; *BE* 1974.380.

• The fragmentary relief depicts a gladiator standing with a shield while his opponent crouches and seeks mercy with an outstretched right hand. Below we have a name: Ξάνθος.

**28. Thrace**

- imperial date
- D. Zontschew, *ArchAnz* (1941) 199 no.10; Robert 1946a, 137-8 (pl.7); *BE* 1941.88.
- The bronze statuette, found in southern Bulgaria, measures only 12.5 cm high by 3.2 cm wide at the base. The gladiator depicted has no helmet and his weapons are now missing, although the holes in his hands are visible. He seems to have held the trident in only his right hand (the holes in his hands are not in alignment) while his left hand probably held a dagger. He wears a partial coat of mail which protects his left shoulder and arm and his waist. Around his waist and holding the mail in place is a narrow belt. On the base we are given his name and statistics:

Ὁξύπτερος | νε(ικῆσας) κ'

---

### 29. Serdica

• AD 176-180?

• *JGR* I 1493; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 97-100 no.38; Robert 1946a, 114.

[Ἵπὲρ τῆς τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων Μ. Αὐρ.]  
 [Ἄντωνεῖνου καὶ Λουκίου] Κο[μ]όδο[υ]  
 [Σεβ. ὑγείας καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν  
 4 [οἴκου - - - - - ]ν ἀρχιερεὺς  
 [ - - - - - ]ανος καὶ ἡ ἀρ-  
 [χιέρεια? - - - - - ]καὶ μονομαχί-  
 [ας - - - - - ]καὶ τῆ προ ζ' [καλάδων or κωνῶν or εἰδῶν?]  
 8 [ - - - - - ]κακαλοῦσι  
 [ - - - - - ]ν.

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### 30. Serdica

• AD 161-169?

• *JGR* I 1452; Robert 1946a, 112-5 no.303; *IGBulg* IV no.1919.

[Ἵπὲρ τῆς τῶν Αὐτο]-  
 [κρατόρων Μ. Αὐρ.] Ἀν[τ]ω-  
 [νίνου καὶ Λουκίου] Οὐήρου  
 [[Παρθικῶν μεγ.] Σεβ. ὑγείας  
 4 [καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αὐτῶν οἴκου καὶ ἱε-  
 [ρῶς συνκλήτου καὶ - - βουλῆς τε καὶ δῆ-  
 [μου Σερδῶν - - - - - ]ὁ δι' ὀπλων (?) ἀρχι-  
 [ερεὺς? - - - - - ]βεας  
 8 [- - - ἐπιτελέσου]σιν κυ-  
 [νήγια καὶ μονομαχίας τῆ . . . κτλ. . .]

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### 31. Stryme

• late 2nd - early 3rd C

• Meimaris & Bakirtzis 1994, 41-42 no.33 (ph.); *AE* 1994.1544; *SEG* 1994.611.

Ἡ φαμίλια | παρ' ἑαυτῆς | Ἵακίνθω, ῥητιαρίω, μνήμις χάριν | NE I Z

Line 6: perhaps νεί(καντι) ζ' or νε(ικαντι) ιζ'.

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### 32. Tatarevo (modern name)

• imperial date

• *IGBulg* III no.1453 (pl.207); Robert 1949a, 135-140, no.325 (pl.18). Now in the Serdica Museum (inv.no.6735).

• Fig. 10. The monument has been sculpted in the round. On the base are depicted three people. On the left a gladiator stands in full armour, with a large shield on his left arm, a presumably a dagger in his right hand (now lost). He has a full helmet with crest and protective flanges, a belt and protective

wrapping and greaves on both his legs. On the right is a fallen retiarius (his trident lies on the ground). He raises his right hand to ask for mercy. Between and behind the two is the referee in a tunic holding a stick in his left hand and with his right hand stopping the attacking gladiator on the left. Behind this sculptural scene stands a pillar with a relief depiction of an organ with two small figures on either side of it. Beneath the sculptural scene is the inscription. The two words are at the extreme left and extreme right.

Ἐπιτῶς (vac.) Πουλσάτωρ

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**33. Augusta Traiana**

• late 2nd - early 3rd

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 93 no.31; *IGBulg* III no.1571; Goceva 1981, 500.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη | Τὸν φιλότιμον | ἀρχιερέα | δι' ὅπλων | Μ. Αὐρ. | Ἀπολλόδορον | Δημοσθένους  
| τειμήσασα | ἡ πατρίς. | Εὐτυχῶς.

---

**34. Augusta Traiana**

• imperial date

• *BE* 1948.143; Robert 1949a, 131 no.323; *IGBulg* III no.1572; Goceva 1981, 500.

[ - - - - - ] | [βι?]ΑΡΤ<H>N (?) Σκέληρος | νεωκόρον ἐν παιδί | καὶ ἀρχιερέα δι' ὅπλων, |  
φιλόπατρην ἐν πᾶσι.

---

**35. Augusta Traiana**

• 3rd C

• Ch. Bujukliev, *Archeologia* (Sofia) (1971) II, 30-36 no.1; *BE* 1972.294.

• On a statue base found in the Jewish cemetery where it had been used as a grave stele (ordination unknown):

Αὐρ(ῆλιον) Τήρην Σκελητος(?) νεωκόρον ἐν παιδί καὶ ἀρχιερέα δι' ὅπλων,  
φιλόπατρην ἐν πᾶσι - - -]οὶ γονεῖς

---

**36. Augusta Traiana**

• 3rd C

• Ch. Bujukliev, *Archeologia* (Sofia) (1971) II, 30-36 no.2; *BE* 1972.294.

• On a statue base found in the Jewish cemetery where it had been reused as a grave stele. It bears the inscription (ordination not clear, but is in 6 lines):

Αὐρ(ῆλιαν) Μαρκέλλαν Βειθυνικοῦ ἀρχιερέως(?) δι' ὅπλων, σύμβιον Αὐρ(ῆλιου) Τήρου  
Σκελητος ἀρχιερέως δι' ὅπλων οἱ γονεῖς

---

**37. Augusta Traiana**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 94 no.32, cf. p.301; *IGBulg* III no.1582 (ph). Now in the Serdica museum (inv.no.3531).

• The relief depicts a *munus*. On the far left stands a gladiator. In the centre a retiarius fights a heavily armed gladiator. On the far right a gladiator (retiarius) on his knee prepares to thrust his weapon against his fallen opponent. Above the relief, on the left is the partial inscription:

- - - ]ος Λεύκασπις

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**38. Augusta Traiana**

• imperial date

• Ch. Bujukliev, *Archeologia* (Sofia) (1971) II, 30-36 no.3; *BE* 1971.423; *BE* 1972.294.

• The bottom of the stone is broken, but there is part of a relief depicting a gladiator "dans sa gloire". He has the *subligaculum* and a belt in three bands. He left hand rests on his helmet which sits atop his shield. In his right hand he holds a palm and his right arm is covered with protective wrapping. Beside the bottom of the palm branch is a round object which seems to have vertical striations. On either side of the gladiator's head we have the greeting:

Χαίρε παροδεΐτα. Οί σκουτλάριοι ἀνέστησαν μνείας χάριν

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#### 39. Philippopolis

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 94-5 no.34; *IGBulg III* no.1019; *Goceva* 1981, 494-5.

• A gladiator is stands between lines 4 and 5 holding a palm branch in his left hand and a crown in his right. On the ground to his right is a helmet, and to his left is a table (?) and a dog (?). The text is metrical (hexameter and pentameters).

Βίκτωρ σκεῦας ἐνθάδε κείμαι, πατρὶς | δέ μου Θεσσαλονείκη ἔκτεινέ με δαίμων, οὐκ ὁ  
ἐπιόρκος Πίννας· μηκέτι | καυχάστω ἔσχον ἐγὼ συνοπλᾶ | Πολυνείκη, ὅς κτείνας Πίνναν  
| ἐξεδίκησεν ἐμέ. Κλ(αύδιος) Θάλλος | προέστη τοῦ μνημείου ἐξ ὧν κατέλιπεν.

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#### 40. Philippopolis

• AD 222-235

• L. Botušarova, "ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων ναν Filipopol" in *Isvestija na Balgarskija Archeologiceski Institut* 33 (1972) 161 no.2; *BE* 1973.294; *Goceva* 1981, 497; *SEG* 1981.677.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη | τὸν θεοφιλέστατον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης | δεσπότην  
Μᾶρ(κον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Σεουήρον [Ἄλέξανδρον] Σεβαστὸν ἢ | λαμπροτάτη Θρακῶ  
μητρόπολις Φιλιπποπόλις νεακὸρος | πρωταρχοῦντος ἐπιμελουμένου Τ(ίτου) Φλ(αβίου)  
Πρεισκιανοῦ | θρακάρχου καὶ ἀρχιερέως δι' ὄπλων.

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#### 41. Philippopolis

• AD 202-203

• L. Botušarova, "ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλων ναν Filipopol" in *Isvestija na Balgarskija Archeologiceski Institut* 33 (1972) 159-60 no.1; *BE* 1973.294; *Goceva* 1981, 497-8; *SEG* 1981.677.

Ἄγαθῆ Τύχη | Κ(οίντων) Σικίν(ιον) Κλᾶρον | ἡγεμονεύσαντα | τῆς Θρακῶν ἐπαρχείας τὸν  
μέγαν | ὑπατικόν Πό(πλιος) Ἀδριαν(ιος?) Σαλλουστι(ος) | ἀρχιερεὺς δι' ὄπλα(ν) | [τὸν  
ἐαυτοῦ εὐεργέτην].

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#### 42. Philippopolis

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 95-6 no.35; *IGBulg III* no.1018; *Goceva* 1981, 495.

Φλαμεάτη ῥήτιαρίφ πρώτῳ πάλῳ Περγαμη(νῶ) ἢ ἰδία σύμβιος | Γαιανῆ μνείας χάριν ἐκ  
τῶν | [ἰ]δίων ἐὰν δέ τις καλήσῃ | [δῶ]σει εἰς τὴν πό(λιν) φ'.

---

#### 43. Malomirovo (modern name)

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 96 no.36; *IGBulg III*, 2 no.1798; Robert 1949a, 140-1; *Goceva* 1981, 495. The stone is now lost.

• Mihailov reports that this inscription was found in the village of Malomirovo, between Philippopolis and Hadrianopolis

[ὕ]περ Τύχης στέφανον ἔλαβον - - ]  
[ὁ Τή]λεφος προπέμψας Εἰσίδατα(ν - - ),  
[τὸν] ἀντίπαλόν μου ἔσχον νίκη(ν) πολλακίς(?)

- 4 [ή το]ῦ βιότου Ἡραίς δάμαρ μ(ου φιλάτη?)  
[μ' ἔ]στησε [τῆ]δε π[ῆ]σι γλυπτ(ὸν εἰσορᾶν?)

**44. Philippopolis**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 97 no.37; *JGBulg* III no.1020.
- Heroic couplets. The beginning of l.3 is missing a long syllable

- - - - - ]μενος  
- - - - - ]Σαβείνος

- [.Ια]σίαις π[ά]σαις τὸν βίον ἐξάνυσας  
4 [μ]ῆ θηρῶν γενύεσσι δαμείς, νοῦσφ δὲ βροτείη,  
τρεῖακονταέτης ἤλυθον εἰς Ἄιδην.  
Θῆκε δέ μοι μνήμης ἀντάξια δῶρα πορούσα  
Ζωὴ τήνδε σόρον, σύγγαμος οὔσα φιλή.

**45. Philippopolis**

- imperial date
- A. Balkanska, "Novotkrita nadgrobna ploca na gladiator ot Plovdiv" in *Archeologija* (Sofia) 6 (1965) 32; *BE* 1966.256. Cf. Goceva 1981, 495.
- A relief shows a gladiator sitting with his wife (Goceva).

Σεκοῦνδα | Φέροπι (sic) τῶ | ἰδίφ ἀνδρι μνίας χάριν.

**46. Plotinopolis**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 92-93 no.30; *BE* 1939.479.
- The gladiator stands facing the viewer with his left hand resting on his helmet and shield. Four hexameters (to line 14). The missing name (l.1) is the first foot of a hexameter. The line divisions for lines 14-16 are uncertain. The stone was found in modern Demotika, which Robert identifies with ancient Plotinopolis.

- [name], μυρμύλλον, Ζμύρνης  
[κλέος ?, ὦ] παροδείτα, κείμ[ε],  
θανῶν πυγ-  
4 μῆ προβο-  
κάτορος Ὑα-  
κίνθου, ἐν-  
δεκα πυ-  
8 κτεύσας·  
νείκην  
[δ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ?] λάβε οὔδης,  
[Μοῖρα δ'] ἐμοὶ κατέκλω-  
12 [σε θανεί]ν, ἐπέπρωτο γὰρ  
[οὔ]τως. Κεῖμ[ε] δ' ἐν γέη Θρακ-  
[ῶν Πλατινοπ]λειτῶν. Χρή-  
[στη? . . .] ἀνδρι μνίας  
16 [χαριν] . . . Ι.ΣΧΗΤ.

**47. Bizye**

- late 2nd or 3rd C
- Robert 1982b, 154-158 (figs.3, 4, 5, 6, 7); Sayar 1983, 144-146 (pls.12, 13); *SEG* 1982.660. Now in the museum in Istanbul (inv.no.5807).

• On the front, a gladiatorial combat between a retiarius (bare head and legs, high belt, *galerus* on left shoulder, trident in two hands but right hand also holds a dagger) against a heavily armed gladiator (large helmet, rectangular shield, greave on left leg, dagger). On the right side is a scene depicting *taurokathapsia*: a man has left his horse and has a bull by the horns. On the left side is the depiction of a *venatio*: two ursarii with whips fight bears.

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχηι | τὸν ἱερέα καὶ | ταλαντάρχην | δι' ὄπλων, δόντα | καὶ ἀνάλημψιν | καὶ  
ταυροκαθάψια | Μ. Αὐρ. Καλανδίωνα | Διονυσίου | Μ. Αὐρ. Χαρίτων | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον |  
δ(όγματι) β(ουλήσ) δ(ήμου) | εὐτυχῶς.

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48. **Abdera**

• 2nd C ?

• D. Feissel, *BCH* 103 1979, 595 (fig.147); *BE* 1979.278; *SEG* 1978.558.

Κασσία Ἀσκληπιοδότῃ κατεσκευάσαε τὴν σορὸν ἑαυτῆι | καὶ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ Μ.  
Οὐλίφῳ | Αὐτολύκῳ φιλοτειμησαμένῳ δι' | ὄπλων ἡμέραις γ' τῆι πατρίδι ἑαυτοῦ. | [Οὐδένα  
βούλομαι ἕτερον τεθῆναι, ὅς δ' ἄν τολμήσῃ, δάσσει τῷ | [ἱερωτάτῳ ταμείῳ προστείμου βφ'  
| [τῆι δὲ λαμπροτάτῃ Ἀβδηρειτῶν | [πόλει ἄλλα βφ'.

---

49. **Maroneia**

• imperial date

• D. Triantaphyllos, *AD* 29 B 3 (1973-74) [1980] 792 no.δ; *SEG* 1980.688; *BE* 1982.219.

ΙΑ ΚΛ ΑΤΟ | Ρ ὁ προβοκάτορ νικῶν κ' ἐπόησαν συνκομάσιο[ν μνη]μης | χάριν.

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50. **Maroneia**

• imperial date

• Meimaris & Bakirtzis 1994, 20-21 no.3 (ph.); *SEG* 1994.592.

Ἐτεοκλῆς (vac.) | ῥιτιάρης Μαρκια[νῶ] | μνίας χάριν (vac.) | τῷ ἰδίῳ μνήμης χάριν | ἀνεῖ νν  
γηρα{ι}ς.

Line 6: ἀνεῖ νν γηρα{ι}ς = ἀνήγειραις.

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51. **Bergoulai**

• imperial date

• *JGR* I 774; Robert 1929, 35; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 92 no.29.

[Μα?]ρία Κύντα ΑΛΛ | [ . . ] ἔποίησα τὸ | [λα]τόμιν σὺν τῆι | [στ]ήλῃ τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ  
ἀνδρὶ μου Εὐ[ . . ] φ μνίας χάριν. | [Εἰ]μι δὲ ἐξυ(ρ)ίας | [πρ]ὶν φίλοπλος | [ἐν]θάδε κε(ῶ)με  
ἄλ[ι]πτος, ἀλλὰ φιλη[θ]ῆς ὑπὸ πάντων. | [Π]αρά τοιοῦτης (sic) ψυ[χ]ῆς | χαιρε παροδεῖτα.

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52. **Thracian Chersonesus**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 90 no.26.

Χρυσέρα[ς] | φιλοκύνηγο[ς] | ἐποίησα ἑμαυτῷ τὸ ἐνσορι[ον] | [καὶ τῆι] γυναικί | (vac.) |  
κνους· εἴ τις δ[έ] | ἕτερον τολμή[σ]ῃ β(ά)λλειν, δάσσει προστείμου | τῷ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) φ' |  
κα(ι) τῆι πόλι (δηνάρια) φ'.

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53. **Thasos**

• 2nd C

• Seyrig 1928, 388-390; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 107 no.48. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.39.

Ἀγαθῆ τύχη. | Τίτον Αἴλιον Μαγνον τὸν κράτιστον δουκηνάριον καὶ πρῶτον | τῆς πόλεως  
καὶ | δις ἀρχιερέα δι' ὀπλων. τὸ πρὸ πόλεως Βαχχεῖον τὸν | ἑαυτῶν ἱεροφάντην τειμῆς καὶ  
εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν. | Εὐτυχῶς.

---

**54. Thasos**

• imperial date

• Seyrig 1928, 392; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 113 no.54. Cf. Kanatsoulis nos.99 and 814.

Μορμίλλων

Λεοντᾶς Ἀρχέλεω

τείρων

Δοκ[ος] (?) Ἀρχέλεω

τείρων

---

**55. Thasos**

• early 1st C

• Sève 1981, 194-5 no.18 (fig.17, squeeze); *SEG* 1981.794; *BE* 1982.266.

[Μορμίλλων | [. . .]ρανος] | [Ἑκαταΐας

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**56. Thasos**

• imperial date

• Bernard & Salviat 1962, 606-608 no.22 (fig.26); *BE* 1964.401.

Ἰππεῖς | Διγνίτας Ῥαῦδος | τείρωνες Ἀρχέλεω

---

**57. Thasos**

• imperial date

• *JG* XII 8 no.549; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 108 no.49.

A. Νατιούιος Σεουῆ[ρος]

[νι(κήσας)] κα', στε(φάνωθεις) κα' ἀπελύθη

A. Ἄννιος Ῥεστιτουῖ[τος]

4 [νι(κήσας) κ]α', [σ]τε(φάνωθεις) ιη' ἐνίκα

---

**58. Thasos**

• early 1st C

• *JGR* I 1504; *JG* XII 8 no.549; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 109 no.50.

Θρ(ῶξ)

Ναρκίσσος Ἑκαταΐας

[νι(κήσας) α'] στε(φάνωθεις) α' ἐνίκα

Μορ(μίλλων)

Κέρασος Ἑκαταΐας]

[νι. α'] στε. α' ἀπελύθη

---

**59. Thasos**

• early 1st C

• *JG* XII 8 no.550; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 109 no.51.

[- - -]ΟΥΥΣ Ἑκαταΐας - - -] | [- - -] ἀπελύθη

---

**60. Thasos**

• early 1st C

• *CIG* 2164; *GIBM* no.207; *JGR* I 840; *JG* XII 8 no.547; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 109-110 no.52.

• The inscriptions (a and b) run side-by-side, but have been separated here, following Robert.

a.

[Ἐ]σσεδάριοι·

[(name of gladiator)] Ἑκαταΐας

[νι(κήσας) α']?, στε(φάνωθεις) α' ἀπελύθη

Αἰγίπαν Ἑκαταΐας

νι. θ', στε. αι' ἐνίκα



b. Μορμίλλοι(ς)  
 Τυνδάρεως Ἐκαταίας [νι. x, στε. x] [(name of gladiator)]  
 (γ)ι· ἀπελύθη Ἐκαταίας νι. x, στε. x· ἐνίκαι]

61. **Thasos**

- early 1st C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 111-113 no.53.

[(gladiator) ἀπελύθη Μορμίλλων  
 Λαῦτος | ἐνίκα Σκι Εὐφρίλλου

62. **Thasos**

- imperial date
- Seyrig 1928, 390-2; *BE* 1939.294; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 113-5 no.55; Klaffenbach 1949, 322-323. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.13.

Οὐ Λοκρὸν Αἰαντά με καθορῶς οὐδ' αὐ Τελαμώνιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν σταδίοις | ἀρέσαντα  
 ἀρηίοισι νείκεσιν, ψυχὰς πολλὰς σάφ(α)ντα κρατερῶς ὑπ' ἀνάνκην, ἐλπίζων καὐτὸς ὅτι  
 κάμοι τις ταῦτ' ἀποδώσει· καί με κατέ[πε]ϕνεν ἀντίος οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἰδίῳ ἔθανον, καί με  
 ἄλοχος σεμνή ἔνθα θέτο θάσου πέδον | [ἀ]γνόν. Καλλιγένεια Αἰ[ῖ]αντι ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ  
 μνήμης χάριν.

63. **Stobi**

- second half of 3rd C
- Bouley & Proeva 1997.

Αὐρήλιος Σεβήρος σεκουνδαφρούδης προστάτης τοῦ κολληγίου Καυκάσω τῷ | πρὶν  
 στρατηγῷ ἔκ τοῦ κολληγίου καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ | μνείας χάριν. Χαίρεται

64. **Pella**

- AD 222
- Cormack 1953, 376-7 no.2 (fig.1); *BE* 1954.161; *SEG* 1955.350. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.1311a.

Π. Σπεδίῳ α' | κάλῳ Σπεδίῳ Μυρσίην | ἢ μήτηρ καὶ ἑαυτῇ | ζῶσα· ἐτῶν ις' | ἔτους | ΓΝΣ'

65. **Beroia**

- AD 229
- Touratsoglou 1970, 280-285 (ph.); *AE* 1971.430; *BE* 1971.400; D. Kanatsoulis, *Makedonika* 13 (1973) 26-27; Pippidi 1977, 196-8; Mihailov 1979, 35. Cf. Tataki 1988, 241 no.984. See also *SEG* 1990.532 (re Cassius Dio).

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχηι

- Ἐπεὶ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ με-  
 γίστου καὶ θειοτάτου καὶ ἀητητήτου κυρίου ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα-  
 4 ρος Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου [Ἄλεξάνδρου] εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρ-  
 χιερέως μεγίστου, δημοαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δγδοον, ὑπάτου τὸ Γ, πατρὸς πατρί-  
 8 δος καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωτάτης μητρὸς αὐτοῦ [Ἰουλίας Μαμαΐας] σεβαστῆς καὶ ὑ-  
 πὲρ τοῦ σύμπαντος θείου οἴκου αὐτῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ τῶν δια-  
 12 σημοτάτων ἐπάρχων καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαί-  
 ων, Οὐαλεριανὸς Φιλόξενος ὁ μακεδονίαρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς τοῦ Σε-  
 βαστοῦ καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος Ἄλεξαν-  
 δρείου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Οὐαλεριανῆ Ἀμμία ἡ ἀρχιερεὶα τῆς Σεβαστῆς  
 ἐπιτελέσουσιν ἐν τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονί-  
 ας Βεροιαίων πόλει κυνηγεσίων καὶ μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας

- 16 τρεῖς· ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τῇ πρὸ Ζ Καλ(ανδῶν) Ἰουλίαν, Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρηλίῳ Σεούρῳ (sic) [Ἰ'Αλεξάνδρ]ῳ εὐσεβεῖ, εὐ-  
 τυχεῖ, Σεβαστῷ τὸ Γ καὶ Κλ' Κασσίῳ Δίῳ τὸ Β ὑπάτοις, ἑλληνι-  
 κῇ δὲ ἔτους ΞΣ Σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ΣΟΤ, Πανήμου ΕΙ.  
 Εὐτυχεῖτε.

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66. Beroia

• AD 240

• Touratsoglou 1970, 285-290 (ph.); *AE* 1971.431; *BE* 1971.400; D. Kanatsoulis, *Makedonika* 13 (1973) 11-16; Pippidi 1977, 196-8; Mihailov 1979, 35. Cf. Lorient 1973; Papazoglou 1983, 204; Tataki 1988, 270 no.1170; and Hatzopoulos 1994, 68 re the Alexandrian games.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ

- Ἰπέρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τοῦ θεοτάτου καὶ  
 μεγίστου καὶ ἀνεκλήτου αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου [Γορδιανοῦ  
 εὐσεβοῦς]
- 4 εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ, ἀρχιέρως μεγίστου, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ Γ, ὑπάτου Π(ρῶτον)  
 πατρὸς πατρίδος καὶ ὑπέρ τοῦ]  
 θείου οἴκου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερῶς συνκλήτου καὶ ἱερῶν στρατευμάτων καὶ δήμου τοῦ  
 Ῥωμαίων καὶ δι-  
 ασημοτάτων ἐπάρχων τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου, ὁ μακεδονιάρχης καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς [τῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἀγωνο]-  
 θέτης τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀγῶνος Ἀλεξανδρείου, ἱεροῦ, ἰσλαστικοῦ ἰσολυμπίου  
 Λ(εὐκίος) Σε]-
- 8 πτίμιος Ἰνστειανὸς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Ἀλεξάνδρα ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀρχιέρεια  
 ἐπιτελέσασιν ἐν τῇ]  
 λαμπροτάτῃ καὶ Β νεακῶρῃ μητροπόλει τῆς Μακεδονίας Βεροιαίων πόλι (sic) κυνηγεσίαν  
 καὶ μονομαχιῶν]  
 ἡμέρας Γ, προσεισάγοντες καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν καὶ ἕτερον ζεύγος περι-  
 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγω-  
 νούμενον πρὸς τοῖς νενομισμένοις δυσὶν κατὰ συνχάρησιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου)  
 Ἀντωνί-
- 12 ου Γορδιανοῦ εὐσεβοῦς, εὐτυχοῦς, Σεβαστοῦ· ἄρξονται δὲ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν τῇ πρὸ Ζ  
 Καλ(ανδῶν)  
 Ἰουλίαν. Σουητρίῳ Σαβείνῳ τὸ Β καὶ Ραγωνίῳ Βενούστῳ ὑπάτοις, ἑλληνικῇ δὲ ἔτους  
 ΑΟΣ σε-  
 βαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ ΖΠΤ, Πανήμου ΖΙ. Εὐτυχεῖτε.

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67. Beroia

• shortly after AD 98

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 81-82 no.15; Cormack 1940, 51-52; D. Kanatsoulis, *Macedonika* 3 (1953-55) 71-73; *SEG* 1960.315. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.1193; Tataki 1988, 259-261 no.1114; Robert, *Hellenica*, 11-12 (1960) 472-474 (re διάδμα); *BE* 1961.628.

- Τὸν διὰ βίου ἀρχιερεῖ τῶν Σεβαστῶν  
 καὶ ἀγωνοθέτην τοῦ κοινοῦ Μακε-  
 δόνων Κ(οίντων) Ποπίλλιον Πύθωνα πρ]εσ-  
 4 βεύσαντα ὑπέρ τῆς πατρίδος Βεροί-  
 ας ἐπὶ θεὸν Νέρουαν ὑπέρ τοῦ μό-  
 νην αὐτὴν ἔχειν τὴν νεακορίαν τῶν Σε-  
 8 βαστῶν καὶ τὸ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἀξίω-  
 μα, καὶ ἐπιτυχόντα, καὶ δόντα ἐν τῇ  
 τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης χρόνῳ τὸ ἐπικε-

- 12 φάλιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καὶ ὀ-  
 δούς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπισκευάσαν-  
 τα, καὶ καταγγείλαντα καὶ ἀγαγόντα  
 εἰσακτίους ἀγῶνας ταλαντιαίους,  
 16 θυμηλικούς καὶ γυμνικούς, δόν-  
 τα θηριομαχίας διὰ παντοίων ζῴων  
 ἐντοπίων καὶ ξενικῶν, καὶ μονομαχί-  
 ας, ποιησάμενον δὲ κὶ σείτων παραπρά-  
 σεις, κὶ σιτευωνήσαντα ἐν καιροῖς ἀνανκίους,  
 20 κὶ διαδόμασιν παρ' ὅλον τὸν τῆς ἀρχαιρω-  
 σύνης χρόνον πανδήμοις [κατὰ πάσαν σύ-  
 νοδον ὑποδεξάμενον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν, καὶ  
 γυμνασιαρχίαις κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἑαυτὸν εὐχρη-  
 στον ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ παρασχόμενον, κὶ κα-  
 24 τ' ἰδίαν προσηνῆ πολείτην φυλὴ Πευκαστι-  
 κῆ τὸν εὐερέτην. Ἐπεμελήθη Διοσκουρίδης  
 Ἀλεξάνδρου.

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68. Beroia

• 2nd C

• BCH 79 (1955) 274; BE 1956.150; D. Kanatsoulis, *Makedonika* 5 (1961-63) 67 n.1; 675 (fig.VI); Allamani-Souri 1987, 38-39 no.Γ1 (pl.5,4); SEG 1986.599. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, nos.1638 and 1694; Tataki 1988, 159 no.505. Now in the north section of the wall of Beroia.

Ζμαράγδος Νυμφέραφι Ἐφείσιφ μνήνης χάριν ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κασσά<v>δρου.

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69. Beroia

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 82-83 no.17 (pl.3); Klaffenbach 1949, 321; Cormack 1970, 195-196 (ph.) Allamani-Souri 1987, 38 no.B3; SEG 1986.597; BE 1988.834. Cf. Tataki 1988, 276 no.1192. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.216).

- 4 [Πα]τρὶς δέ μοι Παυ(α)λία  
 [ἐ]ν ὄπλοις δὲ ΠΤΕ[ . . ]Σ?  
 ΤΗΣ ὄνομα δέ μοι  
 Σουλπίκις Με<v>δίας?  
 [Ἰ]ουλιανὸς Νικαεὺς  
 [[rasura]]  
 ἐκ τῶν ἐκίνου μνίας  
 χάριν.

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70. Beroia

• before mid-2nd C

• Lagoyianni 1983, 165 no.84; Allamani-Souri 1987, 36-37 no.A6 (pl.5,2); SEG 1986.595; BE 1988.834; Bouley & Proeva 1997. Cf. Pandermalis 1983, 214 n.40; Tataki 1988, 264 no.1134. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.208).

• Between lines 2 and 3 is a standing, frontal relief of the deceased. His weight is on his right foot and he wears a chiton and a himation. In his right hand he holds a *rudis*, now damaged.

- 4 Πούπλιον σουμμαρούδην οἱ  
 ὑπογεγραμμένοι μνήμης χάριν.  
 Ἐκλεκτος σουμμαρούδης  
 Ὀνήσιμος σεκουνδαρούδης  
 Ἀχαϊκός Κλασσικός

	Α. Πουφίκης	Ῥεσιτούτος
	Κάρειος	
8	Δημήτριος	ἄθικτος
	Πηριδίων	Ἄγαθων
	Α. Ναιβηνός	Σπάταλος πραιίκων.
		Εὐτυχᾶς σαλπιστής.

**71. Beroia**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 82 no.16; D. Kanatsoulis *Makedonika* 14 (1974) 180; Allamani-Souri 1987, 42 no.Δ2; *SEG* 1986.607. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, nos.476 and 1460. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.323).

Φλαμμεάτης ὁ τὸ πρὶν Ζώσιμος, πρῶτος κάλος ῥητιαρίων, | π(υγμῶν) κ', ἐκ παιδὸς ἄλκτος, ἐνθάδε κίμε, παροδεῖται· θήσκω οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀντιπάλου ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ βίας, | ἐπὶ στεφανωθεὶς ἤτῳμε | οὐχ ὑπὸ ἀντιδικου ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ βίας. | Ἐρμιόνη Φλαμμεάτη τῷ πρὶν | Ζωσίμῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτῆς | μνίας χάριν· ἐάν δὲ τις ταύτην τὴν στηλίδα καταστρέψη ἢ κακὸν τι ποιήσῃ, | δῶσι εἰς τὸ ταμίον \* βφ'.

**72. Beroia**

• 2nd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 84 no.19; Allamani-Souri 1987, 38 no.B4. Cf. Tataki 1988, 225 no.873.

Μελανίππῳ τῷ κὲ Καύματι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, | ἐτῶν ιη'

**73. Beroia**

• late 2nd C

• J.M.R. Cormack, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 22-23 (1973) 209-210 no.18; *BE* 1974.331; Daux 1975; *BE* 1976.355; Allamani-Souri 1987, 40 no.Γ4. Cf. Tataki 1988, 98 no.109. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.65).

• A relief depicts the deceased reclining at a banquet (*Totenmahlrelief*). In front of the couch is a tripod table and a dog. In the right corner is a shield, helmet and dagger. Beneath the relief is the inscription and eight crowns.

Χαίροις, ὃ παροδίτα, | παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου | νεοθητοῦ. Κίμε τ' εἴκοσι ἐτῶν μοῖραν ἔχων ἴδιαν. Ἀμμία | Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐκίνου μνείας χάριν. | π(υγμῶν) octo coronae.

**74. Beroia**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 39 no.Γ2 (pl.6,1). Cf. Tataki 1988, 131 no.310. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.241).

• A relief depicts the deceased reclining at a banquet resting on his left elbow (*Totenmahlrelief*). On the right are his shield and helmet. There is a small table in front of him (three legs) and a small dog. On the frame of the relief are five incised crowns (three on the right and two on the left) though perhaps a sixth existed once on the left.

Ἀφροδιτῷ | τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Ξιφῶνι μνήμης χάριν | ἐξ (sic) τῶν ἐκίνου

**75. Beroia**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• I. Touratsoglou, *Terra Antiqua Balcanica* 2 (1986) 421 no.5 (ph); Allamani-Souri 1987, 42 no.Δ1; *SEG* 1985.722. Cf. Tataki 1988, 160 no.508. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.230).

• The inscription is in the pediment of the stele with three crowns inscribed below. The inscription was originally in two columns; all that remains is the right hand one.

**76. Beroia**

• 2nd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 83-84 no.18 (pl.23); Klaffenbach 1949, 321-322; Allamani-Souri, 40 no.Γ5. Cf. Tataki 1988, 190 no.686, cf. 256 no.1085. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.63).

• The deceased is depicted on the right reclining at a meal. In front of his couch is a tripod table and in the lower left of the relief field are his helmet, shield and dagger. Above the gladiator are depicted eight crowns. On the left is a seated woman. The first inscription (a.) is found above the relief field; the second (b.) (read "difficilement" by Robert) is between the legs of the chair on which the woman sits; the third (c.) (seen by Robert) is above the helmet. Klaffenbach understands the gladiator's full name to have been Οὐάλος Κέστιλλος.

a. Πολυδεύκης Κεστίλλω  
μνείας χάριν

b. Μήτηρ | Οὐάλου

c. πᾶ(λος) α'

**77. Beroia?**

• later 2nd C

• Lagoyanni 1983, 93; 170-171 no.91; Allamani-Souri 1987, 35 no.A2 (pl.4,2); *SEG* 1985.813. Cf. Tataki 1988, 222 no.862, cf. 273 no.1180. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.217).

Σιλβανή | Μαρίσκω | τῷ ἰδι<φ> ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τῶν | ἐκίνου | μνείας | χάριν.

**78. Beroia**

• 3rd C

• G.I. Philetaros and D.P. Vassileiadis, *Ἐθνικὸς Ὁδηγὸς τῆς Μεγάλης Ἑλλάδος* 1 (1919) 14, and 2 (1920/21) 40; Cormack 1963, 29 no.19; *BE* 1965.233; Allamani-Souri 1987, 36 no.A4 (pl.4,4). Cf. Tataki 1988, 234 no.925. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.184).

• Fig. 3.

Νεικηφόρος ἐκκ (sic) τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτῷ μνείας χάριν.

**79. Beroia**

• later 2nd C

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 41 no.Γ7 (pl.6,4); *BE* 1988.834. Cf. Tataki 1988, 514 no.573a. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.697).

• There are sixteen crowns incised below the inscription.

Ἰουαναρία Πλατάνω τῷ | πατρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

**80. Beroia**

• late 2nd C

• M. Siganidou, *AD* 33 (1978) 268 (pl.128d); Touchais 1986, 716-717 (fig.82); Allamani-Souri 1987, 34-35 no.A1 (pl.4,1) cf. 45-46; *SEG* 1985.717; *BE* 1988.834. Cf. Tataki 1988, 515 no.1122a. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.665).

• The deceased is portrayed on a marble stele standing and holding a palm branch in his right hand, with his left hand resting on his helmet. He wears armour around his waist (baltaeus), a greave (ocrea) on his left leg and a manica on his right arm. The inscription has been cut on either side of him and along the bottom border, running first down the left side of the stone the along the right and ending on the bottom border. Six crowns are depicted incised along the right border.

Πόπλις | ό και Μαρίσκος | Ἄρπεινος πολυμοχθος | ἐγώ ὑπό μηδενός | ληφθίς, | ἀλ<λ>'  
 ὑπό | τύχης | ἐνθάδε | κατοικῶ παροδεῖτα. | Ἀλεξάνδρα Μαρίσκω | μνείας χάριν.

---

**81. Beroia**

• early 3rd C

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 41 no.Γ6, cf. p.47, (pl.6,3). Cf. Tataki 1988, 516 no.1351a. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.77).

[. . .]ΑΝΤΑ[. . .] | ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ | ΔΑΜΙΑΝ μνήμης χάριν.

Line 1: perhaps [Τ]αντα[λοφ τῶ].

---

**82. Beroia**

• AD 225-250

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 39-40 no.Γ3, (pl.6,2); *BE* 1988.834. Cf. Tataki 1988, 516 no.1397a.

• The deceased is depicted reclining on his left arm at a (funerary) banquet with his wife and child. His wife sits on the couch facing him and his child sits on top of his/her father. Below the couch are incised fifteen crowns, a helmet and a shield.

[. . . τῶ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης χάριν.

---

**83. Beroia**

• imperial date

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 35-36 no.A3 (pl.4,3); *BE* 1988.834. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.222).

Ἰάσων ἐαυτῶ.

---

**84. Beroia**

• imperial date

• Allamani-Souri 1987, 37 no.B1 (pl.5.3). Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.453).

• A fragment of a relief depicting a probable gladiator. All that remains is a side view of the gladiator's midsection, his shield and his dagger. He is advancing to the right. (Dimensions: 23 x 16.5 x 7.5 cm).

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**85. Beroia**

• c. AD 150-250

• *AD* 23 (1968) *Chron.* B2, 349 (pl.292d); *BE* 1970.356; Ph. Petsas, *Makedonika* 15 (1975) 270 no.154; Allamani-Souri 1987, 37 no.B2. Now in the Beroia Museum (inv.no.257).

Πεκουβλιάρης | πυ(γμῆς) α'.

---

**86. Thessaloniki**

• AD 141

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 78-79 no.11; *JG* X, 2, 1 no.137; Ville, *La gladiature*, 198f.

[- - - c.17 - - -] ΟΙ [ . . ] Ι [ . . ]

[ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου Αἰλίου Ἄδρι-

[ανου Ἀντωνίου Σεβαστοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς σωτηρίας και

[τύχης και διαμονῆς και Μ(άρκου) Ἀυρηλίου Οὐήρου Καίσαρος

4 [και τοῦ οἴκου] τῶν Σεβαστῶν και ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου και

[δήμου Ῥωμαίων εἰδέναι ἐπιτελεσθησόμενα κυνήγια

[και μονομαχίας ἡμέραις τρισὶν ἐκ διαθηκῶν Ἐρεννί-

[ - c.6/7 - ]ας Ἰσπανῆς, κατὰ τὰ γενόμενα ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ-

8 [τῆς βουλῆς και τοῦ δήμου ψηφίσματα, διὰ τῶν περι

[Τιβέριον] Κλαύδιον Κρίσπον τὸν ἀρχιερέα πολειτάρχων]

[ - c.7 - ] Ἀπολλοδώρου, Μεμμίου, Κρατέρου, Ρούφου [τοῦ],

- 12 [Ρού]φρου, Μάρκου τοῦ Διομήδους· ἄρξεται δὲ τὰ κυνή-  
[για καὶ μονομαχίαι τῇ πρὸ ιζ' καλανδῶν Ἀπριλίων, Ἑλλη-  
[νες δὲ Ξανδικοῦ δευτέρου τοῦ θπς' ἔτους. Εὐτυχεῖτε.  
[ - c.5 - ] ἐπὶ τούτων πρώτως ἤχθη.

---

87. **Thessaloniki**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 79 no.12 (pl.22); Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.2. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.975. Now in the Museum in Istanbul.

• The stele has a pediment with a mounted rider; below on the left is the relief bust of a young, beardless man, and on the right, a gladiator who advances to his left. He is a left-handed gladiator, He is holding a large rectangular shield in his right hand and a dagger in his left.

Τ(ίτος) Φλαουῖος Σάτυρος | Νεικηφόρου Συνέτου Λακεδαιμονίῳ τῷ καὶ Ναρκίσσῳ |  
σεκούτορι τὸ ἥρῳον μνήμης | χάριν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων. Χαῖρε Νάρκισσε. | Χαῖρε καὶ σύ, τίς  
κοτ' εἶ.

---

88. **Thessaloniki**

• 2nd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 79-80 no.13 (pl.4); Robert 1946a, 140; Klaffenbach 1949, 321; Peek 1955, no.1019; *BE* 1974.340; *JG X*, 2, 1 no.1019. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.1605; and Golvin & Landes 1990, 175 for a large photograph. Now in the Louvre (no inv.no).

• A relief depicts a retiarius standing with a trident and dagger in his left hand and another dagger in his right. Behind him are six crowns (more lost?). He wears a wide belt, a loin-cloth and a *galerus* on his left shoulder.

Εὐφράτης πάϊς ἦλθον | Αἰθε πλοκαμειδες ἐπησαν. Ἐξάκι νικήσας πατριδ'  
ἐπη<υ>κλείσα.

Line 2: ἔθ' αἰ, Peek.

---

89. **Thessaloniki**

• 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 80-81 no.14, cf. p.322.

[Εὐμένιος κυνηγὸς τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνβίῳ Ἰσιδάμῳ] καλῶς βιωσάσι σε<ν>μνώς μῆνας (vac.) | καὶ  
Ν' Ἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἀνόξι, δώσι τῷ | [ἰερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ (δηνάρια) ἀφ'. (vac.)

---

90. **Thessaloniki**

• 3rd C

• *JG X*, 2, 1 no.306; Robert, *CRAI* (1982) 240 (fig.5); *SEG* 1982.651; Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.8 (pl.12). Now in the museum in Thessaloniki (inv.no.1984).

Μαξίμα Πειθέρωτι

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91. **Thessaloniki**

• late 2nd-early 3rd C

• Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.10 (pl.14); *BE* 1992.313. Now in the museum in Thessaloniki (inv.no.3127).

• The deceased reclines on a couch; beside him is an unidentified object, a dog and a small table. Below are three crowns, a helmet resting on top of an oval shield and the inscription:

Εὐτυχία | Στροβίλῳ | τῷ ἀνδρὶ | μνήμης χάριν

---

92. **Thessaloniki**

- late 2nd C
- *JG X*, 2, 1 no.300; Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.7 (pl.11). Now in the museum in Thessaloniki (inv.no.2233).
- A rectangular stele of white marble with a relief field (no raised border) depicting a gladiator. He stands facing the viewer in an animated pose (knees slightly bent. He has a beard and hair combed straight back. His right arm is protected with ring-like armour held partly by a strap depicted running across his chest and he has a dagger in his right hand. On his left arm is a rectangular shield (the artist has skilfully shown the curve of the shield) which has on it a detailed face (Medusa?). He wears a wide belt and loin-cloth and has greaves on both legs. On the right is a small child with curly hair wearing a tunic who holds a gladiatorial helmet. The helmet has a drilled visor, protective flanges and a griffin(?) on top. At the left foot of the gladiator is a small dog. Excellent detail. The inscription is found above and around the figures. The name of the boy (Apollonius) is found immediately above his head.

Θεοδώρα | Λουπέριφω τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ | Ἀπολλώνιου | μνήμης | χάριν

### 93. Thessaloniki

- early 3rd C
- *JG X*, 2, 1 no.739; Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.9 (pl.13). Now in the museum in Thessaloniki (inv.no.1292).
- A gladiator stands facing the viewer. He has a high belt and loin-cloth, and armour protecting his right shoulder and arm. He may be wearing greaves. In his right hand he holds a large palm branch and his left hand sits on his helmet which in turn rests on his shield. In the bottom left corner of the relief field is a dog (looks like a piglet). In the upper right hand corner are depicted 13 crowns. The inscription is found below the relief field:

Φιλουμένη Λευκάσιδι | τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης | χάριν

### 94. Thessaloniki

- 2nd / 3rd C
- Peek 1955, no.1641; *JG X* 2, 1 no.1021
- Gladiatorial? *JG*: "Est haud dubie monumentum sepulcrale gladiatoris." The stone is now lost, though was found in Epirus. It probably came to Apollonia or Dyrrachium along the Via Egnatia.

- - - ] οἶον ὀρήης, [ᾧ] ξεῖνε, τετυπωμένον εἶδος, | τοῖον ἐν ἀνδρείᾳ Μοῖρα παρεῖλε βίου | οὔνομα Πρεμιογένην με, πάτρας ἀπὸ Θεσσαλονε[ι]. .{κης, | ὄν φιλίη Κρονίου στῆσ' ἐπιτυμβίδιον.

### 95. Thessaloniki

- imperial date
- D. Markopoulou in *Τὸ ἀρχαιολογικὸ ἔργο στὴ Μακεδονία καὶ Θράκη 5* (1991) (Thessaloniki, 1994) 263-264 (fig.3); *BE* 1994.422.
- Two inscriptions for two gladiators, Καβίος and Δεκουράτος.

### 96. Thessaloniki

- 3rd C
- *JG X*, 2, 1 no.550; Velenis & Adam-Veleni 1989, 251 no.6 (pl.10). Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.1697. Now in the museum in Thessaloniki (inv.no.5665).
- A relief on a sarcophagus depicts a man standing facing the viewer, wearing a chiton (or tunic?) and holding a dagger(?) in his right hand and a stick (rudis) in his left. The inscription is found on either side of the relief:

Αὐρήλια Ἑραεῖς Νεπωτιανῶ Ἀμυντιανῶ σεκουνδαρούδη  
τῷ γλυκυτάτῳ συνβίῳ μνείας χάριν. οἰκουμένης



**97. Philippi**

- date uncertain
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 86 no.22.

-- -gladiatorum] paria VII pugna[ve]runt Philippi[s] ---  
UNCO IIII venatio PIANA(?) et crocis sparsi[t] arenam ---

**98. Philippi**

- imperial date
- Collart 1937, 382 (ph.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 87-90 no.25.
- There are three reliefs associated with this inscription. To the left of the inscription in a rectangular field is a horseman with a staff around which a snake coils. Below the inscription are the two other reliefs. To the left, a man spears a lion in the mouth, while behind him, on the left, another lion prepares to leap. The relief to the right depicts three or four men (representing the spectators?) watching a fifth man who stands holding a crown in his right hand and the body of an animal (a lion?) in his left. The text is in hexameters.

-- -κωσας και πολλους (?)  
-- -λατι τούτων πράξεις έτέλεσσα, ευσήμου δε γένους και ενδιόξου.]  
Ἡράσθη δε έτέρων τις άνηρ κάγω πάνυ τούτου.  
4 Δάιμων δε μ' έκέλευσε θανείν κλυτής έπί γαίης  
κτίσματος Φιλίπποιο και Αύγουστου βασιλῆος,  
εϋστεφίη στείχων έλιπον φάος τὸ γλυκὺ κόσμου.  
Εἰ δ' έτερον κατάθοι τις άνηρ έμφ' ενί τύμβῳ, δώσι  
8 τῷ ταμείῳ (δηάρια) β' προστίμου.

**99. Edessa**

- 2nd / 3rd C
- Robert 1929, 26 no.5 cf. p.39-40; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 84-5 no.20; *BE* 1943.14; Klaffenbach 1949, 322. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.902; Tatakis 1994, 59 no.213.
- The word παγανός seems to have been added subsequently.

Ἐγὼ Μειλήσις εκλήθην παγανός | δε Μεστριανός πέ[ντε] πυκτείσας | και μηδένα λυπήσας·  
νῦν δε |[λε]λύπημαι· και εκ τῶν ιδίων NH |[. . ]ΠΑΚΕΙ Ἄλεξάνδρα δε τῷ |[ιδίῳ] άνδρι  
μνείας χάριν εκοίη[σε]. Χαίρετε], πάντες οἱ παροδεῖτε

**100. Amphipolis**

- 3rd C
- J. Roger, *RevArch* (1945), 51-3 (fig.9); *BE* 1946-7.140; Robert 1948b, 77-8; *BE* 1949.96; Peek 1955, no.732. Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.501; *BE* 1969.372.
- In hexameters.

Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.  
Εϋχρους ενθάδε κείμαι, ο τοῖς σταδίοις φιλόνεικος,  
πολλάκι πυκτεύσας και πολλάκι νείκος [ά]νευράν  
4 Μοῖρα δε παντο[γ]λέτει]ρ' εἰθ[ε]με]ρε και ὄβριμος Ἄρης·  
κείμαι δ' εν Ἀμφιπόλι Μοίρης | κρατερῆς ἄπο λειφθείς·  
δωδέκατον δ' ἄθλων ὑπὸ σῆμα τόδ' | ἦλθατὸ γαίης.

**101. Dion (Colonia Iulia Diensis)**

- imperial date
- Robert 1949a, 126-8 no.321 (pl.16,2-4). Cf. Kanatsoulis 1955, no.876.
- The relief and inscription are on an altar with depictions of animals on the sides. Front: below the inscription is the relief of a man standing and holding a spear in his left hand and a rope or whip (or

• The relief and inscription are on an altar with depictions of animals on the sides. Front: below the inscription is the relief of a man standing and holding a spear in his left hand and a rope or whip (or crown?) in his right. The spear seems to have a cross-bar immediately below the head. He wears a thick, short tunic. Beside him on the right sits a woman and beside her is a dog. On the right side of the altar is a relief depicting two leaping lions, while on the left are a lion and a bull. The inscription is on the front of the altar above the relief:

ΚΡΑΠΣ Τόχα Α[- - - - -] | κρατῆς με κατή[γαγ' ἐς] | 'Αῖδα δόμον, [- - - - -]ανῆ  
Μαριανῶ τῷ | ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ τῷ καὶ [Κ]ωνοπαῶ Σμυρνέῳ, | μνείας χάριν. | Χαῖρε παροδεῖτα.

#### 102. Larissa

• imperial date

• *JG IX 2 no.644*; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 115-116 no.56; *BE 1940.65*; Klaffenbach 1949, 323.

ἽΟλυμπόν με καθορᾶς θρασύν, ᾧ παροδεῖτα, | πολλάκις ἐν σταδίοις νεῖκος αἰρησάμενον, |  
πολλοὺς δ' ἐν σταδίοις σάσας· ὅτε δ' ἤθελε μοῖρα, | ἕνα τον μονομάχων τὸ πεπρωμένον |  
ᾄδε ἀπέ[δωκα]. | χαῖρε παροδεῖτα. Τρωαδεύς | Πανθία Ὀλύμπῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνείας χάριν.

Line 5: ἀπέ[δωκα], Robert; ἀπέ[τεισα], Klaffenbach.

#### 103. Larissa

• imperial date

• *JG IX 2 no.982*; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 116 no.57.

Μηριόνης πά(υ)βλος τρίτος ἐκέλευσεν ἑαυτῷ | γενέσθαι.

#### 104. Larissa

• later 2nd C

• Kontoyannis 1981; Catling 1983/4, 36 (fig.56); *SEG 1982.605*; *BE 1984.227*.

• On the front of a white marble stone is the inscription (a.) above the relief of a heavily armed gladiator who has a shield, sword, and helmet. He stands on a plinth and moves to the right. On the right are two palm branches and on the left is another palm branch and three crowns. On the left side of the stone is a second inscription (b.) in six lines containing three hexameters. There is a rosette on each side of the stone.

a. [Ἐ]νθάδε κείμα[ι] πρῶτό-  
[π]αλος ν Φοῖβος σεκού-  
[τη]ρ (vac.) ὁ στ (vac.) εναρὸς (sic) ἐν στα-  
4 [δίο]ις, γενόμενος δὲ πα-  
[ρά π]ασι φιλητός· (vac.) οὔνομα  
[πρὶν Λ]αγένης, ἤμην δὲ γένε[ι]  
[Κυζι]κητός, ὅστις πυκτεύσα[ς]  
8 [Ἀσί]χην, Θράκην, Μακεδονίαν,  
[ἀθ]λῶν δὲ ἐν Λαρείσῃ τὸ πεπρω-  
[μέ]νον μοίρης ἀπέδωκα· Καλῶς δὲ  
[βι]κῆσας, φίλοις ἐτέροις (sic) συμβιάσας, ἐν-  
12 [θ]άδε κείμαι συνκαταβιβάσας τὸν  
[εἰ]δίον ἀντίπαλον. (vac.)

b. [Πο]λλοὺς ἤκαχε Φοῖβ[ος]  
[ἐ]νὶ σταδίοισι θεαρού[ς],  
πᾶσι φίλος γὰρ ἔην  
4 καὶ νῦν παρὰ Πηνειοῖο  
χεύμασιν οὐχὶ μόνος,  
[σ]ὴν τῷ κτείναντι δὲ κείται.

**105. Demetrias?**

- imperial date
- Robert 1950, 39-40 no.327 (pl.15,4); *BE* 1951.129.

Βαλμερῖα . . . ωι τῷ | ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ. | πυγμῶν | δύο, | μνείας χάριν τρίτου  
 πάλων (sic) προβοκατόρων. Χαῖρε | παροβει< >τα.

**106. Eretria**

- imperial date
- Robert 1946a, 115-6 no.304 (fig.2); *IG* XII, 9 no.860.
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large helmet with protective flanges, a crest and a visor, and seems to be covered in protective wrapping on his visible right arm and both legs. In his right hand is a dagger and on his left arm is a large shield which covers most of his body. In front of him is a large palm branch and there are four crowns incised in the relief field.

Πηνελαῖς· | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | αὐτοῦ μνίας | χάριν.

**107. Athens**

- imperial date
- Papapostolou 1989, 366 n.41.
- Names of probable gladiators inscribed in the rock above the Theatre of Dionysus: Καρτερός, Ἀθηρός, Ἑρως

**108. Athens**

- AD 36-37
- *IG* III no.114; *IG* II, 2 no.3156; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 116 no.58, cf. p.318-9; Robert 1982b, 147-148; *SEG* 1982.259; *BE* 1984.43. Cf. Robert, *RevPhil* 41 (1967) 17-26.
- Below the inscription is a relief depicting a crown between two palm branches.

Βασιλεῖ | Ῥοιματάλκα, | ἀγωνιζόμενος | Σεραπίων | ταυροκαθάπτης

**109. Megara**

- late Hadrianic?
- *CIG* 1058; *IG* VII no.106; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 116-117 no.59, cf. p.262.

[Γαῖον Κούρτιον Πρόκλον | [Γαῖου Κ]ουρτίου Πρόκλου | [υἱ]όν, ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος,  
 ἀγωνοθέτην Πυθαίων καὶ [σ]υστρατηγόν | καὶ ἀγορανόμον, φιλαρτεμιστάμενον μονομαχῶν  
 ζεύγη κ' καὶ βοιωταρχήσαντα ἀπὸ τῆς | πατρίδος τὸ β' καὶ ἀμφικτυονεύσαντα τὸ γ' καὶ |  
 πρῶτον Πανέλληνα, ῥήτορα, προστάτην διὰ βίου, | υἱὸν τῆς πόλεως καὶ πατέρα βουλῆς,  
 ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν | καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα | εὐνοίας.

**110. Corinth**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 1106; *IG* IV no.365; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 117 no.61.
- Verse = elegiac couplets.

Ἰη<τ>ρῷ Τροφίμῳ πῖσυνοι | θηρ<ε>ύτο<ρε>ς ἄνδρες | [- - - -]ε<ὺ>χόμεθα | ἀνθ' ὧν  
 χαλκείην τήνδ' εἰκόνα θήκαμεν ἀνδρός | ἐγγὺς θηρείων ἰστάμενοι στομάτων. |  
 <Ψ>(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς)

**111. Corinth**

- 3rd C
- Pallas & Dantes 1977, 76-77 no.21 (ph.); *SEG* 1979.328; *BE* 1980.230; Carter *forthcoming*. Now in the Corinth Museum (inv.no.2664).

• **Stele.** The relief depicts a retiarius: subligaculum, galerus, a trident and dagger in his left hand and a palm in his right. There is the inscription on either side of the figure (my proposed restoration):

[- - -]	[- - -]
Δρ-	ας
αύ-	ἐπι-
καφ	στά-
μν-	της
εία-	σεξ[ο]-
ς	υ[τό]-
	[ρων]
χ ά ρ ι ν	

### 112. Patras

• 2nd C

• Rizakis 1990, 204 (pl.8). Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.1930).

[.....]ius P(ublil) f(ilius) Q[uir(ina)-?-]  
 [.....] Ilvir por[ticum cum]  
 [colum]nis marmo[reis---]  
 4 [.....]a faciend(um *or* a) cu[ravit]  
 [....] ob honor(em) aed[il(itatis)---]  
 [.....] XV item ob [honor(em)]  
 [.....]s Ilvir glad[iatorum]  
 8 [paria ded]it ea(ue) omni[---]  
 consum[mavit . . .]

### 113. Patras

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Rizakis 1990, 205-208 (pl.8); *AE* 1990.888. Cf. Kleijwegt 1995; *AE* 1995.1408. Now in the Patras Museum without an inventory number.

P(ublius) Pomponius P(ublil) f(ilius) Quintianus MAS  
 CAICEISCAESARE qu(aestor? or quinquennalis?) munerar(ius) bis  
 q(ui) pro Ilvir(atu) munus quinti d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)  
 4 et in annonam col(oniae) su(a)e levandam  
 vendidit f<r>umentum DXV, sing(ulum)  
 mod(ium) \* S  
 cur(a) Publiciae Optatae matri<s>

### 114. Patras

• second half of the 3rd C

• Papapostolou 1989, 393-400 (figs.36-37); *SEG* 1989.409;

• On the left is the arbiter (*summa* or *secunda rudis*) named Τειμοκράτης. He wears a tunic and carries a *rudis*. On the right are two fighting gladiators, one of whom is named Καλλίμορφος, and the other, Γά[τος].

### 115. Patras

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Rizakis 1990, 202-203 (pl.7 and dr. p.202); *SEG* 1990.398. Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.1629).

[Χρυ]σάνπελ[ος]  
 [νι]κῶν Δ[- - -]  
 [- - -]ΤΟΜΝ[- - -]  
 4 [- - -]ΩΧΡ[- - -]

**116. Patras**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Rizakis 1990, 203-204 (pl.7 and dr. p.203); *SEG* 1990.399. Now in the Patras Museum (inv.nos.2545a and b).

• The inscription is on two non-adjoining marble fragments. There are palm branches beside the text.

Ἰππ(όλ)υτος | (έτῶν | [. .] Η.

**117. Patras**

• imperial date

• Papapostolou 1989, 378-380 (fig.20); *SEG* 1989.407; Rizakis 1990, 201 n.3. Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.1435).

Χρυσός καὶ Χρυσόπτερος Πασινίκῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ | μνήμης χάριν. Ἔρρωσο  
παροδίτα.

**118. Patras**

• imperial date

• Papapostolou 1989, 380-382 (fig.21); *SEG* 1989.408. Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.1451).

• The stele has been carved in relief on both sides. On one side a gladiator moves to the right with a decorated shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. To the right are three crowns. We are told his name: Χρυσάμπελος. On the other side is a similar gladiator, viewed from the back; he moves to the right.

**119. Patras**

• imperial date

• E. Mastrokostas, *AD* 22 (1967) [1969] *Chron.*, 213; *BE* 1969.272; *AE* 1971.446; *BE* 1974.263; *SEG* 1975.473; Robert 1982a, 239-40 (fig.2); *SEG* 1982.419; Rizakis 1984, 534-535 no.1 (fig.1); *SEG* 1984.341. Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.191).

• In the centre of the stele is the relief of a heavily armed gladiator who turns to the right to face a small (winged?) boy (Alexander or Eros or Nike?). The boy, nude, offers a large palm in his right hand while in his left he holds a crown. To the left of the gladiator are eleven crowns arranged in two vertical rows. The gladiator wears a visored helmet with protective flanges which covers his whole head. On his left arm he holds a large, rectangular shield, while his right arm is protected with bands (metal?) from shoulder to his hand. In his right hand he carries a dagger. His right leg is protected with a long greave (which also covers his foot) while his left is only wrapped. These are strings dangling from bands around his right knee. He wears a cape. Beneath the relief is found the inscription in three lines.

Τρυφερὸς πρ(ατόπαλος?) πυ(γμῶν) ια'. | Ἀλέξανδρος τῷ ἰδίῳ | πατρὶ μνείας χάριν.

**120. Patras**

• imperial date

• Rizakis 1984, 536-537 no.2 (fig.2); *SEG* 1984.342; . Now in the Patras Museum (inv.no.1332).

• In the centre of the stone is an incised representation of a gladiator turning to his right. He wears a visored helmet that covers his entire head, carries a large, rectangular shield, and a dagger (?) in his right hand. To the right of the stone are the remains of five crowns, though more are possible. There are eight lines of cursive text, five above the gladiator and three below. The letters show signs of paint. The text is metrical.

Μή με παρατροχάσας - - - ]  
παρέλθης ἄλλ' ἴδε[- - - ]  
ΕΠΙΤΥΝ [. . . ]ΝΤΟ[- - - ]  
ΜΑΦΟΝΙΟΥ ἐ(νθ)ἄδε κ(εῖ)μαι ΑΓ[- - - ]





Line 4: -- -κλείτω is written in larger letters; line 6: νεικῶ λαμ(πρῶς), Robert, νεικῶ λαμβα(νων), *I.Cret.*

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### 131. Gortyn

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 122-123 no.66; Robert 1946a, 140; *I.Cret* IV no.364; Harrison 1993, 134-135.

- - - - -ἀμε]τέρου καμάτου· | οὐ κότινος τὸ θέμα, | ψυχῆς δ' ἔνεκεν μαχόμεσθα. Οὐποτ'  
ἐ[π?]είσθην | [ἔ]κ τινος ἀντιπάλου, | ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' ὅλοη | δαμασσαμένη ποῖσι θῆκεν  
ἀντιπάλου, δέμας | ὑπ' ἐμεῖο δαμέντας. | Ἡ δὲ πατρὶς Τρωάς μοι, | τὸ δ' οὐνομα [Γ]κίος  
ῆεν. | Ἀμμιάς ἐκ τῶ[ν] ἰδίων | αὐτοῦ μνείας χάριν.

Line 1: καμάτου?; line 4: ἐ[λ?]είσθην; line 9: δαμέντος?.

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### 132. Gortyn

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 123 no.66a.

ῥητια[ρ]ιος - - -] | ἔξ ΕΦΗ[- - -] | Ω ΣΙΑ[- - -]

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### 133. Knossos

• imperial date

• *CIL* III 12042; *ILS* 7210; *I.Cret* I no.51; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 124 no.66b; Harrison 1993, 130.

... dedit. In hoc munere \* D sunt quos e lege | coloniae pro ludis dare debuit.

---

### 134. Hierapytna

• imperial date

• Robert 1946a, 116 no.306.

• Robert recognized a palm branch and the visored helmet of a gladiator. The inscription is fragmentary.

- - -μέτοχος  
- - -ῥαι παρὰ τύνβος  
- - -ῥανειν ὡς ἦρος κατέχω  
4 - - -κα]τὰ κόσμον ενι  
- - -ῥκεν ΟΙΔΕΝ  
- - -ῥο τέχνας  
- - -ῥς

---

### 135. Hierapytna

• 3rd / 4th C

• K. Davaras, *ArchEph* (1980) [1982] 11 no.6 (pl.3,4); *SEG* 1982.879; *BE* 1983.308.

• The relief, broken at the top, depicts a heavily armed gladiator. His head is now missing. He carries a large shield which extends from his shoulder to his knee. He has a greave on his right leg only (it seems) and bands covering his entire right arm. In his right hand is a dagger. To the left is a bird and to the right a dog. To the left of the inscription is a crown and to the right is a palm branch.

Βίτων Μαργαρείτη | μνείας χάριν.

---

### 136. Mytilene

• imperial date

• *CIG* 2194; *IG* XII, 2 no.447; *IGR* IV 103; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 221-2 no.273.

• Found near the baths in Mytilene; height: 61 cm (2 feet high). The drawing in *IG* depicts a monument with a base:



Φαμίλια μονομάχων [Μ]άρ(κου) | Κλαυ(δίου) Τροφάνιανου νέου | και ἀρχιερείας | Ὀρφίας  
Λαιλίας | Σωτίου γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

---

**137. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.448; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 222 no.274.
- The relief depicts a bull charging against a bestiarius or venator on the ground. There is the inscription: "Ἐλιξ.

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**138. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.449; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 222 no.275.
- The relief depicts a gladiator holding a small shield in his left hand and a long sword or spear in his right. There is the inscription: [Εἶσ?]κνελο[ς].

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**139. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.450; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 222 no.276; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1206.
- The relief depicts a gladiator with a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. He has a greave on his left leg. He is also named: Φέρωψ (Pherops or Ferox).

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**140. Mytilene**

- later imperial
- *JG XII*, 2 no.451; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 222 no.277, cf. p.299; Robert 1946a, 147; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302 no.1245. Now in Kato Pyrgi (Lesbos).
- The relief depicts a retiarius holding a net in his right hand and a trident in his left. Above is the inscription: Ζόχος (or ["Ἐξ]οχος?).

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**141. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.452; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.278; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1208 (pl.183).
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the left. He wears a helmet with a large circular crest and drilled visor, and carries a shield on his left arm. On the moulding above, there is the inscription: Βίκτωρ.

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**142. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.453; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.279; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1209 (pl.183); *SEG* 1979.743.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the left. He wears a helmet with a large circular crest and drilled visor, and carries a shield on his left arm. Robert records the inscription: Πλάτος or "Ἠλατος (Elatus), but Pfuhl-Möbius argue that we should instead read: ["Ἰ]λυρος.

---

**143. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.454; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.280; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1207.
- The relief depicts a "secutor". There is the inscription: Πυλά[δης].

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**144. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.455; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.281.
- The relief depicts a gladiator with a helmet. There is the inscription: ΟΑΕ.

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**145. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *JG XII*, 2 no.456; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.282.

Αιθίας

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**146. Mytilene**

- later imperial
- *JG XII*, 2 no.457; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.283; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 295 no.1201 (pl.182). Now in the museum in Mytilene (inv.no.226).
- The relief depicts a gladiator wearing a helmet with a large rounded crest and drilled visor, and carrying a large shield with a centre boss on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. The inscription is in the architrave above the relief: Πολύδρομος.

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**147. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 2196; *JG XII*, 2 no.469; *JGR IV* 104; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223 no.284.
- The inscription is fragmentary, but does seem to indicate a myrmillo.

- - - - -  
 ις μυρμίλλων? - - -  
 ν μνησατο| - - -  
 4 νων [ - - -  
 Γαίος Ίούλιος - - - μον]-  
 ομάχου [ - - -  
 - - - |ροσ| - - -  
 - - - |ουλλ| - - -

---

**148. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1210 (pl.183 no.1211); *SEG* 1979.742.
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the left wearing a helmet with a crest and large shoulder flanges. He is carrying a shield on his left arm and his right arm is not visible. His wide belt is also visible. The stone has been built high into the wall of the "kastro" beside no. 149, below. There is the partial inscription, which, according to Pfuhl-Möbius, is not to be read "Adonis":  
 . . . δωνις

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**149. Mytilene**

- imperial date
- Pfuhl-Möbius, no.1211 (pl.183 no.1210).
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right wearing a helmet with a semi-circular crest, drilled visor and flanges. He carries a large shield on his left arm. In his right hand he holds a dagger. The stone has been built high into the wall of the "kastro" beside the above relief no. 148, above.

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**150. Tenedos? (orig. Alexandria Troas?)**

- 2nd C
- *JG XII*, 2 no.644; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 223-5 no.285; *BE* 1940.86; Klaffenbach 1949, 324; Bean 1973, no.43; *BE* 1974.459; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 529 no.2200 (pl.313); *I.Alexandria Troas* no.104. Now in Çanakkale Museum (inv.no.2328).
- Marble base. Robert doubts the provenience of Tenedos for this inscription, believing that it was simply brought to the island which was a common stopping place for ships travelling in and out of the

Hellespont. Beneath the inscription is an outline figure of a dog (named Epiodis: "Roadster") and seven palm branches.

Θαυμάζεις με θανονήτά, τυχόν, φίλε, τὸν Αὐτόλυκον οὕτως πως | προλαβόν σῶσαι δὲ θέλω  
| νικήσας ἔθανον παρὰ | μοῖραν. Σεβαστιανὴ Αὐτολύκῳ μνείας χάριν εἶ τις δὲ μεταθῆ  
τὸν βαμὸν δάσει | εἰς τὸ ταμίον (δηνάρια) βφ'. | Χερε παροδίτα. | Ἐπιόδις.

#### 151. Samos

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 202 no.223.
- This fragment of a relief was found in the Heraion and depicts a man fighting an indistinguishable animal which is jumping on him. We are given the name of the man: Μέλκις.

#### 152. Samos

- imperial date
- Robert 1946a, 138 (drawing fig.4, p.139).
- The statuette has been broken at the lower legs. He wears no helmet and no longer carries any weapons which were once inserted into holes in his two hands. His right hand probably held his trident while his left held a dagger. (The holes are not in alignment.) His left shoulder and arm are protected with a heavy mail(?) armour which is held in place with a strap around his chest and under his right arm. He wears a heavy belt and loin-cloth.

#### 153. Tigani (Samos)

- 2nd / 3rd C
- Pfuhl-Möbius II, no.1215 (pl.183); *BE* 1979.13 (p. 416); *SEG* 1979.761. Now in the Tigani museum.
- The relief depicts a gladiator with a helmet (flanges), shield and dagger. Immediately above the relief field is the inscription: Χρυσός.

#### 154. Cos

- second half of 2nd C
- *CIG* 2511; *I.Cos* no.141; *IGR* IV 1075; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 189 no.185. Cf. Friesen 1993, 194 who dates "150-200?".

Φαμίλια μονομαχῶν καὶ ὑπόμνημα κωνηγεσίων Νεμερίου Καστρικίου, | Λευκίου,  
Πακαφνιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου | καὶ Αὐρηλίας Σαφροῦς, Πλάτωνος, Λικιννιασίνης ἀρχιερείης, |  
γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

#### 155. Cos

- imperial date
- *I.Cos* no.138; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 189 no.185.
- The relief depicts a retiarius standing on a platform (catasta?) dressed in a belt and galerus and holding both a trident and dagger in his left hand; his right arm is raised. On the right, a heavily armed gladiator climbs up; he wears a loin-cloth and a belt and a large helmet with flanges. He holds a dagger in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. Above the retiarius is the inscription, "Ἀγκριτος, perhaps his name, and between the posts of the platform, "Ἀπελύθη | ἔξω | λούδου"

#### 156. Cos

- 3rd C
- *I.Cos* no.140; *IGR* IV 1073b; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 189-90 no.187 (pl.8); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1202 (pl.182).
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large, visored helmet with protective shoulder flanges, and carries a large shield on his left arm which covers most of his torso. His

right arm is covered with protective wrapping and in his right hand is a dagger. In the relief field on either side of his head is the inscription: Ἡρακλεί-δης.

**157. Cos**

- imperial date
- *I.Cos* no.139; *IGR IV* 1073a; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 190 no.188.
- The relief depicts a gladiator turning to his right, with a large shield and short sword. He has been named: Δροσίνοϛ.

**158. Cos**

- imperial date
- *I.Cos* no.312; *IGR IV* 1074; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 190-1 no.190.
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer with a palm branch in his left hand.

Καλλινέα τῷ ἰδίῳ | ἀνδρὶ μνείας χάριν | Οὐνίῳνι νει. ιε´

**159. Cos**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 191 no.191.

ΓἩ γῆνὴ ΟΗΙΠΘΙ. . . Ι | καὶ τὸ τέκνον Ζεῦξει | τῷ καὶ Κινύρα μνείας χάριν. νεικῆσας καὶ | ἀποκτείνας τὸν σύνζυγον ἀπέθανεν. | ἦρας χρηστός. | χαίρετε πάροδοι.

**160. Cos**

- end of 2nd / early 3rd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 191 no.191b; *Hellenika* 26 (1976) 231-2 no.30.
- On the far left, two heavily armed gladiators lunge at one another with their daggers. The one on the left seems to have wounded his opponent in the wrist (blood? flows down). The gladiator on the left is not named but his opponent is Αἰγιαλός. On the far right, a retiarius Ζέφυρος fights a heavily armed gladiator Ὑλας. Between the two pairs of gladiators stands a man in a tunic (arbiter) who looks at and points (with a stick) at the gladiatorial pair on the right.

**161. Cos**

- 2nd C
- Pfuhl-Möbius II, 300 no.1234 (pl.185). Now on Cos in the fortress museum.
- Relief of a gladiator. He stands facing the viewer with his left hand on his helmet (crest, flanges) and shield which sit on the ground beside him (helmet atop the shield). In his right hand he holds a long, pole-like object with a curved upper end (laquearius). His right arm is protected by ring-like armour; he has a belt and a small greave and wrapping on his left leg.

**162. Byzantium**

- 2nd C
- R.M. Harrison and N. Firatli, "Discoveries at Saraçhane 1966-1968" *Istanb.Ark.Müz.Yilligi* 15-16 (1969) 158 fig.9; *BE* 1977.301; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1238 (pl.185). Now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul.
- Figure 2. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He has a curved dagger in his right hand - like that of a thracian gladiator, but below, on the border, is the inscription in very neat letters: Μορμίλων.

**163. Nicomedeia**

- imperial date

• F.K. Dörner, *Inscriben und Denkmäler aus Bithynien* (1941) 90-91 no.91 (pl.35); J. Keil, *Anzeiger Akad. Wien* (1942) 84-7; Robert, *RevPhil* (1943) 186-7; *BE* 1943.14; *AE* 1947.187; Robert 1946a, 119-21 no.308; *TAM IV*, 1 no.109; *I.Apameia* 86-7 no.T5.

• The relief depicts a gladiator's helmet and a dog. To line 13 (δεῖ), the epitaph is in hexameters. The beginning of the first hexameter is no longer extant = the missing line 1 (hexameters marked: /):

[ - - - - - ]  
 [μ' ὀράτ]ε νέκυν, παροδεῖται /  
 [οὔν]ομά μοι παγανὸν Ἀπολλώ-  
 4 [νι]ς ἐκλήθη / οὐ πατρις Ἀπά-  
 [μει]α, νῦν δὲ Νικομηδείας με  
 [γ]αίᾳ / πρὸς δάπεδον κατέχει με  
 μίτος καὶ νήματα Μοιρῶν /  
 8 ὀκτάκι νεικήσας τὸν ἐν στα-  
 δίοισιν ἀγῶναν, / τῆ δ' ἐνά-  
 τη πυγμῇ τὸ πεπραμένον  
 ᾧδε ἀπέδωκε. / Παῖζε, γέλα,  
 12 παροδεῖτα, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ  
 σὲ θανεῖν δεῖ. / Ἀλεξανδρί-  
 α ἡ σύμβιος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν  
 αὐτοῦ τὸ μνημεῖον ἀνέστη-  
 16 σα μνείας χάριν. Εἰ δέ τις  
 τὸν βαμὸν τολμήσει κα-  
 ταστρέψει, δώσει προστεί-  
 μου τῷ φίσκῳ \* βφ'.

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**\*164. Nicomedeia**

• 2nd C

• *TAM IV*, 1 no.322; Peek 1955, no.689; *SEG* 1980.1436.

• The text as reconstructed by W.Peek (reconstruction uncertain):

τὸν Φρυγίης πρόμαχον, τὸν θαύμασε] θεῖος Ὅμηρος  
 κάλλει καὶ σθένει ζηλοῦντά ποτ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλκῃ,  
 Ἐκτόριον πᾶράδειγμα κόλει, κύδους ἰσὸμοιρον,  
 4 τὸν ποτε χαλκοχίτων' ἐπέποντ' ἀλγυνῶν Ἄρῃα,  
 κείμενον [οὐκ ἐχθρῷ δεδμημένον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Μοίρης,  
 νῦν με πρόμοιρον ἔθαψεν ἀδελφός, ὁμοῦ τε σύνευνος,  
 τρὶς δέκα [δὲ τλήμων πρὸς τέρμ' ἔμ]ολον λυκαβάντων.  
 8 μούνη δ' ἐν [θαλάμοις μήτηρ ποθέ]ουσα σιωπῇ.  
 <ῥ>στε δὲ τὸ [πρόρρημα] τίς ἄλλον ἄν ἐνθάδε θάψει,  
 δις δέκα χεῖλιάδας δραχμῶν τὸν ἀρηθμὸν εἰσοίσει.

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**165. Nicomedeia**

• imperial date

• *TAM IV*, 1 no.172; Robert 1978b, 411-3 (fig.3a); *SEG* 1978.1041.

• Robert publishes a photograph of this monument which is no longer extant. It is a column-like monument with the relief of man standing with an oval shield on his left and holding a palm branch (?). He wears greaves on both legs and has a broad belt of protective wrapping around his waist. There is the inscription:

Κυρίλλα Οὐνίανι τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ | καὶ κυρίῳ μνείας χάριν | Χαίρετε.

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**166. Nicaea**

• 218-222 AD

• *I.Iznik no.60; SEG 1979.1281; BE 1980.508.*

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχη  
 Φλ. Σεουηριανὸν Ἀσκλ[η]πιόδοτον  
 υἷον Τ. Φλ. Σεουηριαν[οῦ] Δημητρίου  
 4 τετιμημέ[ν]ον ὑπὸ τοῦ [δικ]αίου  
 καὶ θειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτο[ρ]ος] Μ. Αὐρ.  
 [[Ἀντωνεῖνου]] Εὐσεβοῦς [Σε]βαστοῦ τῆ  
 8 ἱερασύνη θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ διηνε]κεῖ κορφύρα  
 καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα δῖς, ἀργυροταμίαν  
 τῶν σιτωρικῶν χρημάτων, ἀργυροταμίαν  
 τῶν τῆς βουλῆς χρημάτων, συνδικήσαντα  
 τῆ πατρίδι πιστῶς, παραπέμψαντα θεὸν  
 12 Ἀντωνεῖνον, ἐπιτελέσαντα θεᾶς μονο-  
 μαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίαν μεγαλοκρεπῶς,  
 παραπέμψαντα τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρά-  
 16 τορα [[Ἀντωνεῖνον]] Σεβαστὸν καὶ ἄρξαντα τὴν  
 μεγίστην ἀρχὴν κατ' ἀξίαν τοῦ μεγέθους  
 καὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τῆ παρα-  
 πομπῇ καὶ παραχειμασίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχείᾳ  
 20 τοῦ θειοτάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Ἀντωνεῖνου  
 καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν αὐτοῦ στρατευμάτων  
 Τιμητιανὸς Παλίων ἄρξας τῆς γερα[υσίας]  
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον

#### 167. Nicaia

• imperial date

• *CIG 3764; IGR I 44; Robert, Gladiateurs, 132-3 no.81; Robert 1948b, 89; I.Iznik no.276.*

• The inscription is in verse.

Τὸν θρασὺν ἐν σταδ[ί]οις ἰσορᾶς με [νέκ]τυν, [παροδεῖται],  
 ἔ Χρυσ[ε]σόμαλλον ῥητιάριον, τὸν πρὶν δὲ κυ[νη]γ[όν]  
 θήρας ἐν σταδ[ί]οις πλῆξας ΠΛΑΑΝΗΕΧΝΗΣΙΑΡΙΑ. . . . Ν  
 4 ἔκτεινεν δὲ [μ]ε [Τ]ροδεὺς ὃν οὐκ ἤσχυσα ΤΙΔΑΝΗΣΙ  
 Μοῖραν δὲ οὐκ ἔφυγον ἔπει] ἦν μίτος οὗτος ὁ μοιρ[ῶ]ν.  
 Ἡλιόδαρος ΒΕΔΤΑΣΓΙΝΟΣ Χρυσομάλλ[ω] ἐκ τῶν αὐτ<ο>ῦ  
 μνείας χάριν. Καίρε, παροδεῖται.

Line 6: πελταστικός?

#### 168. Prusa ad Olympum

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 133 no.82; *I.Prusa* no.45. The stone is now lost.

Θεᾶ Νεμέσει τὸ ἄγαλμα(?) - - ]  
 Οὐαλεριανὸς Πολύγνωτος ἔθηκε(?) - - ]  
 (vac.) καὶ μονομαχ[ί]σας(?) - - ]

#### 169. Prusa ad Olympum

• later 2nd C or early 3rd C

• *CIL III 6994; Robert, Gladiateurs, 267 n.1; Pflaum 1960/1, 743-744 no.284; I.Prusa no.175 (ph.-squeeze).* The stone is now lost; the squeeze is in Vienna.

D(is) [M(anibus)] | Sex(to) Pacuv[io] | Restituto [proc(uratori)] | Augg(ustorum) ad f(amilias)] | gladiat(or(ias) per] | Asiam e[st adhae]l[entes p(rovin]c[ias, pro]c[uratori] Augg(ustorum)] | ad xx tr[ans Pad]dum | Seleuc[us...

**170. Prusa ad Olympum**

• imperial date

• *I.Prusa* no.1031 (ph.). Now in the Bursa museum (inv.no.3122).

• The relief depicts a man and a bull. On the left a man lies on his stomach on a stone. His head and arm hang down while one leg is raised in the air. He gives the impression of having just fallen. On the right a bull lowers his head and paws the ground. Beneath the relief is the inscription: Ἀλέξανδρος.

**171. Prusa ad Olympum**

• late 2nd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 134 no.84; Peek 1955, no.443; *I.Prusa* no.60 (ph.).

• The text is in verse and can be read as a hexameter, then a pentameter followed by three more hexameters.

[ - - - - - ] | [ - - - ] ἀρχήσας Ἄρεως στα[δίοι]σιν Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ πολλοὺς δαμάσας  
χειρεσι ταῖς φο]νίαις, ἐνθάδε νῦν κείμει τελέσας πικρὰ δόγματα Μυρῶν | σῆμα δέ μοι  
τεύξεν καὶ τύμβον ἔθηκε θανόντι Ἄμμιον | ἡ γαμετὴ μνήμης τὸ παρῆγορον εἶδος.

**172. Prusa ad Olympum**

• prob. 2nd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 135 no.85, cf. p.322; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 418 no.1718 (pl.250); *I.Prusa* no.161 (ph). Now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul (inv.no.4144).

• A man reclines on his left elbow and holds a crown in his right hand. In front of his couch is a table with three legs. On the left sits a woman. The inscription is below the relief. On the bottom left corner of the stone, beneath the inscription, is the outline of a sickle.

Σεκο(ύ)νδω το συνκυνηγῆ (sic) μνήμης χάφην

**173. Prusa ad Olympum**

• 1st C

• *I.Prusa* no.171 (ph.). Now in the Bursa museum (inv.no.8356).

Εὐράτας Ο[ύ]κτορι τῷ ῥητι[α]ρ[ε]ίῳ ἐκ τῶν [εἰ]δίων μνίας χ[ά]φριν

**174. Claudiopolis (Bithynia)**

• 2nd C

• French & Ündemis 1989; *BE* 1990.143; *SEG* 1989.1339. Now in the Bolu Museum (inv.no. 2292 [28.05.1987]).

• The stone has been carved to resemble a helmet with drilled eye-holes and a crest sitting on top of a shield with a large boss in the centre. The outline of a dolphin (nose downward) has been incised on the helmet. The shield forms the epigraphic field. In each of the four corners of the shield, the outline of a dolphin has been incised. A shallow, longitudinal scar runs down the centre of the shield partly damaging the inscription. A herm is depicted on each side of the shield; the head of the left herm is now lost. The back is roughly trimmed and there is a small, square dowel hole in the base. Lines 1-2 form a hexameter.

Θῆκε με μονομάχοις ἱερεὺς

τόδε σῆμα Σεκοῦνδος

Ἡμέρα πρώτη

4 Κάμπανος (vac.) σεκ(ούτωρ) ν(ικῆσας) ξε'

Μύρων (vac.) ἔσσε(δάριος) ν(ικῆσας) μγ'

Ἡμέρα (vac.) δευτέρα

Ἀπλερας (vac.) προβο(κάτωρ) ν(ικῆσας) νβ'

- 8 Χρυσάμπελος (vac.) προβο(κάτω) ν(ικῆσας) λε΄  
 Ἡμέρα (vac.) τρίτη  
 Μαργαρείτης (vac.) ἔσσε(δάριος) ν(ικῆσας) οε΄  
 Βίκτωρ (vac.) σεκ(ούτωρ) ν(ικῆσας) νη΄
- 12 ΚΑΙΜΕΙ·ΙΑ (vac.) ἈΡΗΝΑΙ- - - (?)  
 Ποσειδών(ι(ο)ς) (vac.) ἔσσε(δάριος) ν(ικῆσας) κδ΄  
 Σκίρτος (vac.) ῥητιάρ(ιος) ν(ικῆσας) ιη΄  
 Σπεκίης (vac.) ἴπε(υς) ν(ικῆσας) λε΄
- 16 Ἀχιλλεύς (vac.) μυρμί(λλων) ν(ικῆσας) μ΄  
 Εὐχρους (vac.) προβο(κάτω) ν(ικῆσας) ν΄  
 Πανθήρ (vac.) ῥητιάρι(ος) ν(ικῆσας) ιε΄

**175. Claudiopolis (Bithynia)**

• 2nd C

- French & Ündemis 1989; *SEG* 1989.1340. Now in the Bolu Museum (inv.no.2291 [28.05.1987]).
- The stone was found near Imam Hatip Okulu, Bolu. It is a grave monument cut from hard, white limestone, in the shape of a cylindrical altar. The inscription was cut in neat letters on the surface of the cylinder.

Ὁ τὸ κάλαι παιζων | πᾶσιν δὲ λέγων | τὰ γελοῖα δεῦρ' ἴδε | πῶς κατάκειμαι μόνος | μόνος,  
 ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδεν | Φιλοκύνητος ἐγὼ Μακεδὼν | ῥητιάρι(ος) ἄλειπτος | τῷ χαλκεῖ στεφάνῳ |  
 μοῖραν ἴσην ἔλαχον | Ἀνατολῆ Φιλοκυνήτῳ | ἀνδρὶ \* ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | αὐτοῦ μνήμης χάριν.

**176. Sinope**

• imperial date

- *CIG* 4157; *IJR* III 95; Hahn 1906, 186 n.1; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 131-2 no.80.

[ - - - - - ] | [ - - - - - γυμ] ν(ασίαρχον, ἄρχοντα τοῦ) | [πρ]εσβ[υ]τικ[οῦ] π[ο]νιάρχ[η]ν,  
 ἐπιτε]λέσαντα ταυροκαθ[άψιον] | καὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ [μονομα]χίαν [μεγ]αλο[π]ρεπῶς  
 Κλαυδίου - - - ] | ἀδελφ[όν] δὲ [τῆ]ς κρατίστης | συνκλητικῆς Κλαυδίας - - - ] | κτλ.

**177. Amisus**

• AD 209 - 210

- *IJR* III 97; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 130 no.78, cf. p.285. Cf. Marek 1993, 95.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη· | τῷ σμα΄ ἔτει, πονταρχούντων | Μ(αρκοῦ) Ἰουλίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ  
 Ξηστυλίας Κυρίλλης, | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, | φαμίλια μονομάχων τῶν | περὶ Καλυδῶνα.

**178. Amisus**

• 2nd C

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 130-31 no.79; Robert 1948b, 98 (pl.12); M. Maximova, *Antike Städte an der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres* (1956) 437 (fig.49); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 306 no.1266 (pl.188). Now in Brussels in the Musée du Cinquantenaire (inv.no.A1562).
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing victorious over his defeated opponent. On the left, the victorious gladiator stands holding a dagger in each hand (a dimachaerus?). He is not wearing a helmet and has long, thick hair. Around his neck hangs a plate to protect his chest while his stomach is protected by a wide belt. His right arm is covered with protective wrapping and he has greaves on both legs. Behind him is a large palm branch and a rectangular shield(?), and to the right "in the air" is a helmet. In the lower right is the defeated gladiator sitting on the ground, also without a helmet and with similar armour. He holds up his right hand to ask for mercy. Beneath the relief we have this inscription (hexameters):

Ἐνθάδε νεικήσας κείμαι Διοδαρος | ὁ τλήμων ἀντίκαλον ῥήξας | Δημήτριον οὐκ ἔκτανον  
 εὐθύς· | ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ' ὀλοή καὶ σουμμαφρο<δου> δόλος αἰνὸς ἔκτανον, ἐκ δὲ | φάους  
 ἦλυθον εἰς Ἀἶδην. [Κεῖ]μαι δ' ἐν γαίῃ αὐτοχθόνων· ἠδέ μ' ἔβαπεν ἔνθα φίλος ἀγαθὸς  
 εὐσεβίης ἔνεκεν.



**179. Amaseia**

- (later?) imperial date
- *JGR III 1438; Robert, Gladiateurs, 129-130 no.76.*

Ἐνθάδε κείμαι | Πίννας ῥητιάρης | πέντε πυκτεύσας ἄλ(ει)πτος. | Οὐκ ἦμην, οὐκ ἦδειν,  
ἔγενόμην, | οὐκ οἶδα, οὐκ εἰμί, | οὐ μέλει μοι. | Δόμνα ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων μνείας | χάριν.

**180. Amascia**

- 1st / 2nd C
- *JGR III 1439; Robert, Gladiateurs, 130 no.77; Robert 1948b, 89; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 305-306 no.1265 (pl.188).*
- The relief depicts a man with a spear(?) fighting an animal (bear). From the inscription (found above the figure beginning on the architrave), it seems that he is an ursarius.

Τρωίλος ἐν σταδίοις | πάσας ἄρκους ὑποτάξας | νικηθεὶς πυρετοῖς | πρὸς νέκυας κατέβη. |  
Λαδίκη τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μνήμης | χάριν.

**181. Amaseia**

- imperial date
- *CIG 4175; Studia Pontica III, no.118; Robert 1946a, 116-9 no.307; BE 1948.222.*

Οὐ σύνζυγος μ' εἶλατο | νόσος με κατέκτανε[ν] | καὐτὸν ἀνεῖλεν. Παυλιῶνα | Βικτωρίῳ τῷ  
ἀνδρὶ ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων μνήμης χάριν.

**182. Sebastopolis**

- mid-2nd C
- *JGR III 115; Robert, Gladiateurs, 128-9 no.75.*

Μ. Ἀντώνιον Σεργία Ῥούφον ἀπὸ τε τῶν [προ]-  
γόνων διασημώτατον καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ  
φιλοτειμιῶν λαμπρότατον, πάσας μὲν λειτουρ-  
4 γίας διεξέλθοντα, ἐν πάσαις δὲ φιλοτειμιά[ις]  
εὐδοκιμήσαντα, ἄρξαντα καὶ θιασαρχήσαν-  
τα πολλάκις, ἀγορανομήσαντα πλεονάκις,  
8 πονταρχήσαντα ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει τοῦ Πό[ν]-  
του Νεοκαισαρείας, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγά-  
λα ἔργα κατασκευασάμενον δι' ἐπιμε-  
λείας, πολὺ δὲ κλείονα ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ],  
12 πρῶτον μὲν ἀνοίξαντα τὸ γυμνάσιον, ἀρ-  
χιερασάμενον δὲ διὰ βίου τῷ θειοτάτῳ  
αὐτοκράτορι Ἀδριανῷ μετὰ τῆς διασημο-  
τάτης [γ]υναικὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνίας Στρατο]-  
16 νεϊκῆς κυνηγέσια καὶ μονομαχίας  
διαφερούσας παρεσχημένον, ἐπιμελη-  
θέντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἑαυ-  
τοῦ χρόνου καὶ θέας ἐτησίους καὶ φιλοτει-  
20 μίας δαψιλεῖς διὰ βίου καταλιπόντα  
καὶ, ὁ μέγιστόν ἐστιν, διάδοχον καὶ τοῦ γένο[υς]  
καὶ τῶν φιλοτειμιῶν φῆν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα  
Ἀντωνίαν Μάξιμαν παρασχόμενον καὶ  
ὁμώνυμον θυγατριδοῦν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς πρω-  
τεύοντος ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει Ἀμασειᾶ καὶ  
24 παρ' ἡμῖν Κορνηλιανοῦ Καπίτωνος  
καὶ ζῶντα πολλάκις ἢ Σεβαστοπολεϊτῶν  
πόλις καὶ τελευτήσαντα ἐτείμησεν τῇ τῶν

(?break uncertain)

- 28 ἀνδριάντων κατὰ φυλὴν ἀναθέσει· ἀνέ-  
θηκεν δὲ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἐαυ]-  
τῆς ἢ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ Ἀντωνία Μάξιμα.

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183. **Pium**

• imperial date

• *JGR IV 225*; Zingerle 1931, 84 n.1; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 225 no.286, cf. p.276-80; *J.Ilion* no.130.

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ] δῆμος]  
[- - - - - Βα]κχίου  
[φιλοτειμησ]όμενον  
4 [μονομαχί]ας καὶ κυ-  
[νήγια τρι]σὶν ἡμέραις,  
[- - - - -]ντα λαμπρῶς  
[καὶ φιλοτί]μως καὶ [- - - ]  
8 [- - - - - τῆ]ν πατρίδα - - - ]  
[- - - - -]λειτου]ρ]-  
[για- - - - -]αίς καὶ

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184. **Pium**

• imperial date

• *JGR IV 226*; Zingerle 1931, 84 no.1; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 225-6 no.287; *J.Ilion* no.129; *BE 1976.566* (p.522).

μονομάχα[ν - - -] | κυνήγιον τα[- - -] | πάντας τοῦς] ἐντοπίους? - - -]

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185. **Pium (from Erenkōy)**

• imperial date

• *JGR IV 227*; *IG XII*, 8 no.509; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 226 no.288, cf. p.297 and 321-4; Robert 1946a, 147 (ph. fig.3, p.117); *J.Ilion* no.126. Now in the Louvre.

Φλαβιανὸς | ὁ καὶ | Ἐν[η]δυνων | ἀρχικυνηγὸς | [- - - - -]

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186. **Parium**

• imperial date

• *CIG 3650*; *JGR IV 175*; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 226 no.289.

[Φαμίλια μονομάχων καὶ] | [ὀπόμνημα κυ]νηγεσ[ίων] | [ἀ]ρχιερέας | Αἰλίου Ἰουλιαν[οῦ] |  
καὶ ἀρχιερείας | Ὀφιλίας Ζωτικῆς, | θυγατρὸς Ὀφιλίου | Ζωτικοῦ.

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187. **Dardanelles**

• 2nd C

• *JGR I 776* and *JGR IV 167*; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 234 no.297; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296-297 no.1213 (pl.183).

• The relief has been broken at the mid-section of the gladiator. He is depicted moving to the right. Both of his legs have protective wrapping and he carries a shield in his left hand and a dagger in his right. His right leg has been wrapped for protection while his left has tighter wrapping and a greave. Something hangs from him back, perhaps a cape or loose bands; also, from his right knee, three bands or strings are indicated. The inscription is on the moulding below:

Ποπλάρης τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρὶ Γαλάτῃ μνείας | χάριν

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188. **Lampsacus**

• imperial date

• *J.Lampsakos* no.32; *BE 1979.376*; *SEG 1978.938*.

• J. and L. Robert, in *BE* 1979.376, question whether the phrase, δευτέρα ημέρα τρίτη, refers to gladiatorial contests.

λω ο ω ν  
ε δευτέρα ημέρα τρίτη

**189. Alexandria Troas (area of Kemalli)**

• 2nd C

• *CIG* 3765; *IGR* III 43; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 234-5 no.298, cf. p.302; *I.Iznik* no.277 (pl.24); *BE* 1982.282 and 283; *SEG* 1982.1245; *I.Alexandria Troas* no.123. Now in the Louvre (inv.no.MA 2911).

• Marble slab.

[Τ]ὸν θρασὺν ἐν σταδίοις ἐσο[ρ]ῆς με [ν]έκυν, παροδεῖται, Ταρ[σ]ῆα ῥητιάρην δεύτερον πάλον, | Μελάνιππον οὐκέτι χαλκε[λ]λάτου φωνὴν σάλπιγγος ἀκούω, | [οὐ]δ' ἀνίσων αὐλῶν κέλαδον ἀ[ε]θλῶν ἀνεγείρω φασὶν δ' Ἑρα[κ]λέα δύο καὶ δέκα ἄθλα τελέσσει | [τα]ῦτά δ' ἐγὼ τελέσας τρισκαίδεκα[τον] | τέλος ἔσχον. | Ἄλλος καὶ Ζὴ Μελανίπ[τ]ω | [μ]ηΐας χάριν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἐποίησαν.

**190. Alexandria Troas (area of Kemalli)**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Bean 1973, 404 no.28 (pl.72); *BE* 1974.459; Frisch 1974; Peek 1976; *BE* 1977.387; *SEG* 1976-77.1328; *BE* 1982.283; *I.Alexandria Troas* no.119. Now in the Çanakkale Museum (inv.no.2620).

[Τὸ]ν σθεναρόν με Λυ[κ]ῶν καθορῆς, ὃ παρο[δ]εῖται, πάλον πρώτο[ν] | [Θρ]αικῶν, μονομ[α]χῶν δέκατον ΚΑΙ[ ] | [ . . . ] ΛΥ Ι Ι [ . . . . . ]

Line 4f: [Γα]λικῶν, μονομαχῶν, Bean; [Θρ]αικῶν, μονομαχῶν δέκατον ΚΑΝ, Bean, Frisch, Robert (*BE* 1974 and 1977); Frisch, Peek; [Θρ]αικῶν μονομάχων δέκα τὸν (=δν) κᾶν | [νέα] λυγρα[βάν]των (=λυκαβ.) | [δ]ντα ἤπασε Μοῖρα] vel sim., Peek.

**191. Aegae (Aeolis)**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 214-5 no.257, cf. p.265 n.3 and p.291.

• The inscription comes from an architrave of a building in the agora. Above is the dedication in large letters:

Τοῖς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι | [Χρηστηρίω] | [καὶ τῷ δάμω] | [- - - name- - - ]-ς ἀγωνοθετήσας ἐ[- - - - -]

Below this inscription is a series of eight panels, each of which has been inscribed with the names of two gladiators. The first three (a., b., c.) and the last two (g., h.) are all that survive.

a.	ἐσ(σεδάριος) ἐλ(εύθερος) Ἡρόφιλος νι(κῶν) δ'	ἐσ(σεδάριος) δοῦ(λος) Σκαπλᾶς νι(κῶν) ε'
b.	Μυρ(μίλλων) ἐλ(εύθερος) Ἔρας νι(κῶν) ιη'	θρ(ᾶξ) δοῦ(λος) Κλάδος νι(κῶν) ι.'
c.	ἐσ(σεδάριος) ἐλ(εύθερος) Ἱεροκλῆς νι(κῶν) ιβ'	ἐσ(σεδάριος) ἐλ(εύθερος) Βάκχος νι(κῶν) ις'
g.	Ῥητ(ιάριος) δοῦ(λος) Ἰκὺς νι(κῶν) ια'	Μυρ(μίλλων) δοῦ(λος) Βεῖθυσ νι(κῶν) ε'
h.	ἐσ(σεδάριος) ἐλ(εύθερος) Ἀντίοχος νι(κῶν) ζ'	[ - - - - - ] [ - - - - - ]

From the missing middle three panels, we do have the fragment: "[ - - - - - νι(κῶν)] ιθ'". There may also have been two final panels (i., j.) which now no longer exist.

**192. Pergamum**

• late 2nd - early 3rd C?

• *CIL* III 14192; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 215 no.258.

Iuliae Aug. matri Aug. | et castrorum et senatu[s] | et patriae, domina[e] | suae, | Romanus  
Montan[us] | proc. Aug. familiae glad.

**193. Pergamum**

• imperial date

• *IGR* IV 1680; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 215-6 no.259. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 196.

• The πρώτον βασιλικὸν καὶ ἱερώτατον τῶν Πανιαστῶν Ἰππικειτῶν πλήθος honour their προστάτης:

ἔνδοξον ἐν [τῆ]ι - - - ] | λῆας δοθείση τῶν μονομαχιῶν, τρο]φέα, τριτευτὴν ἐπὶ τε ἑαυτῶι  
καὶ | παισὶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ, ἀγορανόμον | [ἐ]φ' ἑαυτῶι καὶ παιδί, ἱερονόμον | πατέρα  
ἀγωνοθέτου, ἀρχιερείας | καὶ ἱερείῶν δυεῖν τῆς Νικηφόρου καὶ Πολιάδος [Ἀ]θηναῖς, | κτλ...

**194. Pergamum**

• later 2nd C

• *I.Pergamon* no.523; *IGR* IV 460; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 218 no.265.

Ἀ[γαθῆι Τύχηι]  
Τι. Κλ. Μελιτίνην  
ἱερασαμένην τῆς Νι-  
4 κηφόρου καὶ Πολιάδος  
Ἀθηναῖς ἐνδόξως καὶ φιλο-  
τίμως, θυγατέρα Τι. Κλ. Μι-  
λάτου, δρομέας παραδόξου,  
8 [ν]ικήσαντος ἱεροῦς εἰσε-  
λαστικούς ἀγῶνας δέκα,  
[ύμνηδ]οῦ θεοῦ Αὐγούστου,  
[στ]ρατη[γοῦ] πρώτου καὶ πά-  
12 σας ἀρχῆς καὶ [λει]τουργίας ἐκ-  
τελέσαντος ἀ[μέ]μηπτως, καὶ Κλ.  
Φηφίας θυγατέρα ἱερείας θεᾶς  
Φαυστείνης καὶ ἐπιτε[λε]σάσης]  
16 ταυροκαθάσιν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέ[ρας]  
ἐκγόνη<v> Τι. Κλ. Κλήμεντος καὶ  
[- ? -]σίας Μελι[τί]ου [- ? -]κὸν συντε[λέσα]-  
σαν καὶ ἐκ προγόνων ἱέριαν.

**195. Pergamum**

• imperial date

• *I.Pergamon* no.577; *IGR* IV, 511; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 216 no.260; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 304 no.1257. Now in the museum in Izmir.

• There is a dog depicted between two crowns. The first seven (?) lines are illegible.

[ - - - - - ] | φάος· οὐ γὰρ [ἀδ]οξος | ἤμην ἐν ζωῶσι, φάος [δ'] ἀπέ]λειπον ἀγεννώς.  
ὄνομα μοι Χρηστεινός | τὸ πρὶν, ἀνέθρεψεν δὲ γαῖα | Βειθυνῶν πρώτη Νικομήδεια· κτείνε  
δ' Ἀχιλλεύς· | ταῦτα δὲ πάντα μίτοις Μουρῶν πάθον ὡς ἄνθρωπος. [Ἀντωνία Ὀρεινῆ ἀνδρὶ  
ἰδίῳ μνείας χάριν.

**196. Pergamum**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 216-7 no.261.

• The stele was found in a mosque in Tekedereköy, in the territory of Pergamum. There are five crowns depicted, with the inscription:  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega$  in the centre of one and an A ( $\pi\rho\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega$ ) in another. Also there appears the Latin *have*. Non vidi.

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**197. Pergamum**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 217 no.262.

Ἀριάδνη Στεφάνῳ ἀνδρὶ | ἰδίῳ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ | μνείας χάριν. | Πυγμῶν δεκαοκτώ. | Χαίρετε παροδεῖται.

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**198. Pergamum**

- later imperial
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 217-8 no.263; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302 no.1247 (pl.187). Now in the depot in Kizil Avlu (Bergama).
- Within a rectangular relief field, a retiarius is depicted turned to the right, wearing a belt and loin-cloth and thrusting his trident down to the right with both hands. Below is the inscription: Χρυσόμαλλος.

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**199. Pergamum**

- imperial date
- Robert, 1950, 62-3; *BE* 1951.190.

Νυμφέρας προβοκάτωρ Καλλιμόρφῳ μορμιλλῶνι | συναπέθανεν. | Πρειμίλλα Νυμφ[έρωτι] ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ | [π]υγμῶν [- - - - -]των | [- - - - -] <ᾰ>λειπ[ί]τος? | [ἐ]τῶν(?)

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**200. Adramyttium**

- perhaps late 2nd or 3rd C
- *IGR* IV 263; Robert, 1946a, 125 no.313; *BE* 1948.201; *I.Adramytteion* no.1. Cf. Rossner 1974, 127; Campanile 1994, 149 no.181.

Ἀ[γα]θῆ Τύχη | Εὐνους ἀσιάρχης ὑπὲρ οὗ | [Ε]ὐφροσύνου τὰς θεὰς φιλο[ι]τιμησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν

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**201. Cyzicus**

- late 2nd / early 3rd C
- *CIG* 3677; *IGR* IV 156; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 226 no.290. Cf. Rossner 1974, 135; Campanile 1994, 104-105 no.104.

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη. | Φαμίλια μοινομάχων φιλοτειμίας Πλω(τίου) | Αὐρ. Γράτου ἀσιάρχου καὶ Τουλίαις Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιοδώρας τῆς | γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ | ἀρχιερίας.

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**202. Cyzicus**

- 2nd C
- *IGR* IV 166; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 226-7 no.291 (pl.19) cf. p.28; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 299-300 no.1232 (pl.185); *BE* 1979.13 (p.417); *I.Kyzikos* no.206 (pl.16). Now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul (inv.no.2209).
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing with a palm branch in his right hand. His left hand seems to hold a rectangular object. On the right are his helmet and shield. He wears a tunic with a belt, a greave on his left leg(?) and protective wrapping on his right arm. Beneath the relief, we are given his name:

Εὐπρέπης προ[βο]κάτωρ

In the photograph, Robert thought he saw " $\pi\acute{\alpha}$ (λος) β"

 cut on his shield, but upon autopsy, he failed to see any inscription there.

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**203. Cyzicus**

- imperial date

- *I.G.R. IV 133; Robert, Gladiateurs, 227 no.292; BE 1940.10; I.Kyzikos no.379.*

Ἐπόμνημα | Νυμφέρωτος ὁ καὶ Νεικάνωρ | Νεικοπολείτης νεικήσας Ἄρεως | νείκας ἐ-  
ὄδε ἀποκείμαι. Τροφίμη | σύνβιος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων μνείας χάριν. | Τίς ἂν ἀδικήσῃ τὸν  
βωμὸν | δώσει εἰς τὴν πόλιν (δηνάρια) β[φ] | Χαίρετε παροδεῖται.

## 204. Cyzicus

- 2nd C

- *I.G.R. IV 165; Robert, Gladiateurs, 228 no.293; Robert 1949a, 141; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 306 no.1267 (pl.188); I.Kyzikos no.144.* Now in Vienna in the Kunsthistorischer Museum (inv.no.iii97).

- The relief depicts a funeral banquet (totenmahl), with a bearded man reclining on a couch along with a young man (his son?) while on the right a woman sits in a chair. There is also a dog. At the bottom, right of the stone is an outline of his helmet and shield. On the left are four crowns and five on the right of the inscription (total of nine). Beneath the relief field is the inscription:

Ἐορτὴ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Δανάω δευτέρω πάλῳ θρακῶν  
μνείας | χάριν. | [ἐ]ννέακις πυκτεύσας ὄχετο εἰς | Ἄιδην.

## 205. Cyzicus

- imperial date

- *Robert 1929, 35-6; Robert, Gladiateurs, 228-9 no.294; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 306 no.1268; I.Kyzikos no.400.*
- Between lines 1 and 2 of the inscription is the relief of a funeral banquet (Totenmahlrelief).

Ἐπόμνημα | Πασινείκου. Παρθενοπαῖος | πραικῶν ἐποίησε τὸ μνημεῖον αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν  
ὑπορχόντων αὐτοῦ. Ἄλειπος ἀπέθανε.

## 206. Cyzicus

- imperial date

- *Robert, Gladiateurs, 229 no.295; I.Kyzikos no.535 (pl.40).*

Λαοδικεὺς τὸ γένος τῆς πρὸς Λύκον | ἐνθάδε κείμαι | σύμφ[ο]ρος εὐοπλῆς  
Χρυσάμπε[λ]λος, ὃ παροδεῖται. | β[ι] νει[κ]ησ[α]ς . . . ]ΔΙΚΩΣΕΙ. ] | Π[ - - - - ]ΚΗΔΕΙ. ] | [- -  
- - - ]ΑΙΝΑ[.] |

## 207. Cyzicus?

- later imperial

- *CIG 3685; Robert, Gladiateurs, 229-233 no.296 (pl.20); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 304 no.1258 (pl.187); I.Kyzikos no.506.* Now in the Louvre.

- Fig. 9. The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer with his left hand on his helmet which rests on his shield on the ground at his side. In his right hand he holds an unidentifiable object which seems to be a *spata*(?). He wears a wide belt and a loin cloth and greaves on both legs. The inscription runs through and below the relief (meter: heroic couplets).

Σῆμα ἑσορῶς ἐπιτύμβιον, ὃ παροδεῖται. | [εἰ]μαρτὸν πάσιν, οὐχὶ δ' ἐμοὶ δὲ μόνον. | [εἰ] δὲ  
θέλις σὺ μαθεῖν τὸ τίς ἐστὶ με ὁ τράσας, | δισσῶν σου ταρσῶν στήσας ἴχνος σὺ μάθε. |  
οὐκ ἔφυγον δ' ἀτρεκῶς μυρῶν μίτον, ὅς μοι ἐπεκλώσθη | ναύτης γὰρ προλιπῶν φοβερὸν  
οὐνομα τὸ Πόντου, | εἰς ἐμὲ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ πελάγουσ ἔθετο. | Σῆμα δὲ μοι τοῦτο ἐποίησε  
φιλήης χάριν ἐνθάδε Οὐνίων, | οὐνομα δ' ἦν μοι τὸ πρὶν Διονύσιος, | Ἀπρηνῶν δ'  
ἀνεθρέψατο γαῖα, | ἔκτον νεικήσας ὡδ' ἔλιπον τὸ φάος. | [εἰ] δὲ τίς χωρὶς ἐμοῦ τοῦ  
Οὐνίανος βάλῃ | τινά, δώσει τῷ ταμείῳ (δηνάρια) βφ'

## 208. Cyzicus

- 2nd C

- *Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302 no.1244 (pl.186); I.Kyzikos no.22 (pl.1); SEG 1979.1258.* The stone is now in the museum in Erdek.

• The relief depicts a gladiator, who looks like a young boy (Pleket), standing facing the viewer with his right hand on a helmet which sits atop an oval shield. His left arm is broken off just above the elbow. He has a wide belt, hip and groin protection and greaves on both legs. His chest and head are bare (no beard). Under the relief is the inscription:

Ζῆθος Ἀμφεί(ονι) | τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀδελφῷ | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων - - -

**209. Erythrai**

• imperial date

• Malay 1982, 195-6 no.5 (pl.9,5); *SEG* 1982.1145.

• The white marble stele was found in the village of Birgi, 12 km SE of Erythrai. Above the inscription is a blank, recessed field, perhaps once painted.

Διάνοια Δαμᾶ μορμίλλωνος· | χρηστή{ι}, χαίρε

**210. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3213; *JGR* IV 1454; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 202-3 no.225; *J.Smyrna* no.842. Cf. Rossner 1974, 125 (Claudius Timon) and Campanile 1994, 147 no.177. The stone is now lost.

Φαμιλία | (μ)νομάχων | [Κ or Φ?]λ. Τίμωνος | ἀσιάρχου | νεωτέρου

**211. Smyrna**

• late imperial

• *JGR* IV 1453; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 209 no.240, cf. p.285 n.2; Pfuhl-Möbius I, no.737 (pl.110); *J.Smyrna* no.416. It is now in the Reichsmuseum in Leiden (inv.no.S710).

Μελιτίνη τέκνη ἰδίῳ | Μάρκῳ | καὶ Ἡρακλᾶς ὁ πατήρ | κατεσκεύασεν, σὺνκατενεγκάσης  
φαμιλίας Ἀπελλίκοιτος μονομάχων κὲ λουδαρίων, τιμῆς ἔνεκον.

**212. Smyrna**

• first half of 3rd C

• Robert 1948b, 81-2 no.318 (pl.13,1); *BE* 1949.148; J. Keil, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 17 (1950) 60 no.16 (pl.15); *J.Smyrna* no.637. Cf. Rossner 1974, 132; Campanile 1994, 137 no.158. Now in the agora in Izmir (without inv.no.).

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη  
[Ἡ πρόκλη (τῆς Ἀσίας κάλλιε καὶ μεγέθει καὶ λαμπροτάτη)  
[καὶ μητρόπολις καὶ γ' νεκρόρος (τῶν Σεβασ)-  
4 [τῶν] κατὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς ἱερωτάτης συνκλήτου καὶ  
κόσμος τῆς Ἰωνίας, Σμυρναίων πόλις  
Ἰούλιον  
Μενεκλέα  
8 Διόφαντον  
ἀσιάρχην  
ἐνδόξως φι-  
λοτειμησάμε-  
12 νον ἐξῆς ἡμε-  
ρῶν πέντε  
τοῖς ὀξέσιν,  
ἡ γλυκυτάτη  
16 πατρίς.

**213. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3212; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 206-7 no.234; Robert 1982b, 152-154 (fig.1); *I.Smyrna* no.835. Now in the Ashmolean (inv.no.206).

• The relief depicts five mounted men engaged in the spectacle, all moving to the left. Each man wears a short tunic and a wide belt (of 5 bands). From the left: the first rider sits high on his horse with his right hand raised and rides at speed. The second man rides beside a bull; he turns and grabs the bull by the horns. The third rider gallops. The fourth man is on the ground with his hands around a bull's head and the hind legs of a bull in the air. The fifth rider leans off his horse and is jumping onto a bull which runs along side the horse. There is the inscription:

Ταυροκαθαιψίων ἡμέρα β'

#### 214. Smyrna

• imperial date

• Robert 1982a, 243 (fig.8).

• Fig. 11. The stone is broken on the left and on the right. The relief depicts three men: on the left a gladiator stands wearing a helmet with a large, semi-circular crest and shoulder flanges. In his right hand he has a dagger, but his left hand (he has lost his shield) holds his right shoulder as if wounded. The third man depicted is a retiarius. He has lost his trident but has a dagger in his right hand and a *galerus* on his left arm and shoulder. Robert notes that this retiarius is perhaps better protected than usual: he has a wide belt and something wrapped around his ankles. Between the two men is a man who wears a tunic and holds a large stick (*rudis*) in his right hand. This relief seems to show a retiarius defeating a heavily armed gladiator.

#### 215. Smyrna

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 203 no.226 (pl.8); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1216 (pl.182); *I.Smyrna* no.421; *BE* 1983.325. Now in the museum in Izmir (inv.no.342).

• The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large helmet with a peak (crest?) and large protective flanges. He carries a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. His right arm is covered by protective wrapping. Above is his name: Εὐράταξ.

#### 216. Smyrna

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 205 no.229 (pl.24); *I.Smyrna* no.838. Now in the Izmir Museum (inv.no.345).

• The top right corner is all that survives of a larger relief which had been divided into panels. This relief depicts a man fighting a bull. He carries a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. Protective wrapping is visible on his right(?) leg. He appears to be (or about to be) stabbing the bull in the neck. Above the panel is the inscription:

- - -] σφακτά

#### 217. Smyrna

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 205 no.230; Petzel 1974, 290-1 no.7 (dr.) (from J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" i, 58); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.837 (fig.). Now in the Izmir Museum.

• The relief depicts a bestiarius (or a retiarius?) moving to the left against a now missing beast (or gladiator?). It carries the inscription:

- - - κυνη?γιου σφακτά

#### 218. Smyrna

• imperial date



• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 205-6 no.231 (pl.17), cf. p.282; Petzel 1974, 291-2 no.8 (dr.) (from J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" iii, 153); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.840 (fig.). Now in the Izmir Museum (inv.no.346).

• Extant are the remains of two panels on top of one another. The upper one depicts two combat scenes: on the left, two heavily armed gladiators, neither of whom has a shield, face one another. They each wear a large helmet with protective flanges and a wide belt. The gladiator on the right seems to have just made a successful lunge, stabbing his opponent in the chest. On the right is the second pair, again heavily armed gladiators. One man has fallen on the ground on his back while the second gladiator is about to stab him. Above this panel is the inscription: 'Απότομα δ'. Below this relief panel is another which depicts the heads of two gladiators in combat. One has a large helmet while the other has no helmet. To the far right is a round shield. Above this relief is the inscription: Ἐπίκτητος.

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### 219. Smyrna

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 206 no.232 (pl.17); *I.Smyrna* no.841. Now in the Izmir Museum (inv.no.347).

• This fragmentary relief depicts the legs of a gladiator or bestiarius. Below is the inscription:

ΚΑΙΜΕΤ[- - -]  
ΤΑ[- - -]

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### 220. Smyrna

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3284; Robert 1929, 27; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 207-8 no.237, cf. p.305 n.2; Robert 1946a, 144; Peek 1955, no.619; *I.Smyrna* no.547.

Πύκτην ΑΑΣΚΕΠΟΝ λεύσεις | ἐμέ, τὸν κατέπεφεν | Πάρδος ὁμοίου τευξόμενος  
θανάτου

Line 1: perhaps Ἄδσκειτόν (= Adscitus), or Λασκεπτόν (= Lasceptus) or Λασκεῖβον (= Lascivus).

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### 221. Smyrna

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 208 no.238; Robert 1946a, 144 (Robert's description on the basis of G. Hirschfeld's notebook); Petzel 1974, 292 no.10 (dr.) (from J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" ii, 88); *BE* 1974.54; Peek 1955, no.624; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 298 no.1221 (fig.77); *I.Smyrna* no.546 (fig.).

• The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the left. He wears a large helmet with a crest, drilled visor and protective flanges, mail on his left shoulder and arm and greaves on both(?) legs (left leg greave is heavier). He carries a shield on his right arm and a dagger in his left hand. The inscription is found above:

Οὐκ ἀκλεῆ Δεκουράτον ὄρας, ὃν ἀνεῖλε ΣΑΓΤ[- - -] | λαιῆς χειρὸς ἐμῆς οὐ προφυγῶν  
θάνατον.

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### 222. Smyrna

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3399; Robert 1929, 36-38; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 208-9 no.239; *I.Smyrna* no.548. Cf. Robert 1982a, 264 n.166.

Ι Ι Ι Σ  
[- - - - -]κ[.]τόρα[ν]  
ζήσας ἔτη κ[?]  
4 ΝΟ . Σ συνζύγο[υ]  
καλάμαις ΑΙΝ  
ΠΘΙΣ ἐνθάδε κῆμε,  
πολὰ καμών νεί-  
8 κης δὲ βραβίον ἔχα[ν]-

τα Μῦρα κατήγαγεν  
 ὧδε.  
 Ἄσκληπιοδότῃ ἀν-  
 12 δρὶ ἰδίῳ μνήϊας χάριν  
 ταῦτα.  
 Εἰ δέ τις <ἐ>βιχιρήσει  
 - - - - -

Line 2: [πά(λος) x σε]κ[ου]τόρα[ν] or ...προβο]κ[α]τόρα[ν].

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**223. Smyrna**

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 209-10 no.241 (pl.21); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1242 (pl.185); *I.Smyrna* no.409. Cf. Golvin & Landes 1990, 195 for a large photograph (also in Wiedemann 1992, 101). Now in the Reichsmuseum, Leiden (inv.no.I.1901/7.10).

• The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer. He holds a large palm branch in his right hand and a small shield on his left arm, lowered and away from his body. His chest and abdomen above the belt are bare and he has curly hair and a short beard. His right arm has been covered with ring-like armour and he wears a wide belt, a loin-cloth (folds over his genitals and hips), protective wrapping on both legs and greaves which extend from his mid-thigh to the top of the foot. On the side of his left leg, one can see the ties which hold on the greave. His helmet, which is large with protective flanges and a griffen-head crest, rests on the ground to the right. He is a thraex. To the left, below the palm, is the inscription. Below the inscription is a bird.

Φαμίλια | Σατορνίλων | μνήϊας | χάριν.

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**224. Smyrna**

• first half of the 3rd C

• *CIG* 3275; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 210-1 no.242 (pl.5); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 303 no.1252 (pl.186); *I.Smyrna* no.412. Now in the Reichsmuseum in Leiden (inv.no.Pb.11).

• The relief depicts a retiarius standing facing the viewer and holding a trident vertically in his right hand. He wears a wide belt and a loin-cloth and protection on his left (upper) arm and shoulder (*galerus*). His lower left arm is covered with protective wrapping. In his left hand he perhaps holds a dagger (obscure). He has short, curly hair and a short beard. His legs are bare. Above is the inscription.

Ἀπολλώνιος νεικ<ήσ>ας μῆ | Ζωσίμη χάριν μνήϊης | ἰδία | γυνή

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**225. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3374; *IGR* IV 1457; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 211 no.243; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1241; *I.Smyrna* no.408 (fig.). Once in Oxford, now lost.

• The relief depicts a gladiator standing and holding a curved dagger (*sica*) in his right hand and a small shield in his left. He has armour on his right arm and wears a wide belt, a loin-cloth and two greaves. His helmet is on the ground. There is the inscription:

Πρίσκω θρακί Ἐλέα ἡ | γυνή τὸ μνημίον ἐπόησε.

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**226. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• *CIG* 3392; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 211 no.244; *I.Smyrna* no.407.

Πρόκλα Φιλαννάδι μερμίλωνι ἐποίησε μνήϊης | χάριν.

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**227. Smyrna**

• imperial date

- *CIG* 3372; *IGR* IV 1468; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 211 no.245; *I.Smyrna* no.403 (fig.).
- Beneath the inscription are depicted a palm branch, 2 crowns and another palm branch.

Ἐτεοκλῆς Πολυμήνη τῷ ἀδελφῷ | ἐσσεδαρίῳ μνήμης ἔνεκον.

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**228. Smyrna**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 3291; *IGR* IV 1455; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 212 no.246; *I.Smyrna* no.404.
- The relief is similar to no.327.

Ἀχιλλεὶ ἰπποδιώκτη | νει(κῶν) ιζ' | ΛΙΘΑΝΟΣ

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**229. Smyrna**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 3368; *IGR* IV 1456; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 212 no.247; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 305 no.1262; *I.Smyrna* no.406.
- the relief depicts a gladiator standing with a shield and a dagger. He wears a coat of mail over his body. Beside him is a dog. There is an inscription. Non vidi.

Περφέκτω | ἡ γυνὴ μνείας χάριν.

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**230. Smyrna**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 3268; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 212 no.248; Budde & Nicholls 1964, 83 no.134 (pl.44); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 304 no.1256 (pl.187); *I.Smyrna* no.415. Now in Trinity College, Cambridge in the Fitzwilliam Museum.
- The relief depicts a trident and a dog. (It appears as if the dog is running with the trident.)

Διονυσόδωρος Ἀμαράντω ἀδελφῷ μνείας χάριν.

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**231. Smyrna**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 212 no.249, cf. p.294; Robert 1946a, 146 (pl.8); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 303 no.1254 (pl.187); *I.Smyrna* no.414.
- The relief depicts a retiarius holding a trident vertically in his right hand and a dagger in his left. He has armour protecting left shoulder and arm (*galerus*). He is wearing sandals. The inscription is found immediately below and contains traces of red paint:

Πλάτανος πραίκων Εὐχροί μνείας χάριν.

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**232. Smyrna?**

- 3rd C?
- *CIG* 6959; *IG* XIV no.2545; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 213 no.250; Robert 1946a, 146; Vermeule & v.Bothmer 1959, 329 (pl.83,23); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 303 no.1253 (pl.186); *BE* 1960.37; *I.Smyrna* no.418. Cf. Kyle 1998, 18 for a large photograph. Now in London, Guildhall Museum (inv.no.3378).
- The relief depicts a retiarius standing facing the viewer with his trident held vertically in his right hand and a dagger in his left. He wears a belt and draping loin-cloth, and armour on his left shoulder and arm (*galerus*). His chest and legs are bare. He has short, stylized hair; no beard. Vermeule & v.Bothmer suggest a mid-first century date on the basis of the hair-style. The neatly cut inscription is above:

[2-3?]νία Μαρτιάλη τῷ ἀνδρί.

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**233. Smyrna?**

- imperial date
- Petzel 1974, 285-6 no.1 (dr.) (from J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" vi, 331); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.420 (fig.); *BE* 1983.325.

• The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right, carrying a rectangular shield on his left arm and a dagger in his left hand. His helmet is large with a visor and protective flanges. He has protective wrapping on his right arm and waist (stomach), but nothing on his chest, and a large greave on his left leg. He is wearing sandals. Beneath the relief we have his name: 'Απλέρωσ.

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**234. Smyrna?**

• imperial date

• Petzel 1974, 286 no.2 (dr.) (from J. Keil, Skizzenbuch, "Smyrna" vii, 395); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.405 (fig.).

• The gladiator is depicted with armour much like that of Hapleros, above. Spinther, however, holds his shield away from his body and has a slightly curved(?) dagger. Beneath the relief is the inscription:

Εὐτυχία Σπινθηρι τῷ ἀνδρὶ | μνείας χάριν

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**235. Smyrna?**

• imperial date

• Petzel 1974, 287 no.3 (dr.) (from J. Keil, Skizzenbuch, "Smyrna" viii, 16); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.413.

• The relief depicts a retiarius standing with a trident and dagger in his left hand. His right hand appears empty, but beside it is the top of a large palm branch. Over his left shoulder is the *galerus*, here a cone-like object. Beneath the relief is the inscription:

Πίστος Φαεινῶ | μνείας χάριν

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**236. Smyrna (Halka Pinar near Smyrna)**

• imperial date

• Petzel 1974, 287-9 no.4 (dr.) (from J. Keil, Skizzenbuch, "Smyrna" i, 44); *BE* 1974.54; *AE* 1976.650; *I.Smyrna* no.843 (fig.).

• Figure 1. The relief depicts four heavily armed gladiators, three of whom are similarly equipped with bands on their waist and right arm and carrying a large rectangular shield. The third gladiator from the left, however, wears a short tunic and carries a round shield with a boss. He would seem to be a provocator. All four gladiators carry a placard in their right hand and over their right shoulder. These placards perhaps bore the name of the gladiator. We have the names of each gladiator inscribed and his ethnic:

Σελείνις	Κέστιλ-	Λυκοφ-	Κάστορ
Νεικομη-	λος Σμυ-	όντης	Λαδεικε-
ιδεῖος	ρναῖος	Περγαμη-	ους
		νός	

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**237. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• Petzel 1974, 289-90 no.5 (dr.) (from J. Keil, Skizzenbuch, "Smyrna" v, 286); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.399 (pl.28).

• On one side of a stele is the highly damaged relief of a heavily armed gladiator (helmet with visor and flanges, rectangular shield, dagger and greave on left leg) moving to his right. On the other side is the inscription:

Μαξιμίνος | ἰδίᾳ συμβίῳ | μνείας χάριν

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**238. Smyrna**

• imperial date

• Petzl 1977, 83 no.8 (dr.); *BE* 1978.407; *SEG* 1977.774; *BE* 1979.392; *I.Smyrna* no.419.

• Above this inscription was a relief, described as a man leaning with his left hand on a "column".

## Κεσστίλλω [πάλω] α' ῥη[τι]αρίω

**239. Smyrna**

- 3rd C ?

- J. Keil, *Anzeiger Akad. Wien* (1953) no.6; *BE* 1955.189; *I.Smyrna* no.417.

Ῥωσος | ἐποίει Ἰφώρα ἰδίω συνκελλαρίω

**240. Smyrna?**

- imperial date

- Pleket 1958, 41 (pl.9); *I.Smyrna* no.400. Now in the Reichsmuseum in Leiden (inv.no.LKA 1189).

Σελήνη Αἴακι ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων μνεΐας χάριν

**241. Smyrna?**

- imperial date

- *I.Smyrna* no.401 (pl.28).

- The inscription, and the entire front of the base, has been dissected by a raised relief of a rod, perhaps a *palus* (Petzl) or a *rudis*? Beneath the inscription are fifteen crowns.

Ἀργεία Ἀπλέρωτι ἰδίω | ἀνδρὶ πρώτῳ πάλω ἐκ | τῶν ἰδίων μνεΐας χάριν

**242. Smyrna**

- imperial date

- *I.Smyrna* no.402. The stone is now lost.

Αφρη Φέροπι τῷ | ἰδίω ἀνδρὶ μνεΐας χάριν

**243. Smyrna**

- imperial date

- Pleket 1958, 3 (pl.1); *I.Smyrna* no.410. Now in the Reichsmuseum in Leiden (inv.no.I.92/7.6).

Ἐπιτυχία | Βαλερίω | μνεΐας χάριν τῷ ἰδ(ίω) | ἀνδρὶ ἐποίησεν

**244. Smyrna**

- imperial date

- Pleket 1958, 22 (pl.4); *I.Smyrna* no.411. Now in the Reichsmuseum in Leiden (inv.no.LKA 1152).

- There is an inscribed palm branch after line 4.

Γέμελλα | Πασσερείω | μνήμης | χάριν

**245. Smyrna**

- late 1st / early 2nd C ?

- Reynolds 1997, 130-131 no.3.

- Marble plaque.

Κλάδε μυρμιλλωνι Τρύφα ἢ ἰδία γυνή | ἐποίησεν μνεΐας χάριν. Κλάδε εὐψύχι

**246. Ephesus**

- reign of Commodus

- Içten & Engelmann 1992, 285; *SEG* 1992.1036; *AE* 1992.1575. Cf. Campanile 1994, 78-79 no.65 (with stemma VI).

μονομάχοι | Κλαυδίου Κλεβούλου | ἀσιάρχου

**247. Ephesus**

- reign of Commodus

• *AE* 1928.97; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 195 no.198; *I.Ephesos* no.627. Cf. Pflaum 1960/1, 523-531 no.193; Rossner 1974, 119; Campanile 1994, 67-68 no.52.

Τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως  
τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεακόρου τῶν Σεβ(αστῶν)  
Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἡ βουλή καὶ  
4 ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν  
Μ. Αὐρήλι(ον) Μίνδιον Ματτιδιανὸν  
Παλλίωνα,  
τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβα-  
8 στοῦ εἰκοστῆς κληρονομίῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμ[ις],  
καθολικὸν δουκηνάριον, ἐπίτροπον  
διοικητὴν Αἰγύπτου δουκηνάριον, ἐπίτρο-  
12 πον ὀχημάτων, τεμηθέντα παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου  
αὐτοκρά[τορος Κομμόδου σ]βαλαρίφ δου-  
κηνάριφ, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφε-  
σῳ κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐν αἷς καὶ ἀ-  
16 νεῖλε ζῆα Λιβυκὰ εἰκοσιπέντε, ἀγανοθέ-  
την τῶν μεγάλων Ἐφεσίων, τρεῖς βειθυναρ-  
χην, ἀραβάρχην Αἰγύπτου, ἀρχώνην τεσσα-  
ρακοστῆς λιμένων Ἀσίας κατὰ τὸ ἐξῆς δε-  
20 καετίας τρισίν, λογιστὴν πόλεων τριῶν ἐν  
Βειθυνίᾳ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ τῆς λαμπροτάτης  
μητροπόλεως Νεικομηδείας Νεικέας Προύσης  
24 προνοησαμέν[ου] τῆς ἀναστάσε-  
ως τῆς τεμ[ί]ης . . . . Σ]εργείου  
Γαϊανοῦ [τοῦ - - - - -] αὐτοῦ

#### 248. Ephesus

• 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 195 no.199; M. Gallina in De Bernardi Ferrero 1966-74, vol. IV, 227-228 no.23; *I.Ephesos* no.3071. Cf. Campanile 1994, 154-155 no.193.

[- - - - - ζυγῶν ἀποτόμων?]  
[τρι]ακον[τ]αενὸς δι' ὅλων [τ]ῶν ἡμερῶν,  
ἀποσφάξαντος καὶ ζῆα Λιβυκὰ,  
4 πρῶτον γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου  
καὶ βούλαρχον ἔνδοξον  
[καὶ] γυμνασίαρχον πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων,  
[δ]όντα διανομὰς καὶ πάση τῇ πόλει,  
[κ]αὶ στρατηγὸν πρῶτον, δόντα ἐν τῷ  
8 καιρῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ἰς παράτειμον  
[ἐ]λαίου \* ,ε καὶ εἰρήναρχον μόνον, καὶ  
[τ]ρεῖς ἀγανοθέτην, δόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ  
καιρῷ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης εἰς τὴν ἀνα-  
12 κάθαρσιν τοῦ λιμένος δηναρίων  
μυριάδας δύο, καὶ ἐπιστάντα ἔργοις  
τῆς πατρίδος, τοῖς πρωτεύουσιν καὶ  
συντελέσαντα καὶ παραδόντα,  
16 πατέρα Μ. Αὐρ. Ἀρτεμιδώρου Μητροδω-  
ριανοῦ ἵππικοῦ φιλοσεβ. πρυτάνεως  
καὶ γυμνασίαρχου πάντων τῶν γυμνασίων  
καὶ ἀγανοθέτου καὶ εἰσαγωγέως τῶν  
20 μεγάλων ἐπινεικίων, ἐν τε τῷ καιρῷ  
τῆς πρυτανείας στράσαντος τὴν ἀπὸ

- 24 τοῦ πρυτανείου κάθοδον ἕως τῆς ἐνβάσεως τῆς πλατείας·  
 προνοησαμένων τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ ἀνδρι-  
 άντος Αὐρ. Εὐφήμου καὶ Αὐρ. Εὐγενίου  
 [γραμματέων τοῦ ἰ]ε[ρωτά]του μισ[θωτηρίου]

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**249. Ephesus**

• 3rd C

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 195-6 no.200, cf. p.25; ; M. Gallina in De Bernardi Ferrero 1966-74, vol. IV, 225 no.22; *J.Ephesos* no.3070. Cf. Campanile 1994, 124 no.134 (stemma XV).  
 • The first two (?) lines of the inscription are missing. It was found in the agora.

- [Μάρκον Αὐρήλιον Δάφνον]  
 [ὸν γραμματέως, ἔγγονον γραμμα]-  
 4 [τέ]ων, ἀπόγονον [πρ]ά[τ]ων [γρ]αμμα[τ]έων,  
 προέγγονον καὶ ἀπόγονον μόνων  
 γραμματέων τοῦ δήμου, κολλάκις  
 ἀγωνοθέτην, γραμματέα δήμου  
 8 μόνον, εἰρήναρχον, ἀγορανόμου,  
 στρατηγὸν πρῶτον,  
 ἀσιάρχην ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τρίς,  
 φιλοτειμησάμενον ἐν τῇ πατρίδι  
 12 ἡμερῶν δεκατριῶν ζυγοῖς ἀποτό-  
 μοις τριακονταεννέα, ἀποσφάξαν-  
 τα δὲ καὶ λιβυκὰ ζῶα, εὐτυχήσαντα δὲ  
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ  
 16 πρώτῃ προσόδῳ τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον  
 ἅμα τῇ πορφύρᾳ,  
 οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τόπῳ φιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι  
 τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην.  
 προνοησαμένου τῆς τεμιῆς Αὐρ.  
 Ῥηγείνου φιλοσεβάστου.

Line 15: perhaps προσόδῳ.

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**250. Ephesus**

• late 2nd / early 3rd C

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 196 no.201, cf. p.25; *J.Ephesos* no.3055.  
 • It was found in the agora.

[- - - - -] | [τ]ὸν κ[ρ]ά[τ]η[σ]τον | [μ]ετὰ πάσας ἰππικὰς | [στ]ρατείας δουκηνάριον |  
 [ἀ]σιάρχην, πατέρα | [γ]ραμματέων πρῶτων, | [ἀ]λυταρχῶν, τοῦ μὲν | [ἀ]λυταρχήσαντος, τοῦ  
 δὲ | [ἀ]ποδεδειγμένου καὶ | πρυτάνεως, καὶ ἐν τῷ | [δ]υσχερεῖ καιρῷ εὐχρηστον | τῇ πατρίδι  
 | [φ]ιλοβήδιοι φίλοπλοι | τὸν ἴδιον προστάτην, | ἐπιμελησαμένου τῆς τεμιῆς | Αὐρ.  
 Ἀπολαύστου φιλοσε[β.] | [ἰ]ππικου ἀρχιάτρου τῆς | [Ἐ]φεσίων πόλεως

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**251. Ephesus**

• 2nd C

- *GIBM* no.620; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no.204; *J.Ephesos* no.1620. Cf. Rossner 1974, 125 and 132;  
 Campanile 1994, 92 no.83.  
 • Cf. no. 252 below.

Φαμιλίας | μονομάχων Τι. Κλ. Τατιανοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀσιάρχου.

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**252. Ephesus**

• 2nd C

• *I.Ephesos* no.1182; *BE* 1981.465. Sketchbook no.3472 (Knibbe). Cf. Rossner 1974, 125 and 132; Campanile 1994, 92 no.83.

• It was found in the Artemision.

Φαμιλίας  
μονομάχων

Τι. Κλ. Τατιανού  
Ίουλιανού ἀσιάρχου

### 253. Ephesus

• late 2nd C

• *GIBM* no.621; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no.205; *I.Ephesos* no.1621. Cf. Rossner 1974, 123 and 133; Campanile 1994, 84-85 no.71a.

• Found on the street between the Magnesian Gate and the Artemisium.

Φαμιλία | μονομάχων Τιβ. | Ίουλίου Πηγγείου ἀσιάρχου.

### 254. Ephesus

• late 2nd - early 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no.206; *I.Ephesos* no.1171. Cf. Rossner 1974, 115; Campanile 1994, 62-63 no.43.

• It was found north of the theatre.

Μονομάχοι | Λουκίου | Αὐφιδίου | Εὐφήμου | ἀσιάρχου.

### 255. Ephesus

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no.207; *I.Ephesos* no.1173.

• It was found north of the theatre.

Φαμιλία | μονομάχων | Α | - - - - | - - - - | - - - - | - - - -

### 256. Ephesus

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 197 no.208; *I.Ephesos* no.1172.

• It was found on the road to Magnesia, near the large tomb of the Vedii.

Φαμιλία | μονομάχων | [ - - - - ]

### 257. Ephesus

• AD 103-116

• Robert 1946a, 124-5 no.312; *I.Ephesos* no.2061, II. Cf. Campanile 1994, 96 no.90.

• The inscription was found in the ruins of the theatre.

Ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ ὁ δῆμος]  
ἐπέειψαν  
Τ. Φλάουιον Μοντάνον,  
4 δις ἑπαρχὸν τεχνειτῶν,  
ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας ναοῦ τοῦ  
ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κοινῶς τῆς Ἀσίας, σεβασ-  
τοφάντην καὶ ἀγωναθέτην διὰ  
8 [βίου], τελειώσαντα τὸ [θέατρον  
[καὶ καθιερόσαντα ἐν τῇ ἀρχιεροσύνῃ  
δόντα καὶ μονομαχίας] καὶ κλητήρια,  
καταθέντα καὶ τοῖς πολέταις τὸ  
12 ἄριστον [ἐκ]άσῳ δην. γ' . [τῇ] τε βουλῇ  
καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ πληρώσαντα τὰ δίκαια  
πάντα, ἀριθμήσαντα καὶ εἰς τὴν τοῦ



- 16 [λιμέ]νος κατασκευήν μυριάδα[ς] ἐπτά  
[ἡ]μισυ καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα ἀγῶνα  
κοινόν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιφανῶς  
Λ. Οὐεῖ[β]ιος Λέ[μ]ε[τ]ρυ[λ]λος, ἐπίτρο[πος] Αὐτοκρά-  
το[ρος] Νέρο[υ]α Τραιαν[οῦ] Καίσαρος]  
20 Σεβα[σ]τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ[ῦ] Δακικοῦ]  
[ἀπό] τῶν λόγων, ἐκ προσόδων δη-  
[μοσί]α δελ[τ]ικῆ διαθήκη λελειμ-  
μένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ]

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258. Ephesus

• early 3rd C

• *I.Ephesos* no.3063. Cf. Rossner 1974, 130; Kearsley 1989, 57-65; *SEG* 1989.1791; Campanile 1994, 134-135 no.155.

[ - - - - ] | Μ. Φούλουιον Πουπλικιανόν | Νεικήφορον φιλοσέβ(αστον) | ἀσιάρχην  
ἐνδοξον | ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων | καὶ πρύτανιν, τὸν | γραμματέα τοῦ δήμο[υ] | καὶ πολλάκις  
ἀγωνοθέτην, | πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις | ἔργοις κοσμήσαντα | τὴν πατρίδα ἡμῶν |  
εἰματιοπῶλαι οἱ ἐν | τῇ ἀγορᾷ πραγματευόμενοι διὰ τὴν εἶς | τὴν πατρίδα εὖνοϊαν.

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259. Ephesus

• AD 180-220

• *BE* 1974.512; *I.Ephesos* no.810.

[ - - - ?ἀσιάρχην οἱ ἀρχιερέα? ἐνδόξως φιλοτειμησάμενον] | ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ὀξέσι, |  
πολλάκις ἀγωνοθέτην, | υἱὸν καὶ ἔκγονον ἀρχιερέων, μητρὸς δις ἀρχιερείας, | προγόνων  
Κλ(αυδίων) Καλλικράτους, Ζήνωνος, Διογένους | ἀσιαρχῶν ναῶν τῶν | ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, |  
ἀπόγονον Ἰουλίου Κανθίδου δις ὑπάτου, ἐπάρχου Ῥώμης, συγγενῆ | κολλῶν ὑπάτων καὶ |  
συνκλητικῶν | τὸν διὰ γένους ἴδιον | κολεῖτην.

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260. Ephesus

• imperial date

• D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, *JÖAI* 53 (1981/82) 119 no.105; *I.Ephesos* no.2905. Now in the museum at Ephesus (?) (Depot 1959, inv.no.3967).

φιλοβήδῃοι φίλοπλοι

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261. Ephesus

• early 2nd C

• J. Keil, *Die Johanneskirche* (1951) no.54; *BE* 1953.177 (p.168-9); *I.Ephesos* no.4354; Campanile 1994, 41-42 no.17.

- [haec a]rca est Ti. Claudi Prorosi f. Quir(ina) Men[andri]  
2 [αὐ]τη ἡ σορός ἐστίν Τι.] Κλαυδίου Πρωροσίου υἱοῦ Κυρεῖνα Μενάνδρου ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας  
[ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ]  
[ἐν - - - ἀρχιερατεύ]σαντος μὲν ἀναλογούντως τῇ τοῦ γένους ἀξία ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει,  
[ἐν δὲ τῇ πατρίδι κατὰ τὴν]  
4 [τοῦ ἀνδριάν]τος Τι. Κλαυδίου Ἰδρυσιν μονομαχίαν ποιήσαντα (sic) ζευγῶν ἑς', ἅμα δὲ  
καὶ θεαρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας - - -

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262. Ephesus

• imperial date

• Robert 1950, 72 no.341 (pl.24,3); A. Bammer, R. Fleischer and D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum in Selçuk-Ephesos* (1974); *BE* 1977.431.

• Condemned men joined to one another by a rope around the neck of each. One man holds a placard.

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**263. Ephesus**

• imperial date

• Robert 1982b, 154 (fig.2); *SEG* 1982.1692; *BE* 1984.43.

• The white marble relief, broken on all sides, depicts a *taurokathartes* on the ground resting on his left elbow. He wears a short tunic and a wide belt, and his arms are also protected by bands. His left arm encircles the head of a bull, while to the right the leg of the animal is in the air. His right arm is raised.

**264. Ephesus**

• 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 196 no.202, cf. p.24-27; *I.Ephesos* no.2226.

- Αὕτη ἡ σορὸς ἐστὶν Αὐρ. Νείκονος ἀρτοκόπου καὶ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Αὐρ. Ἐπικρατεῖης· ἐν  
ἢ σορῶ οὐδενὶ
- 2 ἐξέσ<τ>ει βληθῆναι, εἰ μὴ μόνοις τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις. Εἰ δὲ τις θελήσει πτώμα  
ἐπιβάλαι ἢ γράμματα ἐκκόψαι,  
δώσει τῇ φιλοπλία Φιλοβηδίων (δραχμᾶς) μ(υ)ρ(ιας) ῥαμιανητᾶς καὶ τῇ φιλοπλία ἱεροῦ  
μακέλλου τὰς αὐτὰς (δραχμᾶς) μ(υ)ρ(ιας) ῥαμιανηστᾶς
- 4 ζῶσιν.

**265. Ephesus**

• c. 166-167?

• *I.Ephesos* no.721; *BE* 1977.417; Engelmann 1996.

• D. Knibbe reconstructed this inscription from 15 fragments.

- [τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγίστης μητροπόλεως τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ δις νεακό]-  
[ρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἢ βοιωτῆ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐθείμησαν]  
Τεμαῖον] Ἀττάλου, ἀρχιερέα Ἀσίας νῆσῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα
- 4 αὐτοῦ Ἀφίλλαν Μενάνδρου συναρχιερασαμένην αὐτῶν, [καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐ-  
τῶν Ἀκτύλαν, φιλοτίμως καὶ ἐκτεχνῶς ἐπιτελέσαντα τῆν μὲν ἀρχιερω-  
[σύνην, δόντα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῖ. . . . τῆς] τοῦ] Καίσαρος νεῖκης ὑπέρ τῶν  
8 κυνηγεσίων ἀργυρίου δηναρίων μυριάδας ἐπέτα, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα  
τῶν τε μεγάλων Ἐπιμεικίων καὶ τοῦ κοινου τῆς Ἀσίας ἐν Ἐφέσῳ  
[. . . . . Πραυλείνος - - - - - ] ἀνέστησεν τῇ γλυ]-  
[κυτάτῃ πατήριδι καθὼς ὑπέσχετο - - - - -]

Line 6: εἰς τὸν τόπον, Engelmann or, εἰς τὸν τοῖχον etc.

**266. Ephesus**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 198 no.209 (pl.15); *I.Ephesos* no.1174(1). Now in the Berlin Museum (acquired in Smyrna after it had come from Ephesus).

• The relief depicts two gladiators battling. Both are heavily armed and wear large helmets with drilled visors, a crest and protective flanges. Each has a wide belt, loin-cloths, protective wrapping on thier right arms and greaves on both legs. Both have lost their shields and carry daggers. The gladiator on the left (Asteropaeus) is stabbing his opponent (Drakon) in the left side. Asteropaeus also has a curved object protruding from his back. It was perhaps part of a memorial set up by a *munerarius*. Above is the inscription:

Ἀστεροπαῖος Δράκων

**267. Ephesus**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 198-199 no.211; *I.Ephesos* no.1174(2).

• The stone was found in the rubble at the southern gate of the stadium. There is visible the head (of a gladiator?) with the fork of a trident. The inscription is above:

## Στέφ(ανος) (or Στέγ(ανος)?)

**268. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 199 no.212 (pl.11); *J.Ephesos* no.1174(3).
- The relief was found near the theatre. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator leaning to the right. He wears a large helmet, and carries a large shield in his left hand and a dagger in his right. The inscription is above: Πρέστωρ.

**269. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- *J.Ephesos* no.1174(4).
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He has greaves on both legs, ring-like armour on his right arm and a large helmet with shoulder flanges and a peak - perhaps a griffin. In his right hand he has a short, curved dagger and on his left arm a large shield. We have the name: Ἰππόλυτος.

**270. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- *J.Ephesos* no.1174(5).

Πολύδοξος π(άλος) α'

**271. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 199-200 no.214 (pl.3); Robert 1946a, 131; Peek 1955, no.1080; *J.Ephesos* no.1177.
- This highly weathered relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right armed with a dagger or a trident in his right hand. He may be carrying a small shield (*parma*) in his left hand. It was found near the theatre. The inscription is above.

Νίλου ἐπὶ προχοαῖς γενόμεν. Ῥοδιος | ὄνομ' ἦν μοι· χερσὶ δ' ὑφ' Ἑρμείου δμῆθη|ν | αὐτοῦ  
δὲ τέθαμμαι τῆδε ἐνὶ σαρκῶ· | κολλοῦς δ' ἄλεσ' ἐμεῖο βίη.

**272. Ephesus**

- 3rd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 200 no.215 (pl.10); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1203 (pl.182); *J.Ephesos* no.1181. Sketchbook no.1390 (Heberdey). Now in the Selçuk museum (inv.no. unknown).
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right, behind a large shield with a centre boss. He wears a visored helmet with a crest and shoulder flanges, armour on his torso, protective wrapping on his right arm, a loin-cloth, a greave on his left leg and sandals. In his right hand he carries a long dagger. To the right is a large palm branch. The inscription is above, on the moulding:

Κύριλλα Ἀσβόλαντι μνείας | χάριν ἐπόησε ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.

**273. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 200 no.216; *J.Ephesos* no.1181a.
- Most of the relief is missing; what does remain depicts only a helmet with protective flanges. It would seem to be a gladiator's helmet. It was found near the Gymnasium of Vedius (which lies to the north of the stadium). Above, in the pediment of the stele, is the inscription:

[ - - - Χρυσομαλφ [- - -] | [- - - ἀνδρὶ] εἰδ[ίφ - - -] | [- - - μνείας χ[άριν - - -]

**274. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 200 no.217; Peek 1955, no.340; *J.Ephesos* no.1179. Depot no.1476.

Θαυμάζεις με βλέπων Δ[- - -] | μαστεύεις δὲ μαθ[εῖν - - -]

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**275. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 210 no.219 (pl.25); *I.Ephesos* no.1670.
- Four relief panels depict scenes from a wild beast hunt.

- a. Most of the first panel is missing, though human feet are visible. [πρώτη].
- b. A lion attacks a man (on the left) who is armed with a club(?). There is an inscription: "δευτέρα".
- c. A man falls to the ground (on the right) and is being bitten by a lion. τρίτη.
- d. Most of the fourth panel is missing, although there is an inscription: "τετάρτη ἀνηρέθη"

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**276. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- Robert 1950, 67-8 no.336 (pl.26,1); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1205 (pl.182); *I.Ephesos* no.1180. Now in the Selçuk museum.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right with a large helmet (flanges but no crest), shield, sword (long) in his right hand, wrapping on his right arm, belt and greave on his left leg. Above the relief field is the inscription, mostly worn away:

[- - - - - ἐκ τῶν ἰδι]-  
ων αὐτοῦ τῶ[ν βω]-  
μόν μνείας χά[ρις]

---

**277. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- *I.Ephesos* no.1170; *BE* 1981.465. Depot no.53.
- The relief depicts two gladiators in combat. Beneath the gladiator on the left are the remains of the inscription:

- - -] Ἀλέκτορα

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**278. Ephesus**

- imperial date(?)
- D. Knibbe and B. Iplikcioglu, *JÖAI* 53 (1981-82) 127 no.130; *SEG* 1983.889. Now in the museum at Ephesus (?) (Depot 2025, inv.no.4035).
- The two hexameters (in four lines) may refer to gladiatorial combat:

[Ξ]ηνὸς Ἐνοάλιος, καὶ τις | κτανέοντα κατέκτα· | τὸν κτείν[ο]ντ' ἐφόνευσ[α] | δίκην δὲ θεοῖς  
ἀπέτεισα.

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**279. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- A. Bammer, R. Fleischer, D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum in Selçuk - Ephesos* (1974) 145-6; *BE* 1977.431; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1214 (pl.183); Merkelbach 1978; Peek 1978; *BE* 1978.426; *SEG* 1978.875; *BE* 1979.13; *I.Ephesos* no.1178. Now in the Selçuk museum (inv.no.1290).
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large, spherical helmet with circular crest and flanges, a wide belt and armour on his right arm and left leg. On his left arm he carries a large shield. Fleischer calls the gladiator depicted a "secutor", Robert simply a "gladiateur lourd". The inscription is on the upper moulding and finishes in the relief field above the figure. The reading here is that of Peek. Pfuhl-Möbius provide only the final 2 lines.:

[οὐδέ τις] ἄλλος [ἀνὴρ τόσ]-  
[σοὺς θ]ανάτοιο τέλοςδε  
[ἦκεν ἀ]ποκτάμενος χεῖρι

4 - - -?μηῆ φονίη

**280. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- D. Knibbe et al., *JÖAI* 62 (1993) 143 no.60; *AE* 1993.1490; *SEG* 1993.826. Now in the museum at Selçuk (inv.no.4958, depot 2801).

[- - - σ]εκούτωρ πάλου | [- - - τῶ ἰδίῳ τέκνῳ | [- - - ]νω μνείας χάριν - - -]

**281. Ephesus**

- imperial date
- A. Bammer, R. Fleischer, D. Knibbe, *Führer durch das archäologische Museum in Selçuk - Ephesos* (1974) 144; *BE* 1977.431; *I.Ephesos* no.1175. Now in the Selçuk Museum (inv.no.1835).
- Two gladiators in relief(?). Found in the "Sockelbau" on the Embolos. Above is a partial inscription:

- - -]ρος νεϊκῶν? - - -

**282. Ephesus**

- second half of the 2nd C
- *I.Ephesos* no.4346. Cf. Rossner 1974, 123; Campanile 1994, 86 no.74.

φαμιλία | μονομάχα[ν] | Τιβ. Κλαυδία[υ] | Πανκρατίδο[υ] | Ἄττικοῦ | ἀσιάρχου

**283. Ephesus**

- late 2nd-early 3rd C
- Pietsch & Trinkl 1995, 42-43, relief no.1 (pl.25). Now in the Selçuk Museum.
- The relief depicts a gladiator "dans sa gloire". Fine workmanship. Subligaculum and greave on left leg. Holds a palm in hight hand and left hand rests on helmet and rectangular shield. Dog jumps up at the left.

Ἵμνις Παλουμβῶ | ἰδίῳ ἀνδρι μνείας | χάριν

**284. Ephesus**

- late 2nd-early 3rd C
- Pietsch & Trinkl 1995, 44-45, relief no.3 (pl.26). Now in the Selçuk Museum.
- The relief depicts a gladiator "dans sa gloire". Subligaculum and greave on left leg. Holds a palm in hight hand and left hand rests on helmet and rectangular shield. Dog jumps up at the left.

Τύχη Βαλερίῳ | ἀνδρι γλυκυτάτῳ

**285. Ephesus**

- late 2nd - early 3rd C
- Pietsch & Trinkl 1995, 45-46, relief no.4 (pls.27, 28). Now in the Selçuk Museum.
- Marble stele fluted on the reverse. Simple line relief of a retiarius moving to the right. Trident, dagger in left hand and galerus.

Περιτινα | καὶ Μαργαρίτης | Εὐξείνῳ | μνείας χάριν

**286. Magnesia ad Macandrum**

- mid-1st C
- *I.Magnesia* no.163; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 168 no.152, cf. p.259, 262, and 281.
- It was found in or near the theatre.

-----  
 υἰὸν πόλεως, φιλόπατριν, διὰ τε τὴν  
 τῶν ἡθῶν σεμνότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ προ-

- 4 γόνων εὐγένειαν, στεφανηφορήσαντα  
 φιλοδόξως (sic), ἀρξάμενόν τε πρῶτον ἀλείφειν  
 πλείονας τῶν ἐξ ἔθους ἡμερῶν τὴν ἐν προ-  
 αστίῳ πανήγυριν, γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐ-  
 νιαυτὸν λαμπρῶς, ἀδιαλείπτως θέντα τὸ ἔ-  
 λαιον ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, ἀγωνοθετή-  
 8 σαντα τῶν μεγάλων Κλαυδιῶν καὶ ποι-  
 ῆσαντα μονομαχιῶν ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἀπο-  
 τόμους, ἀρξάμενον πρῶτον παρὰ τὸ ψήφισ-  
 12 μα τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν, γραμματεύσαντα τῆς  
 βουλῆς ἀγνώως καὶ φιλοδόξως καὶ δόντα  
 εἰς τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἐπισκευὰς πολλάκις  
 ἀργύριον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, πᾶσάν τε λιτουρ-  
 16 γίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡλικίας τελέσαν-  
 τα τῇ πατρίδι αὐθαιρέτως, Τιβέριος Κλαυ-  
 διος Ζωπᾶς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα.

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**287. Miletus**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• *CIG* 2880; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 192 no.192. (Cf. no. 301 below.)

Προφήτης ἄμα καὶ κατάρχης, Μάρκου Οὐλπίου [Φλα]βιανοῦ Δαμᾶ υἱός, Κυρεῖνα Μ.  
 Φλα]βιανὸς Φιλέας, λαβὼν παρὰ | τῆς πατρίδος τὴν προφητείαν ἀκληρωτεῖ ἐτῶν ἄν  
 εἴκοσι τριῶν, στεφανηφόρος, γυμνασίαρχος | πατέρων, γένους ναυαρχῶν καὶ κ[ρίσ]τῶν,  
 πατρὸς Φλ(αβιανοῦ) Δαμᾶ, μητρὸς δε Φλ[α]βιανῆς Γλαφύρας, ἀρχιερέων τῶν Σεβαστῶν,  
 ποιησάντων θεαρίας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα καὶ μονομαχίας ἀποτόμους ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δεκαδύο,  
 καὶ ἀρχιερέων τῆς Ἰωνίας, ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ ἐσ[τι]αί[?]σεις καὶ δημοθουινίας . . . κτλ.

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**288. Miletus**

• late 2nd C

• Günther 1985, 124-30 no.1 (dr. and pl.27); *SEG* 1985.1132. Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.1720).

• Only the left side of the stone remains:

- Ἄγαθῆ [Τύχη]  
 Ἡ βουλή καὶ [ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί]-  
 4 μησεν τῶν ἀρχιερέα]  
 τῶν Σεβαστῶν . . . . .]  
 Ἀτείμητο[ν φιλοτει]-  
 μησάμενον ἐνδόξως]  
 8 ἐκ θείας φιλοδοξίας ἡ]-  
 μερῶν πέντε ζυγούς x σι]-  
 δηροκο[ν]τῶν ἀνά ζυγόν]  
 ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς ἀγωνισάμε]-  
 12 γασίῳ ζυγοῦς x . . τῶν δέ]  
 φιλοτειμιῶ[ν τοῖς δέξ]-  
 σιν ἀνά ζυγόν, θεατρο[?]-  
 κνηγεσ[ί]ων δὲ - - - - -]  
 - - - - -

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**289. Miletus**

• 3rd C

• Günther 1985, 135-6 no.9 (pl.30,2); *SEG* 1985.1140. Now in the museum at Miletus (inv.no.130 = 1101).

• The inscription is found under a relief pediment with a central disk (shield?) and akroteria. The was once a relief on the back. It was found in the western necropolis.

Ἐπόμνη[μα] | φιλοτιμι[ῶν] | φαμιλίας [μο]νομάχων - - -

**290. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Robert 1949a, 143-145 (pl.22,2).
- Fig. 13. The relief depicts men, naked except for a loin-cloth, being led by a rope around their neck. The first condemned man holds what appears to be a placard in his left hand and over his right shoulder. On the left is a man in a tunic who is holding the rope. In his right hand he has a stick.

**291. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 194 no.194 (pl.23). Now in the Louvre.
- This stele was erected in the theatre.

Ἀβάσκαντε | πρῶβοκάτωρ | χρηστὲ χαίρει

**292. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 194 no.196, cf. p.40; Robert 1938, 191; *J.Milet* no.393.
- On a wall of the baths in Miletus is this depiction of a gladiator marching to the right. He wears a large helmet with a full visor, carries a shield and a dagger. Behind him is the inscription: Νίκη | Εἶσα.

**293. Miletus)**

- late 2nd or early 3rd C
- Günther 1985, 130-1 no.2 (pl.27,2); *SEG* 1985.1133.
- Between lines 1 and 2 of the inscription is the relief of a gladiator moving right, wearing a helmet with a shoulder flange, protective wrapping on his legs (?), and carrying a shield and dagger. Between his legs dangle two bands.

Δροσίνοϛ | Μιλησία Δροσίνοϛ | τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ | μνήμηϛ χάριν.

**294. Miletus**

- 3rd C
- Günther 1985, 131-2 no.3 (dr.); *SEG* 1985.1134. The stone is now lost and was published after a copy by C.Fredrich.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator. His name is given: Πήγασοϛ.

**295. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Günther 1985, 132 no.4 (pl.28,1). Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.3032); *SEG* 1985.1135.
- The relief depicts an attacking gladiator who wearing a helmet and carrying a shield and dagger. He moves to the right. There is the inscription:

[Σ]τέφανοϛ | [ἀ]πέθανε

**296. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Günther 1985, 132-3 no.5 (ph.). Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.3033); *SEG* 1985.1136.
- The relief depicts a gladiator who has a helmet, shield, greave (left leg) dagger and protective wrapping on his right arm and leg.

[Ἡ]ριδανὸϛ ΕΝ . Ω . . | Ω ἀπέθανε.

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**297. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Günther 1985, 133-4 no.6 (pl.28,3 and 29,2-3); *SEG* 1985.1137. Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.3034).
- The relief depicts a gladiator resting his left hand on his shield; his helmet sits on the ground at his right foot. His arms appear to be wrapped and he holds a *spatha* (?) in his right hand. We are told his name: [Κά]πνος or [Υ]πνος.

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**298. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Günther 1985, 134-5 no.7 (pl.30,1). Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.298); *SEG* 1985.1138.
- The highly weathered relief depicts a retiarius standing facing the viewer. On the right is his trident (?). The relief was found on the hill at the theatre, but is now in the area of the southern market. There is the inscription:

Φιλῆμων | ἀπελύθη

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**299. Miletus**

- 3rd C
- Günther 1985, 135 no.8 (pl.30,3). Now in the museum in Miletus (inv.no.1626); *SEG* 1985.1139.
- The relief is only partially extant but appears to depict the top of a head and a trident(?). Above is the inscription:

Ἐπιπῶς | ἀπελύθη

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**300. Miletus**

- imperial date
- Robert 1948b, 82-92 no.319 (pl.10,3 and 11,3); *BE* 1949.148; Robert 1982a, 247 n.73; Günther 1985, 136-8 no.10.
- Robert believed that three reliefs (a, b, c) which depict gladiatorial combat and are presently in the museum at Izmir, had come from Smyrna. Günther, however, has shown that they originated in Miletus, built into the wall at N.E. corner of the Humeitepe and removed from the site in 1905.

a. The scenes depict the death of a gladiator. He lies on his back with no shield or weapons and wears no helmet. He does have a wide belt. The victorious gladiator leans forward and strikes the final blow with a dagger in his left hand. His left shoulder and arm are protected and he wears no helmet; he is probably a retiarius.

b. This fragment may have been joined to part (a) above, and if so, it seems that the victorious retiarius was named Ἀπλέρως. This fragment has been divided into upper and lower registers. Below, a man in a tunic looks to the left, perhaps to the execution scene described above. He is the referee of the combat; his left arm is now missing and his right arm holds a large stick (*rudis*). Above the referee is another panel depicting a gladiatorial combat with a retiarius attacking to the left. He has a trident in his left hand and a dagger in his right. His name is Ἰγγένης. On the right, there remains the foot and arm of another gladiator.

c. This third fragment depicts hunts. Above a man is depicted jumping over a bull(?) with his right hand on the animal's horns. Below a man wearing only a wide belt and loin-cloth runs to the right to grab the left leg of another man (?). A beast with a thick mane is already devouring the right leg. There is the inscription, reread by Günther:

ἐγὼ Γενέσις ὁ καὶ Ἄρκοκλάνης | νῦν κῆρυξ

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**301. Didyma**

- 2nd / 3rd C



- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 192-4 no.193. (Cf. no. 287 above.)

Ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησε τὸν προφήτην ἅμα | καὶ κατάρχην Μάρκον Οὐλπικόν  
Φλαβιανὸν Φιλέαν στεφανηφόρον πρὸς διετίας τῆς | προφητείας, ὕον Μάρκου Οὐλπικίου  
Φλαβιανοῦ Δαμῆ καὶ Οὐλπίας Ἰουβίας Φλαβιανῆς Γλαφύρας ἀρχιερέων τῆς πατρίδος  
ἐπὶ μονομαχίαις καὶ θυορίαις (θεωρίαις?) καὶ ἐπιδόσεσιν, καὶ ἄλλας λειτουργίας  
λελειουργηκότων, γένους ἀπὸ ναυάρχων καὶ κτιστῶν τῆς πατρίδος.

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### 302. Ionia (orig. Smyrna?)

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 213 no.252 (pl.24); Petzel 1974, 292-3 no.11 (dr.) (from J. Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" vi, 317); *BE* 1974.54; *I.Smyrna* no.839. Now in the Izmir Museum.
- The highly weathered relief depicts a man on the ground fending off a wild boar which is attacking him. It appears that there was another relief panel on the right, though it is no longer extant. Above the relief we are given his name: Νικηφόρος.

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### 303. Ionia (exact provenience unknown)

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 213 no.253 (pl.11); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 298 no.1222 (fig.184). Now in the museum in Izmir (inv.no.341).
- A gladiator stands holding his shield in both hands and resting it on his left knee. He wears a wide, detailed belt and his left leg is protected by a greave. Around him are five crowns and a large helmet on the ground (on the left). It has a crest and flanges. Above is his name: Τυδεΐδης.

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### 304. Asia?

- imperial date
- Malay 1994, 80 no.210 (pl.29 and fig.72). Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.430) but provenience unknown.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large helmet with protective flanges, greaves on both legs, protective wrapping on his right arm. He carries a large shield on his left arm held close to his body which covers his torso and a dagger in his right hand, which has the remains of decorative relief on it. Beneath we have his name: Κάστωρ.

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### 305. Asia?

- imperial date
- Malay 1994, 80 no.211 (pl.29 fig.73). Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no. unknown) but the provenience is unknown.
- The weathered relief depicts a gladiator moving to the left. He has a helmet with flanges and a shield. He may hold a dagger in his left hand. Beneath we have his name: Κάστωρ.

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### 306. Saittai

- 2nd / 3rd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 160 no.134; *TAM V*, 1 no.138 (pl.11); *BE* 1982.333; Malay 1994, 79 no.205. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.161).
- The weathered relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right; he wears a large helmet with no peak, carries a shield, a belt and a sword in his left hand. There is an inscription partially extant:

..... Σ .....  
Μέθυσος

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### 307. Saittai

- 2nd / 3rd C

• *JGR* IV 1369; Robert 1929, 40-1; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 160 no.135; Robert 1950, 65-6 (pl.12,3 and 13,1 and 13,2); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 300 no.1235; *TAM* V, 1 no.139; *BE* 1982.333; Malay 1994, 79 no.204. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.163).

• This large, marble tabula is broken on the right and contains three relief panels:

- a. a retiarius on the left fights with a heavily armed gladiator who has a dagger, large helmet and shield.
- b. a retiarius has struck the winning blow (?) his opponent raises his arm in defeat.
- c. the heavily armed gladiator rests on his hands and knees, on his shield, and awaits the final blow from his opponent.

Beneath the relief panels is the inscription:

Ἀμφιάραος | σεκ(ούτωρ) πά(λος) γ', ν(ικῶν) ια'

### 308. Saittai

• imperial date

• *JGR* IV 1370; Robert 1929, 41 n.2; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 161 no.136 cf. p.286 and 292; *TAM* V, 1 no.140 (pl.11).

• The relief depicts a gladiator lying on his stomach. He has a large helmet with a peak. Behind his appear to be the legs of another gladiator but the stone is broken just at this gladiator's waist.

Μάτερνος δοῦ[λος] | [πά]λ(ος) α'

### 309. Kollyda

• imperial date

• *TAM* V, 1 no.402 (dr.); *BE* 1982.342.

• The stone, broken on the right, left and top depicts the legs and feet of a person moving to the right. Beneath is the inscription, possibly reading as follows:

[Νικ?]ηφόρος | π(υγμῶν?) ε'

### 310. Sardis

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 161 no.137.

[name] | υἱὸν Ἐπαγάθ(ου) | καὶ Ἀριάγνης γεγαῶτα ἰπποδιώκτην | κατέχει τύμβος τὸν | ΤΕΠΑΓΑΟΙΟ

Line 6: τ' Ἐπαγάθου?

### 311. Sardis

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 160-1 no.138.

• Two remaining panels contain reliefs of a wild beast hunt: the upper has the legs of two men and those of a bull; the lower depicts two wild cats (or dogs) and two deer. The remains of the inscription are below.

- - - ] ἡμέρας γ'

### 312. Satala

• late imperial

• Robert 1948b, 78-9 no.315 (pl.7,4); *BE* 1949.165; Robert 1950, 67 (pl.12,1); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 305 no.1261 (pl.187); *TAM* V, 1 no.606; Malay 1994, 79-80 no.206. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.429).

• Fig. 4. The relief depicts a gladiator standing with a visored helmet covering his face, and wearing a loose belted tunic. In his right hand he holds a dagger and in his left he has a crescent shaped object (ἄρβηλος?). Beneath the relief we are given his name: Ῥόδων.

**313. Philadelphia**

• reign of M. Aurelius

• *CIG* 3422; *IGR* IV 1632; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 162-3 no.139. Cf. Rossner 1974, 118; Campanile 1994, 66 no.49 (where she gives the fuller name: M.Aurelius Manlius Hermippus - an asiarch).

Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη | Αὐρ. Ἑρμιππον, ξυστάρχη, ἱερέα | τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, τὸν ἔνδοξον καὶ |  
φιλόπατριν καὶ ἐμ πᾶσιν πρῶτον, | ἀρχιερασάμενον ἐνδόξως μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλαμμάτων  
καὶ | δόντα κοντροκυνηγέσιον | ἐν ᾧ ζυγὸν ἀπότομον ἐκ θείας | φιλοδαρίας, ἄρξαντα τὴν  
πρώτην | ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανῶς . . . κτλ.

**314. Philadelphia**

• 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 163 no.140; Robert 1950, 45; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 299 no.1230 (pl.184).

• The stone has been cut across the top. The relief depicts a gladiator standing with his right hand resting on his helmet (crest, flanges) which sit on top of his shield. He has ring-like armour on his right arm and a belt and groin protection. In his left hand is a palm branch. On the ground beneath the palm is a small dog. The inscription is found on the top left, middle right and bottom of the stone face.

a. Πέ[ρ]γη | δέ | μοι | πάτρα.

b. [κραται?]ῆ δέ | με Μοῖρα | κατήγαγεν ἔνθα | καὶ δέμας | ἐνκατέθηκε  
Φιλαδελφῶ? . . . οἱ φίλη . . . γαίη?

**315. Philadelphia**

• imperial date

• Robert 1929, 33-4; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 163 no.141.

• Beneath the inscription is a relief depicting eight crowns. Bad hexameters (marked: /):

[Ἴχνος ἐπιστήσας?]  
ὀλίγων ἐπάκουσον,  
παροδίτα / οὐ γὰρ ἀντι-  
παλος ἔδα<μ>έν με τὸν  
4 ἄθλιον οὐδ' ἔδυνατο. /  
Εἰ δὲ νόσφ προδο-  
[θ]εῖς ὑπὸ Μύρης ᾤδε  
ἐφονεύθην, / ὄγδον πυ-  
8 κτεύσας ἔσχα τέ-  
λος θανάτου, / τοῦτ' ἔ-  
[φ]ερειν Στεφάνφ πρὸς  
Φιλαδελφέων ἄστν  
12 κατελθεῖν. Συνφέρου-  
σα Στεφάνφ τῷ ἰδίφ ἄ[ν]-  
δρὶ μείας χάριν.

**316. Philadelphia**

• imperial date

• W. Buckler, *JHS* 37 (1917) 94 no.7 (ph.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 163-4 no.142.

• The weathered relief depicts a gladiator holding a curved dagger and a square shield and wearing a large, plumed helmet. Αὐτόλυκος.

**317. Philadelphia**

• imperial date

• W. Buckler, *JHS* 37 (1917) 94 no.7 (ph.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 163-4 no.143.

• The relief depicts a gladiator with a large shield, sword in his right hand, and a large helmet: Καλλιμορφος.

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**318. Philadelphia**

- imperial date
- W. Buckler, *JHS* 37 (1917) 94 no.7 (ph.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 163-4 no.144.
- The relief depicts a gladiator with a large shield, sword in his right hand, and a large helmet: [Χρ]υσάμπελος.

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**319. Philadelphia**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 164 no.145.
- Below the inscription, twelve crowns have been incised in four columns on either side of the relief image of a dog(?). Non vidi.

Ἀτταλὶς Διονυσίῳ, | ἐσσεδαρ(ίῳ) ἀ' πάλλῳ, ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ μνεΐας χάριν.

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**320. Tripolis**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 164-5 no.146; Robert 1948b, 93; Peek 1955, no.414; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 299 no.1228 (pl.184).
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer and wearing a loin-cloth and belt and holding a damaged shield on his left arm. There are two crowns on the left of his head and one on the right. Immediately beneath the relief is the inscription (hexameters marked: / ):

Δώδεκα νεικήσας Χρυ(σό)-  
 πτερος ἐν σταδίοισι(ν), /  
 πυκτεύων τρισκαιδέ(κα)-  
 4 τον σθεναρῶ Ἐτεοκλέ(ει), /  
 [Μ]οῖραν ἔχων θανάτ(ου)  
 [κεῖμαι νέκυσ ἐνθά(δε)] /  
 - - - - -

---

**321. Thyateira**

- reign of Severus Alexander
- *CIG* 3494; *JGR* IV 1230; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 218-9 no.266; *TAM* V, 2 no.950. Cf. Rossner 1974, 118; Campanile 1994, p.65 no.47c.

Ἡ πατρίς | Μ. Αὐρ. Διάδοχον ἰππικόν, τὸν | ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ἀσίας ναῶν τῶν | ἐν Περγάμῳ  
 καὶ ἀρχιερέα κατὰ | τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῆς πατρίδος καὶ διὰ βίου βούλαρχον, τιμηθέντα  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θειοτάτου | αὐτοκράτορος Μ. Αὐρ. Σεουήρου | Ἀλεξάνδρου Σεβαστοῦ συνάψαι  
 τὰς ἀρχιερωσύνας τοῖς | ὀξέσιν ἐν ἐκατέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, φιλοτιμησάμενον | ἐνδόξως  
 καὶ μεγαλοφρόνας, | ἄνδρα ἐπὶ ἤθεσι καὶ ἐπεικειᾷ | καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὴν πατρίδα | εὐνοίᾳ  
 διαπρέποντα.

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**322. Thyateira**

- 2nd C
- *JGR* IV 1274; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 219-20 no.267, cf. p.60; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 300 no.1235; *TAM* V, 2 no.1039 (pl.8); Malay 1994, 79 no.202. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.235).
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing in a loin-cloth, and holding a stick (which I am unable to see) in his left hand and his right hand rests beside his helmet and shield. This is opposite to the usual configuration, where the shield sits to the gladiator's left. Below is the inscription.

Εὐγραμμος | οὗτος ἀκελύθη | ἔξω λούδου.

---

**323. Thyateira**

- 2nd C

- *JGR* IV 1274; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 219-20 no.268; Robert 1948b, 99 (pl.7,5); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1218α; *TAM* V, 2 no.1040; Malay 1994, 79 no.203. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.231).
- The weathered relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He has a helmet, shield and there is evidence of protective wrapping on one of his legs. Below are the remains of the inscription: - - -ιος.

### 324. Thyateira

- 2nd C ?
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 220 no.269 (pl.9); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1218β; *TAM* V, 2, no.1041; Malay 1994, 79 no.201. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.233).
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right, wearing a large helmet with protective flanges and a large shield and carrying a dagger. Below is the inscription: "Παρδαλάς".

### 325. Thyateira

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 220 no.270 (pl.9); Robert 1948b, 99; *TAM* V, 2 no.1042; Malay 1994, 80 no.207. Now in the Manisa museum (inv.no.234).
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing with a dagger in his right hand and his trident in his left. Above is the inscription: Στέφανος.

### 326. Thyateira

- later imperial
- W.H. Buckler, *RevPhil* (1913) 329 no.21 (pl.1); Robert, *RevArch* (1933) II, 134-5 (*OMS* 3.1589); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 220-1 no.271; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1240 (pl.185); *TAM* V, 2 no.1043. Now in the Louvre (inv.no.MND711).
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the left. He wears a large helmet with a crest (griffin head) and large, protective flanges, a belt and greaves on both of his legs: the greave on the left leg is much longer than that on his right leg. Both greaves cover the top of the foot. In his left hand he has a small shield and in his right, curved dagger. The inscription is below the relief field:

Ἀμμιάς Ἀραξίφ τῷ καὶ | Ἀνταίφ Δαλδιανῷ ἀνδρὶ ἰδίῳ μνείας χάριν.

### 327. Lydia

- AD 262
- Sayar 1982, 193 no.6 (pl.10,6); *SEG* 1982.1218. Now in the museum in Istanbul (inv.no.6295).
- This marble stele comes from the area of Kula. Above the inscription is the relief of a standing man and a woman. The man appears to wear a toga (?). Above is a pediment with acroteria.

Ἔτους τμζ' μη(νός) Λάου β' Μηνοδάρα ἡ σύνβιος τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα ὄντα καὶ αὐτὸν |  
φιλοκύνηγον ἐτείμησεν | αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν παιδίων | μνείας χάριν

### 328. Lydia (from Turgutlu - between Magnesia ad Sipylum and Sardes)

- imperial date
- Robert 1948b, 79-80 no.316; *BE* 1949.158; Malay 1994, 80 no.209. Cf. H.S.Versnel, *Ter Unus, Isis, Dionysos Hermes. Three Studies in Henotheism* (1990) 207 n.8.
- The relief depicts four gladiators turned to the right. Their names have been inscribed beneath each one: Ἐρμῆς, Κῦρος, Κάνδιδος, Τροφόνιος. The first three carry rectangular shields and curved swords while the final one, Trophonios, has a circular shield.

### 329. Ancyra Sidera

- imperial date
- *CIG* 3847; *JGR* IV 555; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 159-60 no.133. Cf. *MAMA* X, no.186.

[- - - - -] | [Με]νέλαον - - - - - ἰοτίμου τὸν στεφανηφό[ρ]ον καὶ γραμματέα,  
γυμνασιαρχήσαντα | καὶ ἀλίψαντα τὸν δῆμον ἐγ' λουτήρα[ν] | καὶ λούσαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων

καὶ ἄρξαινα τῆς ἱερωτάτης τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος πανηγύρεος ἐν τῷ ἄλσει καὶ ἐστάθισαντα τὴν πατρίδα, κυνήγιόν τε πολυτελές καὶ καρπύδοξον μετὰ πάσης σπουδῆς παρὰσχόμενον, ἐν τε ἀγορανομίᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ . . . κτλ.

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**330. Temenothyrai Flaviopolis**

• reign of Philip the Arab

• *IGR IV 617*; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 156-7 no.127, cf. p.56. Cf. Campanile 1994, 61.

[ - - - - - φαμίλια? ] | μονομάχων [Τ.] Ἀρουντίου Νευκομάχου | Τεβερεινιανοῦ, υἱοῦ καὶ ἐγγόνου ἀρχιερέων Ἀσιας, ἀπογόνου πρεμιμπελαρίου, ὑπατικῶν | ἀνεψιοῦ καὶ συγγενοῦς, ἀρχιερέως πρώτου τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ Τυλλίας | Οὐαλερίας, ἀρχιερείας, γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ.

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**331. Synnada**

• imperial date

• Ramsay 1941, no.246; Robert 1946a, 122 no.310; *BE* 1944.173.

Ἐπαγάθω | σεκουνδαροῦδῃ Συμφρηναίῳ [ - - - ] ἡ ἰδίῳ σφυμβίῳ

---

**332. Acmonia**

• imperial date ?

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 157-8 no.129.

Αἰνόμορον Βάκχη με κατέκτανε, θηροτρόφον πρὶν,  
οὐ κρίσει ἐν σταδίοις, γυμνασίαις δὲ κλυταῖς.

---

**333. Phrygia (Hasanlar)**

• imperial date ? (the editors of *SEG* give: "end of 2nd - beginning of 3rd cent. BC"; they presumably mean "AD")

• T. Drew-Bear in *Arktouros, Festschrift B.M.W. Knox* (1979) 308-316 (ph.); *SEG* 1979.1401.

• The end of each verse has been marked by a symbol (S). The the line ordination is uncertain:

οὐ τὸ θανεῖν με | πονεῖ, ἐπὶ ἧ τόβῃ πᾶσι μέτρηται ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἡλικίης καὶ πρότερον  
γονέων | οὐ γάμον οὐχ ὑμέναιον ἰδὼν, | οὐ νόμια λέκτρα. ὀκτωκαίδεχέτης ἔβανον,  
τοκέες δέ | με τύμβοις | τεῖμησαν τούτοις μνήμης χάριν αἰδίοιο· | Δημοσθένει φιλοκυνήγῳ

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**334. Phrygia**

• 3rd C

• *SEG* 1979.1426.

Ἀφρ. Χαριδήμιου φιλοκυνήγου ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ | Εὐκαρπὴ καλῆ | καὶ  
τέκνοις πεδίου | αὐτοῦ· εἴ τις δὲ ἕτερος ἐπιτελεύσει, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς | τὸν θεόν

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**335. Phrygia**

• imperial date

• H. Malay, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 2 (1994) 181 no.19; *SEG* 1994.1092.

• The relief depicts a retiarius (Pleket).

Γαειανὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ Χαρμίδῃ | στήλην παρ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνέθηκε

---

**336. Tralles**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 165 no.147; *I.Tralleis* no.100 (dr.). P.Lucilius Pisoninus is not in Rossner or Campanile.

• A palm branch is depicted at the end of line 5 and another palm branch beneath the inscription:

Μονομάχαι | Ποπλίου | Λουκιλίου | Πεισαφίνου.

**337. Tralles**

• 2nd C

• *CIG* 2942c; Robert 1929, 41; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 165-6 no.148 (pl.2); Peek 1955, no.981; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 295 no.1197 (pl.181); *BE* 1979.13 (p.416 and 418); *I.Tralleis* no.103.

• The relief depicts a gladiator standing and looking to the right. He carries a dagger in his right hand and a shield in his left arm, which is raised in the air parallel to his shoulder. He wears a large, spherical helmet with a drilled visor and shoulder flanges, a broad belt and a loin-cloth. He also has a greave on his left leg. Six crowns are depicted. In one of the crowns, the letters ΠΑΔ appear, meaning: πά(λος) δ'. The inscription is on the moulding above the relief.

[κυκτεύων Βίκτωρ ἔθανον σταδίῳ]οις κατὰ Μοῖραν, / νεικήσας μὲν πᾶν[τας· ἐλοῦσα] δὲ  
Μοῖρα κραταιή / ἤγαγε [με] | [εἰς Ἀί]δην, καὶ νῦν τὺνβυσι πρόκειμαι / ἔσχα τέ[λος] |  
βιότου χειρσὶν φονίαις Ἀμαράντου.

**338. Tralles**

• 2nd C

• *CIG* 2942b; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 166-67 no.149 (pl.1); Klaffenbach 1949, 323; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 294-295 no.1196 (pl.181); *BE* 1979.13 (p.416 and 418); *I.Tralleis* no.103. Now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul (inv.no.762).

• A relief very similar to above depicts a gladiator looking to the right. He has a sword in his right hand and a shield on his left arm. He wears a large helmet (with drilled visor?) which has shoulder flanges, protective straps on his right arm, a large belt and loin-cloth and a greave on his left leg. There are six crowns depicted around the gladiator, and a palm branch behind his legs. On his shield is the inscription: ΠΑΒ, with the A inside the Π, meaning: πά(λος) β'.

[name] κυκτεύσας κολλάκις ἐν σταδίοισι· | [νίκη]ν δ' ἀπ' ἐμοῦ λάβεν οὐδεις· μοῖρα δὲ  
μοι | [κατέκλωσε θανεῖ]ν ἐπέκρωτο γὰρ οὕτως· Εὐ[- - -]υ καλάμαισιν ἐμὲν νέκυν | ἔνθα  
ταφῆναι.

**339. Tralles?**

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, no.151 (pl.9); Petzel 1974, 293 no.12 (dr.) (from J.Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" i, 38); *BE* 1974.54; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1237 (pl.185); *I.Tralleis* no.101 (dr.). Now in the "Basmahane-Museum" in Izmir (inv.no.343)

• The relief depicts a thraex: he moves to the right wearing a large, crested helmet with a drilled visor down. The crest of the helmet has a griffin-like roaring mouth. The gladiator has protective wrapping on his right arm, both legs and torso. He wears greaves on both legs. On his left arm he carries a large, rectangular shield, while in his right hand he has a curved dagger (*sica*). The inscription is found on either side of the gladiator's head:

Ἴστρος (relief) πά(λου) α'

**340. Heracleia**

• AD 184-185

• *MAMA* VI no.122 (pl. 22); *BE* 1939.361; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 169-70 no.155, cf. p.60 and 122.

• With the inscription is the partial relief of a gladiator's helmet and wrapped right shoulder.

Εἰδομενεὺς [- - -] | ἀπελύθη, κελεύσ[αν]τος ἀνθυπάτου Ἀρρί[ου] | Ἀντωνεῖνου

**341. Heracleia**

• 2nd C

• *MAMA* VI 123 (pl.22); *BE* 1939.361; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 169 no.153 (pl.21); Pfuhl-Möbius, 299 no.1231 (pl.184). Now in Vakif.

• The relief depicts the frontal view of a gladiator who holds a palm branch in his right hand while his left rests on his helmet and shield. His right arm is completely protected and his left arm is bare. He wears a loin-cloth, a wide belt and a belt and has a greave on his left leg. The inscription is found on the moulding above:

Νεικηφόρος πά(λαφ) α΄ | Μαρκελλείνα ή γυνή τὸ | μνημεῖον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | κατεσκεύασεν.

#### 342. Hierapolis

• imperial date

• Robert 1949a, 141-5 (fig.2); Ritti 1985, 102 (pl.13). Cf. Robert 1950, 72 (pl.24,3) and Robert 1982a, 248f.

• This large relief depicts three men walking in procession looking to the ground. They are naked but for loin-cloths and walk to the right. They each carry a sign or placard over their right shoulder and each has a rope around his neck. Above, on the frame, is the inscription , - - -ς Φιλούμενος, and immediately above the final figure: Ἀπῶς.

#### 343. Hierapolis

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 153-4 no.122; Ritti 1985, 99-100 (pl.11a).

• Four relief panels on top of one another and broken on the left each depict a gladiator (third panel is a retiarius - Robert) on the right hand side of the panel. Their respective opponents, who would have been on the left, are missing. Each panel contains an inscription.

a. - - - - - ἡμιον Βίκτωρ | ἀπέθανον

b. [?Με]λέαρο<ς>. ἔσφ(άγη).

c. - - - - - ἰνος. Ἴνγένης. | ἔσφ(άγη).

d. Ἀντιοχιανός. | ἔσφ(άγη).

#### 344. Hierapolis

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 154-5 no.123; Ritti 1985, 100 (pl.11b).

• Marble plaque divided into four panels depicts gladiatorial scenes. This plaque was found close to the theatre and near three other inscriptions: two honorific and the third an epigram for the agonothete and highpriest, Ti. Claudius Zoticus (Ritti). The highly weathered relief depicts:

a. bound wild animal.

b. combat between two gladiators (a retiarius on the left?); On the right there is a palm (to indicate the victor).

c. close combat between two gladiators.

d. two gladiators about to face one another; a shield lies on the ground behind the gladiator on the left and a trident (of a retiarius) lies on the ground behind the gladiator on the right. Behind the gladiator on the right (the retiarius) there is a palm branch.

#### 345. Hierapolis

• 1st / 2nd C (or later)

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 155 no.124; Klaffenbach 1949, 323; Peek 1955, no.983; Ritti 1985, 97-8.

Τὸ πρὶν ἐν σταδίοις κελαδούμενος, ἔλαβας λήθην, | κτείνας ἀντίπαλον μεστὸν πικρίας  
ἀλογίστου. | Οὖνομα μοι Στέφανος· δέκατον στεφθεῖς | ἐν ἀγῶνι | θνήσκω καὶ τρέφομαι  
μακροῖς αἰῶσι πεδηθεῖς | γαίης ἐν κόλποις· Τὸ γὰρ σθένος οὐποτ' ἔλειπε, | πρὶν κτεῖναι  
καλάμας ἸΤΕΟΝ ψυχῆς ἐπικούρον. | Πολυχρονίς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν μνείας χάριν.

Line 6: ἰτέον (a verbal adj. from εἶμι), Klaffenbach.

#### 346. Hierapolis



- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 155-6 no.125, cf. p.320; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 293 no.1194; Ritti 1985, 97-8.
- Beneath the inscription is a relief of a man holding a whip and training a lion. Non vidi.

[- - - - -] | εἰδείω ἀνδρὶ | θηροτρόφω μνεί]ας χάριν ἢδ' ἀνε]θηκεν. Χέρε λέγε παροδίτες.

### 347. Hierapolis

- imperial date
- *CIG* 3916; *IGR* IV 831; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 156 no.126, cf. p.263; Ritti 1985, 98-9.
- From a much longer inscription:

Ἡ σορὸς κα<ι> ὁ βωμὸς καὶ ὁ περίβο<λ>ο<ς> πάς ἔστιν | Ἀπολλωνίου β' τοῦ Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου | σεκουνδαρούδου, ἐν ἣ κεκήδευται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Ζηνοδό[τη - - -] | ...κτλ

### 348. Hierapolis

- 3rd C (or earlier)
- Ritti 1985, 101 (pls.11c and 11d). Now in the museum at Hieropolis (inv.nos.379 and 380).
- Two marble ceiling coffers depicting gladiators. The first depicts a gladiator moving to the right and carrying a dagger in his right hand. He does not wear a helmet and does not carry a shield, but does wear protective wrapping on his arms and waist. The framing of the second coffer is much like the first and depicts a similarly armed gladiator standing with his right hand (empty) raised in the air. This coffer, however, has been badly fractured and so is missing much of the left and right sides. There are the inscriptions:

- a. Εὐφορβος  
b. ἐσφάγη | - - - ΚΟΣ

### 349. Laodiceia on the Lycus

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 151 no.116.

- - -] γυμνασιάρχης - - -  
- - -]ΟΥΝΟΙΣΑΜΥΝΤΙ- - -  
(vac.) μονομαχί- - -

### 350. Laodiceia on the Lycus

- 1st C?
- *CIG* 3942; *IGR* IV 857; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 151 no.117; *I.Laodikeia* no.73.

Μνήμα μονομάχων τῶν δοθέντων | ὑπὸ ἀρχιερέως καὶ στεφανηφόρου | Διοκλέους τοῦ Μητροφίλου.

### 351. Laodiceia on the Lycus

- imperial date
- Robert 1949a, 140 (pl.16,1).
- The relief depicts a bull falling forward. Under his head is the end of a word: "- -]ους" perhaps, "- -]βροῦς". This relief is probably from a series of relief panels depicting scenes from a venatio.

### 352. Laodiceia on the Lycus

- imperial date
- *IGR* IV 865; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 152 no.118; *I.Laodikeia* no.76 (dr.).
- A gladiator is depicted holding a palm branch. The inscription is below.

Ἀμμία τῶ (ἀνδρὶ Σω?)ξομένω Σμυρ?]ναίω μνείας χάριν).

**353. Laodiceia on the Lycus**

- 1st-2nd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 152 no.119 (pl.23); Petzel 1974, 290 no.6 (dr.) (from J.Keil, *Skizzenbuch*, "Smyrna" viii, 32); *BE* 1974.54 and 558; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 299 no.1227 (pl.184); *J.Laodikeia* no.75 (ph.). Now in the museum in Izmir (inv.no.167).
- It depicts a gladiator standing with his left hand resting on his helmet which sits atop his shield. In his right hand he holds a large palm branch. He wears a belt and loin-cloth and a greave on his left leg below the knee. On the left sits a small dog facing away from the gladiator but looking back at him. J. Keil saw the altar in the Ecclesiastical School in Smyrna before 1922. He was able to read part of line 1, where Robert could not years later. The inscription begins on the upper moulding:

[- - - -] καλὸς Καλλιμόρφῳ | [τῷ] ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ Θυατειρητῷ | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ μνείας  
χάριν. | Καλλιμόρφος ὁ καλὸς | παροδείτῃς χέρειν.

**354. Laodiceia on the Lycus**

- imperial date
- *MAMA* VI no.30 (pl.7); *BE* 1939.393; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 152 no.120; *J.Laodikeia* no.77.
- A gladiator stands resting his left hand on his helmet and shield. In his right hand is a palm branch. Only "ΚΑΗ" remains of the inscription.

**355. Laodiceia on the Lycus**

- 1st - 2nd C
- H. Malay, *Arkeoloji Dergisi* 2 (1994) 176 no.7; *SEG* 1994.1083; *J.Laodikeia* no.74.
- The relief depicts a reclining person (Zeno) holding a crown above the head of a young man (a retiarius named Marcus - depicted in front of the couch).

Μάρκο<ς> τῷ πατρί[- - -] | Ζήνωνι μνίας χάριν - - -]

Line 1: ΜΑΡΚΟΖ (lapis).

**355a. Laodiceia on the Lycus**

- imperial date
- *J.Laodikeia* no.78 (ph.)
- Broken limestone panel depicts a bear and a man (from the waist down). There is the inscription: χαρά.

**356. Aphrodisias**

- late 2nd / early 3rd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 170 no.156, cf. 56-59, 64; *MAMA* VIII no.507 (pl.29); Robert 1965, 154-155; Hornum 1993, 285 no.235; Roueché 1993, 63-64 no.15. Now in front of the museum.
- This large marble plaque with a simple moulding has a decorative pediment and acroteria, and is flanked by scrolls. There is a relief of a winged Fortuna (or Nemesis) holding a wheel flanked by two winged Victories holding palm branches.

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ | Ὑπόμνημα φαμιλίας | καὶ κωνηγεσίων Μ. Ἀντωνίου Απελλᾶ Σεουτηρείνου  
ἀρχιερέως, υἱοῦ | Μ. Ἀντωνίου Ὑψικλέους ἀρχιερέως.

**357. Aphrodisias**

- late 1st C / early 2nd C
- *CIG* 2759b; Liermann 1889, no.5; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 170 no.157; Roueché 1993, 63 no.14. Now in the museum (inv.no.76.192).
- The block is decorated with three simple acroteria above a recessed panel with a simple moulding. The inscription is on the panel and the moulding. It was found in the northern part of the city (Liermann).

Φαμιλία Ζήνωνος | τοῦ Ὑψικλέους | τοῦ Ὑψικλέους | τοῦ φύσει Ζήνωνος Ὑψικλέους |  
ἀρχιερέως, μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων καὶ ταυροκαθαρτῶν? . . .]

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**358. Aphrodisias**

- 1st C ?
- Roueché 1993, 62 no.13 (pl.8); G.W. Bowersock, *Gnomon* 69.1 (1997) 47. Now in the museum (inv.no.74.292).
- The stone, found in 1974 in the west Portico of Tiberius, is broken on the top and bottom. There are traces of a decorative panel above.

Φαμιλίας μονομάχων καὶ καταδίκων Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Παυλείνου | ἀρχιερέως ὑοῦ (sic)  
Τιβ[ερίου Κλαυδίου] [- - - - -]

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**359. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 99 no.X.2 (pl.12).
  - On a loose seat from the stadium is a graffito of a retiarius wearing a tunic and holding a trident in his left hand. There is also the inscription: τόπος.
- 

**360. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 109 no.46.H.3.
  - On a theatre seat from block H, row 3 there is a rough and incomplete graffito of a retiarius.
- 

**361. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 109 no.46.H.4 (pl.15).
  - On a theatre seat from block H, row 4, there is a relief of a figure holding a spear(?) and a round shield (?).
- 

**362. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 110 no.46.H.9.i (pl.14).
  - On a theatre seat from block H, row 9 are the head and shoulders of thracian gladiator with a circular shield(?) in front of his chest. The shield has a small centre boss and is subdivided into eight pie-shaped pieces. Above the shield (on the gladiator's neck) is the inscription: θραξ.
- 

**363. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 71 no.36.
  - The worn relief of a man facing a beast (a bear?) which jumps up at him from the right. We have his name: Μένανδρο[ς].
- 

**364. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
  - Roueché 1993, 71 no.37 (pl.10).
  - The relief depicts a man facing left with one hand behind his back while he confronts a beast which leaps up at him. It is similar to depictions of ursarii described by Robert in *JS* 1982. Above the relief is the remains of the inscription: -ΠΗΣ.
- 

**365. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 170-171 no.158; Robert 1948b, 93-95 (fig. 2); Roueché 1993, 68 no.25 (pl.9).

- The stone was found north of the north wall of the stadium. A retiarius is leaning to the left but facing right and holding a trident in both his hands. He has protection for his left arm, a wide belt and a loin-cloth. The inscription is on the upper moulding: Ξάνθο[ς].

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**366. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 170-171 no.159; Robert 1948b, 97 (fig. 3); Roueché 1993, 68 no.26 (pl.9).
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator, Patroclus, on a limestone altar-stele with a simple moulding on three sides. The stone was found north of the north wall of the stadium. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He has a crested helmet with protected flanges, a large shield, a wide belt, and a greave on his left leg. His name was inscribed immediately above: Πατροκλος.

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**367. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 170-171 no.160; Robert 1948b, 95 (fig.1); Roueché 1993, 68-69 no.27; *SEG* 1993.698.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a crested helmet, and holds a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. There is the partial inscription on the upper moulding:  
[. . .]σττης. Thersites is doubtful.

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**368. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 171 no.161; Robert 1948b, 93-95 (fig.4); Roueché 1993, 70 no.32; *SEG* 1993.698. The stone is now lost.
- Altar-stele. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a helmet, and holds a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. We have his name: Μαργαρέτης.

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**369. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Robert 1929, 40; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 171 no.162; Roueché 1993, 65 no.16; *SEG* 1993.698.
- Simple altar-stele.

Ποδηνέμος(?) πάλου γ' ὑπὸ | Ἐρμᾶ πάλου δ'

---

**370. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- K. Erim, *Türk arkeoloji Dergisi* 25 (1980) [1981] 21, cf. p.15; *SEG* 1980.1257; Roueché 1993, 69-70 no.31 (pl.10). Now in the museum garden (inv.no.76.20).
- Altar-stele. The relief depicts a retiarius moving to the right. He is naked but for a loin-cloth and *galerus* on his left arm and shoulder. In his right hand he holds a dagger and in his right he has a trident(?). Above the relief is his name: Σκίρτος.

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**371. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Erim 1967, 243; *BE* 1968.507; Roueché 1993, 69 no.28; *SEG* 1993.698.
- The stone was found in the stadium by P.Gaudin at Aphrodisias but not published until K. Erim did so citing Gaudin's notebooks. We have no description of the relief other than to say that it presented a gladiator. There is the inscription: Καίστιλλος.

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**372. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 65-66 no.17 (pl.8). Now in the museum garden.

• Altar-stele. The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. Above the relief is the inscription:

Οὐνίων πάλου β' | ὑπὸ Παρδαλα̃ | πάλου α'

**373. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 66 no.18 (pl.8). Now in the museum garden.
- Altar-stele. The damaged depicts a gladiator. The inscription is on the upper moulding and relief field above the gladiator.

Νάρκισσος [? πάλου ?] | ὑπὸ Χρυσῶ. . . . πάλου γ'

**374. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 66 no.19 (pl.7). Now in the museum (inv.no.72.140).
- Stele. The relief depicts a gladiator, broken at the waist, facing the viewer with his head turned to the left. On his left arm, he carries a shield which has a Γ in the top left corner. He wears a highly decorated cuirass which has a rose and other decorations, and a broad, decorated belt. The upper part of his right arm is visible and has protective wrapping. On either side of his head is a crown. Outstanding detail. Above is the partial inscription:

[ . . . . ]ενις πά(λου) α'

**375. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 66-67 no.20 (pl.7). Now in the museum garden.
- Stele. The weathered relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He has a large shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. He wears a wide belt and has ring-like protective bands on his right arm. Above is the inscription:

Εϋπλους πάλου γ'

**376. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 67 no.21 (pl.7). Now in the museum garden.
- Stele. The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer with his left hand resting on his helmet which sits atop his shield on his left. In his right hand is a damaged palm branch. He wears greaves on both legs (lower thigh to ankle), a broad belt and ring-like protective wrapping on his right arm. On either side of this figure are two tiny figures. On the left, is a man with a shield and greaves, while on the right is a naked, winged boy (Eros?) who raises his left arm as he regards Eupithanus. The inscription is found in the moulding above and below the relief:

[?Ε]ϋπιθανὸς πάλου α' | [ . . . ]ριλυς

**377. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 67 no.22. Now in the museum garden.
- Stele. The relief depicts the body of a gladiator (his head is missing) moving to the right. He has a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. He seems to be wearing greaves.

**378. Aphrodisias**

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 67 no.23 (pl.7). Now in the museum garden.

- **Stele.** The relief depicts a retiarius, moving to the right. He has a dagger in his right hand. Behind him is a long implement, perhaps his trident. The inscription is on the upper moulding:

Καλανδίων πάλου Ϝ(?)

### 379. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 67-68 no.24 (pl.8). Now in the museum (inv.no.68.721).
- **Stele.** The relief depicts the legs, waist (with wide belt) and right arm of a retiarius. He holds a dagger in his right hand and the staff of a trident (?) in his left. The remains of the inscription are on the bottom moulding:

- - -] Φέροπες πά(λου) Η'

### 380. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 69 no.29 (pl.9). Now in the museum garden (inv.no.75.90).
- **Altar-stele.** The relief depicts a retiarius moving to the left. His right arm rests on his hip with his net hanging over it. In his left hand he holds his trident upright, with a small square object resting on it. His name is above: Φόρτις.

### 381. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 69 no.30 (pl.9). Now in the museum garden (inv.no.75.280).
- **Altar-stele.** The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a large helmet with protective flanges, a broad belt and carries a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. Above the relief is his name: Ἀνίκητος.

### 382. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 70 no.33 (pl.10). Now in the museum garden.
- **Altar-stele.** The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He wears a helmet with protective flanges, a belted tunic, and carries a round shield (the back of which is visible) on his left arm and a dagger(?) in his right hand. The upper moulding has worn away, and may once have borne an inscription.

### 383. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 70 no.34. Now in the museum garden.
- **Altar-stele.** The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. The relief is damaged but enough can be made out to determine that a heavily armed gladiator was depicted.

### 384. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 70 no.35 (pl.10). Now in the museum garden.
- **Altar-stele.** The weathered relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He carries a long shield on his left arm. There seems to be a large palm branch in front of him. Above the relief is his name: [Σεκ]οῦνδος.

### 385. Aphrodisias

- imperial date
- Roueché 1993, 72-73 no.43 (pl.12); *SEG* 1993.698. Now in the museum (inv.no.74.227).

• Stele. Found in the Theatre Baths. The relief depicts a gladiator standing facing the viewer with his left hand on his helmet and shield and his right hand holding a large palm branch. He appears to have a wide belt and greaves on both legs. Beneath is the inscription:

Τροφίμη Εἰρηνί(φ)νι ἐσσεδαρίω μ(νεί)ας] χάριν

### 386. Aphrodisias

• c. 5th-6th C

• Roueché 1993, 70 no.44 (pl.12); *SEG* 1993.698. Now in the museum garden.

• Panel. It is broken on all sides but the right and carries the inscription:

(cross) Ἐνθάδε κατὰκίτε Ἐπιφάνις ταυριότροφος

### 387. Alabanda

• imperial date

• Robert 1929, 34; A. Laumonier, *BCH* 58 (1934), 300 (fig.3); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 173 no.169.

• Stele. The face of the stone is taken up with a framed relief field containing an inscription and the damaged relief of a gladiator. He stands facing the viewer holding a large palm branch in his right hand and his left hand appears to rest on his helmet with has been placed on top of his shield.

[... ]ριας πρώτης? - - - - - ] | Πολυνείκης ὁ θρασὺς δόξαν ἔχων ἔνοπλον | πᾶσαν ἐπαρχίαν ἐν σταδίοις ἔσχον ἄλειπτος, | εἰκοστὸν πυκτεύσας, | οὐχὶ τέχνη λειφθεῖς, | ἀλλὰ νέος γεραρὸν σῶμα κατειργάσατο.

### 388. Alabanda

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 173-4 no.170, cf. p.59; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 301 no.1239.

• Stele. The relief depicts a gladiator wearing a large helmet with a protective peak, a breastplate, greaves and carries a shield in his left hand and a dagger (*sica*?) in his right.

### 389. Iasos

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 179-80 no.176; *BE* 1940.151; Klaffenbach 1949, 323; *I.Iasos*, no.412.

Τύραννος            μουρ(μίλ)-  
ἐλεύ(θερος)        λων  
νι(κήσας) κη'     στ(εφαναθεῖς) κε'

### 390. Iasos

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 179-80 no.177; *BE* 1940.151; Klaffenbach 1949, 323; *I.Iasos*, no.413.

Ἄλυκῆς ἐσ<ε>δάριος]  
[ἐ]λεύ(θερος)  
[νι(κήσας) ?], στ(εφαναθεῖς) κ[.]

### 391. Iasos

• early 2nd C

• *CIG* 2889; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 180-182 no.178, cf. p.52; *I.Iasos*, no.414; Ameling 1987, 5 n. 23; Petzl 1996, 35-55 no.5 (fig.7).

Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρουα Τραι(α)-  
[ν]ῶ Καίσαρι] Ἀρίστω Σεβασ(τῶ)  
[Γ]ερμανικῶ Δακικῶ καὶ [Δι]ῖ  
[Ὀ]μογῶ καὶ Διὶ Λαβ(ρα)ύνδῶ καὶ  
[τ]ῶ δήμῳ Ἀριστείδης [Ἀρι]-





Λούκιος Βετώνιος | Ἀλέξανδρος | σουμιαρούδης | ἀνέθηκεν τῷ συστήματι τῶν  
πρεσβυτῶν τὸν Δία τὸν | Ἀαβράνυδον ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων

**394. Mylasa**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 177-8 no.172; *BE* 1940.149; *I.Mylasa*, 201 no.532.

Χρυσοπέτασος Τ(?) ἐσσεδάρις

**395. Mylasa**

- imperial date
- *I.Mylasa* no.539.
- Visible are the two legs of a "fighter" (ein Krieger) and the bottom of a shield. There is also the partial inscription: ΜΟΥΚΡΩΝ[- - -], (Μούκρων), that is, Mucro.

**396. Mylasa**

- imperial date
- Askidil Akarca, *Bulleten Türk Tarih Kurumu*, 35 (1971) 37 (pl.24); *BE* 1972.418; *I.Mylasa* no.537.
- The relief depicts a gladiator standing with his left hand resting on his helmet which sits atop his shield beside him. He holds a palm branch in his right hand. He also has greaves on both legs. There is an inscription:

Ἐλπις | Μυρσίνο ἀνδρὶ | μνείας χάριν

**397. Mylasa**

- imperial date
- *I.Mylasa* no.538 (pl.8).
- The top right corner of the marble stone is all that remains. There is a relief of a gladiator standing without a helmet and holding a palm branch in his left hand. Behind his hand is a crown(?) His right arm has a protective sleeve held in place by a strap running around his chest and under his left arm. He wears a wide belt and loin-cloth. The inscription seems to be mostly intact:

[?Χαρμ]οσύνη Αὐριγαδι | [τῷ] καὶ νε[ω]τέρω | [μ]νίας χά[ρι]ν.

**398. Stratoniceia**

- late 2nd - early 3rd C
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 171 no.163; *I.Stratonikeia*, no.701 (pl.9). Cf. Robert 1937, 549-550. Cf. Laumonier 1937, 252 no.56; Campanile 1994, 73 no.59.
- From the sanctuary of Hecate.

[- - - - -] | Ἱερεῖς καὶ τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἑκάτης, ὑπόσχόμενοι πρόσφατον, Τιβ.  
Κλ., Κλ. Ἀριστέου υἱός, Κ[υρ]κείνα, Ἀριστείας Μένανδρος καὶ Αἰλ(ία), Αἰλ(ίου) Εἰρηναίου  
θυγάτηρ, Γλύκινα, | μεθ' ἣν ἐτέλεσαν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἐπὶ φιλοδαρίας καὶ κνηγεσιόις,  
ἱεράσαντο καὶ τῆς θεοῦ, καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν ἰστίασαν πᾶσαν καὶ ἔδωκαν διανομῆς ἐκάστῳ  
τῶν πολιτῶν | ἀνά δηνάρια δύο ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, ἕκαστον δῆμον ἐκ τῶν | δέλτων καλέσαντες,  
ἐγυμνασιάζ[ρ]ησαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει | τῇ τῆς κλειδὸς πομπῇ ἡμέρας δύο πρῶτοι καὶ ἐν τῷ  
περιπολίῳ τὰς εἰθισμέναις ἡμέραις, ἔδωκαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς | Σεβαστῆς δηνάρια χεῖλια ἐν  
αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐνιαυτῷ εἰς ἐπισκευὴν καὶ κατασκευὴν βαλανείου, οὗ ὁ πάππος  
τοῦ Ἀριστέου Φλα. Αἰνέας ἀνέθηκεν | τῇ πόλει, [τοῦτο] τοῦ Ἀριστέου ἀνέντος τῇ πατρίδι  
τῷ [αὐτῷ] ἐνιαυτῷ τοῦ βαλανείου μέρος

**399. Stratoniceia**

- 2nd C
- *CIG* 2719; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 171-2 no.164, cf. 310 n.2; *I.Stratonikeia* no.1025.

Τίτου Φλαβίου Λέοντος υἱοῦ Κυρεῖνα, Αἰνείου, φιλοραψαμίου καὶ φιλοσεβάστου | καὶ φιλοκάτριδος, υἱοῦ τῆς | πόλεως, πρεσβεύσαντος | πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς ἰς Ῥώμην καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων | καὶ τὰς διανομὰς τῆ πατριῆς ἐπιτυχόντος ἀρχιερατεύσαντος μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἐν ἣ ἀρχιερασύνῃ καὶ | μονομαχίας καὶ κυνήγια σὺντετέλεσεν, ἱερατεύσαντος | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου ἐν | Ἡραίοις, κακεῖ μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας κηρύγματι ὑποδεξαμένον πάσας, ἐν δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντας τοὺς πολεῖτας μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ δειπνεῖσσαντος, γυμνασιαρχήσαντός τε ἐλκυστῶ ἐλαίῳ, ἐν γυμνασιαρχίᾳ καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίῳ ἐποίησεν, πολλὰς πρεσβείας καὶ ἐκδικίας τῆ πατριῆς παρασχομένου, ζήσαντός τε ἐπιφανῶς καὶ κοσμίως· ἀνέστησεν Τίτος Φλά(βιος), [Λέ]οντος υἱός, Κυρεῖνα, Ἀριστό(λαος)

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#### 400. Stratoniceia

• 2nd C

• *I.Stratonikeia* no.210.

• Possible gladiators and wild beast hunts given by T. Flavius Aeneas, son of Flavius Leo. Sahin speculates that this inscription too mentions Aeneias' gift of gladiators and wild beast hunts. Line 15 has been restored: - - - ] καὶ κυνήγια? - - - ]ου- - - .

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#### 401. Stratoniceia

• late 2nd - early 3 C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 172 no.165, cf. 310 n.2; *I.Stratonikeia* no.303.

[Ἱερεῖς καὶ κάλιν τοῦ μεγίστου καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ Διὸς Πανημερίου ἐν [Ἡραίοις] [Μάρ. Οὐλ., Παπιρία, Ἀσκληπιάδης Ἰούλιος [προἱερατευ]κῶς Κομύριον, Κλ. [Αἴλι]- [ανῆ] Βρήσιον, ἱερατευκότες καὶ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐπιφανεστάτης θεᾶς Ἐκάτης, ἀρχιερασαμέ]-

4 [νων καὶ ἱερα[σα]μένων καὶ τῶν γονέων ἀμφοτέρων ἀξίας] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πανημερίου [καὶ τῆς Ἐκάτης], [τετελε]κότων καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ κυνηγέσι[α ἀμφο]τέρων αὐτῶν τῶν γονέων - - -] [ἀναλ]κότες τὰ τῶν ἱερασυνῶν ἐν τε ταῖς γυμνασιαρχίαις καὶ διανομαῖς καὶ ἐστίασεσιν] [ἄμ]α ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπιδόσεσιν καὶ ἔργων κατασκευαῖς(?) παρ' ἐαυτῶν καὶ [ἄλλαις πάσαις ἐπι]-

8 [δό]σεσιν ὡς ἀπαράβλητον πρὸς πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ θυσίων πασῶν τῶν ἔθυσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν [διαν]ομῶν καὶ δόσει τῶν εἰς τὰ ἔργα ἀργυρίων καὶ ἐστίασεσιν καθ' ὅλην τὴν γυμνασιαρχίαν] [καὶ τὴν ἱερασύνῃν συνφιλοτιμουμένων τοῦ τε πενθεροῦ Πιβ. Κλ. Ἀριστέ]- [ου] Μενάνδρου τοῦ καὶ νεωκορήσαντος εὐσεβῶς, καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Οὐλίπ]-

12 [ου] Διομήδους καὶ Λ. Ρουτ. Ἐπαινέτου καὶ τῶν ἀδελφιδῶν, Οὐλ. Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ [Οὐλίας Λεαίνης].

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#### 402. Stratoniceia

• 2nd C ?

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 172 no.166; *I.Stratonikeia* no.199.

- - - - -

[ἐν τοῖς Παναμαρ]εῖοις δὲ ἐλαίου θέσιν ἐποίησαντο [παρ' ὅλην τὴν] [ἐορτὴν πάση τύχη] καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἐν τοῖς δυοῖς γυμνασίοις μέχρι νυκτός, [μισθω]σάμενοι καὶ τὸν ἐπιδημήσαντα ὄρχηστὴν καὶ τὰλλα ἀκροάματα πάντα

4 [τοὺς δὲ παρεπιδημήσαντας] ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις κυνηγίοις ξένους ὑποδέξαντο [μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἐν πᾶσιν συνφιλοτιμουμένων αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἱερέως [- - - - - Μωανίδου υἱοῦ, Δράκοντος Λο(βολδέως), καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Εὐδημίδος καὶ τῶν

[τέκνων τῶν ἱερέων Μωανίδου καὶ Φαίδρου καὶ Ἐρμησιανακτος καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ ἱε-]

8 [ρέως - - - - - καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτῆς Μωανίδου, καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἱερείας Τρυ-]

9 [φαίνης τῆς - - - - - τῆς Ἡρακλείτου·

[- - - - -]

- 11 [συνφιλοτιμουμένων αὐτοῖς Φλα. Μενάνδρου τοῦ νεωκόρου αὐτῶν,  
12 [καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Φλα. Λεοντίδος.

**403. Stratoniceia**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 172 no.167, cf. p.268; 310; *I.Stratonikeia* no.1005; Hornum 1993, 309-310 no.273.
- The relief depicts a rider whose the horse rests a front leg on the wheel of Nemesis (?). There are two torches depicted on the right and on the left. Non vidi.

[Ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμιδῶρου τοῦ Ἀρτεμιδάρου πενταετηρικὸς ἀγῶν καὶ] | [μονομαχία ἤχθη  
θερινῆς | [οἱ στρατηγοὶ Διὶ, Ἐκάτῃ], Νεμέσι, ὀμονοήσαντες.

**404. Stratoniceia**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 172-3 no.168; *I.Stratonikeia* no.1015.
- Marble column.

Μνήμα μονομάχων | τῶν δοθέντων ὑπὸ | ἀρχιερέως καὶ | στεφανηφόρου | [Οὐλιᾶδου τοῦ  
Μητροδῶρου {τοῦ} Ἱεροκαμήτου.

**405. Stratoniceia**

- imperial date
- Robert 1948b, 81 no.318 (pl.13,2); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1220 (pl.184).
- The relief depicts the head and torso of a gladiator. He wears a large, visored helmet with protective flanges, a wide belt, and a loin-cloth. In his right hand he has a dagger. On the left are two crowns.

**406. Stratoniceia**

- imperial date
- *I.Stratonikeia* no.1016 (pl.14).
- Stele. The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right with a large, flanged helmet (drilled visor). He has a large, rectangular shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. The stone is broken just below his waist. Above the relief is the inscription:

Λέανδρος

**407. Stratoniceia**

- imperial date
- *I.Stratonikeia* no.1062.
- Statue base (fragment). The remains of a relief depict a left foot with a sandal. Sahin speculates that this may be a gladiator. We have an inscription: [Πρωτε]σιλάου.

**408. Halicarnassus**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 2663; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 182-3 no.179, cf. p.52 and 295; Hornum 1993, 289-290 no.241.

Στέφανος ῥητιάρης | νικῆσας) ἦ, στε(φανοθεῖς) εἰ πρώτος | πάλος εὐχαριστῶν | κυρίαῖς  
Νεμέσεσιν εὐχὴν ἐπεμύτοκαλλίων | ζεύγος καὶ ἐνάψια καὶ χοῖρον ταῖς | θεαῖς  
εὐχαριστήριον. | IOHAL δὲ καὶ τῷ ΦΟΙΝΙ | [.]ΩΝΗΝ καὶ θυσίας.

**409. Halicarnassus**

- imperial date
- *CIG* 2662; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 183-7 no.180; Hornum 1993, 290-291 no.242.
- Robert reconstructed this inscription from three fragments.

Μορμύλλων  
 Ζμάραγδος Ἀσιατικοῦ νικῆσας ε' (στεφανωθείς) ε', νικῶ  
 Θραξ  
 Στρήνος Ἀσιατικῶ ν. α' (στεφανωθείς) α', ἐσφάγη  
 Ἰασην Νικάνορος τὰς Νεμέσεις ἀνέθηκεν.

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**410. Halicarnassus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 187 no.181.

Μνήμα μονομάχων [τῶν δοθέντων ?] ὑπὸ Ποπλίου Οὐηδίου Ἀσιατικοῦ(?) - - -]

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**411. Halicarnassus**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 187-8 no.182.

[- - - σ]φαγέντων | [- - - τε]σσάρων

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**412. Halicarnassus**

- later imperial
- *CIG* 6855e; *GIBM* no.912; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 188 no.183 (pl.7); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 296 no.1212 (pl.182). Now in the British Museum.
- The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right, wearing a loin-cloth and belt. He has a large, spherical helmet, a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. The inscription is on either side of his head: "Ἰλα-ρος.

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**413. Halicarnassus**

- 2nd - 3rd C
- *CIG* 6855f; *GIBM* no.911; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 188-9 no.184 (pl.12), cf. p.239. Cf. Golvin & Landes 1990, 169 for a large photograph. Now in the British Museum.
- The relief depicts two female gladiators in combat. They wear loin-cloths and belts, and protective wrappings on their right arms. Each has a dagger in their right hand and a shield on their left arm. They do not wear helmets (especially visible is the gladiatrix on the left). Above the two is the inscription, ἀπελύθησαν; below the gladiatrix on the left, Ἀμαζών and below the one on the right, Ἀχιλλία.

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**414. Cibyra**

- imperial date
- M. Collignon, *BCH* 1878, 602 no.10; von Luschan and Petersen, *Reisen im südwestl. Kleinasien* II, 191 note 4; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 151 no.115.

[- - -]τιανος νικῆσας δ', στεφανωθείς γ'  
 [- - -] νικῆσας ε', στεφανωθείς δ'.

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**415. Cibyra**

- imperial date
- Robert 1950, 46 no.332 (pl.13,3); *BE* 1951.210. In 1948, it was in the wall of a house in Horzum.
- The relief depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right wearing a large helmet with protective flanges, a wide belt, and carrying a shield on his left arm. In his right hand is a dagger. Above is his name: [Ἰ]έρως (or [Πειθέ]ρωσ, [Νυμφέ]ρωσ etc.) κά(λος) α'.

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**416. Caria**

- later imperial
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 236 no.301 (pl.20), cf p.300; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302 no.1243 (pl.186). Now in the Louvre.

• Stele of white marble. There is a shallow, rectangular relief field depicting a gladiator standing in a loincloth and belt, with greaves on both of his legs. His chest is bare. His left hand rests on his helmet and oval shield (centre boss) to the right while his right hand holds a large palm branch. Beneath is the inscription:

Βάσσα Στροβείλω ἰδίῳ | ἀνδρὶ μνείας χάριν.

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**417. SW Asia Minor**

- date uncertain
- Weiss 1992, 193 no.2; *SEG* 1992.1679; *BE* 1993.103.
- Weiss believed this to be the dedication by a boxer to Apollo, but Sève (in *BE*) wonders if this is instead a gladiator: an athlete would be more likely to indicate his patronym and ethnic.

ΜΟΑΙΟΞΚΑΙ Βάκ-  
 χις πυκτεύσας ἐ<v>  
 Καρία καὶ νεικήσας  
 4 Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχῆ(v).

Line 1: perhaps Μοας ὁ καὶ. Line 2: perhaps ἐ<v> = ε΄.

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**418. Rhodiapolis**

- Hadrianic or somewhat later
- *JGR* III 739, xvii; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 144 no.103.
- Extract from a lengthy inscription.

... λυκταρχήσαντι φιλοτιμίᾳ, δόντι κυνήγια καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ θεωρίας, ἀγωνοθετήσαντι ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν ταῖς ἐπισημοτάταις πόλεσιν, τῇ Μυρέᾳ(ν καὶ τῇ Παλιφάρων), ἐν αἷς ἀγούσιν πανηγύρεσιν ἐπισημίους θεῶν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος, καὶ δόντι πάλιν [κυνήγια καὶ μονομαχίας καὶ θεωρίας ἐν σεβασμίῳ] ἡμέραις, ἐφ' οἷς αἱ πόλεις ἐμαρτύρησαν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ θεοῦ Ἀδριανου, ὁ δὲ θεὸς Ἀδριανὸς ἀντέγραψεν.

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**419. Pinara**

- imperial date
- *TAM* II, no.508; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 144-5 no.104. Cf. Ville, *La gladiature*, 201 n.52.
- Robert gives the partial inscription:

- - - - -  
 8 [δ]όν[τα] Πιναρεῦσιν κυνήγια καὶ προ[κυ]νήγια [- - - - -]  
 καὶ [ἀ]ργυρικῆς ἐπιδό[σε]ς προ[ω]τον καὶ [πάλιν? θη]ριομάχια  
 - - - - - καὶ ἑνα[?]ντι[ον] δόν[τα] Κη[?]νεύ[?]ταις] κυνήγια καὶ [- - - - -]  
 10 προκυνήγια καὶ ἀργυρικῆν ἐπίδοσιν [καὶ πάντα τὰ εἰς? ἀργυρι-  
 κῆν ἐπίδοσιν [ἐφ'] ἱερᾶ Κιναίθ[?]ου καὶ Ταμί[?]ου καὶ Λοσατίου [καὶ ἔτι? ἀρ]-  
 12 [γυ]ρικῆν [ἐπι]δοσ[ιν] καὶ [θη]ριομάχια καὶ ταυρομ- (etc.) μάχια καὶ [- - - - - δόν]-  
 [τα Κ]ο[?]ρ[?]α[?]λεῖ[?]σιν κηνήγια καὶ προκυνήγια καὶ ταυροβά[?]λια καὶ ἐν-  
 14 ανχο[?]ς [δ]όν[τα] περ[?]αίτερ[?]ον εἰς τὸ κοινόν] κυκλι[?]κῆν δι[?]μ[?]η[?]νον ἐπίδοσιν[?]  
 [δόντα Τ]λα[?]εῦσιν κηνήγια καὶ προκυνήγια καὶ τὰς [σιτήσεις?]  
 16 καὶ ἀργυρικῆν ἐπίδοσιν ἑ[?]νανχο[?]ς καὶ [τε]τεμ[?]ημένον,  
 δόντα Τε[?]λη[?]σεῦσιν κυνήγια καὶ προκυνήγια μ[?]ηνος  
 18 Δύ[?]σ[?]ρο[?]υ καὶ ἀργυρικῆν ἐπίδοσιν πρᾶ[?]τον [καὶ τε]τεμ[?]ημένον,  
 ...κτλ.

The inscription ends at line 27 where the stone is broken.

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**420. Lydai**

- mid 2nd C

• *JGR III 527; TAM II, no. 143 (dr.); Robert, Gladiateurs, 148 no. 112. Cf. TAM II, p. 45 for stemma of this family, and Wörrie 1988, 59 n. 42.*

[Γ. Ίούλιον Διοφάντου (τῆ) Ἡλιοδόμου τοῦ Ἡλιοδόμου τοῦ Διοφάντου (υἱὸν Βουλτηνία Ἡλιοδόμου Ραμμαίων καὶ) Λυδάτην, κολειτευόμενον καὶ ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι | (πάσαι), ἠρχιερατευκότα τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ ἔθνεϊ καὶ γεγραμμάτευσκότα καὶ ἠρχιφυλακικότα [Λυκίᾳ] τοῦ κοινοῦ πρώτων ἐκ τῆς | (ἰδίας αὐτοῦ πατρίδος τῆς Λυδατῆ) | (πόλεως? - - - καὶ) ἐπιδόσεις πεποιημένον εἰς τὴν πόλιν πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων - - - - καὶ εἰς ἔργα ἔθνηκα καὶ | (- - - - - καὶ?) μονομαχίας καὶ κυνήγια - - - - - καὶ ἐν | (- - - - - )

The inscription continues in fragments for several more lines.

#### 421. Oenoanda

• AD 115

• *JGR III 492; Robert, Gladiateurs, 149 no. 113. Cf. Wörrie 1988, 123-135.*

[ - - ]δόντα[ - - ] τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Λυκίᾳ ἔθνεϊ ἀργυρίου | μύ(ρια) ἑνδεκα, ὧν ὁ τόκος χαρεῖ εἰς διάδοσιν ἀρχοστατῶν, καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Μυρέων μητροπόλει δηνάρια μ', | καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Τλαέων μητροπόλει δηνάρια μ(ύρι)α ε', καὶ τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ Οἰνοανδέων πόλει, πατρίδι ἡμῶν, | ἀγαγόντα κυνηγέσια καὶ μονομαχίας ἡμερῶν δύο ἀρχιερέος | Σακέρδατος πρὸ τῆς Λυκίᾳρχίας | (καὶ) καταλείψαντα τοῖς μὲν φ' ἐκάστῃ ἔτησι οὖς σείτου μοδίους δ' | (καὶ) ἀργυρίου ἔτησια δηνάρια β' καὶ κισίν | (καὶ) παρβένοις ὀνόμασιν σ' καὶ ...κτλ

#### 422. Oenoanda

• AD 115

• *JGR III 500, col. III l. 24f.; Robert, Gladiateurs, 149 no. 113a. Cf. Wörrie 1988, 35.*

• Excerpt from a much longer inscription, detailing the genealogy of the Licinnii:

...Ὁ Λικίνιος Λογγος, ὁ τοῦ δευτέρου | Λικινίου Μουσαίου υἱὸς, γαμμεῖ Μαρκίαν Λυκίαν Μαρκίου Τιτιανῶν θυγατέρα, τοῦ γενομένου | πρεμοπειλαρίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο Λυκίᾳρχου, μεθ' ἧς | πρὸ τῆς λυκίᾳρχίας ἱερατεύσας τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐν | τῇ πατρίδι ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Κλαυδίου Σακέρδατος | (μητρός) Λόφου ἐπιτελεῖ κυνηγέσια καὶ θηριομαχίας | καὶ μονομαχίας, καθὼς δεῖκνυται ἐκ τοῦ γενομένου | (ψηφισμῶν) εἰσοδοσεως τε(μῆς) | ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέος Λουκίου (Ὀυβηρέινου, μητρός) Ξανδικῶν υἱ'. | ...κτλ

#### 423. Oenoanda (Termessos near Oenoanda)

• AD 253/4

• *JGR III 481; Robert, Gladiateurs, 149 no. 113b.*

Οὐαλέριον Στατεῖλιον Κάστον, τὸν | κράτιστον συμμαχον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | πραιπόσιτον βιξιλατιῶνων, | Τερμησησέων τῶν πρὸς | Οἰνοάνδους ἢ βουλή | καὶ ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸν εὐεργέτην, προνοησάμενον τῆς εἰρήνης κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ | κατὰ γῆν, ἐπιδημήσαντα τῇ λαμπρῇ ἡμῶν πόλει μετὰ πάσης εὐκοσμίας ἡμερῶν ιβ', ἀγαγόντα δὲ καὶ ἰνέριον φιλοτιμίας ἐν τῇ λουσαρίῃ | τῇ πρὸ ζ' (?ε) εἰδ(ῶν) Νοεμβρία(ν), ἐν ἧ (ἡμέρᾳ) ἐκομίσθη (εἰκῶν) ἱερὰ | τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Οὐαλεριανῶν νέου Σεβαστοῦ.

#### 424. Oenoanda

• c. AD 100

• Bean 1971, 18-20 no. 36; BE 1972.443.

• On a badly damaged sarcophagus found in the southern necropolis. There is a relief of a man sacrificing at an altar while a boy on the left holds out an unidentified object. There is the inscription:

-- ]NTIANOΣ  
-- ]NEΣΚΟΥ  
-- ]ΑΠΟ . . . Υ

- 4 . . ΗΣΑ καλῶς ἐμόρισα  
[τὸν κατ' ἐσπ]έραν ἄκε[α]-  
[νό]ν . . . . . Ἀσίαν(?), Λυκί-  
αν, Παμφυλίαν, Φρυγί-  
8 αν, Βειθυνίαν μέχρι  
Βυζαντίου, Θράκην,  
τὰ Νέρωνος στάβλα,  
Αἴμον καὶ Ῥοδόπη[ν]  
12 διέβην, Μυσίαν, Σαρ-  
ματίαν, τὸν Δανο[ύ]-  
βιν ἔπλευσα μέχρι [τῆς]  
τε Σκυθίας καὶ  
16 τῆς Δακίας, τείρω-  
νας ἀπαγάγας τοῖς ἐ-  
μοῖς ἀναλώμασιν.  
ἦρξα δὲ ἀπὸ ἀρχιε-  
20 ρέος Κλαυδίου Πτολε-  
μαίου.

Line 4: ἐμοίρισα?, Bean.

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#### 425. Telmessus

• imperial date

• *JGR* III 539; *TAM* II no.15; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 147 no.108.

- [Λυκίαν τὸ κοινὸν ἐτείμησεν [ταῖς τρίταις] τειμαῖς  
[Φίλιππον Κλεάρχου τοῦ Τληπολέμου] τοῦ Φιλώ-  
4 [του Τελμησέα πολιτευόμενον δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς  
[κα]τὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι πάσαις, ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σε-  
βαστῶν, τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ γραμματέα Λυκίαν τοῦ  
[κοι]νοῦ, δι' αἷς ἐτέλεσεν μεγαλοψύχως μονομαχί-  
8 [- - - - -] παρεσχημένον καὶ τῆι πατρίδι  
[γυ]μνασίου χαρισάμενον, καὶ ἀριθμήσαντα λεπτοῦ  
[ἀργυ]ρίου μυριάδ[ι]ας πέντε καὶ ἑξακισχειλίας  
[πεν]τήκοντα ὀκτὼ δραχμάς. Λυκίαν τὸ κοινὸν ἐτείμησεν ταῖς  
12 τρίταις τειμαῖς Ἀρτέμιον, τὴν καὶ Τάταν  
Μεγασύστου, Τελμησίδα, τὴν ἀρχι-  
ερείαν τῶν Σεβαστῶν, γυναῖκα  
Φιλίππου τοῦ Κλεάρχου τοῦ Τλη-  
16 πολέμου τοῦ Φιλώτου Τελμησέως,  
[πολι]τενομένου δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς κα-  
τὰ Λυκίαν πόλεσι πάσαις, κεκοσμη-  
μένην πάσῃ ἀρετῇ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ.

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#### 426. Telmessus

• early imperial?

• *JGR* III 541; *TAM* II no.107 (dr.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 147 no.109; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 303 no.1250 (pl.186). Now in Vienna in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv.no.I.442).

• Stele. In a shallow relief field, a retiarius stands facing the viewer resting his right arm on his trident and holding a dagger in his left hand. In front of him on the right is a palm branch. The inscription is mainly on the right border and across the bottom:

Ἑρμῆϊ | Παιτραεῖτης μετὰ τῶν συνελλαρίων | μνήμης χάριν.

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#### 427. Telmessus?

- imperial date
- TAM II no.117 (dr.); Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 147-8 no.110; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 298 no.1225; *I.Rhodischen Peraia* no.802.
- A badly damaged relief depicts a man with a shield on his left arm. The inscription is above and to the right of the relief:

[Κ]οίντος | σεκουινδαφρού[δ]ης . . | ΤΩ | Ν

#### 428. Telmessus

- imperial date?
- TAM II, no.114; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 148 no.111.

[Τὸν] σθεναρὸν [- - - νῦν?]  
[ἐσορᾶ]τε, ὦ παροδ[ε]ίται,  
[- - -]ΑΣΗ πυγμῆ [- - -]  
4 [- - -]ΑΣΙΝΙΟΙΑ[- - -]  
[- - -]ΝΘΗΓΟΙΓΑ[- - -]  
[- - -]ΕΠΙ[- - -]

#### 429. Xanthus

- imperial date
- IGR III 631; TAM II no.287; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 145 no.105.

Φίλιππον δις τοῦ Ἑσταιίου, Τλαφέα καὶ Ξάνθιον, ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ | ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχοντα  
διὰ προγόνων καὶ κοινῇ ἐν τῷ ἔθνεϊ καὶ κατὰ | πόλιν δείγματα τῆς καλοκάγαθίας |  
δεδοκῶτα, τιμῆς καὶ ἀποδοχῆς καὶ παρὰ τοῖς δικαιοδόταις ἡξιαζόμενον, ἱερατεύσαντα  
τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ πλείστα εἰς τὴν [ἱερ]σοφύνην ἀνηλωκῶτα εἰς τε ἐπιδόσεις | καὶ ἦν  
ἐτέλεσεν πανήγυριν δαπανηρῶς καὶ ἐπιτυχῶς, δόντα δὲ καὶ | ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Λητοῦς  
προκυνήγιας | καὶ ταυρομάχια καὶ θηρομαχία (ἄς) διημιλλῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν τοῦ ἔθνους  
ἀρχιερῶν φιλοδοξίας, καὶ ἀσση ἀρετῇ | διαφέροντα

#### 430. Xanthus

- imperial date
- TAM II, 355; J. Zingerle, *JÖAI* 30 (1937) *Beiblatt*, 147-8; *BE* 1939.382; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 145-6 no.106; Peek 1955, no.621.
- Heroic couplets, to line 22 (δεῖ).

Βίκτορα πάλον ἀ'  
σεκούτορα.

3 Βίκτορα τὸν | στεναρὸν | με σεκούτορα νῦ<ν> ἐσορᾶτε,  
7 ὄν πάντες τρόμερον σύνζυγοι | ἐν σταδίοις |  
11 οὐ πατρὶς ἦν | Λιβύη, νῦν δὲ | Ξάνθοιό με | γαῖα  
14 αὐξανίον δάπεδον | κατέ<χ>ει σὺν | δόγματι Μοῦρον.  
18 Παῖξε, γέλα, παροδεῖτα, | βλέπων ὅτι | καὶ σε θανεῖν | δεῖ.  
22 Ἄμαζ[ά]ν | Βίκτορι ἀνδρὶ | [ἰ]βίφ ἐκ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μνεΐας χάριν τὸν βαμῶν. Εἷ τις δὲ  
καθελ[ώ]ν ὀρύξη, δάσει | εἰς τὸ φίσκον (δηνάρια) φ'. | [Χ]αίρεται παροδεῖται.

#### 431. Xanthus

- 2nd / 3rd C
- TAM II no.356; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 146-7 no.107; Peek 1955, no.393.
- On a funerary altar (hexameters).

Τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν | <σ>οι. Μείνον, ξένε· | μὴ με παρέλθης, |  
μέχρις ἴδης στήλης τὰ προκείμενα γράμματα | Μουσῶν.  
Οὐ γὰρ | καυχῆσεται Εὐπρεπῆς κατ' ἐμοῦ  
οὐδ' ἐπιλυπήσει με | τὸν ἄθλιον οὐδὲ δύναιτε.



Εἰ δέ <μ>ε καὶ Μοίρης | μίτος ἤγαγεν ἰς χάος ἔλθειν,  
 τοῦτ' ἔφερον Ἀχιλλεῖ | πρὸς Ξάνθιον ἄστῃ <κ>ατε<λ>θεῖν. |  
 Πανθία τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ | Ἀχιλλεῖ π(άλω) ἀ' μυρμιλώνων ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων |  
 μνείας χάριν. ὃς ἂν | δὲ τὸν βαμὸν μεταθήσει ἢ ἀνορύξει, δώσει | ἰς τὴν  
 [πόλιν (δηνάρια)] βφ' καὶ | ἰς τὸν φ(ίσκον) (δηνάρια) μ(ύρια).

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**432. Attaleia**

• imperial date

• *IGR* III 780; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 143 no.100; Klaffenbach 1949, 323.

[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος ἐτείμησεν ?[ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν κατὰ φιλοδοξίῳν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων  
 | Καλποῦρνιον Κοδράτου | υἱὸν Διόδωρον, υἱὸν βουλῆς] | δήμου γερουσίας, φιλοκαίσαρα |  
 καὶ φιλόπατριν, ἱερέα διὰ βίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου | καὶ θεοῦ μεγάλου Διονύσου |  
 καὶ θεοῦ Ἄρεως, καὶ θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐλαφ(β)όλου πρώτου] | καὶ ἱερέα διὰ βίου θεᾶς  
 Λητοῦς] | τῆς Περγαίων πόλεως ἀρχ(ε)ρασίμενον τετραετίαν καὶ | ἐπιτελέσαντα  
 κυνηγέσι(α)ς | καὶ μονομαχίας μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ ἀγωνοθετήσαντα | τοὺς μεγάλους  
 πενταετηρικοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς πάντας ἐν τῇ τετραετίᾳ

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**433. Attaleia**

• imperial date

• Robert 1950, 44-6 no.331 (pl.14); *BE* 1951.221; Peek 1955, no.815. Cf. *BE* 1972.75. Now in the museum in Adalia.

• Limestone altar. Below the inscription are a trident, a dagger and eight crudely incised palm branches:

Τὸν καλὸν ὀφθῆναι, τὸν πύ(κτην) | ἐν σταδίοισιν ὀκτάκι νεμκήσαν]τα καλὸν Μείλιτον  
 ἀθρεῖ(ε), | [οἶ]ον πρὶν θῆραις Κινύρου καλῶ(ν) | υἱὸν Ἄδωνιν, ἧ ποτε δισκευθέντα πᾶιν  
 καλὸν | ὡς Ὑάκινθον νῦν δέ | με πυκτεύσαντα κατήγαγε Μοῖρα βιαίως, καὶ δέμιας  
 ἐγκατέθηκε φίλη | Παμφυλίδι γαίῃ. Σῆμα | δέ μοι τύμβου μνήμης | ἔνεκεν φίλις τε |  
 στήσεν ὑπὲρ δόξης χρηστὸς | φίλος ἐνθάδ' Ὀδυσσεύς.

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**434. Attaleia**

• imperial date

• *SEG* 1980.1514; *BE* 1982.447.

[- - - - -] | [δ]ῆξα μάχαις δι' ὀπλων, δόξη μέγας ὦν Πολυνείκης, | πρῶτος ἔτρασσα φίλον  
 Ταχεινὸν <ν>ε[ι]κῶν συνόμελο(ν) [- - - - -]

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**435. Perge**

• G.E. Bean, "Inscriptions in the Antalya Museum" *Bulleten Türk Tarih Kurumu* 22 (1958) no.55; *BE* 1959.448; *BE* 1960.391.

• The relief, according to Robert, depicts a thraex. There is the brief inscription:

Ἀλκείδης ν(ικήσας) ἰς'

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**436. Aspendus**

• C. Brixhe, *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 11 (1967) [1970] 203-17 no.8; *BE* 1970.611.

Πρωουκά(τορες? or -τωρ) Πρεῖμιος Ἰουστῖανος

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**437. Side**

• mid 3rd C

• Bean & Mitford 1970, 38-41 no.19 (ph.11 and 12); *BE* 1972.498; *AE* 1972.626; W. Eck, *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974) 233; Hopwood 1983, 176 and 186, no.4; Günther 1985, 126; *Side in Antertum* 197-202. Cf. Nollé 1992/3, 49-82; *SEG* 1993.962.

• The statue base is from (Aydolın Kalesi) NW of Cibyra Minor (but within the territory of Side) and is in two pieces, found in 1964 and 1966.

Ἄγαθῆι <τύχη>

- ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τῆς λαμπροτάτης καὶ ἐνδόξου Σιδητῶν πόλεως ἐτείμησεν Αὐρήλιον Μανδριανὸν Λογγεῖνον, τὸ[ν] ἴδιον βουλευτὴν, ἀρχιερασάμενον τῷ Σεβαστῷ εὐσεβῶς φιλοτείμιας, ἐπιδόντα νομὰς βουλευταῖς τε καὶ πολεῖταις, ἐπιτελέσαντα θεαρίας παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα σεμνῶς καλουμέ-  
 4 νου ἀγῶνος Φοιβείου καὶ δόντος (sic) ἐπὶ τῇ ἀγωνοθεσίᾳ αὐτοῦ διανομὰς βουλευταῖς τε καὶ πολεῖταις, ἀγορανομήσαντα ἀγνῶς τριμήνου τρίτης, εἰρηναρχήσαντα ἀνδρείως καὶ ἐπιμελῶς, ἀρχισειτωνησάμενον, πρακτορεύσαντα, προθύσαν-  
 8 τα ὑπὲρ τῆς σεμνοτάτης βουλῆς, παραπέμψαντα ἱερὰς ἀννόνας εἰς τὸ Σύρων ἔθνος τρίς, συνιερασάμενον τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αὐρηλίᾳ Κιλλαραμωτιανῇ Εἰη τῇ προκαθεζομένη θεῷ Ἄθηνᾳ πενταετηρίδι, προστατήσαντα κυνη-  
 8 γεσιῶν καὶ μονομαχιῶν τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀρίστης μνήμης ὑπατικοῦ Τίτου Λικιννίου Μουκιανοῦ ἐνδόξως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, γενόμενον καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν τοῦ ὕδρειου καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις ἐπιμελείαις πολλαῖς καὶ ὑ-  
 πηρεσίαις χρησιμεύσαντα τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐξητασμένον τὸν δὲ ἀνδριάντα ἀνέστη-  
 σεν Αὐρ. Κιλλαραμωτιανῆς Ἡς ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ φιλανδρίας χάριν.

Ἄγαθῆι is found in the left hand *ansa* but the corresponding τύχηι is missing in the right *ansa*.

#### 438. Side

• first half of 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 144 nos.101-102; E. Bosch in A.M. Mansel, E. Bosch and J. Inan, 1947 *senesi Side kazilarina dair onrapor, Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Side im Jahre 1947* (Publ.Soc.Turq.Hist., 5th series, no.11, 1951) 48-52 nos.1 and 2; *BE* 1951.219a; *BE* 1952.156.

• Two reddish marble columns found near the theatre. On the left of each inscription is a large "A" and on the right of each is a large "E". Robert has demonstrated from coins of Side that "A" and "E" imply "πρώτη ἔνδοξος", an honorific title of the city. With each inscription there is a relief, now highly damaged, depicting gladiatorial combat and lions and lionesses. On the first, the relief depicts a lioness leaping to the right and, below the epigraphic field, three gladiators with large shields walking to the right. On the second, the relief depicts a sitting lion and below two gladiators, the gladiator on the right is stabbing his opponent. Non vidi.

a. Μόδεστον τὸν  
 καὶ Ἀρτέμιον τὸν  
 ἐγ γένους φιλόδοξον,  
 4 ἢ Τετρακωλειτῶν γε-  
 ρουσία κοινῷ δόγματι τῆς  
 λαμπρῶς μητροπόλεως Σίδης.

b. Μοδέσταν τὴν ἀρχιερίαν  
 τὴν ἐκ προγόνων φιλόφει-  
 μον, ἢ Τετρακωλειτῶν γε-  
 ρουσία κρίσει τῆς μητρο-  
 πόλεως Σιδητῶν ἐξά-  
 κισ νεωκίθρων]

#### 439. Pisidian Antioch

• date?

• *CIL* III 6832; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 140 no.92; Levick 1967, 83.

[L.? Calpurnio] | [L.? C]alpurnii Pau[li] f. Ser. Longo pon[t(ifici)] | [q]ui primus omn[ium] |  
 [- - - rasura - - -] | i messe p[ro]p[ri]o Ant.] | [m]unus promisit [et] | [in]tra duos men[ses] |  
 [a]mphi theatrum ligne[u]m fecit. Venatione[s] | cotidie omnis ge[n]e[r]is et sparsiones dedi[t], |  
 [et] gladiatorum paria | [X]XXVI per dies octo. [Et?] | [con]summato mu[n]ere | [cenam po]p[ulo] |  
 dedit?

**440. Pisidian Antioch**

• epoch of M. Aurelius

• *CIL* III 6835-6837; *ILS* 5081; Robert, *Gladiateurs* 140-1 no.93; Levick 1967, 127. Cf. Rossner 1974, 127; Campanile 1994, 93 no.85.

Cernalus, Salutaris, Tuscus: | Cn. Dottio, Dotti Maryllini fil(io) Ser(gia) Planciano, patrono col(oniae), flam(ini) | Pvir(o) II q(uin)q(uennali), munerario II et agonothe(tae) perp(etuali) certam(inis) | q(uin)q(uennali) talant(iaei), Asiarc(o) templ(orum) splend(idissimae) civit(atis) | Ephes(iorum), ex liberal(itate) sua elect(o) agonothe(tae) perp(etuo) ab imp(eratore) | divo Marco certam(inis) sacr(i) Hadrianion Ephesi.

**441. Pisidian Antioch**

• 2nd / 3rd C

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 141 no.94.

[ - - - - - ] Maximiano | aedil(i) Pvir(o) qui Piv[i]ratu suo munus v[e]nationum et gladia[torum] ex liberalit(ate) sua bidu[um] | dedit, qui etiam testame[nto] | suo fidei commisit [ - - - - - ]

**442. Pisidian Antioch**

• imperial date

• Levick 1970, 39-40 no.4 (pl.2b); Robert, *BE* 1971.670a. Now in the museum at Konya.

Τ. Κλαύδιος Πασ[ι]νιάνος νέος σουμψιμαρούδης τεκμοφεύσας μετὰ γυναί[κ]ος καὶ ἀδελφά[ν] | Μηνὶ πατρι[φ] | εὐχῆν.

**443. Pisidian Antioch**

• imperial date

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 141 no.95.

• A relief depicting a gladiator with a shield on his right arm and an apparently empty left hand (although a short sword or dagger would be expected). Above the gladiator, is his name: Στέφανος.

**444. Sagalassus**

• late 2nd - 3rd C

• *JGR* III 360; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 142 no.97.

Π. Αἴλ. Κουίντον Κλ. | Φιλιππιανόν Οὐάρων, | ἀγανοθέτην διὰ βίου | ἀγώνων Κλαρείων καὶ | Οὐαρείων, ἀρχιμερέα | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ φιλόδοξον ἡμερῶν δ' ὀλοκλήρων ὀξέσι σιδήρου ἐπὶ ἀποτόμοις | ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ε' | καὶ σιδηροκόντρα, | συντεχνία βαφέων | τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτην, | βουλῆς καὶ δήμου | δόγματι, | ἐπιμελησαμένου | Κλ. Μήνιδος.

**445. Sagalassus**

• imperial date

• *CIG* 4377; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 142-3 no.98, cf. p.22; 256; 258; *BE* 1940.10; Peek 1955, no.913a; Robert 1980, 250-252.

• The reading is that of W. Peek.

Πάντη μὲν κῦδος Τερτύλλου [— | — — | — — ]  
 ἔκ τε σοφῶν ἔργων ἔκ τε ἀγαθῶν πατέρα[ν]  
 νῦν δ' ἔτι που καὶ μᾶλλον, ἀρηιφίλων ὄτε φασγῶν]  
 4 τόσσην ἐν σταδίοις ἐστόρεσεν στρατί[ην],  
 ἄρκτους πορδά[λι]ας τε κατέκτανεν ἠδὲ λέ[ον]τας,  
 σφῶν κτεάνων πάτρην πρεσβυτέραν θέμενας]  
 τῇ μετὰ κλεινὸν Ἄρην ἐναγώνιος ἐστὶ καὶ Ἑρμ[ῆ]ς,  
 8 νείκην κορσύνων ἀνδράσιν ἀθλοφόροις.  
 Τοῦνεκα καὶ βασιλῆης ἐπιστέλλειν ἐπενευ[σαν]  
 αἱ δ' ἀρεταὶ τούτου καὶ προγόνων πλέον[ες].

12 Σῆμα δέ, κεί τέχνα φρύγιον λίθον ἔργῳ ἐλέγχει,  
ψεύδεται· ἐγ γαίης τῆσδε πέφυκε λίθος.

#### 446. Adada

• imperial date

• *IGR* III 372; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 141-2 no.96.

Βιάνορα Ἀντιόχου | πρεσβύτερον, | ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν, φιλόπατριν, | γυμνασίαρχον,  
ἢ | φαμίλια, τῆς εἰς | αὐτὸν εὐνοίας | χάριν.

#### 447. Selge

• c. second half of the 3rd C

• *IGR* III 382 and 383; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 143 no.99 (lines 1-6); *I.Selge* no.20a and 20b (pl.19).

• A gray limestone statue base was found near the Nymphaeum. There are two inscriptions side by side: on the left is the inscription honouring P. Plancius Magnianus Aelianus Arrius Pericles (given below), while on the left is the inscription honouring his wife.

<p>a.</p> <p>4</p> <p>8</p> <p>12</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>ἀρχιερασάμενον τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν ἐπιφανῶς ἐπὶ τε δια- νομαῖς καὶ θεωρίαις καὶ μονομα- χίαις καὶ κυνηγεσίαις, καὶ ἀγωνο- θέτην διὰ βίου καὶ γένους ἀγώνων πολιτικῶν τε καὶ πενταετηρικοῦ, πρόεδρον, φιλόπατριν, ἀρχιερο- θύτην, ἱερέα Τύχης τῆς πόλεως διὰ βίου, ἀνδρα ἐν πάσαις φιλοτει- μίαις καὶ λειτουργίαις χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει, Πό. Πλάγκτιον Μαγ- νιανὸν Αἰλιανὸν Ἄρριον Περι]- [κλέα κτλ...]</p>	<p>b.</p> <p>4</p> <p>8</p> <p>12</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>ἀρχιερασαμένην τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβασ- τῶν ἐπιφανῶς σὺν τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς Μαγνι- ανῷ Περικλεῖ, καὶ ἀγω- νοθέτην, φιλόπα- τριν, θυγατέρα Πόλε- ως, ἱερεῖαν Τύχης καὶ Ἄρεως διὰ βίου, γένους συνκλητικῶν καὶ ὑπα- τικῶν Αὐρηλιῶν Οὐλοουσίαν Κυρινί- αν Ἄτοσσαν, γυναῖκα φίλανδρον - - - - - ] αφί - - -</p>
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#### 448. Ancyra

• Under Tiberius

• *OGI* 533; *IGR* IV 157; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 135-7 no.86; Ehrenberg & Jones 1955, no.109; Bosch 1967, 35-49 no.51. Cf. Mitchell 1993, 108 (with more recent bibliography); *SEG* 1993.926.

• From the left anta of the Sebasteion in Ancyra

Γαλατῶν σ(ι) | [ἱε]ρασάμενοι | θεῶν Σεβαστῶν | καὶ θεῶν Ῥώμη.

- - - c. 3 lines of text missing - - -

<p>8</p> <p>16</p> <p>19</p> <p>29</p> <p>33</p> <p>37</p>	<p>[- - - - -] τα βασιλέ[ω]ς Βριγάτο[υ]   υἱ[ὸ]ς [δ]ημοθ[ο]ινίαν ἔδωκε[ν], ἔλαιον ἔθηκεν   μῆνας τέσσαρας, θέας ἔδωκεν καὶ μον[ο]μάχα[ν] ζεύγη τριάκα[ντα]   καὶ κυνήγιον ἔδωκε[ν]   ταύρων καὶ θηρίων.   [Ῥ]οῦφος δημοθ[ο]ινίαν   ἔδωκεν, θέας καὶ   κυνήγιον ἔδωκεν. Ἐπὶ Μετελίου.   [Π]υλαιμένης βασιλέας Ἀμύν[η]του υἱὸς δημοθ[ο]ινί[αν]   δις ἔδωκεν, θέας δις   ἔδωκεν, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν   καὶ ἀρμάτων καὶ κελήτων ἔδωκεν ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρομαχίαν καὶ κυνήγιον ἤλιπεν τὴν   πόλιν, τόπους ἀνήκε δοῦ   τὸ Σεβαστῆν ἔστιν καὶ ἡ πανήγυρις γίνεται καὶ ὁ ἵπποδρόμος.   Ἄλβόριξ Ἀπετόρειγος δημοθ[ο]ινίαν ἔδωκεν, ἀνδριάντας ἀνέθηκε Καίσαρος καὶ Ἰουλίας   Σεβαστῆς   Ἀμύντας Γαιζατοδιαστοῦ δημοθ[ο]ινίας   δις ἔδωκε, ἑκατόνβην ἔθυσεν, θέας   ἔδωκεν, σειτομετρίαν ἔδωκεν   ἀνὰ πέντε μοδίους.   [- - - - -] μείας Διογνήτου.  </p>
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- 38 Ἀλβιόριξ Ἀτεπόρειος τὸ δεύτερον | δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν. |  
Ἐπὶ Φρόντωνος. |
- 41 Μητρόδαρος Μενεμάχου, φύσει δὲ | [Δο]ρυλάου, δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν,  
[ἔλαιον] | ἔθηκεν μῆνας τέσσαρας.
- 44 Μουσανὸς Ἀρτίκνου δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν. |
- 45 - - - - - ἵνας Σελεύκου δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν, | ἤλιπεν μῆνας τέσσαρας. |
- 47 Πυλαιμένης βασιλέως Ἀμύντου υἱὸς | δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν (τ[χοῖ]ς  
τρισι[ν]) | ἔθνεσιν, τῶι δὲ ἐν Ἀγκύρῃ ἐκ[α]τόνβ[η]ν ἔθυσεν, θέας καὶ  
κομπῆν [ἔ]δα[κεν] ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρομαχίαν | καὶ [ταυρο]καθάπτας καὶ  
μονομάχα[ν] | ζεύ[γη]ν ὅλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ [τὰ τρία ἔθνη,  
θηρομαχίαν ἔδωκεν. |
- 56 [Ἐπὶ Σηλουανα[ῶ]. |
- 57 - - - - - Μ. Λο[β]λιος δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν [ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι, μονομάχων  
[ζεύγη] | καί, ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ἤλ[ειπεν] τὰ δύο ἔθνη ὄλα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ  
ἀγα[λμα] | ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ἀνέθηκεν. |
- 61 Σέλευκος Φιλοδάμου δημοθοινίας | δις ἔδωκεν δυσὶ πόλεσιν, ἤλιπε | τὰ  
δύο ἔθνη δι' ὄλου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, [θέ]ας ἔδωκε. |
- 65 [Ἰο]ύλιος Ποντικός δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν, | ἐκατόνβην ἔθυσεν, ἔλαιον  
ἔθηκεν ὄλα[ν] | τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ. |
- 68 Ἀριστοκλ[ῆ]ς Ἀλβιόριγος | [δημοθοινίαν ἔδω]κεν, ἔλαιον ἔθη[κε]ν δι' ὄλου τοῦ  
ἐνιαυ[τοῦ]. |
- 70 Ἐπὶ (Β)ασιλᾶ. |
- 71 Κόιντος Γάλλιος Ποῦλχε[ρ] δημοθοινίας | δις ἔδωκεν καὶ ἐν  
Πεσσινοῦν[τι] | ἐκατόνβην ἔθυσεν, ἔλαιον ἔθη[κε]ν τοῖς | δυ[σ]ῖν ἔθνεσιν δι' ὄλου  
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ. |
- 75 [Φι]λωνίδης Φίλα[νος] δημοθοινίαν ἔδωκεν, ἐκατόμβην | ἔθυσεν, ἔλαιον  
ἔθηκεν ὄλα[ν] τῷ | ἐνιαυτῷ. |  
(missing lines)
- 83 [Π]υλαιμένης Μηνᾶ δημοθοινίαν [ἔδωκεν τοῖς] | δυσὶν ἔθνεσιν  
ἐκ[α]τόμβην ἔθυσεν | [μο]νομάχων [ἔδω]κε ζεύγη τριάκο[ν]τα  
----- a few more lines not recorded by Robert follow here -----

## 449. Ancyra

## • imperial date

• G. de Jerphanion, *Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne* (1928) 239-240 no.13 (fig.32); *SEG* 1932.10; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 137 no.87, cf. p.281.

- - - ἤσσαν[α] κὲ] ἀγορανομήσαν[α] κὲ] μονομαχίας κὲ θηρομαχίας | κὲ θεωρίας |  
δεδοκότα | ἡμέραις να' (?), τῆς | εἴ[ς] ἤν πατρίδα | εὐνοίας | ἔνεκεν | φυλῆ | [- - -

## 450. Ancyra

## • Hadrianic

• *JGR* III 215; Robert 1929, 27 n.4; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 138-9 no.90; Robert 1948b, 85-6; Robert 1950, 64-5 (pl.24, 1 and 2); *BE* 1951.216; Ville, *La gladiature*, 371 n.57; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 300-301 no.1236 (pl.185 and fig.78).

• The altar or base is of limestone. The relief depicts a person standing in a tunic (chiton?) and holding a stick in his right hand. The inscription begins on the upper moulding and continues on the face of the altar and finishes to the right of the figure:

- a. Θεοῖς Καταχθονίοις |  
Αἰλία [- - - - -] |  
Π. Αἰλίῳ [- - - - -] |
- 4 Περγαμηνῷ ἐπιδόξωι  
[σουμ]μαρούδη, κολλήγιον ἔχα[ν]-  
τι ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῶν σουμμαρούδ[ων],  
ιδίῳ ἀνδρὶ χρηστῶς μοι σ[υμ]-

- 8 βιάσαντι, μνήμης χάριν.  
ζήσαντι ἔτη λξ·  
κ(αι) πολεΐτης πόλεων τῶν  
(ὑπο?)τεταγμένων
- 12 Θεσσαλο(νεΐκης),  
Νεικομηδίας),  
Λαρίσης, Φιλιπποπό]-  
λεως,  
16 ἼΑρκου,  
Βερίας (=Βεροΐας),  
Θάσσου),  
Βουζιτη]-  
20 νά(ν) (?),  
Ἄβδη(ήρον)

The inscription continues on the right side of the stone although it has been damaged on the right side from the third line following (verse: elegaic couplets):

- b. Ταύτην τὴν στήλην παριῶν,  
φίλε, χαΐρε καὶ ἔνπης  
γε(γνώ)σκων συμμαρούδην  
[κεί]μενον ἐν δαπέδῳ  
etc...

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#### 451. Ancyra

• early 3rd C

• *CIL* III 6753; *ILS* 1554; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 267 n.1; Sherk 1953, 102; *BE* 1954.71. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> III, 71; Pflaum 1960/1, p.744.

B. f. | L. Didius Marinus v(ir) e(gregius), | proc(urator) Aug(usti) n. provinc(iae) Ara[b.] | proc(urator) Galatiae proc(urator) fam(iliarium) | glad(iatoriarum) per Gallias Bret. Hisp[[a]nias German. et Raetiam | proc. Minucia proc. alimen[to]r. per Transpadum Histriam | [et] Liburniam proc. vectigalior. | [p]opul. R. quae sunt citra Padum | proc. fam. glad. per Asiam, Bithyn(iam), Galat(iam), Cappadoc(iam), Lyciam, | Pamphyl(iam), Cilic(iam), Cyprum, Pontum, | Paflag(oniām) trib. coh. I praetor. | Marianus Aug. n. lib. pp. XX | lib. Bithyniae, Ponti Paflag. | nutritor eius.

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#### 452. Ancyra

• imperial date

• *JGR* III 187; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 267 n.1. Cf. Meißner 1992, 175 n.6.

Ἄγαθῆι Τύχηι | Τορνειτοριανὸν (?) ἐπίτροπον τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ἐπὶ λούδων, | τὸν δίκαιον καὶ σεμνὸν, Κ. Αἴλιος | Ἀγησίλαος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον καὶ | εὐεργέτην

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#### 453. Ancyra

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 137 no.88; Robert 1950, 64 (pl.11,2); *BE* 1951.216; Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1219 (pl.182).

• The stele is of grey limestone. The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right; he has a shield on his left arm and a long dagger in his right. He wears a crested (and plumed?) helmet with a drilled visor. His left leg is protected by a greave, while his right leg and arm have protective wrappings. To the right are two crowns and a palm branch.

Οἴσκος μοι πατρίς. | Μεσσηνία | Πειθέρωτι ἐκ | τῶ(ν) ἰδίων | μνήμης χάρι(ν)

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**454. Ancyra**

• later imperial

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 138 no.89; Robert 1950, 93 (pl.10,1); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 302-303 no.1249 (pl.186).
- Stele. The relief depicts a retiarius moving to the right. He wears a wide belt with a buckle clearly visible. He has curly hair and a short beard. His left arm and shoulder are protected. He holds a trident (vertically) in his left hand and a dagger in his right. In front of him is a dog which looks back at him. There are seven inscribed crowns in the field around him (and one in the pediment). The inscription begins in the architrave and continues through the relief field:

[Χ]αίρετε παροδείτα. | Καλλειδρομος | Ἀσειανὸς | ὁ θρασὺς | ἐν σταδίοις | πρῶτος πάλος | ῥητιαρίων | ὄγδοον | πυκτεύων Μυρῶν | τέλος ἔσχον | οὐδεις γὰρ θνητῶν | Μυρῶν μείτων | ΕΞέφυγεν.

**455. Ancyra**

• imperial date

- Robert 1950, 40 no.328 (pl.15,1); *BE* 1951.216.
- The stone, perhaps once a funerary altar, is of white marble and has been broken at the bottom of the first line of text. Robert states that the restoration of θραῖξ is certain.

ΔΑ[ναὸς] θραῖξ | πάλος πρῶτος Κίλιξ Ἀμαζαρβεύς. | Τυχάρην Δαναῶ ἰδ[ίω] | ἀνδρὶ | μνήμης χ[άριν]

**456. Caesarea (Cappadocia)**

• imperial date

- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 126-8 no.74; *BE* 1940.10; Robert 1946a, 143; Peek 1955, no.1281.
- The reading is that of Peek:

Αἰζηοὺς στονοέντι συνηβήσαντας Ἄρηι | καμαστὰς φονίου δέρκευ Ἐνναλίου· | εἰ δὲ καὶ | τότε κύδος ἐπι καταμένοις πολέεσ(σ)ιν. | ἔξοχον ἐς Πελόπιν δέρκευ ἀποκταμένον.

**457. Elaeussa Sebasta (Cilicia)**

• imperial date

- *MAMA* III no.801; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 125-126, no.72. Cf. Rochette 1997, 111 n.249
- On a limestone sarcophagus, within a tabula ansata, found at the east end of the east necropolis.

Πούβ(λιος) Ἐλουῖος Μ[έ]γας πάλος [number] | ἀπολ[υ]θεις? | ν(ivus) f(eci) per se me et | uxorem meam et | filium meum et | filii mei nasce[n]tes et quos ν(ivi) | mancipia | [i][b]|era[r]jun[t].

**458. Antioch ad Cragum**

• imperial date

- *JGR* III 837; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 126 no.73

Κοινὸς τάφος· | Ἴνδους Νέωνος φουνδα (φουνδατωρ?) | ταῖς Ἴνδου χαλκεὺς, | Νέων λαγῆ | ἼΩης Νέωνος τοῦ Μωτᾶ, | Μωτᾶς Νήσιος μονομάχος, | Ἀζαρβόλλας Νέωνος | Σ[υ]όρβιος, | Μόνγης Μωτᾶ Σούρβιος, | Τετῆς Νέωνος Κασία.

**459. Cyrene**

• imperial date

- G. Oliverio, *Documenti antichi dell' Africa italiana* vol. 2, *Cirenaica*, fasc. 2, no.493 (fig.79); *BE* 1938, 562; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 124 no.69; cf. p.22-3 and 293.
- The relief depicts a gladiator. He moves to the right with his chest protected by mail (?) and his legs by protective wrapping. Two hexameters.

Τούτους μὲν κατέπεφνε ἼΑρης καὶ | φύλοπις αἰνὴ· | ἐμὲ δὲ | νῦν κατέπεφνε νόσος σωθέντα σειδήρου.

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**460. Ptolemaïs (Egypt)**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 124 no.67; Robert 1946a, 140-1 (pl.10); *BE* 1948.268.
- To the left of line 1 are four palm branches and to the right are five. Between lines 1 and 2 is the relief of a retiarius who stands holding his trident in his left hand and a dagger in his right.

Ἑρμῆς. | Ἑρμῆς ὁ πρὶν | Φίλων

---

**461. Ptolemaïs (Egypt)**

- imperial date
- Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 124 no.68; Robert 1946a, 141-2 (pl.9); *BE* 1948.268; Kraeling 1962, 187 and 207 (pl.L,d); *BE* 1964.589.
- Above line 1 are 9 palm branches and between lines 1 and 2 is the relief of a gladiator. He wears a large visored helmet with protective flanges, mail armour on his right arm, a large shield on his left arm, a broad belt, a loin-cloth and heavy protective wrapping on his left leg. His right leg is also wrapped.

Ἴππομέδων. | Ἴππομέδων ὁ πρὶν | Καρποφόρο(ς) πυ(γμῶν) θ'

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**462. Ptolemaïs (Egypt)**

- imperial date
- *AJA* (1913) 185 no.77; L. Robert, "Épithaphes en Cyrénaïque I" *AntClass* (1968) 406-48; *BE* 1969.619.

Ἀντιοχῶ(ς) ὁ πρὶν | Ἐφέσις

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**463. re Asia**

- 3rd C
- G. Jacopi, *BullComm* 67 (1939) [1940] 20 no.3; *BE* 1941.182; Robert 1946a, 122-4 no.311; *SEG* 1992.1764. Meißner 1992, 175 n.6 disagrees with Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 267-8 n.1 (cf. Robert no.70; 258), but fails to discuss Robert 1946a.
- The sarcophagus was found in Rome in 1934.

[ - - - - ]ν Μακ[ - - - - ] | [ἐπίτροπον] λούδων Ἀσίη(ς). | [ἐπίτροπον] λούδου |  
ματουτείνου, | ἐπίτροπον Νωρικοῦ, | εὐθηναρχὴν τῆς λαμπροτάτης πόλεως | τῶν  
Ἀλεξανδρέων | καὶ βουλευτὴν, | ἡ δυστυχῆς μήτηρ | τὸν υἱόν.

---

**464. Asia?**

- imperial date
- Robert 1948b, 92 no.320 (pl.11,1); *BE* 1949.4. Now in the museum in Istanbul (inv.no.4662).
- The marble block, broken on the left (and right?) and bottom, depicts the heads of three gladiators. On the left is the helmet (visor with drilled holes) of the gladiator named [Ἀχιλλεύς. The second gladiator has a similar helmet while the third does not wear a helmet, but is bare headed. The third would seem to be a retiarius since the end of a trident is visible. Above the second and third gladiators is the inscription:

Καυσάριοι | Νέων | Χρυσάμπελος | Φιλήμων

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**465. Asia Minor?**

- imperial date
- Frisch & Geissen 1980, 193-5 (pl.4a.); *BE* 1981.160; *BE* 1982.107; *SEG* 1980.1800; Geissen 1984; *SEG* 1984.1653.
- Stele has a pediment (with a flower) and broken acroteria. The relief has been carved in a deep field and depicts a heavily armed gladiator moving to the right. He wears a helmet with a brim and protective flanges. On his left arm he carries a large, rectangular shield and in his right hand he has a dagger. His right arm has protective wrapping and his waist is protected by a wide belt(?); his chest appears to be bare.



He wears a loin-cloth. His left leg is protected by a large greave while his right leg has only wrapping at the knee; from this wrapping, strings hang down nearly to the ground. There is the inscription:

Ἡλειωδαρις Ἀπλέρωτι | γυνή εἰδεία | μνήμης χάριν | Ἀσειανῶ | προβοκάτορι

**466. Asia Minor?**

• 3rd C

• Pfuhl-Möbius II, 295 no.1198 (pl.181); Robert 1982a, 240 (fig.3); *SEG* 1979.1699; *BE* 1979.13 (p.416); *SEG* 1982.1616. Now in a private collection in Switzerland.

• The relief depicts a gladiator with a large helmet (crest, large flanges and drilled visor) and rectangular shield on his left arm. He wears a wide belt and armour on his right arm and shoulder. In his right hand is a dagger which he is thrusting out and down. Above his head and on both sides is the inscription:

Πηνέλεος | νει(κήσας) ια΄

**467. Unknown**

• later imperial

• *CIG* 6971; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 235-6 no.299 (pl.14); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 305 no.1260 (pl.187). Now in the Louvre.

• Fig. 5. Stele broken on the upper left corner and chipped on the left side. The relief depicts a gladiator moving to the right. He wears a helmet with a semicircular crest, protective flanges and a visor, protective wrapping and greaves on both(?) legs, and ring-like armour on his right arm. He also wears a mail coat drawn in at the waist by a belt. In his right hand is a dagger and in his left is an unusual object with a handle and a semicircular blade (ἄρβηλος?). Along the frame of the field are four crowns and two palm branches. Beneath we are given his name: Μόρων.

**468. Unknown**

• 2nd C ?

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 236 no.300 (pl.5); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 304-305 no.1259 (pl.187); *BE* 1979.13 (p.417). Now in the Louvre.

• Fig. 8. Stele broken along the right side. The relief depicts a gladiator standing in a loose tunic which falls to mid-thigh. He has a small, rectangular shield on his left arm and an unusual object in his right hand held up at shoulder height. The object has a short handle which is fastened to a flat, rectangular piece (a *spata*?). His legs are bare. On the ground to the left is depicted his helmet (drilled visor, shoulder flanges). Above we have his name: [Ν]υμφέρα[ς].

**469. Unknown**

• later imperial

• Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 236-7 no.302 (pl.19); Pfuhl-Möbius II, 299 no.1226 (pl.184). Now in the archaeological museum in Istanbul (inv.no.574).

• The relief depicts a gladiator standing in a loin-cloth and wide belt. He has a greave on his right leg and holds a large palm in his left hand; his right hand rests on his helmet and shield sitting on the ground. This gladiator was probably left-handed. The inscription is below:

Ἵγεία Νυμφέρωτι μνήμης χάριν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἐποίη.

**470. Unknown**

• 2nd C

• Pfuhl-Möbius II, 297 no.1217 (pl.183). Now in the museum at Iznik (inv.no.301).

• The relief depicts a gladiator from the shoulders down. He moves to the right with a shield on his left arm and a dagger in his right hand. He has ring-like armour on his right arm and a wide belt. On his left leg he wears a greave. His right foot seems bare. In front of him, on the right, is a small, naked boy who stands facing the viewer and raises his right arm to touch the shield of the gladiator.



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3



Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6

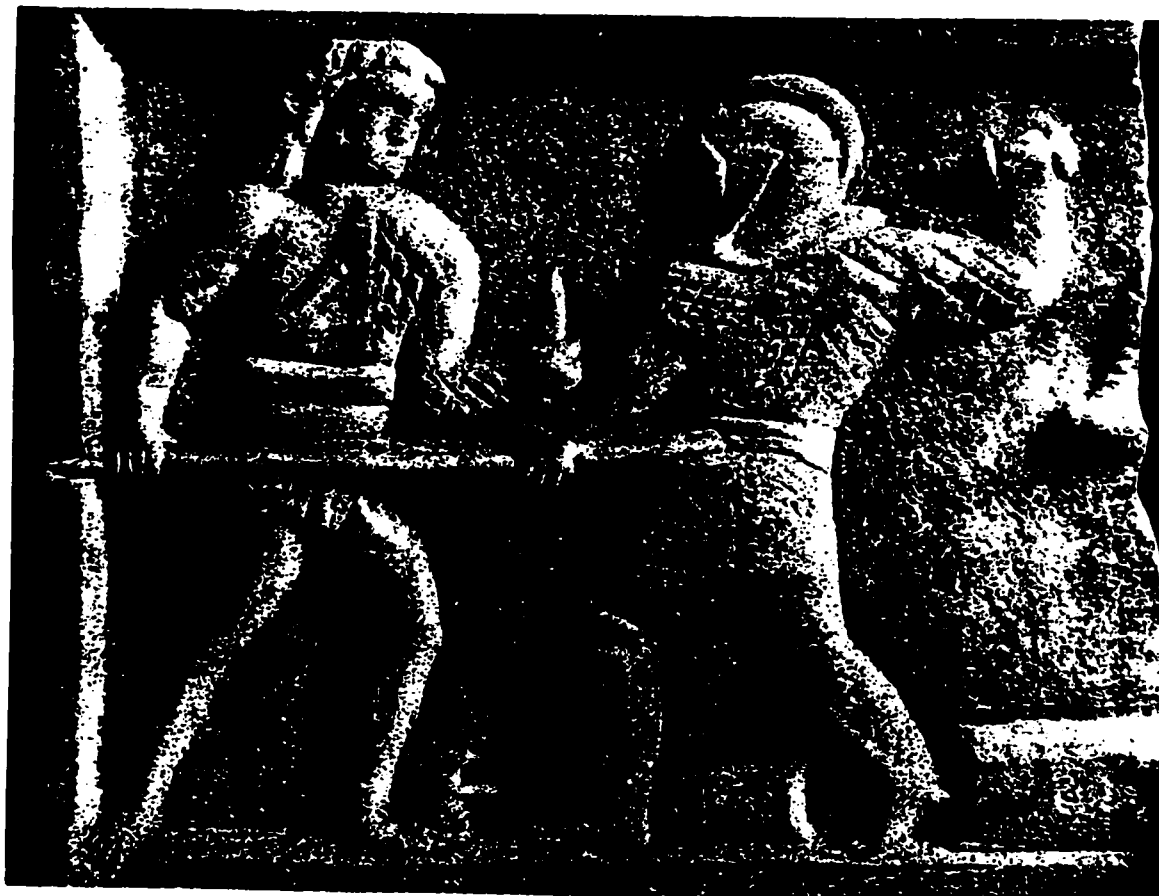


Figure 7



Figure 8



Figure 9



Figure 10

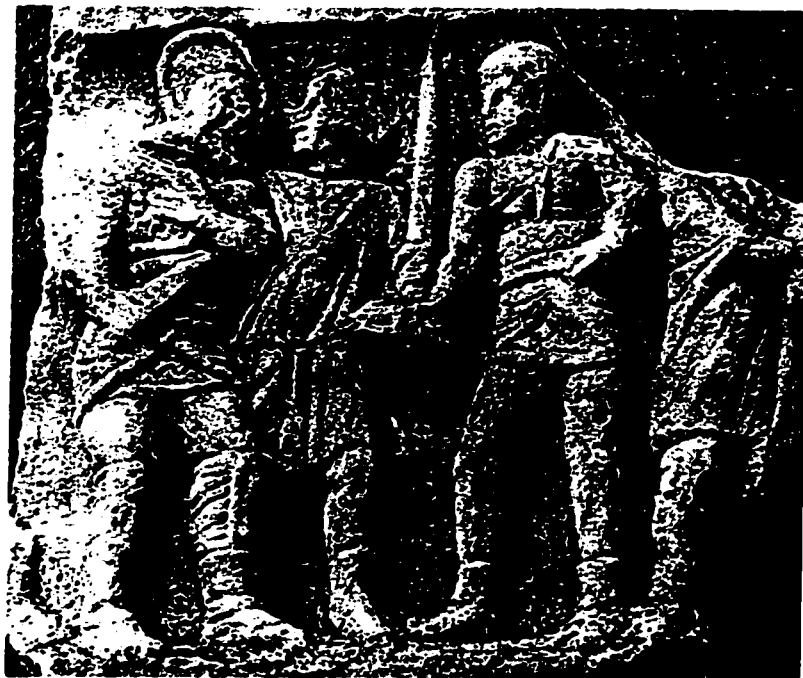


Figure 11

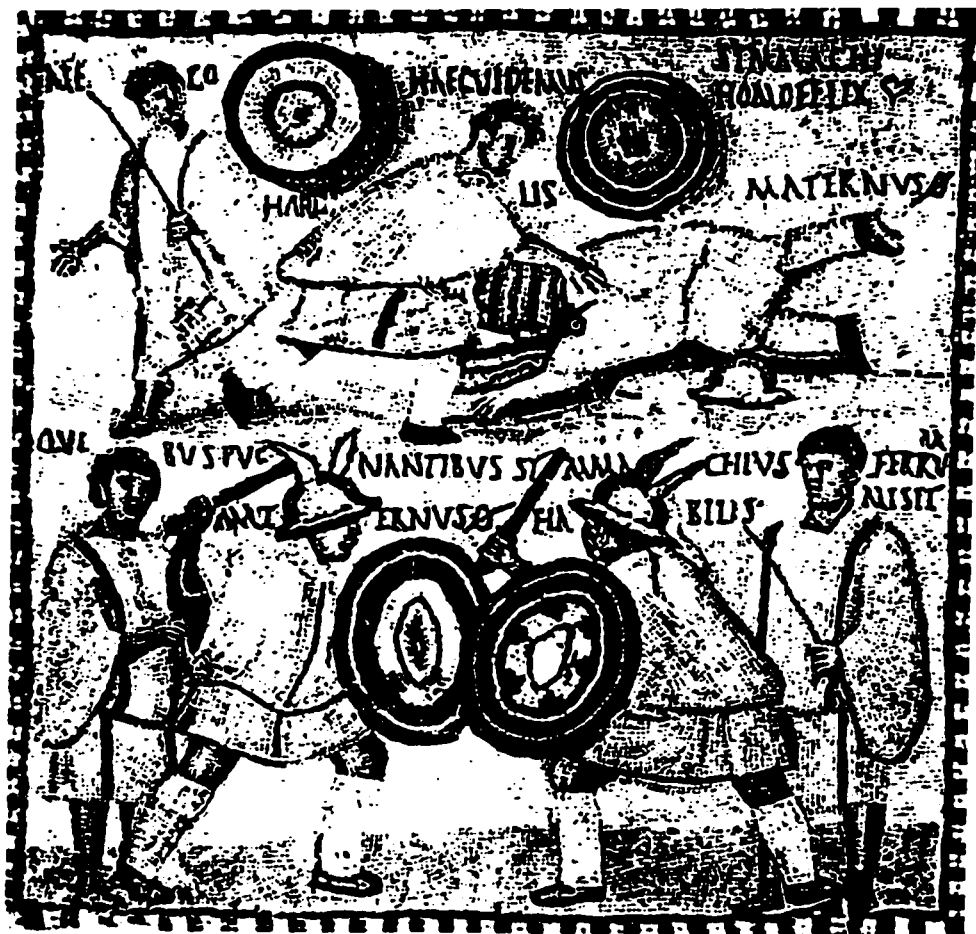


Figure 12



Figure 13



Figure 14

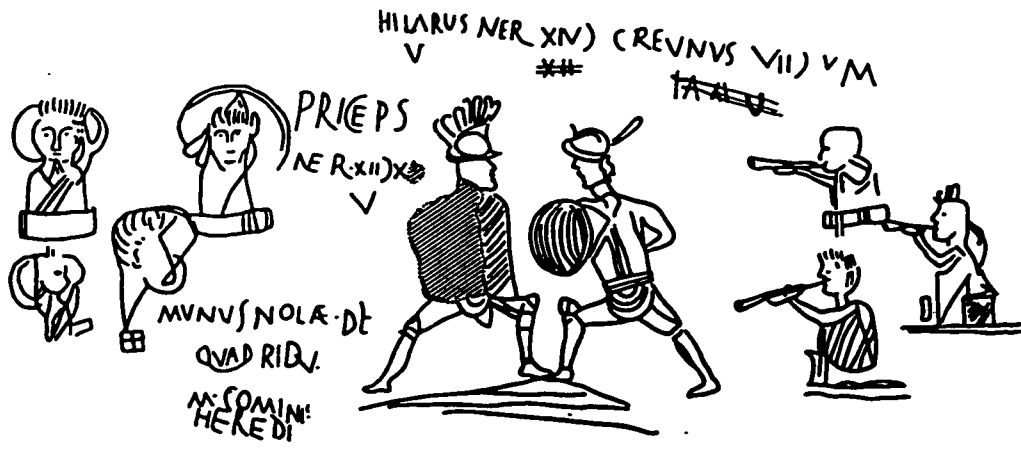


Figure 15

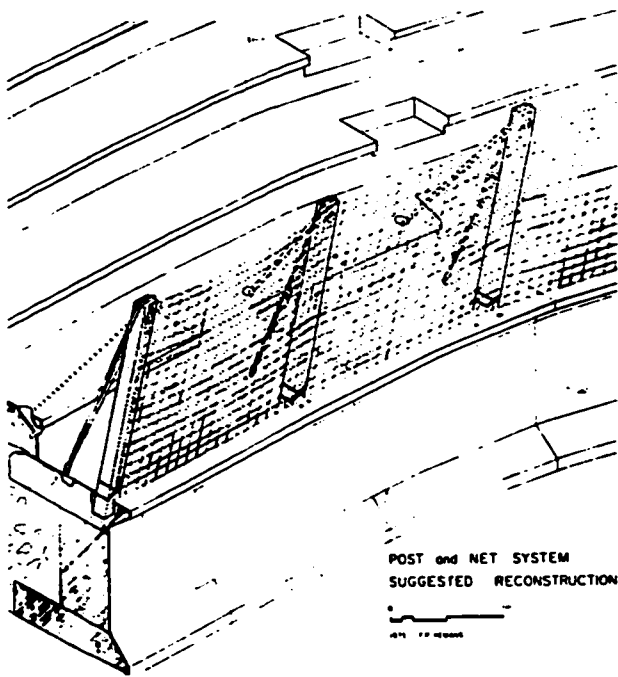


Figure 16



Figure 17

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