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## INTRODUCTION

"How I decided that the contests should be arranged about which there were speeches and petitions before me in Naples I have indicated to you and I am writing to the provinces and to the cities from which embassies on this matter were present. I have set the beginning from the Olympia, since this contest is ancient and certainly the most prestigious of the Greek ones. After the Olympia shall be the Isthmia, and after the Isthmia the Hadrianeia, so that the contest begins on the next day after the festival at Eleusis ends, and this is by Athenian reckoning the first day of Maimakterion. There shall be forty days for the Hadrianeia, and the contest in Tarentum shall be held after the Hadrianeia in the month of January, with the Capitolia, as they have been completed up to now, preceding the contests in Naples. Then shall be the Actia, beginning nine days before the Kalends of October, and ending within forty days. During the passage there shall be the contest in Patrae, then the Heraia and Nemea from the kalends of November to the kalends of January. After the Nemea shall be the Panathenaia, so that the contest is completed on the same day by the Attic calendar as it ended up to now. After the Panathenaia the Smyrnaeans shall hold their contest, with the contestants having fifteen days from the shield-race of the Panathenaia, and with the contest beginning immediately after the fifteen days, and being finished within forty days. After the shield-race, leaving an interval of two days, the contest of the Pergamenes shall start immediately and be finished within the forty days. The Ephesians shall leave an interval of four days from the shield-race in Pergamum and the contest shall be finished on the fortieth day from the beginning (?). Then from there the contestants shall go to the Pythia and the Isthmia that follow the Pythia, and to the Joint Festival of the Achaeans and Arcadians in Mantinea, and then to the Olympia. In this year the Panhellenia take place. The Smyrnaeans shall begin their local Hadrianeia from the day before the Nones of January and will hold the festival for forty days. The Ephesians, having left an interval of two days from the shield-race in Smyrna, shall begin their local Olympia, having fifty-two days

for the Olympia themselves and the Balbilleia that follow them. After the Balbilleia come the Panhellenia and the Olympia following the Panhellenia.”

This text is an extract from the second of three letters addressed by the emperor Hadrian to the association of ‘artists of Dionysus’, probably in AD 134. It has come down to us in a Greek inscription carved on a marble plaque that came to light at Alexandria Troas in 2003.<sup>1</sup> These letters are a very good illustration of the central role that the emperor played as chief *editor* with over-arching responsibility for the organization of games and spectacles throughout the entire Roman world or *oikoumene*.<sup>2</sup> They show how he was directly involved in the organization of athletic and cultural contests, which, since the beginning of the principate, had been incorporated into the ceremonies of the imperial cult throughout most of the Greek East and under the direct control of the emperor. They reveal in detail the type of planning and arrangements demanded by the organization of games and spectacles — in particular, in the imperial period, the organization of circuits or *agônes*, athletic and cultural contests in which itinerant professionals participated who were themselves elite athletes and artists.

<sup>1</sup> This important document (89 lines long, preserved almost complete in sixteen fragments) has already been the subject of several studies since its publication by G. PETZL and E. SCHWERTHEIM, *Hadrian und die dionysischen Künstler. Drei in Alexandria Troas neugefundene Briefe des Kaisers an die Künstler-Vereinigung* (Bonn 2006); see, for example, C.P. JONES, “Three Letters of the Emperor Hadrian”, in *ZPE* 161 (2007), 145-156, especially 155-156 (whose translation, with his gracious permission, is re-printed here), W.J. SLATER, “Hadrian’s Letters to the Athletes and Dionysiac Artists Concerning Arrangements for the ‘Circuit’ of Games”, in *JRA* 21 (2008), 610-620, P. GOUW, “Hadrian and the Calendar of Greek Agonistic Festivals” in *ZPE* 165 (2008), 96-104, J.-Y. STRASSER, “‘Qu’on fouette les concurrents...’ À propos des lettres d’Hadrien retrouvées à Alexandrie de Troade”, in *REG* 123 (2010), 585-622, and J.L. SHEAR, “Hadrian, the Panathenaia, and the Athenian Calendar”, in *ZPE* 180 (2012), 159-172; *AE* 2006, 1403 a-c (with a French translation) and *SEG* 56, 1359.

<sup>2</sup> More generally, R. BEACHAM, “The Emperor as Impresario. Producing the Pageantry of Power”, in *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, ed. by K. GALINSKY (Cambridge 2005), 151-174.

To understand the importance of this institution, one has to remember that such competitions not only involved athletes in the stadium or performers at the theatre; the cities themselves, and the different sponsors who organized spectacles and contests, were also competing with one another. Spectacles were put on everywhere in the Roman world, not only in Rome and at the provincial capitals or *conventus* centres, but also in more modest communities. In organizing games, magistrates and local worthies assumed their political responsibilities, while simultaneously making a public display of their generosity towards their fellow citizens, who were usually very good at making known their expectations and demonstrating their dissatisfaction or, conversely, expressing their gratitude when the games did not disappoint them. The article by Guy Chamberland in this volume advances our understanding of the difference between required and spontaneous patronage of arena spectacles in the West.

In the case of the contests, it is above all the great cities of Asia, such as Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum, which vied with one another for imperial favor. The city that succeeded in obtaining a favorable response and managed to secure the right to organize games and, especially, set up a sacred contest knew very well how to demonstrate — to cities that were either subject to it or in competition with it, but also to the entire Roman world — proof of the imperial privilege that linked it to Rome and the emperor.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Capitolia at Rome by Domitian (mentioned by Hadrian in the letter above), which succeeded Nero's short-lived Neronia and lasted into the fourth century, shows that by the second half of the first

<sup>3</sup> J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 621; in general, A. HELLER, *Les bêtises des Grecs. Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine (129 a.C.-235 p.C.)* (Bordeaux 2006), especially chapter 5; on the foundation of a circuit of sacred games as a coveted benefit conferred by the emperor, É. GUERBER, *Les cités grecques dans l'Empire romain. Les privilèges et les titres des cités de l'Orient hellénophone d'Octave Auguste à Dioclétien* (Rennes 2009), 215-301. See especially the contributions of Nollé, Van Nijf, and Kokkinia in this volume.



century AD Rome's own participation in the circuit that she had inherited from the Greek world had become an urgent necessity.<sup>4</sup> As is shown by the contribution of Johannes Nollé in this volume, it is in the context of the competitive circuit that coin issues displaying emblems of the games are to be understood.

As Hadrian remarks at the beginning of his second letter, it is precisely at the Sebasta in Naples that the representatives of the associations took advantage of the emperor's presence to present him with their demands both in speech and in writing, a circumstance that, incidentally, put the emperor under stress in a very exposed position.<sup>5</sup> The problematic aspects to which the emperor alludes in his letters give us an idea of the extent of the organization and formalities involved in putting on games. There is the question, for example, of the exemptions and privileges granted to the artists, the contracts for members of the synod, the publicizing of the regulations that were to be followed (an important element when it came to litigation), cheating during the actual events, penalties for infringing the rules, the organization of juries, and the financing of the contests and the distribution of prizes (ἄθλα) and awards (συντάξεις) to the victors.

In the second letter, it is the calendar that constitutes the main focus of the emperor's response. This is a fundamental issue for the organization of spectacles and festivals in general.<sup>6</sup> It is all the more decisive when it is a matter of contests constituting a

<sup>4</sup> M.L. CALDELLI, *L'agon Capitolinus. Storia e protagonisti dall'istituzione domiziana al IV secolo* (Roma 1993), with the addendum identified by K.M.D. DUNBABIN, "A Theatrical Device on the Late Roman Stage", in *JRA* 19 (2006), 191-212.

<sup>5</sup> O. HEKSTER, "Captured in the Gaze of Power. Visibility, Games and Roman Imperial Presentation", in *Imaginary Kings. Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*, ed. by O. HEKSTER and R. FOWLER (Stuttgart 2005), 157-176.

<sup>6</sup> For the scheduling of arena spectacles at Pompeii, see S.L. TUCK, "Scheduling Spectacle: Factors Contributing to the Dates of Pompeian *munera*", in *CJ* 104 (2008), 123-143 (cf. *Rivista di studi Pompeiani* 19 [2008], 25-34); see p. 271, n. 14.

network, based on a fixed circuit and calendar, that brought together over very long distances all the parties involved — dignitaries, associations of artists, and performers operating independently (athletes, musicians, *praecones*). This is a question discussed in this volume by Onno van Nijf. The organization of the games implied a respect for the calendar, and the calendar in turn had to adapt to different modifications that were put in place, as well as accommodating the creation of new festivals, such as the Aktia at Nicopolis, the Rhômaia at Pergamum, and the Sebastia at Naples, founded under Augustus<sup>7</sup>, or the Balbilleia founded at Ephesus under Vespasian, or the Hadrianeia, Olympeia, and Panhellenia introduced by Hadrian himself<sup>8</sup>.

The other fundamental issue is money. The organization of contests, like that of spectacles in general, required secure funding. This meant that each of the cities within the network had to be able to guarantee its budget.<sup>9</sup> In this letter, Hadrian goes so far as to describe, in detail, how money is to be disbursed to the performers, as illustrated in the following passage, which comes just before the end; at issue is the display of money and wreaths on the tables, where the spectators could see them,<sup>10</sup> as well as the place where they were awarded and distributed to the victors, and how this was to be done:<sup>11</sup>

“Hence what I laid down elsewhere is necessary, that the money be set out beside the crowns in the theater and in the stadium, and that the victor should receive it immediately in the sight of [?]”

<sup>7</sup> J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 588-589.

<sup>8</sup> P. GOUW, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 97; J.-Y. STRASSER, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 604-607.

<sup>9</sup> On the financing of the games circuits, see *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec. Actes du colloque international Saint-Denis et Paris, 5-6 décembre 2008*, éd. par B. LE GUEN (Paris 2010); see also F. CAMIA, “Spending on the agones. The Financing of Festivals in the Cities of Roman Greece”, in *Tyche* 26 (2011), 41-76.

<sup>10</sup> See now K.M.D. DUNBABIN, “The Prize Table. Crowns, Wreaths, and Moneybags in Roman Art”, in *L'argent dans les concours du monde grec, op. cit.* (n. 9), 301-345.

<sup>11</sup> C.P. JONES, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 156, translating lines 78-83.

the spectators. The agonothete who does not so award it will be liable for a fine equal to twice the prize-money, in such a way that half is taken by the contestant and half by the city in which the contest is set up."

Questions concerning awards and prizes, as well as other arrangements relating to the city accounts (notably those of Corinth), or to the contracts of the members of the synod, had already come up in Hadrian's first letter, where, referring to the juridical norms established on this subject, he said that the sums allocated to the games by the cities must be set aside strictly and exclusively for their organization, specifying in addition that an eventual subsidy on his part could be envisaged, but only in cases where there was a shortage of provisions and upon submission of a request in writing:<sup>12</sup>

"I order that all the contests be held, and that it not be permitted for a city to divert funds destined for a contest held according to law, decree or will to other expenses, nor do I permit to be used on the construction of a building money from which prizes are offered to contestants or from which contributions are given to victors. If it should ever be urgent that a city find some source of revenue, not for the purpose of luxury and extravagance, but as when I have procured wheat (or: in order to procure wheat) in a time of shortage, then let me be written to."

Hadrian mentions the ban that he had put upon transferring to the construction of buildings the money reserved for the games. The contribution of Christina Kokkinia will shed light upon the tension represented by these alternative types of civic benefaction.

It goes without saying that the financing of spectacles and the concept of euergetism are an important part of the question at the heart of the theme of these *Entretiens*, and if the declaration of Hadrian in his first letter to the synod is particularly concerned with contests, it can also apply more generally to the financing of the spectacles in their entirety. Our understanding of euergetism has been transformed by the work of

<sup>12</sup> C.P. JONES, *art. cit.* (n. 1), 153, translating lines 8-12; see *infra* p. 107.



Paul Veyne, who sketched a picture, both dense and detailed, in which he chose to privilege a sociological approach to the question of donation, in a very wide perspective that applied to the Greek world as well as the Greco-Roman *oikoumene*.<sup>13</sup> As he himself emphasized, his study was largely inspired by the ideas of Max Weber and the work of Louis Robert, whose study *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, which also deals with hunts and animal combat, had been published a quarter of a century earlier.<sup>14</sup> He was also able to make use of the research of Georges Ville, who had devoted himself to gladiatorial combat in the West, and whose manuscript on this subject, virtually complete when he suffered a fatal motor accident, was seen through the press by Veyne in 1981.<sup>15</sup> The refining, and contesting, of Veyne's theories is on-going into the twenty-first century,<sup>16</sup> and an analysis of the stress on the social fabric that sustained euergetism (an aspect that Veyne largely ignored) is the subject of a recent somewhat controversial publication.<sup>17</sup>

The stimulating effects of Veyne's work are clearly visible in the explosion of bibliography on the question of games and spectacles in the years following the publication of *Le pain et le cirque*, a trend that accelerated, particularly in the anglophone world, after the appearance of the abridged version in English in 1990.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>13</sup> P. VEYNE, *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d'un pluralisme politique* (Paris 1976).

<sup>14</sup> L. ROBERT, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris 1940), especially chapter 4 (pp. 267-307), devoted to the organization of gladiatorial spectacles.

<sup>15</sup> G. VILLE, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à Domitien* (Paris-Rome 1981).

<sup>16</sup> P. GARNSEY, "The Generosity of Veyne," in *JRS* 81 (1991), 164-168; on euergetism, see also *Actes du X<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine, Nîmes, 4-9 octobre 1992*, éd. par M. CHRISTOL et O. MASSON (Paris 1997), and *Bread and Circuses. Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*, ed. by K. LOMAS and T. CORNELL (London 2003).

<sup>17</sup> A. ZUIDERHOEK, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire. Citizens, Elites and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge 2010), with the review by C.P. JONES, "A Model of Euergetism for Asia Minor," in *JRA* 24 (2011), 773-775.

<sup>18</sup> P. VEYNE, *Bread and Circuses. Historical Sociology and Political Pluralism*. Abridged edition, translated by B. PEARCE, with an introduction by O. MURRAY (Harmondsworth 1990).



Obviously, in this Introduction we do not intend to put together an exhaustive bibliography of recent publications on spectacle, either general treatments or selective studies devoted to specific categories, the *munera* of the arena (with its gladiatorial shows, beast-fights, staged executions, or aquatic spectacles), the sporting events of the stadium and the diverse contests of *agônes*, the performances in the theatre, or the *ludi circenses*, with their chariot races and grandiose spectacles. We will limit ourselves to underlining the great diversity of analytical approaches and the necessity of having recourse to different types of sources that supply information about numerous aspects of the spectacles and their staging.<sup>19</sup>

Contemporary scholarship is interested, for example, in the range of performers: gladiators and *bestiarii*,<sup>20</sup> actors, mimes, and pantomimes (on which see Ruth Webb's contribution),

<sup>19</sup> For general treatments of the various categories of spectacle, see, for example, K.M. COLEMAN, "Spectacle", in *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Studies*, ed. by A. BARCHIESI and W. SCHEIDEL (Oxford-New York 2010), 651-670; EAD., "Public Entertainments," in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*, ed. by M. PEACHIN (Oxford-New York 2011), 335-357; G. MANUWALD, *Roman Republican Theatre* (Cambridge 2011), especially 68-90 on staging, acting, costumes, masks, impresarios, actors, and musicians; G. DAGRON, *L'hippodrome de Constantinople. Jeux, peuple et politique* (Paris 2011); ID., "L'organisation et le déroulement des courses d'après le Livre des cérémonies", in *Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance* 13 (Paris 2000), 1-200; Z. NEWBY, *Greek Athletics in the Roman World. Victory and Virtue* (Oxford 2005); J. KÖNIG, *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Literary sources have little to say about gladiators and *bestiarii*, but two relevant works have recently received full-scale commentaries: K.M. COLEMAN, *M. Valerii Martialis liber spectaculorum. Edited with introduction, translation, and commentary* (Oxford 2006); G. KRAPINGER, [*Quintilian*] *Der Gladiator (Grössere Deklamationen, 9)* (Cassino 2007). On the epitaphs of gladiators in Italy: V. HOPE, "Fighting for Identity. The Funerary Commemoration of Italian Gladiators", in *The Epigraphic Landscape of Roman Italy*, ed. by A.E. COOLEY (London 2000), 93-113. On the role of gladiators in promoting the imperial cult, especially in the provincial capitals: J. BENNETT, "Gladiators at Ancyra", in *Anatolica* 35 (2009), 1-13. On the fusion between Roman elements in the presentation of gladiators and the heroizing of athletes in the Greek East: C. MANN, "Um keinen Kranz, um das Leben kämpfen wir!" *Gladiatoren im Osten des Römischen Reiches und die Frage der Romanisierung* (Berlin 2011).

and the staff in charge of the decor, equipment, and costumes;<sup>21</sup> athletes of all sorts, and the professional associations to which they belonged;<sup>22</sup> charioteers and other performers at the circus (*sparsores*, *hortatores*), not to mention the musicians, the dancers, and the staff on the track itself, as well as the stagehands, doctors, workmen, or other attendants, and the role of the factions in creating an identity and structure for circus personnel (a topic to which Jean-Paul Thuillier makes a contribution in this volume);<sup>23</sup> and, an essential element of the spectacles, the animals that had to be captured, transported, fed, looked after, trained (in some cases), or simply kept alive until the spectacles took place.<sup>24</sup> The spectators themselves, and their reception of

<sup>21</sup> On theatrical performers: *Greek and Roman Actors. Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. by P. EASTERLING and E. HALL (Cambridge 2002); *Le statut de l'acteur dans l'Antiquité grecque et romaine*, éd. par C. HUGONOT, F. HURLET et S. MILANEZI (Tours 2004); W.J. SLATER, "Mimes and Mancipes", in *Phoenix* 59 (2005), 316-323; on décor: V. MALINEAU, "L'iconographie d'un accessoire de mise en scène (II<sup>e</sup>-IV<sup>e</sup> siècles). Problèmes d'interprétation", in *Antiquité tardive* 15 (2007), 113-126, who, however, underlines (p. 125) how seldom the sources mention the support staff in the Roman theatre; R. WEBB, *Demons and Dancers. Performance in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 2008); *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, ed. by E. HALL and R. WYLES (Oxford 2008); E. CSAPO, *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theater* (Chichester 2010); D. HAMMER, "Roman Spectacle Entertainments and the Technology of Reality", in *Arethusa* 43 (2010), 63-86, especially 69-75.

<sup>22</sup> E.g., O.M. VAN NIJF, *The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East* (Amsterdam 1997); J.-Y. STRASSER, "La carrière du pancratiaste Markos Aurélios Démonstratos Damas", in *BCH* 127 (2003), 251-299; W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *Le sport dans l'Antiquité. Égypte, Grèce et Rome* (Paris 2004), especially 223-246; N.P. MILNER, "Athletics, Army Recruitment and Heroisation. L. Sep. Fl. Flavillianus of Oinoanda", in *Anatolian Studies* 61 (2011), 151-167; on Roman attitudes to Greek athletics: A.J.S. SPAWFORTH, *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge 2012), especially 165-167 (on Augustus).

<sup>23</sup> J. NELIS-CLÉMENT, "Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance. Entre texte et image", in *CCG* 13 (2002), 265-309; W. DECKER et J.-P. THUILLIER, *op. cit.* (n. 22), 178-222.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., É. DENIAUX, "L'importation d'animaux d'Afrique à l'époque républicaine et les relations de clientèle", in *L'Africa romana. Atti del XIII convegno di studio, Djerba, 10-13 dicembre 1998*, a cura di M. KHANOUSSI, P. RUGGERI e C. VISMARA (Roma 2000), 1299-1307; C. EPPLETT, "The Capture of Animals by the Roman Military", in *Greece and Rome* ser. 2, 48 (2001), 210-222; and

the spectacles (why did they want to watch them in the first place?), have also been the subject of scholarly studies, including the role that they played, not only during the games by delivering acclamations, but also in making their wishes known to the various organizers or *editores*, magistrates or private sponsors, or the emperor.<sup>25</sup>

The relative paucity of our evidence makes it tempting to generalize across time. But the evolution of the institutions representing the general category of 'spectacle' supply both continuities and discontinuities. The first circus games were conceived as having been organized as part of the origins of the city, supplying the context for the rape of the Sabine women which was destined to ensure the survival of the Roman race, and they lasted into the Byzantine period and the ceremonies of the hippodrome in Constantinople, where the acclamations of the cheer-leaders alternated with those of the people celebrating not simply the victorious charioteers but the imperial victory and the eternal victory of Christ. Gladiatorial combat, on the other hand, arose as a funerary celebration, but in the late Republic the funerary context started to become more obviously a pretext for a highly politicized display of personal power, as became evident with the games following Julius Caesar's quadruple triumph in 46 BC, which included a gladiatorial display ostensibly commemorating the death of his daughter Julia some eight years previously. This trend accelerated in the

ID., "The Preparation of Animals for Roman *Spectacula*. *Vivaria* and their Administration", in *Ludica* 9 (2003), 76-92. The horrific rate of wastage and attrition is demonstrated by M. MACKINNON, "Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre Games. New Reconstructions Combining Archaeological, Ancient Textual, Historical and Ethnographic Data", in *Museion* ser. 3, 6 (2006), 137-161. The ecological impact of the beast-trade is sketched by D. BOMGARDNER, "The Trade in Wild Beasts for Roman Spectacles: A Green Perspective", in *Anthropozoologica* 16 (1992), 161-166.

<sup>25</sup> An innovative study of the spectators at arena spectacles makes use of modern analyses of crowd behavior at sporting events and in other contexts promoting "us vs. them" attitudes: G.G. FAGAN, *The Lure of the Arena. Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge 2011).



decades following Caesar's assassination: with the rise to power of Augustus and the institutionalization of the Principate, spectacles tended to cluster around the emperor and the imperial cult, which included members of the imperial family. From now on, celebrations of victories and triumphs were reserved exclusively for the emperor, and could no longer be celebrated by the legates who led their troops in battle. With Augustus, all victories become the emperor's, no matter who wins them; it is the emperor who is greeted with acclamations and celebrates triumphs, in the course of which he offers spectacles, while the general who defeated the enemy at the head of his troops receives, for his part, *ornamenta triumphalia*.<sup>26</sup>

The procession of the Roman triumph has recently attracted a great deal of attention, and although there is no contribution devoted to it in this volume, it must be considered a seminal aspect of spectacle culture at Rome, its cachet all the greater because the celebration of a triumph was not a fixed date in the calendar, but sporadic and unpredictable.<sup>27</sup> The procession itself (*pompa*), however, was only one element in the triumph: the attendant spectacles were concomitantly lavish, and must have strained the imperial infrastructure to the limit. Dio (or,

<sup>26</sup> W. ECK, "Kaiserliche Imperatorenakklamation und *ornamenta triumphalia*", in *ZPE* 124 (1999), 223-227.

<sup>27</sup> S. BENOIST, *Rome, le prince et la Cité. Pouvoir impérial et cérémonies publiques (I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. - début du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.)* (Paris 2005); G. SUMI, *Ceremony and Power. Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire* (Ann Arbor 2005); J.-L. BASTIEN, *Le triomphe romain et son utilisation politique à Rome aux trois derniers siècles de la République* (Rome 2007); M. BEARD, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass. 2007); K.-J. HÖLKESKAMP, "Hierarchie und Konsens. *Pompae* in der politischen Kultur der römischen Republik", in *Machtfragen. Zur kulturellen Repräsentation und Konstruktion von Macht in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, hrsg. von A.H. ARWEILER und B.M. GAULY (Stuttgart 2008), 79-126; *Triplici invectus triumpho. Der römische Triumph in augusteischer Zeit*, hrsg. von H. KRASSER, D. PAUSCH und I. PETROVIC (Stuttgart 2008); M.R.P. PITTINGER, *Contested Triumphs. Politics, Pageantry, and Performance in Livy's Republican Rome* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 2008); I. ÖSTENBERG, *Staging the World. Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford 2009); P. ARENA, *Feste e Rituali a Roma. Il principe incontra il popolo nel Circo Massimo* (Bari 2010).



more accurately, his epitomator) describes the global reach of Trajan's second triumph over Dacia in AD 107 (68, 15, 1, trans. Earnest Cary):

"Upon Trajan's return to Rome ever so many embassies came to him from various barbarians, including the Indi. And he gave spectacles on one hundred and twenty-three days, in the course of which some eleven thousand animals, both wild and tame, were slain, and ten thousand gladiators fought."

If anything, the epitomator's figures are too low; the total number of gladiators recorded by the *Fasti Ostienses* for the three series of *munera* associated with the triumph is 5,614 pairs, i.e., a total of 11,228 men. The *Fasti* associate the triumph with Trajan's third and final *congiarium*, confirmed by the coin legend *CONGIARIVM TERTIVM* (BMC 769), which may have amounted to a handout of 500 *denarii* per person. The logistical challenge in mounting spectacles on this scale, and the drain on the imperial coffers, defies the imagination.

Spectacle buildings have attracted considerable scholarly interest in recent years,<sup>28</sup> and attention has been paid to the location of spectacle buildings in the urban landscape, as much

<sup>28</sup> Recent work on amphitheatres: K.E. WELCH, *The Roman Amphitheatre. From its Origins to the Colosseum* (New York 2007); *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula. A 21<sup>st</sup>-Century Perspective. Papers from an international conference held at Chester, 16<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> February 2007*, ed. by T. WILMOTT (Oxford 2009). On theatres: P. CIANCIO ROSSETTO e G. PISANI SARTORIO, *Teatri greci e romani alle origini del linguaggio rappresentato* (Roma 1994); F. SEAR, *Roman Theatres. An Architectural Study* (Oxford 2006). On circuses: *Le cirque romain et son image* (Bordeaux 2008), éd. par J. NELIS-CLÉMENT et J.-M. RODDAZ; F. MARCATILLI, *Circo Massimo. Architetture, funzioni, culti, ideologia* (Roma 2009); more generally, S. BELL, "Recent Work on the Roman Circus", in *JRA* 25 (forthcoming in 2012). On venues for athletics: F. RAUSA, "I luoghi dell'agonismo nella Roma imperiale. L'edificio della *Curia Athletarum*", in *MDAI(R)* 111 (2004), 537-554. On *naumachiae*: R. TAYLOR, "Torrent or Trickle? The Aqua Alsietina, the *Naumachia Augusti*, and the *Transtiberim*", in *AJA* 101 (1997), 465-492; A. BERLAN-BAJARD, *Les spectacles aquatiques romains* (Rome 2006), with the review by K.M. COLEMAN, "Not Waving but Drowning? Total Immersion in Aquatic Displays", in *JRA* 21 (2008), 458-464. On spectacle structures in Italy, comprising a catalogue and thematic essays, with a separate volume of plates: G. TOSI, *Gli edifici per spettacoli nell'Italia Romana*, 2 vols. (Roma 2003).

in the provinces, where it is important to take account of the status of individual cities, as in Italy and the city of Rome, where centres for the staging of spectacles were promoted as a result of the initiative and policies of individual emperors. Access, accommodation, and amenities for the spectators — *inter alia*, latrines, awnings, and free handouts — have been reconstructed from traditional textual and archaeological sources. Recently, ‘réalité virtuelle’ has helped to refine our impression of how such features as the awning worked, and ingress and egress have also been tested in computer modeling, with some surprising results; getting in and out of the Colosseum was apparently not as stream-lined as scholars have traditionally supposed.<sup>29</sup>

The subject is vast, in that the spectacles permeated every aspect of daily life throughout the Roman world. Just as a medieval city was dominated by its cathedral, so a Roman city was dominated by its theatre, often located in proximity to a sanctuary, and (in the West) its amphitheatre or (in the East) its stadium. The town square would boast statues of local worthies,

<sup>29</sup> General amenities: A. SCOBIE, “Spectator Security and Comfort at Gladiatorial Games”, in *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 191-243; P. ROSE, “Spectators and Spectator Comfort in Roman Entertainment Buildings. A Study in Functional Design”, in *PBSR* 73 (2005), 99-130. The *locus classicus* for the treatment of seating: E. RAWSON, “*Discrimina Ordinum*. The *Lex Julia theatralis*”, in *PBSR* 55 (1987), 83-114, reprinted in EAD., *Roman Culture and Society. Collected Papers* (Oxford 1991), 508-545; see also T. BOLLINGER, *Theatralis licentia. Die Publikumsdemonstrationen an den öffentlichen Spielen im Rom der früheren Kaiserzeit und ihre Bedeutung im politischen Leben* (Winterthur 1969). On the awning: R. GRAEFE, *Vela erunt. Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen*, 2 vols. (Mainz 1979). On latrines: L. LOMBARDI, “Il sistema idraulico”, in *Il Colosseo*, a cura di A. GABUCCI (Milano 1999), 228-240; M. BUONFIGLIO, “Appunti sui sistemi idraulici del Circo Massimo”, in *Le cirque romain et son image*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 30-46. On free handouts: C. BRIAND-PONSART, “Les ‘lancers de cadeaux’ (*missilia*) en Afrique du Nord romaine”, in *Antiquités Africaines* 43 (2007), 79-97. On modeling the awning: PH. FLEURY et S. MADELEINE, “Réalité virtuelle et restitution de la Rome antique du IV<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.”, in *Histoire Urbaine* 18 (2007), 157-165; on modeling access to the Colosseum: D. GUTIERREZ *et al.*, “AI and Virtual Crowds. Populating the Colosseum”, in *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 8 (2007), 176-185.

whose qualifications for this honor were advertised on the base; frequently these benefactions included shows sponsored by the deceased. Everyday objects such as lamps were likely to be decorated with theatrical masks or gladiatorial scenes or racing charioteers. The walls of Pompeii are covered with cartoons and slogans scribbled by gladiatorial fans. Magicians who knew the formulae for magic spells were in high demand to compose curses to hobble the horses of the rival circus-faction or render a beast-fighter impotent before his quarry.<sup>30</sup> Upper-class authors made disparaging remarks about the spectacles attended by the masses, even while they attended them themselves, occupying seats of honor near the front. The authors of the books of the New Testament have frequent recourse to athletic imagery to encourage their fledgling Christian flocks; so do the early church fathers.<sup>31</sup>

New *corpora* of sources, or major new archaeological discoveries like the letters of Hadrian, have the capacity to re-shape the field. An updated collection of verse inscriptions from the Greek East contains many epitaphs for performers of all types.<sup>32</sup> An updated collection of Greek epitaphs for gladiators has also recently been compiled, amounting to 198 items.<sup>33</sup> Inscriptions from the West relating to amphitheatre displays are being collected in a major new series, region by region; eight volumes have appeared so far, covering most of mainland Italy, plus Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, France, Spain, Portugal, Britain, and Roman Gaul and Germany.<sup>34</sup> The discovery at Ephesus in the 1990s of the first site to be decisively identified as a gladiatorial graveyard has supplied unique forensic information about details

<sup>30</sup> J. TREMEL, *Magica agonistica. Fluchtafeln in antiken Sport* (Hildesheim 2004).

<sup>31</sup> C.P. JONES, "Imaginary Athletics in Two Followers of John Chrysostom", in *HSPh* 106 (forthcoming).

<sup>32</sup> *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, 5 Bände, hrsg. von R. MERKEL-BACH und J. STAUBER (Stuttgart 1998-2004).

<sup>33</sup> In the appendix to C. MANN, *op. cit.* (n. 20), 182-272.

<sup>34</sup> *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* (Roma 1988- ).



such as the gladiatorial diet, or the areas of the body most prone to sustain wounds — and its ability to recover from them.<sup>35</sup> We should expect (or, at least, hope) that similar finds will likewise advance our knowledge in significant increments in the decades to come.

The variety of angles and themes available for treatment (e.g., the religious character and ritual aspect of the games; games as entertainment, as sport, as a mirror of Roman society, as political display, or as an element of the Roman triumph; the violence of the staged executions) reflects the omnipresence of spectacle in the Roman world, in all ranks of society and all aspects of daily life. Literary texts, inscriptions, mosaics, pottery, coins, paintings — all these sources contain tidbits from which we can piece together an idea of what went on at the games. But many details of their organization remain extremely obscure. That was the challenge we put to the participants in the 58th Entretiens: how were the spectacles actually produced, from the initial administrative arrangements to the disposal of the corpses of the animals massacred in the shows? It makes sense to study the sponsorship of spectacles *en bloc*, because of the generic unity among them that makes them distinct from other types of munificence (construction of buildings, endowment of communal meals, etc.).<sup>36</sup> At the same time, the overlap with spectacle-related forms of euergetism in other categories (e.g., the construction of amphitheatres) affords the opportunity for some fruitful contrasts and comparisons.

The articles in this volume consider eight independent aspects of the theme. Johannes Nollé seeks to explain the explosion of agonistic motifs on Greek coins in the Roman era, which in

<sup>35</sup> For a consolidated account, see F. KANZ and K. GROSSSCHMIDT, "Dying in the Arena. The Osseous Evidence from Ephesian Gladiators", in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula*, *op. cit.* (n. 28), 211-220.

<sup>36</sup> The model is exemplified in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, ed. by B. BERGMANN and C. KONDOLEON (Washington, D.C. 1999), which includes an even wider range of categories than is offered here, including triumphal processions and the "spectacle of the street".



the Classical and Hellenistic periods had scarcely alluded to *agônes* at all. Drawing on the model of the game theorist, Michael Chwe, Onno van Nijf argues that the athletic festivals of Greek cities under Roman rule may be understood as 'rational rituals' that fulfilled a political function through the production of 'common knowledge', which was itself the basis of political legitimacy. In investigating why donors chose to give their communities spectacles rather than buildings, or *vice versa*, Christina Kokkinia argues that these choices were determined by strategies of commemoration, as well as by practical, fiscal, and honorific considerations, but that representatives of the Roman state also influenced such decisions by appearing to have endorsed one or the other form of euergetism at different times. Maria Letizia Caldelli brings the topic west by investigating evidence for associations of theatrical artists in the city of Rome in the late Republic, demonstrating that the Campus Martius was a distinctively multicultural area in which imported theatrical traditions flourished down to the age of Augustus.

In the second half of the volume, Jean-Paul Thuillier traces the origins of the circus factions to demonstrate that they grew out of colors associated with the different districts in Rome, and that it was not until the age of Augustus that they came to supply the over-arching organizational structure for chariot-racing, a structure far more pervasive than has hitherto been realized. Starting from the recent demonstration that pantomime was introduced into agonistic festivals in the East in the late second century, Ruth Webb aims to situate this development in a broader chronological context, looking at the evidence for competitive performances of pantomime and mime in earlier and later centuries in both East and West, with a particular focus on the role and significance of theatrical contests in the Late Antique East. In a detailed study of (mainly) epigraphic evidence for the sponsorship of arena spectacles in the Latin West, Guy Chamberland teases out the distinction between donations required by municipal charters, and true (i.e., voluntary) euergetism. Finally, Christopher Jones traces the differing

evolution of gladiatorial combat, *venationes*, horse-racing, mime, and pantomime in both East and West ca. AD 400-600, and weighs the religious, economic, and cultural factors that may have influenced these changes; if the increasing tendency of the emperors to bring spectacle under their control, combined with the increasing expense of mounting the games, causes their decline, the influence of Christianity, he argues, should not be underestimated.

Much remains to be done. For example: was betting as endemic at the amphitheatre as it was at the circus? When visitors flooded into the cities to attend the spectacles, how were they fed and housed? Did attending the spectacles of the amphitheatre brutalize people and make them more violent, or did it have a cathartic and calming effect? The answer to this last question may be more closely linked to the organization of the spectacles than first appears, since it depends in part upon the behavior of the personnel engaged in crowd control, who may have found themselves in circumstances just as threatening in Antiquity as the police who control football fans today, and whose reaction may have fueled the passions of the spectators after the show was over. The logistics of mounting spectacles in the modern world still pose a considerable challenge to the authorities; with far less sophisticated technology at their disposal, the Romans 'kept the show on the road' for nearly a millennium. This volume tries to reveal some of the means by which the fundamental institution of public spectacle was sustained in the Roman world.

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