Putting on a Show

The Organisation and Cost of Entertainment in the Cities of Rome's Empire

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I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where states otherwise by reference or acknowledgement, the work presented is entirely my own.

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Abstract

Public entertainment was a staple of the Roman city. During the Imperial period, Roman forms of entertainment were hosted by local elite throughout the Empire. This thesis aims to analyse and reconstruct the organisational processes which facilitated these events. It will breakdown the organisation and financing of each of the major games taking place in the Roman Empire: gladiatorial combats, beast-hunts, chariot racing, and agonistic festivals. It will consider games that were hosted throughout the entire Empire and taking place between the first and third centuries AD. The city of Rome will not be considered, as the scale and variety of games that could be seen there were not replicated in the municipal and provincial cities. While the better documented organisational entities that supplied the games in Rome will be referenced when necessary, they will not be the focus of this study.

By comparing the organisation and cost of these games in the Empire, this thesis demonstrates how the choice of which games were hosted was not wholly dictated by benefactor preference. Rather, organisers were restricted by the resources that were readily available to them. Costs, such as those for exotic animals, illustrate that while a variety of resources could be imported to host these games, many benefactors were unable to afford to host anything outside of what was regionally available. This is also reflected in the different frequencies that certain types of games were hosted throughout the Empire. What can be seen is that the choice of games hosted by the local elite matched the regions which served as the main supply lines for entertainment in Rome. Local variations of organisational entities for games suggests that there was a degree of localisation taking place throughout the Empire as suppliers for these events created unique businesses to accommodate the particular needs of benefactors.

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Catalogue Abbreviations

AE	Année Épigraphique
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BM	British Museum
CID	*Corpus des Inscriptions de Delphes*
CIG	Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
DT	Tabellae Defixionum
EAOR	Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano
FD	Fouilles de Delphes III. Epigraphie, Paris 1909-85
IEphesos	Die Inschriften von Ephesos
IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas
ILAg	Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie
ILAf	Inscriptions latines d'Afrique
ILS	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
ILTG	Inscriptions latines des Trois Gaules
IRT	Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania
ITralleis	Die Inschriften von Tralleis und Nysa, I. Die Inschriften von Tralleis
IvO	Inschriften von Olympia
OGIS	Orientis graeci inscriptiones selectae
P&P	Performers and Partisans
P. Agon.	Zehn agonistische Papyri
P. Cair. Isid.	The Archive of Aurelius Isidorus in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, and the University of Michigan
P. Cair. Zen.	Zenon Papyri, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
P. Oxy.	The Oxyrhynchus Papyri
P.Flor.	Papiri greco-egiziim Papiri Fiorentini
P.Ryl	Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester
PSI	Papiri greci e latini
SB	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten
SEG	Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum
Select Papyri	Select Papyri (Loeb Classical Library)
SIG	Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum

Source Abbreviations

Ael. *NA*	Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*
Amm. Marc.	Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum Gestarum*
Apu. *Apol.*	Apuleius, *Apologia*
Apu. *Meta.*	Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*
Aur. Vict. *Caes.*	Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus*
Calp. *Ecl.*	Calpurnicus, *Eclogues*
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio, *Roman History*
Cic. *Ad Att.*	Cicero, *Ad Atticus*
Cic. *Ad fam.*	Cicero, *Ad familiares*
Cic. *De Off.*	Cicero, *De Officiis*
Cic. *Sest.*	Cicero, *On Behalf of Sestius*
Cic. *Ver.*	Cicero, *In Verrem*
Claud. *De Stil.*	Claudianus, *De consulatu Stilichonis*
Cod. Theod.	*Codex Theodosianus*
Col. *De Re Rust.*	Columella, *De re rustica*
Dio Chrys.	Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses*
Flav. Jos.	Flavius Josephus
Flav. Jos. *BJ*	Flavius Josephus, *The Jewish War*
Gaius, *Inst.*	Gaius, *Institutes*
Hor. *Ep.*	*Horace, Epistulae*
Jul. Af. *Ces.*	Julius Africanus, *Cestes*
Lib. *Ep.*	Libanius, *Epistulae*
Lib. *Or.*	Libanius, *Orations*
Liv.	Livy, *Ab urbe condita*
Mart. *Ep.*	Martial, *Epigrams*
Mart. *Spec.*	Martial, *Liber Spectaculorum*
Ov. *Amor.*	Ovid, *Amores*
Paus.	Pausanias, *Guide to Greece*
Pel. *Ars Vet.*	Pelagonius, *Ars Veterinaria*
Philostr. *VS*	Philostratus, *Vitae Sophistarum*
Plin. *Ep.*	Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*
Plin. *NH*	Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*
Plut. *Caes.*	Plutarch, *Caesar*
Plut. *Crass.*	Plutarch, *Crassus*
Plut. *Mor.*	Plutarch, *Moralia*
Plut. *Pomp.*	Plutarch, *Pompey*
Plut. *Sulla*	Plutarch, *Sulla*
Polyb. *Hist.*	Polybius, *Histories*
Quin. Curt.	Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander*
Sen. *De Brev. Vit.*	Seneca the Younger, *Ad Paulinum de brevitate vitae*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
St. August. *Ep.*	Saint Augustine, *Epistulae*
Suet. *Aug.*	Suetonius, *Augustus*

Suet. *Calig.*	Suetonius, *Caligula*
Suet. *Claud.*	Suetonius, *Claudius*
Suet. *Dom.*	Suetonius, *Domitian*
Suet. *Jul.*	Suetonius, *Julius Caesar*
Suet. *Tib.*	Suetonius, Tiberius
Suet. *Vit.*	Suetonius, *Vitellius*
Symm. *Ep.*	Symmachus, *Epistulae*
Tac. *Ann.*	Tacitus, *Annales*
Tert. *De Spec.*	Tertullian, *De spectaculis*
Vell. Pat.	Velleius Paterculus, *Short History of Rome*
Var. *De Re Rust.*	Varro, *De re rustica*
Xen. *An.*	Xenophon, *Anabasis*

Introduction

> The theatre is filling up, and all the people are sitting aloft presenting a splendid sight and composed of numberless faces, so that many times the very rafters and roof above are hidden by human bodies. You can see neither tiles nor stones but all is men's bodies and faces. Then, as the benefactor who has brought them together enters in the sight of all, they stand up and as from a single mouth cry out. All with one voice call him protector and ruler of the city that they share in common, and stretch out their hands in salutation. Next, they liken him to the greatest of rivers, comparing his grand and lavish munificence to the copious waters of the Nile; and they call him the Nile of gifts. Others, flattering him still more and thinking the simile of the Nile too mean, reject rivers and seas; and they instance the Ocean and say that he in his lavish gifts is what the Ocean is among the waters, and they leave not a word of praise unsaid… What next? The great man bows to the crowd and in his way shows his regard for them. Then he sits down amid the congratulations of his admiring peers, each of whom prays that he himself may attain to the same eminence and then die.[1]

The cries of the audience calling the benefactor both the protector and the ruler of the city in this passage does not appear to have been lavish literary embellishments. Similar sentiments can be found in the preserved graffiti of Pompeii and the mosaics of North Africa. These events served not only as gifts to the city but also as a tool to further a politician's career. This thesis goes behind the scenes and asks what the logistical and financial underpinnings of the festival culture of the cities in the Roman empire were. It will ask how entertainment was organised in cities outside of Rome and how much these events did cost. Each of these events (gladiatorial combats, beast-hunts, chariot racing, and agonistic festivals) will be analysed and compared against each other; then an analysis of the regional differences will follow this. These differences will be compared in terms of their infrastructure and cost, and in regard to the regional and chronological variation between them. It will not consider the architectural remains of venues, nor the social and cultural aspects of entertainment such as a discussion of violence and social psychology except only broadly, in relation to the administration of entertainment.[2] Instead, this thesis is interested in reconstructing and analysing the logistics of hosting entertainment, the specialised businesses that supplied these games, and how much these events cost. This study will argue that the organization and cost of these events differed across the Roman Empire due to the financial and logistical constraints of its cities.

I.1 - Games and their Place Within the Cities of the Empire

Entertainment was a highly visible form of political ritual that was expected of the local elite and took place within a civic context. These events were hosted in venues that were located either

[1] St. John Chrysostom, *De inani gloria* 4-5.

[2] For studies on the architectural aspects of games see: Dodge (2014), Humphrey (1986); for social and symbolic aspects: Fagan (2011) and (2014), Carter (2013), Poliakoff (1987), and Wistrand (1992).

within the city or in an open space within its vicinity. They were primarily paid for by the propertied classes of the local council and were intended for an audience of their fellow citizens. Additionally, they were regularly hosted in relation to the civic calendar, as in the case of local festivals, but were also an expected element of a magistrate's year in office. Because of this, it is essential to understand the environment within which these games were produced.

While the political system in Rome had become monopolised by the Emperor during the Imperial period which left little room for the elite to vie for the public's attention, this was not the case in the wider Empire. Politics remained a primarily public affair. As annual elections continued to exist, magistrates still needed to appeal to the hearts of their fellow citizens in order to secure votes.[3] This is best illustrated by the hundreds of electoral graffiti found at Pompeii and the continuing importance of the euergetistic practices that are documented from all over in the Imperial period. The Roman Empire consisted of many hundreds of somewhat autonomous communities.[4] Rome only required that members of the council kept their post for life and adhered to a property qualification. The *coloniae*, *civitates*, and *municipia* of the Western provinces modelled their local government on the Roman Republican system.[5] In contrast, the administration of the Eastern province's councils was based on pre-existing and local forms of government. While the specific systems of governing and the names for roles differed between cities, it is possible to group these magistrates into common categories and to identify common political principles.[6] At the top, there were the chief political officers. Underneath these were more junior officials that were associated with civic services and infrastructures: market supervisors, overseers of the grain supply, directors of *gymnasia* and bathhouses, those charged with ensuring public order, with repairing roads, drains and public buildings, and with organising festivals and games.[7] Finally, there were those who were responsible for the financial operation of the city.

These cities varied enormously in wealth, size, cultural traditions, and physical amenities. Taxation was likely the primary source of income for a city. Other sources of civic income variably included:

[3] Patterson (2006): 185.
[4] Jones (1974): 1.
[5] For an example of this political structure see the text, translation, and commentary of the *lex Irnitana* in González (1986); for further discussion and a reconstruction of political life in the Latin town see Galsterer (1988).
[6] For a detailed discussion of the differences between Western and Eastern governments see Jones (1974): 11-24.
[7] Zuiderhoek (2017): 92.

public lands that were leased out to private individuals; fines and dues; *summa honoraria* in the West; and the exploitation of local natural resources.[8] Some cities owned property outside of their immediate locality, especially the Italian municipalities. Atella, for example, owned estates in Gaul, and Capua had been gifted extensive estates in Crete by Octavian which produced around HS1,200,000 every year, in exchange for the distribution of the city's public land to veterans.[9] However, this would not have been the case for all cities across the Empire. Without substantial civic estates they would have had to rely on other forms of income such as fines, fees, and market duties which depended on local trade and travel through the area.[10] The only sources of revenue mentioned in the *lex Irnitana* are the fines which magistrates could impose.[11] In describing the duties of the city's *aediles,* it is specified that they were responsible for the collection of fines:

> …likewise if seizing a pledge from *municipes* and *incolae,* which may not be more than 10,000 *sesterces* per person per day; likewise of imposing a fine on them or pronouncing a condemnation against them not over 5,000 *sesterces* per person per day.[12]

Further, the law stipulates that any breach of the rules would incur a fine of HS100,000.[13] While there is a reference to the inspection of sources of civic revenue by a *duovir*, there is no further discussion of what these sources may be or how much money they would generate.[14] This was likely because these texts were somewhat standardised between regions and that specific figures for these fines and revenues would have varied between towns.[15]

While the local treasury subsidised some games, they were usually paid for entirely from the benefactor's wealth. They acted simultaneously as a supplementary aspect to the civic economy and a personal gift to the city. Because of this, games not only had to be relevant to the local culture, but also to what benefactors could afford. The variety of different revenues available to the city paid for the upkeep of the city's buildings and for the various expenses that it had to cover. Subsidies were budgeted for and made available to benefactors hosting basic games associated with their office, such as the *munera* organised by aediles in the *lex coloniae Genetiuae.* However, entirely private benefactions that exceeded expectations would have had a greater political impact. It is because of

[8] Zuiderhoek (2017): 141.
[9] Cic., *ad fam.* 13.7.1-2 (Atella); Cass. Dio, 49.14.5 and Vell. Pat., 2.81.2 for the annual revenue figure; Patterson (2006): 185-186.
[10] Patterson (2006): 186.
[11] Galsterer (1988): 86.
[12] *Lex Irnitana* tablet IIIA, ch. 19 (translation from González (1986): 182).
[13] Ibid.: tablet XC, ch. 96.
[14] Ibid.: tablet VIIIC, ch. 76.
[15] Galsterer (1988): 86.

this greater impact that entertainment became a political tool. Although it took place in a civic context, it was financed privately and publicly commemorated the organiser's generosity.

The *summa honoraria* that magistrates had to pay upon entering office generally reflects the wealth of a city.[16] By analysing these payments in North Africa, where several inscriptions recording them are preserved, it can be seen that there was a significant variation in the amounts that magistrates had to pay.[17] At either extreme, these payments ranged from HS38,000 at Carthage for the *quinquennalis* to HS800 for the sufeteship at Themetra.[18] Of the thirty-six examples of *summa honoraria* recorded in Duncan-Jones' 1982 volume, the mean payment in North Africa was HS8,716. A similar range is found in the median and modes of these payments. The median being HS5,500 and the modes being HS4,000, 10,000, and 20,000. However, this includes the Carthaginian payment for the *quinquennalis* mentioned above, which would naturally raise the overall average payment. With this variable removed, the remaining payments are generally in what appear to have been standard amounts of HS20,000, 10,000, 5,000, 4,000, and 2,000 which appear multiple times across the dataset. The mean cost of *summa honoraria* now becomes HS7,880. While the most common payment for *summa honoraria* ranged somewhere between HS5,000 and HS10,000, it was not uncommon for members of the local elite to pay twice as much. The council used this money to pay for the necessary maintenance of public amenities and the funding of building projects to adorn the city. The use of *summa honoraria* for building projects can potentially be found in the practice of incorporating it into the cost of *pollicitatio*. This practice is recorded in Pliny's *Epistles* where he notes that the magistrates of Claudiopolis were using their *summa honoraria* in order to construct a bathhouse.[19] Another occurrence of this can be found in the reconstruction of the baths at Lanuvium.[20]

I.2 - Geographic and Chronological Scope

The discussion in this thesis will make use of evidence from across the Roman Empire. All four types of entertainment being considered were hosted across the entire Empire. But from one region to another they took different forms, took place with different frequencies, and so were organized in

[16] Duncan-Jones (1982): 84.
[17] Ibid.: 83.
[18] Ibid.: nos. 360 (Carthage) and 359 (Themetra); Duncan-Jones suggests that the decurionate at Muzuc could have cost HS400 (no. 348), but this is uncertain.
[19] Plin., *Ep.* 10.39.5.
[20] *ILS* 5686.

different ways. The primary material for this topic is sparse, often giving an incomplete image of the logistical structures involved in organising these games. While the epigraphy sometimes presents a detailed breakdown of the costs for gladiatorial combats and agonistic festivals, the same cannot be said about beast-hunts and chariot-racing. This unevenness of coverage also applies to the geographic distribution of these sources. For example, while inscriptions for agonistic festivals are detailed and numerous in the Eastern provinces, our knowledge of how they were organised in the West is nearly non-existent. It follows that it is necessary to draw on material from all over the Empire to get a picture of the range of infrastructures used by local benefactors, always remembering that in practice there were significant local variations. The one city that will be largely excluded from this study is Rome. The difference in scale, cost, and the variety of entertainment at Rome means that the events hosted in the city cannot be considered typical of what local elites would have been able to host in Rome's empire. However, the organisational entities that supplied events at Rome have to be considered occasionally to reconstruct those that were emulated throughout the Empire.

This study will focus on the early Imperial period, specifically between the reign of Augustus and the end of the third century AD. The sparse nature of the evidence once again influenced this decision. While much of the material relating to gladiatorial combats dates from the first and second centuries AD, there is a significant amount of evidence regarding beast-hunts, chariot racing, and agonistic festivals from the second and third centuries AD. Further, by expanding the date range it is possible to illustrate how entertainment and its related infrastructures changed over time.

I.3 - Literature Review

Modern scholarship discussing the organisation and cost of entertainment falls into three categories: broad introductory studies, those which utilise the topic in order to elaborate on a broader theme, and those which focus on the organisation and financing of a single kind of event. These introductory works about Roman entertainment are typically quite broad in their approach and discuss a much wider geographic and chronological range. Books such as Donald G. Kyle's *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World* and Nigel Crowther's *Sport in Ancient Times* focus on the theme of entertainment throughout time and cover a vast range of topics such as morality, tradition, and gender.[21] This thematic variation also extends to the difference between vastly different geographic areas and

[21] Kyle (2007) and Crowther (2007); other notable introductory works include Dunbabin (2016) and Potter (2011).

cultures. Crowther's book compares the developments in Chinese, Egyptian, Minoan, Mycenaean, Homeric, Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Meso-American games.[22] Similarly, Kyle discusses the 'Ancient World' in general, analysing Mesopotamian, Minoan, Hittite, Mycenaean, Greek, and Roman games. Such analyses have shed light on the wider similarities and distinctions between broad geographic areas. Hazel Dodge's *Spectacles in the Roman World* similarly introduces a wide variety of themes within the larger realm of Roman entertainment including: what the main games were, organisation, cost, the provisioning of venues, morality, and Roman spectacles in a modern context.[23] In Contrast, Balsdon's *Life & Leisure in Ancient Rome* places entertainment as a smaller component of a larger study on daily life and recreation during this period.[24] His discussion concerning entertainment is presented as part of a larger chapter including holidays and analyses topics such as their origins, venues, and the theatre. Balsdon's chapter includes only six pages dedicated to the topic of cost and organisation of games taking place in Rome, with a separate 'Outside Rome' section included at the end.[25]

While many other studies of the ancient world do approach games in relation to the organisation and financing of several kinds of entertainment, it is generally portrayed as part of another, larger, theme. Cruelty, violence, and culture are common themes, specifically concerning the hosting of gladiatorial combats and exotic beast hunts.[26] For example, works such as Jo-Ann Shelton's *Beastly Spectacles in the Ancient Mediterranean World* and her later book, *Spectacles of Animal Abuse* look at how animals were captured, transported, and housed for entertainment in relation to the maltreatment of these creatures.[27] Additionally, works regarding the political use of entertainment address these spectacles in relation to euergetism, elite competition, and local government structures.[28] The infrastructures and cost of entertainment in the Empire also supplement discussions concerning venue provisioning, social psychology, and the use of enslaved persons and freedpersons as support staff.[29] While these works do touch on the organisation of entertainment, the topic is peripheral to the wider themes which they discuss.

[22] Only five of the eighteen chapters in this book deal with Roman entertainment, of which only two are concerned with the games themselves, in particular gladiatorial combats and chariot racing.
[23] Dodge (2011).
[24] Balsdon (1969).
[25] Ibid.: 261-267 ('Cost and Presidency') and 329-339 ('Outside Rome').
[26] For examples see: Auguet (1972), Carter (2013), Poliakoff (1987), and Wistrand (1992).
[27] Shelton (2007) and (2014).
[28] See Beacham (1999), Bell (2004), Edmondson (1999), Flower (2014), and Veyne (1976).
[29] Venues: Dodge (1999) and (2014), Golvin (1988); Social Psychology: Fagan (2011) and (2014); People on the Margins: MacLean (2014).

Even when the organisation and finance of entertainment is addressed as the main focus of academic studies, it is typically studied in relation to a single event. The organisation and cost of gladiatorial combats have been extensively studied. The influential work of Louis Robert is still referenced as the definitive study of gladiatorial combats in the eastern provinces.[30] Indeed, Robert's comprehensive record of these inscriptions which document gladiatorial activity in the Eastern provinces still provides the basis for many studies on the topic today. Robert also provides one of the first substantial chapters dedicated to the organisation of gladiatorial combats. However, his discussion is limited to the internal operation of the *ludus* and the trends in how events were hosted.[31] Similar edited compendia of epigraphic evidence have also been published, notably Patrizia Sabbatini-Tumolesi's *Gladiatorum paria : annunci di spettacoli gladiatorii a Pompeii* and the numerous *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* volumes.[32] However, these compendia only provide the raw information provided by the epigraphic evidence and have very little in the way of organisational and financial analysis. Historians have made use of literary texts and graffiti to study the scheduling of gladiatorial combats and the timelines between the announcement of a set of games and the performance itself.[33] Key epigraphic discoveries, such as the *Aes Italicense* and its allocation of prices, have allowed for further investigations into the overall cost of hosting provincial gladiatorial combats.[34] This has led to theoretical price reconstructions of gladiatorial games, and revealed both the inner structures of provincial *ludi* and the specific requirements that benefactors needed to fulfil when organising their *munus*.[35] This text has also helped to offer an explanation for the hesitation of hosting games in the second and third centuries AD.[36] However, no one has yet applied the theoretical insights from this text to provincial games of known scale. More recently, the analysis of a lengthy honorific inscription detailing the many gifts given to Pompeii by a single elite found at Stabian gate has raised questions over the assumption that municipal and provincial gladiatorial games were always modest in size.[37]

[30] Robert (1940).
[31] Ibid.: 267-308.
[32] Sabbatini-Tumolesi (1980), (1988), (1992), and (1996); Gregori (1989); Gregori, Vismara, and Caldelli (2000); Orlandi (2004); Gómez-Pantoja (2009); Evangelsti (2011); Pastor (2017).
[33] Edmondson (2016a) and Tuck (2009).
[34] Oliver and Palmer (1955).
[35] Carter (2003); Hopkins and Beard (2005).
[36] Coleman (2008).
[37] Osanna (2018).

Studies of the infrastructure of agonistic festivals have also proliferated, due to the numerous inscriptions detailing their programmes and individual costs. The extensive works of Henri Willy Pleket and Onno van Nijf explore the several performer guilds across the Empire, the connectivity between festivals throughout the *oikumene,* and the administrative structures that defended the interests of performers and ensured the payment of their sacred pensions.[38] Pleket's *Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology* demonstrates how the increased presence of non-elite performers in these festivals meant that benefactors were compelled to promote 'value prizes' rather than solely honorific ones in order to appeal to as large a participant-base as possible. Van Nijf's *Global Players* points out that the international associations of athletes and artists were a product of the Roman period. He further suggests that this reflects how the increased connectivity facilitated by the Eastern cities' incorporation into the Roman Empire likely led to the need for better representation of these performers. His more recent work has focused on connecting these contests and illustrating this change during the Roman period. Van Nijf's 2015 chapter *Re-inventing Traditions*, co-authored with Christina Williamson, illustrates that Greek festival traditions changed in response to political circumstances.[39] The most notable change they discuss is the growing geographical extent of agonistic festivals, as the Greek community continued to grow following the campaigns of Alexander the Great and culminated in the Roman period.[40] More recently, van Nijf and Williamson have created the 'Connected Contests' online research tool which combines several prosopographical collections concerning athletes and connects them to geographical data to facilitate further studies on these agonistic networks.[41] The detailed epigraphic and papyrological evidence illustrating the organisation of these festivals, how much they cost, and the pension process has prompted many recent studies on how these events were scheduled, organised, and financed.[42] Michael Wörrle's publication of the *Demostheneia* from Oenoanda provided a detailed example of how agonistic festivals could be organised by a foundation.[43] The text was later translated into English for further analysis by Stephen Mitchell and then discussed by Guy MacLean Rogers. The subsequent discussion concerns how this inscription can be used to create models of euergetism and to understand better how agonistic festivals were established.[44] The detailed information of the *Demostheneia* has also shed light on how privately funded agonistic festivals came into being and were negotiated with the

[38] See in particular Pleket (1973) and (2010), van Nijf (1997) and (2006).
[39] van Nijf and Williamson (2015).
[40] Ibid.: 98-99.
[41] For more see http://connectedcontests.org/
[42] Camia (2011), Dunbabin (2010), Gouw (2008), Potter (2010), and Slater (2015).
[43] Wörrle (1988).
[44] Mitchell (1990) and Rogers (1991).

local government. It also provides a more detailed understanding of the scheduling of these festivals and the available prizes.[45]

Early studies of beast-hunts for spectacles were often included in works relating to animals in the ancient world more generally. George Jennison's *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* provides an early example of these studies.[46] While this work deals with a wide range of subjects regarding animals in the ancient world, it does have a specific chapter on games for the arena and the importation of these beasts into Italy. Jennison's extensive collection of sources, both literary and visual, along with his experience as the superintendent of the Bellevue Zoo in Manchester, gives valuable insight to the capture and transportation of animals. Jocelyn Toynbee's *Animals in Roman Life and Art* discusses the use of animals within Roman daily life and separates her discussion by species. Toynbee's analysis of the use of exotic beasts for entertainment is primarily concerned with why these events were so popular.[47] More recently, Sian Lewis and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's *The Culture of Animals in Antiquity* has compiled a more up-to-date sourcebook regarding animals in the ancient world more generally.[48] However, the sources included refer to the use of animals in the ancient world ranging between domestic, work, and animals for pleasure. Additionally, the chronological range includes material from 3000 BC to AD 600. The discussion in these works relates primarily to the capture and importation of animals for games in Rome. Studies of the North African material focuses more on how local benefactors sourced and paid for animals for their show. The lack of detailed evidence has led some of those studying the organisation and financing of these games to use comparative evidence as a means to bridge these gaps in the evidence. The leading expert on the North African beast-hunts companies remains to be Azedine Beschaouch, the first to publish on the Magerius mosaic and who has spent the last sixty years publishing on the North African beast trade.[49] Academic focus has remained mainly on the trade and supply of animals for these games and has extended to the beast trade throughout Europe.[50] Michael MacKinnon's 2006 article *Supplying Exotic Animals for the Roman Amphitheatre Games* made use of comparative historical approaches to understand the process of transporting animals for these events.[51] However, this has not been further studied or related to costs by others to date. More recently,

[45] Graf (2015).
[46] Jennison (1937).
[47] Toynbee (1973).
[48] Lewis and Llewellyn-Jones (2017).
[49] Beschaouch (1966), (1977), (1979), (1985), and (2006a and b).
[50] Bomgardner (1992) and (2009), Epplett (2001) and (2014).
[51] MacKinnon (2006).

MacKinnon has utilised zooarchaeological data in order to confirm the distribution of exotic animals during the Roman period and how the trade in exotic beasts affected the populations of these animals.[52]

Studies of chariot racing are similar in that the architectural, epigraphic, and mosaic evidence contains few explicit references to organisational or administrative entities. To overcome this gap, scholars have had to make use of occasional references to these entities from a broad geographic and chronological range. The seminal work of Alan Cameron discusses the factional system and the regional trends of the sport remain the most extensive works regarding chariot racing.[53] John Humphrey's *Roman Circuses,* which extensively documents the archaeological evidence for chariot activity, is still the most comprehensive and useful volume for studying chariot racing in the Empire to date.[54] Jocelyne Nelis-Clément's 2002 article *Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance* analyses the human element of chariot racing, giving an in-depth discussion of the support staff that were needed, and were represented in mosaic evidence, on the day of the race.[55] While more recent works on the topic still discuss the factional system, both in Rome and the provinces, many studies have emerged which analyse the training and breeding of horses for these events.[56] Primarily focused on the Roman market, these works analyse ancient veterinary texts taking a comparative approach looking to modern equestrian and veterinary understanding.[57]

However, none of these studies have yet analysed the organisation and finance of each form of provincial entertainment during the Imperial period side-by-side. Instead, modern scholarship has focused on providing in-depth analyses of the organisational aspects of individual categories of games. Regional variation has traditionally been treated as a result of cultural preference, the concept of the logistical differences and the challenges associated with hosting regionally unconventional games has not yet been considered on an Empire-wide scale. This thesis will argue that the organisational and financial constraints experienced by civic benefactors would also have had a significant impact on the events that could be hosted.

[52] MacKinnon (2014).
[53] Cameron (1976).
[54] Humphrey (1986); see also Heath (2016) for a similar compendium for amphitheatres.
[55] Nelis-Clément (2002).
[56] For more recent studies on the factions see Bell (2014) and Thuillier (2012).
[57] Bell (2020), Hyland (1990), and Willekes (2016) and (2019).

I.4 - Treatment of the Evidence

The main type of evidence that will be addressed in this thesis is epigraphic material. Honorific inscriptions provide an extensive record of the events that were being hosted by local magistrates. They provide details about the particular games that were hosted by a benefactor and any extraordinary aspects that were added to their events. Additionally, these texts occasionally preserve the overall budget of the games, but this is not a consistent element of inscriptions and appears to have only been included for more expensive events. Yet, it must be recognised that the epigraphic evidence, such as honorific inscriptions, was often intended to present the desirable public face of the individual.[58] Whilst generous benefactions or achievements were emphasised, smaller events were recorded in less detail and thus it is unknown what was presented and how much these games cost. This means that the epigraphic record of games says more about the expensive and exceptional benefactors than those hosted on a scale that may have been considered normal. Nevertheless, essential information can still be gleaned from the surviving evidence. The *edicta munerum* of Pompeii, for instance, which advertised upcoming gladiatorial events both within Pompeii and in the wider Campanian region, gives a detailed record of what was expected to be seen at these games. These texts include details on how many gladiators would be presented, whether supplementary shows would be held, how long an event would run for, and other additional inclusions such as *vela,* water sprinklers, or notable individuals who would be present at an event. While these texts still suffer from the same issue as inscriptions by emphasising features desirable to the benefactor, they do give a clear idea of what would have been commonly provided at these events.

Ancient literary works can provide detailed and, at times, technical information regarding the timelines of organising an event and how resources were maintained while not in active use. References to the games of any kind in the ancient literature are relatively rare and when they are referenced these passages tend to be concerned with events that subverted the norms. One subversion of this norm is when a disaster occurred, like the Fidenae collapse.[59] However, these works do not discuss all aspects in detail and only mention those that were of specific interest to the author. Few literary works were concerned with the logistical processes which facilitated the games, rather what they were interested in what happened at the games and what they represented.

[58] See Graham (2013), in particular: 410, for more on this and alternative ways of analysing epigraphic evidence.
[59] Tac., *Ann.* 4.62-63.

Ancient authors, such as Cicero, lamented the use of games as a political tool and the expectation that the propertied classes would host these events.[60] Suetonius tells of an incident taking place at Pollentia where a centurion's body was held hostage by the city until a gladiatorial combat was hosted there.[61] Both of these examples demonstrate how these authors were concerned with the moral implications of entertainment and the burden which it placed upon the propertied classes. There are exceptions to this, in particular, Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. While this novel is not directly concerned with the logistics of entertainment, it does make several references to the process to anchor the events into a more convincing world for the audience. Further, Galen's record of his time as a doctor to the gladiators in 157/158 at Pergamon records several different aspects of these events.[62] He notes that his employer was the "chief priest" of spectacles in Pergamon and give insight to how gladiatorial games were sponsored. His records of the wounds received by gladiators can also inform on what sort of fights were taking place in the city.

Mosaics provide detailed visual information that was impossible to capture in both the epigraphic and literary evidence. While these artworks can depict the overall range of events that were hosted by a benefactor or give a detailed representation of a particular event, they are still curated representations of an event. Additionally, with events like beast-hunts it can sometimes be difficult to differentiate between fictional genre depictions of a hunt-scene and those that record a real event. It is important to recognise that unless these images were specifically intended to provide an accurate record of the event, it is likely that what is depicted on these mosaics is a simplification of what was actually hosted. This can be seen in the 'Catalogue' mosaics of North Africa, which record the specific numbers of animals that were hosted at these events. Even these are problematic as they do not explicitly indicate in what way these animals were presented to the audience. Similarly, some details can be inconsistent within the same piece. Aspects such as brand marks on horses were sometimes only included on those that were well-known locally. Even this inconsistency opens up several interpretations: were the unmarked horses owned by the host or by a local submitting their horses for the races? Did the same stud farm provide them all? Or was it considered unnecessary to include their brands simply because these horses were not known to the mosaic's intended audience? While the detail present in the mosaics can provide some information regarding how these events were organised, they equally raise further questions about what they omit. Therefore, mosaics should be treated as an indication of what was included at an event rather than an entirely

[60] Cic., *On duties* 2.57-58; *Sest.* 115; *ad Att.* 1.16.11, 2.19.3, and 6.1.2; *pro Munera* 37-39.
[61] Suet., *Tib.* 37.
[62] Scarborough (1971): 99-100.

accurate and comprehensive depiction of what was presented. By using these different kinds of evidence in conjunction, it is possible to produce a regional analysis of the different organisation that supplied provincial entertainment and how much these events may have cost.

I.5 - Broader Contexts

Some gaps in the record cannot be filled by looking towards other forms of ancient evidence simply because they were not recorded. These gaps are particularly prevalent for the transportation and sourcing of animals. While there are depictions of ships bringing in lions in the epigraphic evidence and the suggestions that these animals were held at ports like Ostia, there is very little reference to the infrastructure of entertainment other than their local existence. By looking at other periods, it is possible to create potential reconstructions of the logistical processes and solutions to the challenges faced by the Romans. Certain aspects of providing performers, such as the transportation of exotic beasts and the training of racehorses, pose challenges in common with other historical periods. Information about these points of convergence has been better preserved and recorded in these different periods. By analysing how other historical periods resolved the logistical challenges of supplying similar forms of entertainment it is possible to bridge the gaps that are left in the ancient sources.

This problem is particularly present in both the evidence for beast-hunts and chariot racing. While there is a lot of information regarding what happened at these events, there is little in the way of evidence for the transport of live adult wild animals and rearing, training, and transport of circus horses. To resolve these issues this thesis shall make use of evidence for both the 19th century exotic beast trade for supplying zoos and the modern training and breeding of racehorses. Naturally, there are technological differences compared to what was available to the Romans. Yet it is worth noting that the modern processes in which they captured, bred, transported, and trained these animals have their roots in historical techniques. Several detailed manuals have been written by the 19th and 20th century hunters who were responsible for the capture of animals to be transported back to Europe for both scientific studies and public amusement. These early descriptions of capturing animals often emphasised the heroic deeds of the trappers and downplayed the details considered either too dull, cruel, or gruesome. However, 19th and early 20th century practices of transporting animals for zoos provide a detailed discussion of why these practices were chosen, how they were used, and if in what ways they were detrimental to their live cargo. Additionally, in terms of transportation there was very little in the way of technological advantage in the 19th century.

Animals were still loaded onto carts and transported over land and then onto boats for transport to their final destination. Other aspects, such as the biological reactions of wild animals being captured and transported, would have been similar to those of the Imperial period. The same can be said for the use of training and veterinary techniques for horse racing. While the physiological understanding of horses is more advanced today, many of the training techniques come from a long lineage of Medieval and Victorian trainers.[63] This is also reflected in the scholarship concerning ancient equestrian sports, where authors such as Hyland and Willekes make use of their first-hand experience with horses to inform their historical analysis.

Utilising the knowledge of other periods can be a useful tool for reconstructing aspects of the ancient world where the evidence is either not explicit or non-existent. Certain criticisms can be made about the sources and time periods that are being compared to, such as the heroic emphasis of the 19th century hunters. However, similar emphasis and omissions can be found in the ancient sources as well. The ancient literary sources often sensationalised aspects of beast fights in the arena in order to serve their interests better. The same can be said about the visual depictions of beast-hunts in mosaics which historians primarily rely on for their analysis of these games in the provinces. While these sources are important and often our only source of primary information on these games, there are limitations to them. Therefore, by using comparative approaches to reconstructing what are already limited records of how animals were transported and trained, it is possible to expand upon the current understanding of these events. It is important to recognise that these studies are not absolute parallel comparisons. However, they do allow the opportunity to solve the logistical problems that were faced during the Imperial period.

I.6 - Thesis Structure

The thesis has been organised into five broad chapters, each of which is subdivided into different sections. Chapter one concerns euergetism and its place within the civic landscape, considering the purpose of elite gift giving and how it fitted within a city's financial workings. This will be done to set the economic and civic contexts for which these games existed within. The next four chapters analyse in turn each of the main forms of entertainment that were gifted to the city and their organisational processes and cost. These four case studies will consist of gladiatorial combats

[63] For a broad collection of studies relating to horse racing over time, see the *Horse Racing in Global Historical Perspective* special issue of *The International Journal of the History of Sport*: Bell, Jaser, and Mann (2020), Bell (2020), Mann and Schraff (2020), Parnell (2020), Artan (2020), Jaser (2020), Schürch (2020), Nash (2020), Eisenberg (2020), and Mitchell (2020).

(chapter two), beast-hunts (chapter three), chariot racing (chapter four), and agonistic festivals (chapter five). While each chapter will illustrate how these events were organised and financed, they will also address the problems raised when studying the organisational processes and costs of each type of entertainment. These problems will be analysed through the use of theoretical and comparative approaches to solve the logistical issues and the overall costs faced by the ancients. Each of these chapters will have the same research question: how did a benefactor organise his event and how much did it cost? Once the infrastructures and cost of each event has been established, the results of each case study will be compared to determine any similarities and differences between the logistical processes to organise these events and how much they cost (chapter six). This section will also illustrate what similarities and differences reveal about how entertainment was prepared in the Empire. The final chapter (chapter seven) will answer the research question raised at the start of this introduction and discuss the implications of this thesis and the next steps for this kind of research. It will additionally address how this thesis opens further questions and research topics that would continue to increase the understanding of entertainment in the Empire and how it was organised.

Euergetism and Civic Finances

1.1 - Introduction

Before analysing the organisation and financing of games in the Roman Empire and the role played by the wealthy individuals who sponsored games of various kinds, it is first necessary to set these gifts in the context of civic finances in general and benefaction in particular. Gift-giving was expected of elite citizens during the Imperial period; it was the principal method for funding many of the amenities which would be associated with a Roman town. The elite built monumental buildings, provided spectacular games, undertook distributions of money to the citizen population, held feasts, and funded buildings for public infrastructure. While honorific inscriptions of these actions emphasise the importance of these gifts, they provide a selective record of the benefactors' role in civic finance. Since the inscriptions were intended to honour those to whom they refer, they emphasise the importance of the deeds of the individual for demonstrating their virtues and enhancing reputation. While many scholars have discussed how these gifts functioned culturally, it is the purpose of this chapter to define how euergetism functioned within the city economically.[64] It will focus on the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few and how the elite spent their money. Specific questions will include: what factors contributed to the choice of gift to the city? What was its position within the civic economy? And finally, how did these benefactions benefit the city?

1.2 - A Definition of Euergetism

Euergetism is a modern term used to describe how ancient elites gave gifts to the people of their city. Typically these gifts were financed entirely through the private wealth of those who sponsored them. Euergetism is traditionally defined as "the fact that communities (cities, *collegia*) expected the rich to contribute from their wealth to the public expenses, and that this expectation was not disappointed: the rich contributed indeed, spontaneously or willingly."[65] There are two identified categories of euergetism, voluntary and *ob honorem,* i.e. those that were spontaneous acts of generosity and those that were required by holding of magistracies and related positions. These categories are of limited relevance, since in both cases, regardless of the category, benefactors would have felt the social pressure associated with the expectation to give to the city.[66] This pressure has been associated with the class struggle, a focus of early studies of euergetism which

[64] For the cultural aspects of euergetism see: Veyne (1976), Nutton (1978), Gauthier (1985), Garnsey (1991), Forbis (1996), and Zuiderhoek (2009).
[65] Veyne (1990): 10.
[66] Ibid.: 11.

identified gift-giving as mainly directed at cementing the elite's status above the rest of the population and to calm the masses in order to keep the central Roman government out of local politics.[67] This is not to suggest that euergetism was some sort of conscious effort on the part of the elite, rather it was likely an expected norm for the honours that were awarded to them.[68] This type of social pressure meant that to an extent the public had control over the ways the elite spent money on the city and can be seen in the correlation between euergetism and political offices where gifts were a requirement.[69]

The exact motivation behind these gifts is unclear. The honorific inscriptions that record these donations suggest that benefactors gave in a selfless act of generosity to their city.[70] The reality of the situation was likely much more complex than this.[71] Public reaction and expectations were likely a considerable influence as to why the elite gave regular gifts to the city. These social transactions were also beneficial for those who financed them. For a gift to achieve its intended purpose, it had to be considered both culturally appropriate and valued.[72] This is why the gifts considered the most popular (games, buildings, money distributions, and feasts) were largely non-excludable among the citizen-base.[73] Reinstein's model of gifts of *pure public good* asserts that it must have two defining characteristics: 1) that it was *non-rival* meaning that everyone derived some benefit from the gift and that it did not reduce another's, and 2) that is was *non-excludable,* that none could be shut out from using it.[74] Spectacular and monumental gifts such as games and buildings were highly visible actions, placing the benefactor at the centre of attention.[75] Many of these events were combined with feasts and games hosted in celebration of the erection of a statue or building. Actions such as

[67] Veyne (1990): 5; Nutton (1978); The idea of social pressure is criticised in Garnsey (1991): 167-168 suggesting that euergetism should not be seen as an aspect of class struggle; Veyne (1990): 5; Johnston (1985): 105 in contrast defines munificence as the result of a mixture of motives: religious sentiment, regard for fellow citizens, and the desire for posthumous prestige.
[68] Zuiderhoek (2007): 199-200 explains this in more depth than is required here, explaining that euergetism was exactly the symbolic statement that was required to cement the feeling of 'legitimacy and naturalness of the existing socio-political order.'
[69] Garnsey (1971): 116.
[70] See Forbis (1996): 31-43 for a discussion of the ways in which this generosity was worded in the epigraphic evidence in Italy.
[71] Kokkinia (2012): 97.
[72] Reinstein (2014): 91.
[73] Ibid.: 90.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Mouritsen (2015): 236-239; Fagan (2015): 499-502; Horster (2015): 526-530. Additionally, inscriptions set up to commemorate these acts served to permanently commemorate their generosity and to preserve their memory. Examples of this can be found in *CIL* X, 5853 = *ILS* 6271, *CIL* XI, 6167 = *ILS* 5673, *CIL* V, 47, *CIL* II, 1185, and *CIL* VIII, 5365 = 17495 = *ILAlg.* I 286. Horace, *Odes* 3.30.1-9 and Plin., *Ep.* 6.10.3-5 which both record the desire for Roman elite to publicly record their deeds; see Woolf (1996) for more discussion.

these created opportunities for politically symbolic events that involved most citizens in a town, if not all of them.[76] These occasions enabled the benefactor to communicate directly with a large proportion of the non-elite population at once, allowing for a public display of not only their munificence but also the glory of the donor to both the plebian and aristocratic population.[77]

1.3 - Concentrations of Wealth and Choice

1.3.1 - Data Analysis

Multiple factors contributed to the choice of gift by a benefactor. These factors would have included: benefactor and local preference, political office expectations, personal wealth, and the resources that were available to the financier, such as individuals with technical expertise and raw materials. However, if a gift was linked to a political office the choice was limited. Generally, officials were required to host specific annual games for a set number of days. Events connected to lesser offices appear to have been smaller events, as demonstrated by the first century BC *lex coloniae Genetiuae* which only required an overall budget of HS2,000. While the minimum budget for these games was HS2,000*,* half of this could be financed through the town's treasury:

> Whoever shall be aediles, during their magistracy they are to organise a *munus* or *ludi scaenici* for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, during three days, for the greater part of the day, as far as possible, and during one day (games) in the circus or (gladiators) in the Forum of Venus, and each one of them is to spend on that spectacle and on that show no less than 2,000 *sestertii* from his own money and it is lawful to take from the public fund 1,000 *sestertii.*[78]

However, this was only a minimum. A benefactor was free to offer much more than the required amount if it was within their means. Personal wealth would have been the defining factor that contributed to euergetic choice in the Imperial period, with the richer individuals being able to give more lavish and varied gifts to the city. It had been a common complaint among the elite that gift-giving could lead to financial ruin.[79] This is precisely why laws surrounding the cost of gifts like that at Urso or the *Aes Italicense* focus on the absolute minimum prices set for events. The same attitude applied to the wealth requirements for public office. By doing so, Rome created an euergetic environment that was accessible to the local elite. This is why there was such disparity between larger, more expensive spectacles and the smaller, affordable events. The *Aes Italicense* dating to AD

[76] Zuiderhoek (2007): 208.
[77] Ibid.
[78] *Lex coloniae Genetiuae,* 71, see appendix 1.1 for full section that this passage comes from.
[79] Cass. Dio, *Roman History* 52.30, the letter from a priest of the Imperial Cult in Gaul which prefaces the *Aes Italicense* suggests that people avoided offices tied to costly games; see *IG* IV, 1, 65 for an example of the first century AD benefactor Epidaurus who is said to have spent so much on the city that he endangered his own livelihood, Zuiderhoek (2007) for more; Plutarch (*Crass.* 2.6) claims that Crassus said that those who loved to build brought financial ruin onto themselves even without help from their competitors, see Kokkinia (2012) for more.

177 outlines the maximum total costs for gladiators and defines games under HS30,000 as *munera assiforana* which did not qualify for these price restrictions.[80] When analysing the corpus of gladiatorial inscriptions with overall costs involved, it can be seen that most games either only just fell into these categories or were not applicable at all.[81] This suggests that most games provided by the elite would have been modest events, only to be supplemented by those of the extremely wealthy families in the local region.

By analysing evidence of other indicators, it is possible to illustrate just how concentrated wealth was outside of Rome. Most appears to have been controlled by a few families. A concentration of money would mean that only a few could give lavish gifts and that smaller benefactions would have been more common. Land was a primary source of wealth, so land-registers are a prime indicator of this distribution.[82] Taking six different records of Imperial land registers from around the Empire, it can be seen that there was a wide range in both the value and amount of landholding in just one town.[83]

Table 1 - Imperial Land Registers

Location	Date (AD)	Measure	Nature of Measure	Total Units	Maximum	Minimum	Mean
Ligures Baebiani	101	*Sestertii*	Value	57	501,000	14,000	78,442
Veleia	102/113	*Sestertii*	Value	46	1,508,150	50,000	264,328
Volcei	307	*M(illenae?*)	Tax-potential	36	120	1	24.9
Lamasba	218/222	K(?)	Water-entitlement	78	4,000	48.5	672.6
Magnesia	4th century	*iuga* (tax)	Tax-potential	67	75.15	0.01	5.2
Hermopolis		*arourae*	Area	198	1,370	<2	70.1

The first two towns listed, both in Italy, demonstrate this difference between the extremely wealthy and those who were merely landholding elite. Of the 57 individual records of land value in Ligures Baebiani the mean value was HS78,442, not even a fifth of the largest estate in the city.[84] The

[80] *Aes Italicense* lines 29-30, see chapter 2.4 for a more detailed discussion of this text.
[81] See chapter 2 on the organisation and financing of gladiatorial games for more.
[82] Duncan-Jones (1990): 126.
[83] Ibid.: table 43. It must be noted that the sources in this table do vary in time period quite a bit with the earliest from the second century AD and the latest from the fourth century AD. Additionally, the Lambasa irrigation document does not measure land as such, but a proxy measure of access to water (see Shaw (1982) for more). However, what is important is the general lean of the mean towards the minimum documented number, rather than the maximum.
[84] Ibid.

distance between the two was even more prominent in Veleia, with the largest being HS1,508,150; in contrast, the mean value was HS264,328, once again five times as small.[85] Of the 46 records, 41 units are valued between HS50,000 and HS500,000.[86] This trend continues with the rest of the records. The mean measure of value is consistently weighted towards the lower end. This is only emphasised when comparing this to the percentage of overall land which the largest estates held in these towns.[87]

Table 2 - Percentage of Largest Estate to Overall Land Holdings

Location	Largest Estate as a Percentage of the Total
Magnesia	21.6
Volcei	13.4
Veleia	12.4
Ligures Baebiani	11.2
Hermopolis	9.9
Lamasba	7.6

With such a concentration of wealth in these provincial towns, a similar range would be expected of the expenditure for games in this region. However, there are very few preserved budgets for games in North Africa, and they generally vary in cost from HS200,000 for four days of gladiators in Carthage to HS100 annually for a non-descript *ludi* in Uchi Maius.[88] With only eight examples of costs in the North African record, it is difficult to give an average price for games in this region. However, the trend apparent in these inscriptions suggests that cheaper games under HS10,000 were more common.

Table 3 - Cost of Games in North Africa

Type of Games	Cost per Day (HS)	Place	Date	Reference
Gladiators and Panthers in the amphitheatre	(50,000+ per day) four days: 200,000+	Carthage	Soon after AD 133	*ILAf* 390
Ludi…	Half of 50,000 annually (?)	Oea	AD 183-185	*IRT* 230
Ludi Scaenici	8,000? For single day annually	Thisi	-	*CIL* VIII, 25428
Ludi	6,000 for a single day	Rusicade	-	*ILAg* II, I, 42-3
Ludi Scaenici	From a part of 5,000 annually	Thugga	After AD 205	*CIL* VIII, 26590, 26591

[85] Duncan-Jones (1990): table 43.
[86] Ibid: 131.
[87] Ibid: table 45.
[88] Gladiators: *ILAf* 390 (c. AD 133), *Ludi*: *CIL* VIII, 26275 (Post AD 230); for more price of games in North Africa refer to Duncan-Jones (1962), records in this article have been separately tabulated on this page for clarity, see also Duncan-Jones (1963) for further analysis on frequency and average costs.

Ludi	(2,000 per day) three days: 6,000	Siagu	-	*CIL* VIII, 967; 12448
Circuensis	540 six-monthly (1080 annually)	Auzia	-	*CIL* VIII, 9052
Pugiles	(part of 240) annually	Gor	-	*CIL* VIII, 12421
Ludi	100? annually	Uchi Maius	Post AD 230	*CIL* VIII, 26275

Not only are the costs different, but also the event types. It would be unreliable to compare a HS200,000 gladiatorial event in one of the Empire's largest cities to a modest chariot race at Auzia for only HS540 twice a year in celebration of a birthday. While the *Aes Italicense* illustrates that gladiatorial games could vary immensely in their budget, the near invisible costs of chariot-racing make it impossible to tell if HS540 was particularly cheap or the standard in the provinces.[89] It is still important to note that seven of these games cost less than HS10,000, three of which were under HS1,000. Perhaps this can be seen as an indication that many of the provincial games that were being hosted during the Imperial period that were considered significant enough to be recorded were not as expensive as the epigraphic and legal texts would suggest. With additional studies of the concentration of wealth in Roman North Africa it appears that euergetic games were likely to have been modest affairs, unlike those displayed at provincial centres like Carthage.

Other documented euergetic choices make it much easier to compare. A clear difference in the cost of games emerges from a corpus of 66 building inscriptions recording cost. These buildings have been sorted into five categories, HS200,000-600,000, HS100,000-200,000, HS50,000-80,000, HS20,000-50,000, and HS3,000-14,000.[90] These appear to be the most common price brackets of building projects given by a single benefactor in North Africa.

Table 4 - Cost of Building Projects

Price Range (HS)	Number of Buildings	Percentage of Overall Buildings Projects Recorded
200,000-600,000	10	15.2%
100,000-200,000	15	22.7%
50,000-80,000	9	13.6%
20,000-50,000	18	27.3%
3,000-14,000	14	21.2%

While this is far from a complete record of building costs in North Africa, the quantity allows for a statistical analysis that shows consistent trends. 32 buildings, or 48.5% of the total, occupy the lower two categories of these price ranges. This seems reflects the trends found in both the land registers

[89] For more see chapter 4.4.
[90] For more see Duncan-Jones (1982): 75.

and games analyses in a slightly more spread-out pattern. While there was an extreme upper end to costs, 35%, the majority of the records sat in the lower end. Once again, the mean cost of HS43,500 reinforces this point.

The concentration of lower expenses is also present in statues. Of the 138 complete records for costs, 59% are below HS8,000.[91] The highest price for a single statue is HS66,666, with the next highest costing HS50,000 and HS33,200.[92] While 17 examples sat between HS33,000 and HS9,000, only statue costs of HS8,000 and under appear more than once.[93] The breakdown of the 81 statues in these recurring price categories are as follows:

Table 5 - Cost of North African Statues[94]

Price Range (HS)	Number of Records	Percentage of the Total
8,000	9	8.6%
7,000-7,999	4	3.8%
6,000-6,999	13	12.4%
5,000-5,999	19	18.1%
4,000-4,999	17	16.2%
3,000-3,999	13	12.4%
2,000-2,999	6	5.7%

Similar trends are repeated. The mean price for statues according to this dataset is HS5,000, and the majority of statue costs were between HS3,000 and HS7,000.

1.3.2 - Interpretation and Significance

Each of these analyses demonstrates that wealth amongst the elite was not evenly spread. This is to be expected, the property qualification for the *ordo* was a minimum, and the composition of local landowners would have varied between people of several different classes. These extremes existed, as seen with the land-registers, with the highly wealthy tending to dominate the market.[95] This suggests that all euergetic gift-giving should not be viewed through the same lens. The typical stated gift cost from a member of the elite appears to have been closer in cost to those mentioned in the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* rather than those outlined in the *Aes Italicense.* Benefactors were likely restrained by the extent of their wealth, limiting many in what they could have given to the city.

[91] Duncan-Jones (1982): 78.
[92] Ibid.: nos. 77, 91, and 92.
[93] Ibid., other costs excluded from this include those which are either extraordinary or were a payment for multiple statues: HS1,000,000 for 16 statues at Lepcis Magna (*IRT* 706).
[94] For a full list of all statue costs recorded in Duncan-Jones (1982) see appendix 1.2.
[95] For further discussion on the domination of the wealthy in the economy of the Roman Empire see Scheidel and Friesen (2009).

Games may appear as a highly popular form of euergetism simply because they were in practice among the most affordable gifts. Collective building projects were sometimes used as cheaper alternatives to sponsoring games, the one example of this applies to priests of the Imperial cult. A letter from Hadrian addressed to the magistrates of Aphrodisias grants permission for high priests of the Imperial cult to finance the construction of an aqueduct rather than gladiatorial games under the stipulation that they were unable to finance the costs for their expected games.[96] Even this permission was granted tentatively since the right to contribute to the aqueduct was given along with the launch of an investigation into those who were genuinely unable to pay and those who did not want to pay.

Unless an individual held an advanced office within the administration, such as *duovir* or a high priest of the Imperial Cult, was there any benefit in giving more expensive gifts? Was it considered more effective to give smaller, more regular donations to the city in order to maintain popularity with the people? An argument for providing games can be made when considering the *edicta munerum* of Pompeii, where the repeated games of Gaius Alleius Nigidius Maius earned him the title of 'First of the Colony'.[97] Maius even specifies in one advertisement for games that he was hosting them 'without the use of public funds' further emphasising his generosity and wealth, while also confirmed his right to oversee the Pompeiian people.[98] Those who attained public office several times were expected to give more frequently and more lavishly as they ascended the political ladder. Perhaps it made more sense to benefactors to finance euergetic choices that were appropriate for the role they held. If this was the case, then only those who reached higher office or had even secured a priesthood in the Imperial cult felt it sensible to sponsor lavish gifts. This would explain why such gifts appear to have been the minority. This, along with the concentration of wealth, ensured that only a select few families would have been capable of financing the expectations that came with higher office.[99]

[96] *SEG* 50.1096; see Coleman (2008): 31-2 for the full text and analysis.
[97] *CIL* IV, 1177b.
[98] *CIL* IV, 7991.
[99] Games associated with high priesthood in the Imperial cult for example, as seen in the Carthaginian example in table 3 (*ILAf* 390) which records a daily cost of HS50,000 over four days.

1.4 - Euergetism's Place Within the City

Traditional characterisation of euergetism considered it to have been a fundamental part of civic finances, especially in the provinces.[100] The annual income of the city needed to cover several expenses. These included the construction and upkeep of public buildings and amenities, the organisation of public games, the provision of oil for the gymnasium in Eastern cities, fuel for heating baths, maintaining the municipal grain fund, salaries for certain professionals and allowances for low status public personnel, the costs of embassies to governors or emperors, and the upkeep of exploitable public property.[101] The assumptions behind the claim that euergetism was a vital part of civic finance was that cities in the Roman Empire had little to no financial management skills, a shortage of readily available revenues, and often had to be bailed out by its wealthy elite or the Emperor.[102] Recently, this idea has been questioned, suggesting that euergetism's place within civic finance has been overstated.[103] This overstatement was likely a consequence of the nature of the evidence, inscriptions being likely to emphasise private contributions over public ones and civic revenues.[104] The contrast created by the bias towards more exceptional private benefactions over the regular and less expensive public expenditure, that did not require merit, created a sense that euergetism had a more significant impact than was the actual case.

A more recent answer to how cities in the Roman Empire ensured economic stability is not through euergetism, but taxation.[105] These taxes, along with other sources of revenue, public properties fees, fines, and other similar charges meant that a city could cover much of its public expenditure on its own.[106] Evidence for taxation in the Imperial period is scarce but does suggest that direct taxation was utilised in order to create substantial revenues. Dio Chrysostom, for example, discusses some of the taxes levied by cities in the Eastern Empire and that an enormous amount of revenue was brought in from them alone:

> And yet why, pray, did not something like this happen in the time of your ancestors, seeing that they had no more wealth than you now possess? For you must not suppose that anyone is unaware that your island [Rhodes] has not deteriorated, that you draw revenue from Caria and a part of Lycia and possess

[100] Garnsey (1971): 116.
[101] Zuiderhoek (2009): 39; one donation of oil at Gytheion in Laconia cost 8,000 *denarii* (*SEG* XIII (1956) 258); for the heating of baths see *Digest* 50.4.18.5 and *IG* XII.5 946. For the salaries and wages paid by civic government see Jones (1940): 242-3. See Plin. *Ep.* 10.43 for the cost of travel expenses for embassies.
[102] Zuiderhoek (2009): 40-43; Jones (1940): 241 claimed that finances was the weakest point of Roman cities, this was preceded by other historians such as Abbott and Johnson (1926): 142-3 and Broughton (1938): 802 who say this lack of revenue was made up by *summae honorariae*, liturgies, and benefactions.
[103] Zuiderhoek (2009): 40-41.
[104] Ibid.: 41-42; Corbier (1991): 201; Eck (1997): 315-24.
[105] See Schwarz (2001); Zuiderhoek (2009): 44.
[106] Schwarz (2001): 348-362.

> tribute-paying cities, that large sums of money are continually being entrusted to your commonwealth by many men, and that none of the earlier depositors has withdrawn anything.[107]

This evidence is problematic since it refers to financial crises. What it does suggest is that Chrysostom considered the revenue from taxation and other related income, such as rents and legacies, for these cities sufficient to ensure a steady supply of money for the treasury. An emphasis on taxation as a source of public revenue can also be found in the West. Strabo's description of Nemausus states that the city had twenty-four villages from which it could pull taxes:

> Now the metropolis of the Arecomisci is Nemausus, which, although it comes considerably short of Narbo in its throng of foreigners and of merchants, surpasses Narbo in that of citizens; for it has, subject to its authority, twenty-four villages, which are exceptional in their supply of strong men, of stock like its own, and contribute towards its expenses[108]

Additionally, fees from transport facilities and market dues were a readily available source of revenue to cities.[109] Three 'tariff' inscriptions from Palmyra, Kaunos, and Myra record indirect taxes and the goods upon which they were related.[110] These inscriptions seem to have come into being through disputes over the nature of these taxes.[111] Additionally, the Palmyra tariff indicates that taxation was typically conducted upon social custom and unwritten laws.[112]

Zuiderhoek's model concerning GDP postulates that a typical city should have been able to produce enough revenue from taxation to cover most of its public expenditure.[113] In this model, the customary public expenditure of a typical city is set at 3.3% of its overall GDP. It concludes that for a city of 25,000 inhabitants with a GDP of 1,500,000 *denarii* the necessary amount to cover expenditure would have been 50,000 *denarii*. This also assumes that most inhabitants in the ancient world lived just above the bare subsistence level and that typically 60-80% of an individual's income would have been spent on food subject to market dues.[114] A lack of clear indications on how much an average Roman citizen would have made annually complicates these calculations. The census minimum for a member of an urban council was 100,000 HS (25,000 *denarii*) and would have been

[107] Dio Chrys., 31.101; also see 35.14 for Apamea Calaena.
[108] Strabo 4.1.12; a similar situation can be seen in the Demostheneia festival (see chapter 5.6) where local villages were expected to contribute bulls for sacrifice rather than the individual who was hosting the games.
[109] *OGIS* 572 for the ferries from Myra to Limyra in Lycia; Wörrle (1988): 212-215 for evidence regarding additional fees from transport facilities and market dues; and the list of evidence by Broughton (1938): 800. See also Schwarz (2001): 371-2.
[110] Palmyra: *OGIS* 629 = *IGR* III, 1056 with a translation by Matthews (1984); Myra: Wörrle (1975): 287; Kaunos: *SEG* XIV (1957), 639.
[111] Zuiderhoek (2009): 47; Matthews (1984): 174; Schwarz (2001): 372-373.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Zuiderhoek (2009): 49-51.
[114] This assumption comes from an estimate for medieval and early modern Europe in Cipolla (1994): 23, and suggests that things were unlikely to have been much different for the poor of antiquity.

able to feed nearly 800 Romans for a year at the average subsistence level.[115] Zuiderhoek estimates that this subsistence ration per person would have required 250 kg per person per year, at HS3 per *modius* of 6.55kg of wheat, would result in an overall cost of HS115, or 30 *denarii.*[116] Based on these assumptions, the model suggests that one city with an overall tax rate of 2-4% should have been able to cover 30-60% of the 50,000 *denarii* figure from taxation alone.

While Zuiderhoek notes that he has aimed for the highest total estimate for his model, the assumption that most cities were able to cover the bulk of their expenditure through taxation alone is perhaps an overstatement. Much of the evidence that has been cited for the emphasis of taxation in civic finances has concerned either large cities and/or cities from the Eastern Empire. It must be questioned whether the typical city of the Roman Empire would have had access to many of these taxation revenues. Revenue from levies from subject cities such as those at Rhodes, Apamea Calaena, and Nemausus, for example, were likely to have been considered exceptional.

Revenue from euergetism would have been considered far from stable. While there were likely some regular benefactions, such as those required by political office, most were voluntary by nature, especially those of significant financial consequence. Perhaps it is better to define euergetism's place within Roman civic finances as a method for a city to cover unforeseen expenses or to provide luxuries to the city which were not considered entirely essential to public expenditure.[117] This can be seen with the aqueduct at Aphrodisias. Requests were made to use intended euergetic funds, initially destined for regular gladiatorial combats in honour of the Imperial cult and instead use them to fund a piece of essential public infrastructure. A similar case is seen with the second century AD benefactor Opramoas. The Lycian noble from Rhodiapolis, regarded as the 'euergetes par excellence', contributed significant amounts of his wealth to Lycia throughout his lifetime.[118] He was known specifically for his architectural projects in order to help repair the damage from a recent earthquake.[119] However, before the earthquake Opramoas was not a primarily architectural benefactor, and he continued to finance festivals and distributions for the rest of his life.[120] Another

[115] Zuiderhoek (2009): chapter 1, note 3.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Forbis (1996): 29 similarly states that the costs for the construction of public buildings and baths, the hosting of games and banquets was typically paid for by the local elite rather than the city's annual revenue.
[118] Veyne (1990): 150.
[119] Ng (2015): 103-104. Kokkinia (2000): col. XIX, nr. 64.
[120] Ng (2015): 104; Kokkinia (2000): col. XVIII, nr. 64 (festival), col. XIII, nr. 53 (gladiators), col. XVII, nr. 60 (grain distributions).

example of the use of elite funds to finance repair projects that the city could not otherwise afford is illustrated in the building projects of Culleo.[121] One of which was the rebuilding of the Castullo's town walls. While there is no recorded cost for this benefaction, a similar rebuilding of the town walls at Massalia by Crinas suggests that the overall expenditure for such a project would have cost around HS10 million.[122] Culleo followed this with an equally costly project of repaving the roads of Sisapo through the Saltus Castulonensis after it had suffered heavy damage due to rain.[123] There are no recorded costs for this project, but it has been estimated that at a rate of HS100,000 per Roman mile, the road between Castulo and Sisapo would have cost Culleo around HS12 million.[124] These examples demonstrate how euergetism could be used to finance necessary and unexpected civic costs.

1.5 - How did Euergetism Benefit the City?

Elite donations may not have had the prominent place in regular civic finances as once thought, but they did likely bring further economic benefits to the city when they did occur. This is particularly true for benefactions of games. Festivals and games throughout the Empire brought an influx of people from the local region into the city, providing an ideal environment for merchants to sell their wares. Dio Chrysostom notes how profitable these markets were for the local population:

> not only can those who have goods to sell obtain the highest prices, but also no one in the city is out of work... And this contributes not a little to prosperity, for wherever the greatest crowd of people gathers together, there we are bound to find the most money, and it stands to reason that the place should thrive.[125]

The intra-regional appeal is demonstrated by the advertisement of gladiatorial combats taking place at Puteoli amongst the Pompeian *edicta munerum*.[126]

[121] See Duncan-Jones (1974): 80-83 for a full discussion of Culleo's benefactions and how they compared in expense to other wealthy individuals of the first century AD.
[122] Plin., *NH* 29.9.
[123] *CIL* II, 3270 = *ILS* 5513.
[124] Duncan-Jones (1974): 80-81, he states that the exact route is unknown and suggests two potential routes: a northerly connection from Linares to Almaden (109 miles), or a southerly route measuring 118 miles. The average of these routes is 113 ½ miles, equal to 123-4 Roman miles. Duncan-Jones estimate of HS100,000 per Roman mile of road comes from Duncan-Jones (1982): 124-125 and 152-153 and an AD 123 inscription regarding a 15.75 mile reconstruction of the via Appia which cost HS108,950 per mile (*ILS* 5875).
[125] Dio Chrys., *Or.* 35.15-16.
[126] *CIL* IV, 9970 (Puteoli), 10161 (Nuceria), 3881 (Nola), 9976 (Cumae); *AE* 1990, 177c (Forum Pompilli); *CIL* IV, 9977 (Cales), 4299 (Herculaneum).

Agonistic festivals provided this appeal on an even broader scale, sometimes sending invitations for participants to the entire Empire. The Demostheneia at Oenoanda declared that any sales made during the festival were free from taxation:

> There should be no taxes imposed on any of the purchases sold, sacrificed, imported, introduced or exported during all the days of the festival.[127]

Additionally, the seventh day of the festival was reserved solely for a market to take place, which was under the supervision of the three *panegyriarchs.* Their role was to supervise the organisation of the market, inspect the products being sold for quality, and set a list of prices for all sellable items.[128] This would have incentivised spending in the city for the twenty-two days of the festival. While these purchases would not have profited the local treasury, it still would have brought a significant amount of money both into the city and into the pockets of all merchants involved, both local and from further abroad.

Euergetic gifts were not simple affairs. These benefactions required a significant amount of organisation, coordination, and resources. No single merchant would have been able to fulfil all the requirements needed to host a single day of games or the smallest building project. Spectacles required performers. Gladiators from a *lanista*, exotic animals to hunt from specialised trappers, and slaves to sprinkle the crowd with scented water for relief. Chariot-racing required horses, chariots, riders, and support crew to breed, rear, and train. Agonistic festivals frequently made use of local performer guilds to attract participants, administration staff were required in order to ensure that every single aspect of the event was ready on the day. Building projects were not possible without materials and labourers. Every single aspect leading up to the presentation of the gift generated income for the city and those involved in its organisation.

1.6 - Conclusion

Euergetism is usually discussed in terms of the generation of honour and glory for both the sponsor and the city. Much can also be said on how the organisation of these gifts generated sporadic income for those who were involved in industries that supported these activities, such as suppliers of materials for buildings and games, or local merchants who sold their wares at tax-free markets that took place during events. It is not only important to assign overall values for games to indicate scale, but also to estimate the human resources needed to produce such spectacles. By tracking the

[127] Translation as per Mitchell (1990).
[128] Ibid.

money invested in these gifts, it is possible to unravel just how complex these events were to produce and how individualised they were. During the Imperial period there was no single creator of spectacles, each aspect of the event needed coordination to collect, train, and produce the necessary results. Benefactions should not be considered an integral part of a Roman city's financial working. They were spontaneous by nature, and a city could not rely on these donations as a reliable source of income. Instead, they provided additional revenue streams to pay for the amenities that were expected of a Roman town. Buildings and additions to public infrastructure both provided necessities for citizens, such as water and hygiene facilities, and beautified the city. Public spectacles gave a glimpse of elite luxuries to those who would not otherwise have experienced them. While they could increase commercial activity and money flow in a town, this cannot be thought of as the lynchpin upon which a provincial economy functioned. Cities had some other sources of revenue, including the proceeds of local taxes, and some also had receipts from property and other commercial rights, although the scale of these varied enormously. But benefactions would be better defined as a method by which the Roman city utilised the wealth of its ruling elite to finance inclusive luxuries and unforeseen expenses.

Gladiators

2.1 - Introduction

> To Gnaeus Alleius Maius, first among the presenters of *munera*, happily [we hail you].[129]

The above quote comes from the walls of Pompeii and commemorates one of city's most prolific benefactor of gladiatorial games, Gnaeus Alleius Maius. It demonstrates just how popular those who repeatedly hosted gladiatorial combats could become. Men like Maius likely existed throughout the Empire due to the reputation that could be gained from hosting these games. This chapter will breakdown how gladiatorial combats were organised and paid for between their origins in elite funerals to the diminishing evidence for these games in the third century AD. Initially, an analysis of the early evidence for the cost and scale of gladiatorial combats in the second and first centuries BC will be conducted in order to illustrate the development of these games and their eventual incorporation into the political expectations of the local elite. This will then be followed by a discussion of the evidence between the first and third centuries AD where most of the epigraphic evidence concerning the costs of these games outside Rome exists. The back-end costs that are not included in the primary evidence will then be considered in terms of their expenses and which individuals were necessary for these games. The second half of the chapter concerns what took place between the moment of their declaration to the actual performance of gladiatorial combats. Reconstructions of the journey to organise Thiasus' *munus* in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* will illustrate how long these events took to organise, collect supplies and performers, and to return to the city to host. This chapter will end with a consideration of how these events were scheduled. By analysing the games preserved in the *edicta munerum* it is possible to demonstrate how political, religious, and agricultural calendars, along with seasonal changes in the environment, influenced when benefactors chose to host their games.

2.2 - The Origins of Gladiatorial Combats in Rome

2.2.1 - Early Evidence – Up to the Second Century BC

The early evidence for gladiatorial combat, and especially for the financing of these games, is primarily found in the city of Rome. Evidence for hosting games in the wider Empire is generally found from the early Imperial period onwards. Early examples provide valuable precedents for the historical context for these developments which take place in later centuries. The evidence for

[129] *CIL* IV, 7990.

gladiatorial games before the first century BC is sparse in detail, often giving us merely the honorands for each event and the number of gladiators presented at these spectacles.

Table 6 - Early Gladiatorial Games

Date	***Honorand***	***Sponsor(s)***	***Number of gladiators***	***Reference(s)***
264 BC	D. Iunius D.f Brutus Scaeva	M. and D. Iunius D.f. Brutus, sons of the honorand	3 pairs	Val. Max. 2.4.7; Liv. *Periochae* 16
216 BC	M. Aemilius M.f. Lepidus	L., M., and Q. Aemilius M.f. Lepidus, sons of the honorand	22 pairs over 3 days	Liv. 23.30.15
200 BC	M. Valerius P.f. Laevinus	P. and M. Valerius P.f. Laevinus, sons	25 pairs over 4 days	Liv. 31.50.4
183 BC	P. Licinius P.f. Crassus Dives	Unspecified	60 pairs over 3 days	Liv. 39.46.2-3
174 BC	T. Quinctius T.f. Flamininius	T. Quinctius T.f. Flamininus, son of the honorand	37 pairs over 3 days	Liv. 41.28.11

In these early games from the late third century BC onwards it is apparent that the typical number of gladiators which were presented at 'spectacular' events were between twenty and thirty pairs.

It is not until 160 BC with the games found in Polybius' record of the gladiatorial presentation honouring L. Aemilius Paullus hosted by his sons P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus and Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus that there is any mention of the specific costs:

> Two years later, when his own father Aemilius died, and left him and his brother Fabius heirs to his estate, he again acted in a noble manner deserving of mention. Aemilius was childless, as he had given some of his sons to be adopted by other families and those whom he had kept to succeed him were dead, and he therefore left his property to Scipio and Fabius. Scipio, knowing that his brother was by no means well off, gave up the whole inheritance, which was estimated at more than sixty talents, to him in order that Fabius might thus possess a fortune equal to his own. This became widely known, and he now gave an even more conspicuous proof of his generosity. His brother wished to give a gladiatorial show on the occasion of his father's funeral, but was unable to meet the expense, which was very considerable, and Scipio contributed the half of it out of his own fortune. The total expense of such a show amounts to not less than thirty talents if it is done on a generous scale.[130]

At the time of Paullus' death his property would have been worth 370,000 *drachmae*.[131] These games demonstrate the high proportion of inherited estates that benefactors were dedicating for gladiatorial performances even in this early period. With a conversion rate of one talent to six thousand *denarii,* the overall cost of these games can be estimated as 180,000 *denarii* in total, half

[130] Polyb., *Hist.*, 31.28.1-6.
[131] Shatzman (1975): 243.

of the entire family fortune.[132] This may in part be due to the social status of the deceased's family, the *Cornelii Scipiones.* As one of the most eminent families in Rome during the third and second centuries BC, it would be expected that Paullus' adopted sons had produced an equally prominent funerary display for him. It is reported in the Digest that Roman funerals were to be financed in proportion to the estate of the deceased, not only to ensure the heir was not bankrupted by the process, but also to make sure that the dead were given an honourable funeral.[133] Regardless, this shows the considerable amount of money that was being invested in these events to 'honour' the deceased and ensure the successful transfer of honour onto the surviving family members.

2.2.2 - The Change: The First Century BC

It is during the first century BC that powerful individuals repurposed gladiatorial displays to serve new ends and they began to be integrated as a tool for building both political and public prestige. In Rome games were reaching an immense scale such as the funerary games hosted by Julius Caesar, infamous for presenting 320 pairs of gladiators.[134] These games were part of a larger scheme by Caesar in order to gain the support of the people. Risking bankrupting himself he borrowed heavily from men such as Crassus and other wealthy Romans in order to fund these ventures:

> He was unsparing in his outlays of money, and was thought to be purchasing a transient and short-lived fame at a great price, though in reality he was buying things of the highest value at a small price. We are told, accordingly, that before he entered upon any public office he was thirteen hundred talents in debt. Again, being appointed curator of the Appian Way, he expended upon it vast sums of his own money; and again, during his aedileship, he furnished three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and by lavish provision besides for theatrical performances, processions, and public banquets, he washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office. By these means he put the people in such a humour that every man of them was seeking out new offices and new honours with which to requite him.[135]

The *lex coloniae Genetiuae* of Urso in Baetica provides the first evidence for these games being integrated into a political office outside of Rome. Traditionally dated to the Flavian period based on its letterforms but accepted as a reproduction of an original Caesarian text, it outlines the expectations of local office holders to host games.[136] In this text it is specified that aediles were required by law to put on a three-day event during their year in office:

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[132] Edmondson (2016b): 42. Refer to Walbank (1979): 510 for the 180,000 *denarii* figure.
[133] Bodel (1999): 262.
[134] See Plin., *NH*, 33.16, Suet., *Jul.*, 10.1-2 and Plut., *Caes.,* 5 for a record of these games and the Senate's subsequent reaction to place limitations on the number of gladiators allowed to be presented in the city. See also Kyle (2007): 287 for further analysis on this event, suggesting that this was a reaction more out of fear of Caesar's pursuit of popular support rather than an excuse of worry over a potential gladiator revolt.
[135] Plut., *Caes.*, 5; see also Dodge (2011): 29.
[136] Crawford (1996): 398.

> Whoever shall be aediles, during their magistracy they are to organise a *munus* or *ludi scaenici* for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, during three days, for the greater part of the day, as far as possible, and during one day (games) in the circus or (gladiators) in the Forum of Venus, and each one of them is to spend on that spectacle and on that show no less than 2,000 *sestertii* from his own money and it is lawful to take from the public fund 1,000 *sestertii*.[137]

The obligation of provincial aediles to host games during their term is not particularly revolutionary. Traditionally, aediles had such obligations in Rome, traditionally charged with the responsibility of organising state festivities.[138] However, it appears that the use of *munera* transitioned from a purely funerary event to an obligation for office and a tool for political advancement in the first century BC. What is of interest for this chapter is the inclusion of local funding to subsidise the payment for these games. For aediles, the maximum that could be withdrawn from the public treasury for the payment of these games was set at HS1,000. *Duoviri* were also required to host games and their position allowed them to take HS2,000 for these purposes.[139]

This initiative at Urso seems to have been minimal in terms of the financial impact it would have made for the organisers of these games. Compared to the honorific inscriptions erected during the period in which this text was renewed, the early Imperial period, many of these events would have easily exceeded HS2,000. This reposting of the city's establishing laws may have been entirely symbolic however. It is possible that these schemes were no longer in place or were adjusted for the costs of contemporary games. Otherwise, the evidence for provincial games is sparse. It was these practices that set the precedent for Imperial spectacles both within Rome and in the wider Empire. It was no longer enough just to host a few pairs of gladiators and parade exotic animals in the circus.

2.3 - Regulation and Provincial Politics: First Century AD

After the regular spectacular displays of gladiators presented in the second half of the first century BC a precedent was set and maintained by the Julio-Claudian Imperial regime. The use of gladiatorial combats as part of a term of office, political promotion, and celebration of the Imperial cult became widespread throughout the Empire. During Tiberius' reign, a restriction was placed on the organisation of gladiatorial combat to those with a minimum fortune of HS400,000 following the collapse of a wooden amphitheatre constructed by Atilius in Fidena reportedly resulting in the death

[137] *Lex coloniae Genetiuae,* 71
[138] Scullard (1981): 40-41.
[139] Duncan-Jones (1982): 149.

of 50,000 people.[140] The decree of a minimum wealth requirement for gladiatorial games equal to that for entry to the equestrian order (HS400,000) explains why smaller scale games such as those that were connected to the funerary tradition disappear from the historical record.[141] This is replaced by a preferential use for political promotion and obligation as demonstrated by the numerous *edicta munerum* preserved at Pompeii.

The *edicta* at Pompeii are also useful for deducing the commonly considered 'desirable' aspects of financing gladiatorial combats in the first century AD.[142] These painted messages advertised upcoming games for not only Pompeii, but also those hosted in other local Campanian towns in hopes of gathering a large regional audience.[143] One of the many advertisements of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius' gladiatorial presentations illustrate this:

> Presented by Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius, as quinquennial magistrate, without the use of public funds, twenty pairs of gladiators and their *suppositicii* will fight at Pompeii.[144]

The inclusion of "without the use of public funds" suggests that subsidies like those mentioned in the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* were still in use by the provincial elite in the first century AD and that it was a demonstration of generosity not to use them. Of the 42 *edicta munerum* that have been discovered, the above advertisement is the only one to mention specifically that public funds were not used. It is unclear if the exclusion of *sine impensa publica* is an indication that these funds were not frequently used. It may have merely been up to the preference of the *editor* to include it or not as this formula is seen in other Pompeian honorary texts commemorating civic projects:

> Gaius Uulius, son of Gaius, and Publius, son of Gaius, duumvirs with judicial power, contracted out the constitution of the sweating-room (*laconicum*) and scraping-room (*destrictarium*) and the rebuilding of the porticoes and the exercise-area (*palaestra*), by decree of the town councillors, with that money which by the law they were obliged to spend either on games or on a monument. They saw to the building-work, and also approved it.[145]

Alternatively, it is possible that organisers considered mention of such aspects of the event unnecessary for these temporary advertisements and were a more appealing addition to honorific inscriptions which would have remained in the public eye.

[140] Tac., *Ann.*, 4.62-63, Fidena was a Sabine city five miles from Rome (Hor., *Ep.,* 1.11.7) and news of gladiatorial combats attracted people from Rome to the city resulting in an overcrowding of the venue, and subsequently collapsed due to its low-quality construction.
[141] Nossov (2009): 132.
[142] A full list of these *edicta munerum* can be found in appendix 2.1
[143] Benefiel (2004): 349. See *CIL* IV, 7944; 9970; 9984a-b; and 9969 for these wider Campanian games.
[144] *CIL* IV, 7991. For a full list of these advertisements see Sabbatini-Tumolesi (1980).
[145] *CIL* X, 829.

It does not appear to have been common practice to avoid mentioning the use of public funds for these events either, as seen in the honorific inscription for Gaius Pomponius Diogenes from Paestum:

> Gaius Pomponius Diogenes, of the tribe Maecia, quinquennial *duumvir*, son of trierarch Marcus Pomponius Libo. For him, because of his generosity, the decurions resolved that a statue should be erected with public money since, because of his liberality he was the first man to produce a gladiatorial troupe in return for the honour of the quinquennial duumvirate; he also earnestly took care of the production of another day of games with 25,000 *sestertii* of public money which he accepted for the purpose. Location (of this monument) given by decree of the decurions.[146]

It is mentioned here that Diogenes made use of public funds in order to produce his spectacles for Paestum. This suggests that it was not likely that the mention of public funds was an undesirable fact to be publicly avoided by benefactors. The distinction between public and private funds is notable; it indicates that it was desirable for organisers to accurately display how much they had personally contributed to games produced as part of their office. However, it has been stressed that the private funds here would have been different from those which the Urso charter requires of their magistrates.[147] This is illustrated by the description of Diogenes as the "first man to produce a gladiatorial troupe in return for the honour of the quinquennial *duovir*". Perhaps it was considered either irrelevant or assumed knowledge for the painted advertisements at Pompeii, and Maius' example merely stands as an exception. Another inscription dating to the second half of the first century AD from the Campanian town of Allifae demonstrates the existence of subsidies to host games:

> To Lucius Fadius Pierus, the most munificent *duovir* of the people, who on behalf of the honour of the decurion order, who in the same year which he was made *duovir*, presented thirty pairs of gladiators and African beast hunts, and after a few months, during his duumvirate, accepted thirteen thousand *sestertii,* dedicated games filled with beast hunts and twenty-one pairs of gladiators, then after that year he gave his own money for theatrical games, *Augustales.* The location (of this monument) by the decree of the decurion order.[148]

The official funds being used by Lucius, in this case, are significantly larger than those found in the Urso legal texts of the first century BC. A similar system to that at Urso was likely used. Lucius was permitted to cover a portion of the cost with public funds, but this subsidy would have likely covered less than half of the overall cost.

[146] *AE* 1975, 0252.
[147] Chamberland (2007): 138-139.
[148] *CIL* IX, 2350 dating to the second half of the first century AD (from Allifae).

2.4 - Financial Struggle and Imperial Regulation: Second Century AD

The repeated presence of Imperial correspondence in the primary evidence of the second century AD suggests that there was a need for regulation of the gladiatorial trade since these games had become a staple of both political and religious office. This is the period in which the most evidence for games exists along with costs. What is apparent from these inscriptions is that gladiatorial combats hosted in the Empire, especially those associated with the Imperial Cult, were becoming more lavish. The increasing extravagance of public entertainment resulted in higher prices than those previously seen. For example, a set of games dating to c. AD 133 presented gladiators and panthers in the amphitheatre of Carthage is reported as costing HS200,000+.[149]

The first evidence of this aversion to hosting gladiatorial games appears during the reign of Hadrian with a letter in response to a request by the people of Aphrodisias to exchange gladiatorial games for the construction of an aqueduct:

> In (the *stephanephorate* of) Claudius Hypsikles, *heros.* The emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the deified Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the deified Nerva, *pontifex maximus,* holding *tribunicia potestas* for the ninth time, consul for the third time, greets the magistrates, council, and people of Aphrodisias. The funds which you have reserved for the aqueduct I confirm. And since there are certain of your citizens who say that they have been nominated for the high priesthood when they are incapable of undertaking it, I have referred them to you to examine whether they are able to undertake the liturgy and are evading it, or are telling the truth; if, however, some of them were to appear to be better off, it is fair that they should hold the high priesthood first. I concede that you should take money from the high priests instead of gladiatorial shows; not only do I concede but I praise your proposal. The supervisors who will be chosen by you for the water-channel will be able to get advice and help on those matters on which they need them from my procurator Pompeius Severus, to whom I have written. Farewell.[150]

This letter is considered a response to the increasing reluctance of local elites to take the high priesthood in the Imperial cult due to the costs involved with hosting gladiatorial combats.[151] This may have been the case for many elites, as suggested by later evidence recording attempts to circumvent this obligation. This, along with the *Aes Italicense*, suggests that this was very much a real concern of wealthy citizens. A lack of willing nominees for the high priesthood of the Imperial cult was likely the reason compelling the Emperor to respond to what appears to be a minor replacement of one's civic obligation.

[149] *ILS* 9406; See Duncan-Jones (1982): 82.
[150] *SEG* 50.1096; see also Coleman (2008): 31-2.
[151] Coleman (2008): 31.

However, the disappearance of games in the celebration of the Imperial cult was clearly a much more pressing matter. This can be seen in the conditional acceptance of the request to reallocate funds to the construction of an aqueduct, a combined venture rather than an individual one and therefore likely to have been more affordable for the benefactors. The aqueduct project was more likely to have been a proposed solution to the problem of a waning group of suitable nominees for the Imperial cult rather than the problem itself.[152] Alternatively, the desire to produce an aqueduct could also be the result of personal preference by the benefactors themselves, explaining the need for an investigation. This is essentially a difference in the longevity of glory. On the one hand, gladiatorial events, while immensely popular with the public, resulted in very short-term glory as it would only affect those who attended the event. On the other hand, the aqueduct served multiple purposes. As a stone structure, it would last in the public memory longer than the benefactor's lifetime, and secondly, it fulfils a need of the city itself, to provide water. This desire is illustrated in the letter to Ephesus from Antoninus Pius:

> I learned about Vedius Antoninus' munificence towards you, not so much from you letters as from his. For, wishing to receive assistance from me for the embellishment of the works he promised you, he told me how many great buildings he has added to [your] city. You [therefore] act appropriately in commending him, and I myself have conceded [...] what he asked for and I have commended him. For he has not chosen the way of most people performing public services, who consume their munificence on spectacles, distributions and [contests] for the sake of their immediate reputation, but rather (a way) whereby [he hopes] to make the city more magnificent in the [future].[153]

In this, both issues are mentioned, the preference for civic building projects over public spectacles and the recognition that these are done to increase the glory of the city. This would also establish a lasting memory of himself in the local population. These examples also illustrate a degree of choice in elite benefactions. While gladiatorial combats were a requirement of the priesthood in the Imperial cult, this was an aspect of the office which could be petitioned against if necessary.

What is unusual about this struggle to present gladiatorial games in the provinces is that scale does not appear to have been the contributing factor. An inscription from Megara records the career of C. Curtius Proculus, listed amongst his offices (*agonothete* of the *Pythaeai*, *sustrategos*, *agoranomos*, twice as *boeotarch* for his city, a member of the Amphictyonian Council three times, the First Panhellene, a rhetor, and προστάτης (patron for life)), is the presentation of twenty gladiators.[154] This inscription is dated to the AD 130s due to the inclusion of the 'First Panhellene' of Megara as it

[152] Coleman (2008): 33.
[153] *SIG*³ 850 = *IEphesos* 1491.
[154] *CIG* 1058.

would have to align with Hadrian's establishments of the office while he was in Athens.[155] Between twenty and thirty pairs is repeatedly seen in the recorded figures of gladiatorial combats in the West dating back to those taking place in Rome during the second century BC through to the *edicta munerum* at Pompeii, and finally in the second century AD. This can be seen in an honorary inscription dating to just after AD 181 from Paestum:

> - - - - - -? [- - -]R[- - - equites, son of Rome, - - -] grandson of Aulius Vinicius [- - -] *duovir* twice, once as quinquennial, great-grandson of the founder of the colony, perpetual priest of the deified Marcus Aurelius, superintendent of the public matters of Eburum, priest - - -, Prefect of Artisans; The order of decurions decreed this statue be set up due to his generosity, he presented twenty pairs of gladiators, along with beast-hunts and executions and distributed twenty *sestertii* to each of the decurions. His daughter Vinicia Lucana collected money from the state to restore this.[156]

Comparing the epigraphic evidence of the second century AD to the games recorded in the first century AD such as those of Diogenes, Lucius Fadius Pierus, and the *edicta munerum* there is not a large disparity in the scale of performers being presented. Overwhelming public expectations therefore cannot have been the primary factor that was raising the costs of these games. It must have been the cost per gladiator which was of central concern to those charged with the responsibility of hosting public spectacles.

In AD 177 the *Aes Italicense* was established during the combined reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.[157] The purpose of this decree was to establish and limit the prices for which gladiators could be sold in relation to the overall cost of the games. Initially discovered on bronze tablets in the Baetican town of Italica, four fragments have been found in Sardis which are though to record what is considered to be the Imperial *oratio* regarding this law.[158] The remains of two texts which appear to discuss the same law suggests that the Italica bronze tablets were not specific to that city alone and that the *Aes Italicense* had an Empire-wide impact, as the text itself refers to a Gallic priest being relieved over this decree:

> The official reading of the address in our assembly has barely finished, but when it was unofficially reported that the profits of the *lanistae* had been pruned back and that the *fiscus* had renounced all that money as contaminated, immediately the priests of your most loyal Gallic provinces rushed to see each other, were full of joy, and plied each other with questions and answers. 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 addressed 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

[155] Carter (1999): 172-173.
[156] *AE* 1975, 256.
[157] A full translation of this text is included in appendix 2.2.
[158] See Buckler and Robinson (1932): 34-7 for these fragments. Oliver and Palmer (1955): 327 suggests that the preserved bronze is part of the speech by the senator who delivered the *sententia prima* after the oration of the Emperors had been read and that the Sardis fragments were part of the Imperial *oratio* itself.

> 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." And so permission to withdraw the appeal was sought not only by him but by all the others, and how much more numerous petitions to withdraw them will be! Now this class of cases will assume a new form in which those will appeal who have *not* been made priests, in fact even those who do not qualify as members of an order.[159]

This alludes to the same financial struggles that are referred to in the letter from Hadrian to Aphrodisias. What is also consistent between these accounts is the repeated reluctance of Imperial cult priests to host their required gladiatorial combats. The law outlines the required composition of fighters to be hired for these games. Of all the purchased fighters, at least half of these must be *gregarii*. These more affordable fighters are specified as "men who are not expected to perform singularly" by the *ludus* for no less than HS1,000 and those considered "superior" in this group should fight at a rate of HS2,000.[160] Also included in this stipulation is that in the case that the *lanista* does not have sufficient *gregarii* to fulfil this half quota of fighters, the remainder must be provided from his superior gladiatorial rankings.

The primary purpose of this law was to establish the specific prices for gladiators in relation to the overall budget of the proposed games. This begins with a clarification that the prices affected here do not apply to the *munera assiforana,* which were games that did not exceed a cost of HS30,000.[161] This likely was to clarify that *Aes Italicense* was mainly targeted at the games being hosted by provincial priests and that this class of politician included those most affected by the rising prices of gladiators.[162] The epigraphic evidence displays the distinct difference between those hosting games in magisterial positions, such as the *duovir*, to those being hosted by the most wealthy and prestigious members of provincial society occupying the Imperial priesthoods. It was not unusual for games hosted by Imperial priests to exceed costs of HS150,000.[163] This demonstrates the limits of this legal text, and that *munera assiforana* were commonly hosted by the junior magistrates who either were required to finance public entertainment due to their office or had promised one as a symbol of their gratitude for election. The law states that games over HS30,000 shall be priced according to categories relating to the overall budget, these are HS30,000 – 60,000, HS60,000 – 100,000, HS100,000 – 150,000, and finally, HS150,000 – 200,000 and above.[164] The text then

[159] *Aes Italicense* column I, lines 13-20.
[160] Ibid.: column I, line 35-40.
[161] Ibid.: column I, line 29.
[162] Carter (2003): 83.
[163] For these games see: *CIL* II/7, 221 (HS400,000), II, 5523 (HS400,000), *AE* 1925, 103 (HS200,000).
[164] *Aes Italicense* column I, lines 30-34.

proceeds to give specific prices for sale for each of the individual 'classes' of gladiator within these budget ranges:

Table 7 - Aes Italicense Prices

Overall Budget (HS)	Prices (HS)
30,000 – 60,000	First Class: 5,000 Second Class: 4,000 Third Class: 3,000
60,000 – 100,000	First Class: 8,000 Second Class: 6,000 Third Class: 5,000
100,000 – 150,000	First Class: 12,000 Second Class: 10,000 Third Class: 8,000 Fourth Class: 6,000 Fifth Class: 5,000
150,000 – 200,000+	First Class: 15,000 Second Class: 12,000 Third Class: 9,000 Fourth Class: 7,000 Fifth Class: 6,000

Within the concluding paragraphs there is also the inclusion of region-specific fighters, the Gallic *trinqui* who were to be sold at a maximum of HS2,000, and prices for those who have been condemned to death, which is set at "not more than six gold pieces" or HS600.[165] The final paragraph also states the conditions of sale of freemen who had willingly entered gladiatorial service, beginning at a rate of HS2,000. However, if they had gained freedom from fighting and chose to return they were automatically set at a price of HS12,000, the equivalent of a First Class gladiator in an event costing HS100,000 – 150,000.[166] Presumably, these freedmen would have been untrained upon entry into gladiatorial service and the pricing of HS2,000, the equivalent of a superior *gregarius*, reflects their initial value.[167] Freed gladiators were more desirable fighters, for they had proven themselves in the arena and earned their freedom through their skill. There is also an interesting vocabulary differentiation between volunteering freedmen and returning freedmen. The term used to relate to the price for novice freedmen is *pretium* (line 62) translating to 'price',

[165] *Aes Italicense* lines: 56-58. The six gold pieces referred to in the translation is in the Latin *aureis,* there were 25 *denarii* to the *aureus,* and 4 *sestertii* to the *denarius,* therefore, 6 *aureii* = 150 *denarii* = 600 *sestertii.*
[166] Ibid.: column I, lines 62-63.
[167] Carter (2003): 99.

whereas the cost of freed fighters the price is indicated by *aestimatio* (line 63)*,* meaning 'value' possibly indicating their desirability as fighters.[168]

With the prices and frameworks that are outlined by the *Aes Italicense* it is possible to begin reconstructing how many fighters could have been hired for the games preserved in contemporary honorific inscriptions. Keith Hopkins attempted a theoretical application of this law in order to analyse the scale of provincial gladiatorial entertainment.[169] His theoretical calculations were on two different games, a reasonably affordable set of games of HS60,000 and a grand event of HS200,000. The HS60,000 event was projected to have been modest in size with only 12 pairs of fighters (6 gladiators of the third class and 6 *gregarii*), whereas the grand event of HS200,000 would purchase 20 pairs of fighters (10 gladiators and 10 *gregarii*).[170] These numbers illustrate that, at least theoretically, provincial games were modest in size when compared to those taking place in Rome for example.[171] Hopkins was not able to apply this model to recorded figures from the epigraphic evidence and does not consider additional costs such as a workforce to ensure the smooth running of the event and costs for equipment for the amphitheatre.

The honorary inscription dedicated to Gaius Claudius Hilarius provides a good starting point for an application of the *Aes Italicense* to provincial games. Discovered in Formiae and dating to the second half of the second century AD, this event fits both the time period affected by the *Aes Italicense* and comes under the cost budget of this law.[172] This example records a *munus* costing HS50,000, of which HS25,000 was taken from the public treasury and then a further HS25,000 added by the organiser of the games, Gaius Clodius Hilarius. The price for a pair of gladiators for this relatively modest event would be as follows, First-Class gladiators: HS5,000, Second-Class: HS4,000, and Third-Class: HS3,000. However, this example presents some difficulties matching the fighter prices to the overall costs presented in this inscription. The first possible scenario is that Hilarius purchased seven pairs of Third-Class gladiators (HS35,000) and then matched this with seven pairs of *gregarii* (HS15,000) which successfully meets the HS50,000 figure given, fourteen pairs of fighters in total.

[168] Carter (2003): 106.
[169] Hopkins and Beard (2005): 90-2.
[170] Ibid.: 91.
[171] For example, the celebratory games of Trajan following his victory in Dacia lasted 123 days in which Cassius Dio reports (68.15) that 10,000 gladiators fought, and 11,000 animals were killed. Mart., *Ep.* 10.41 notes that if a Praetor "erred on the side of economy" he might expect to spend HS100,000 or HS20,000 for a "plebian festival".
[172] *AE* 1926, 124 .

Another possible scenario was that the HS50,000 was made up of several different gladiators from the different categories. This would result in two pairs of First-Class (HS10,000), four pairs of Second-Class (HS16,000), two pairs of Third-Class (HS6,000), and finally, eight pairs of *gregarii* (HS16,000) to match the gladiator number. But this scenario also has its complications, only making use of HS48,000 of the overall HS50,000 claimed to have been spent. One other possibility is that we depart from Hopkins' theory slightly, assuming that not all of the HS50,000 was spent on fighters and suggests that rather this figure also included back-end costs. However, these back-end costs are not well documented and the honorary inscriptions which recorded these events do not acknowledge the division of funds for gladiators from those for other resources. For the next scenario let us then assume that fighters were the primary cost of this event and that perhaps 40% (HS20,000) was spent on back-end and hidden costs. From the HS30,000 remaining, Hilarius would have been able to afford exactly six pairs of Third-Class gladiators (HS18,000) and six pairs of *gregarii* (HS12,000). This then provides an even twelve pairs of fighters for the event, with no money spare. The only issue with this scenario is that it assumes that 40% was spent on services other than fighters, and this would require further evidence attested to these 'back-end' costs to refine this percentage more accurately.

However, these models assume that the values set by the *Aes Italicense* were the only prices used when negotiating with *lanistae.* An alternative interpretation is that the prices set by the *Aes Italicense* were an outright value of the gladiator rather than a lease price.[173] The late second century AD Roman jurist Gaius suggests this in his hypothetical discussion of the purchase of gladiators, with focus on the distinctions between leasing and purchasing gladiators:

> Again, suppose I deliver gladiators to you on the express terms that I will get 20 *denarii* for the efforts of each one who comes off unharmed, but 1,000 *denarii* for each one killed or maimed; is this sale or hire? The received opinion is that there is hire of the ones who come off unharmed but sale of those killed or maimed, and events determine the classification (whether sale or hire), as if there were a conditional sale or hire for each one. For there is no longer any doubt that goods can be sold or hired subject to conditions.[174]

This passage reveals that prices for gladiators may have run on a conditional basis. Converting prices from *denarii* to *sestertii* we get a total of HS80 to hire a gladiator; if they are maimed or killed during combat, the organiser would instead have to pay HS4,000, a leasing rate of 2%.[175] Therefore, it appears that prior to the regulations put in place by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus in AD 177 local

[173] Carter (2003): 101.
[174] Gaius, *Inst.* 3.148.
[175] Carter (2003): 103.

elite who were expected to host public spectacles were at the mercy of *lanistae* and the values which they assigned their gladiators, likely with leasing rates of up 20%.[176] Inflated lease rates are possibly referred to in Cicero's letter to Atticus concerning his purchase of a troupe of gladiators demonstrates this practice of purchasing and leasing gladiators at a higher price:

> My word! You have purchased a fine troop! Your gladiators, I am told, fight superbly. If you had chosen to let them out you would have cleared your expenses by the last two spectacles.[177]

The 2% lease rate given by Gaius would mean that a gladiator would need to survive at least fifty combats without being seriously injured for a *lanista* to recoup his investment into the training of the gladiator. While gladiator epitaphs do record individuals who were this successful in combat, most gladiators appear to have participated in fewer than twenty combats, many less than ten.[178] The average lease rates for gladiators had to have been 5% and above in order for *lanistae* to ensure a profit. As seen in this passage, Cicero implies that Atticus had purchased good quality gladiators at a bargain price, and if he had leased them at a value matching their skill, he would quickly turn a profit.

With this new evidence regarding leasing prices of gladiators being at a percentage of their overall value, lease prices would be as follows:

Table 8 - Possible Aes Italicense Lease Costs

	HS30,000 – HS60,000	**HS60,000 – HS100,000**	**HS100,000 – HS150,000**	**HS150,000 – HS200,000+**
2%	First Class: HS100 Second Class: HS80 Third Class: HS60	First Class: HS160 Second Class: HS120 Third Class: HS100	First Class: HS240 Second Class: HS200 Third Class: HS160 Fourth Class: HS120 Fifth Class: HS100	First Class: HS300 Second Class: HS240 Third Class: HS180 Fourth Class: HS140 Fifth Class: HS120
5%	First Class: HS250 Second Class: HS200 Third Class: HS150	First Class: HS400 Second Class: HS300 Third Class: HS250	First Class: HS600 Second Class: HS500 Third Class: HS400 Fourth Class: HS300 Fifth Class: HS250	First Class: HS750 Second Class: HS600 Third Class: HS450 Fourth Class: HS350 Fifth Class: HS300
10%	First Class: HS500 Second Class: HS400 Third Class: HS300	First Class: HS800 Second Class: HS600 Third Class: HS500	First Class: HS1,200 Second Class: HS1,000 Third Class: HS800 Fourth Class: HS600 Fifth Class: HS500	First Class: HS1,500 Second Class: HS1,200 Third Class: HS900 Fourth Class: HS700 Fifth Class: HS600
20%	First Class: HS1,000 Second Class: HS800 Third Class: HS600	First Class: HS1,600 Second Class: HS1,200 Third Class: HS1,000	First Class: HS2,400 Second Class: HS2,000 Third Class: HS1,600 Fourth Class: HS1,200 Fifth Class: HS1,000	First Class: HS3,000 Second Class: HS2,400 Third Class: HS1,800 Fourth Class: HS1,400 Fifth Class: HS1,200

[176] Carter (2003): 103.
[177] Cic., *Ad. Att.* 4.4a.2.
[178] Carter (2003): 103.

With this new data set, we can now apply it to the inscription of Gaius Clodius Hilarius in order to see the differences in scale. The assumption that the *lanista* Hilarius was dealing with was leasing his gladiators at a 5% lease rate will be used for each of these scenarios. The first scenario will make similar assumptions that Hopkins made in his theoretical calculations, that the organiser purchased only Third-Class gladiators and Superior *gregarii.* It would result in the hire of 200 pairs of gladiators (HS30,000) and 200 pairs of *gregarii* (HS20,000), a total of 400 pairs of fighters for a single event. This number is problematic, while it does present a significantly different scale for the event than the previous interpretation, it does bring into question how realistic this calculation could be. Was it possible for a *lanista* outside of those who operated the major *ludi* in Rome to provide this many fighters? Or even for games to take place on such a scale outside of Rome? The *ludus* at Pompeii, for example, has been estimated to have only been able to house just over one hundred gladiators.[179]

The recent discovery of an epitaph at the Stabian gates in Pompeii illustrates that large-scale events did take place outside of Rome. The unnamed inscription records the individual's *toga virilis* celebrations which included the presentation of 416 gladiators.[180] This number of fighters could not have been supplied by only Pompeii's *ludus,* and likely make use of other regional *ludi* in Puteoli and Capua. While this demonstrates that lavish games that could be hosted outside Rome that were comparable in scale to those of the metropolis, such events would have been exceptional. Additionally, Hilarius' event was only valued at HS50,000; according to the *Aes Italicense* this would have been a relatively modest event for its day. The implied numbers for events valued at HS200,000 and above must have simply been out of the bounds of possibility for the supply available.

However, this first scenario assumes that all the money recorded was spent on fighters. How does this figure change when a percentage of the funds are removed for additional organisational costs? If the assumption that 40% of the overall cost (HS20,000) were for background expenses is applied to the Hilarius example, the resulting numbers become somewhat more realistic. Therefore, from the

[179] Scobie (1988): 200.

[180] Osanna (2018); It has been suggested that this is the epitaph belonging to Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius since it credits the owner with 'when Caesar had ordered that they depart from the City beyond the two hundredth mile all the gladiatorial households, to this man alone he [the Emperor] granted that he restore back to Pompeii [original Latin *Pompeius* which Osanna says can also be translated as the accusative form of the city's name, *Pompeios*] to their hometown.' This would align with *CIL* IV, 1180 where Maius as Imperial high priest under Vespasian presents a *munera* 'without delay' possibly suggesting that these were the first gladiatorial combats since Nero's ban.

remaining HS30,000 Hilarius would have been able to purchase a total of 120 pairs of Third-Class gladiators (HS18,000) and 120 pairs of Superior *gregarii* (HS12,000). While slightly more realistic than the 400 total, 240 pairs still seems high, especially for these lower-cost games. While these numbers are more realistic than in the 5% lease rate, it is still unlikely that most local *ludi* would have been able to provide this number of gladiators. Therefore, if this was the case, then benefactors would have had to source their gladiators from multiple *ludi*. A similar practice can be found in Pompeii where an advertisement for a *munus* records that gladiators from the multiple Imperial *ludi* at Capua were pitched against each other.[181] Additionally, this scenario assumes that all gladiators who fought survived. The honorary inscriptions recording the costs of these events rarely mention the outcomes of combats and exactly how many gladiators died during the event.[182] Therefore, the potential overall cost of an event could have varied immensely depending on how many died throughout the games.

The final scenario takes a quality over quantity approach, how does the number change when we assume that only First-Class gladiators were purchased alongside superior *gregarii*? The closest possible to half and half would be 86 pairs of First-Class gladiators (HS21,500) and 85 pairs of Superior *gregarii* (HS8,500). It is therefore likely that the actual number of gladiators would have been spread out between the three categories in order to create an even number to match with *gregarii*. However, the scale of these events was likely to have been higher than the relatively modest 12 pairs of fighters, as stated by Keith Hopkins. While theories regarding lease prices do appear to have some grounding in the ancient literature, there appears to be some issues in the practical application of it. While it might debunk the modest performer numbers of Hopkins's calculations, it also poses its own problems in terms of scale. As shown by the Hilarius example above, even with a percentage of the reported budget going to 'back-end' administrative costs to ensure the smooth running of an event, these calculations still result in an unreasonably high number of gladiators. If lease costs were hidden behind these 'purchase' costs for gladiators, then it seems more likely that these rates would have been more likely 20% of their actual value or much higher in order to ensure the profitability of these performers. This would be more in line with the

[181] *CIL* IV, 2508; for other examples see *CIL* IV, 10237 and 10238a.
[182] One of the *edicta munerum* from Pompeii (*CIL* 4.2508; see *CIL* 11.7444 = *EAOR* 2.53) has preserved a 'post-combat' record. However, the results appear to have been added to the advertisement after the event (specifying if the fighters had 'won', been 'spared', or 'died'), and was likely needed for betting purposes rather than something added by the benefactor; Fagan (2011): 210-212.

quick profits these fighters could produce, as referred to by Cicero who claims that two spectacles lease would bring additional revenue on top of that already invested in the purchase of gladiators.

2.5 - The Decline of Gladiatorial Combats: Third Century AD

It is in the third century AD where financial information regarding gladiatorial combats begins to disappear. This is not due to a lack of games being presented. Gladiatorial games are often suggested as the reason for the decline of traditional Greek style games. This may have been due to the popularity of *munera* and their easier organisation model where performers could be hired for one-off events rather than rely on prizes and honours to attract athletes and performers to the city.[183]

What does appear in the epigraphic evidence for these third-century games is an overall smaller number of gladiators being presented:

> For Publius Baebius Iustus, son of Publius, of the Tribe Teretina. To him the most splendid order proposed that this statue be placed, carried out with all the honours in the republic, because in all things individual and universal he always showed equal reverence and because, after the most splendid honour of the duumvir, he gladly undertook the duty of the gladiators when, with the people demanding it, the exhibition was celebrated by means of three pairs of gladiators with bears and herbivores. On account of the dedication of the statue, he gave three denarii to each individual decurion. This site was given by the decree of the decurions.
>
> Right Side: Here, at Minturnae, for four days he produced 11 equally spectacular pairs; during these he killed 11 eminent gladiators, and also killed 10 fierce bears because, you same highest citizens remember, he killed all the herbivores in four days in a row.
>
> Left side: Dedicated on the Kalends of August, under the consulships of Aemilian II and Aquilinus.[184]

Publius' games at Minturnae display a much smaller pairing than those commonly seen in the second century AD, the nine pairs and bear fights over three days is modest in comparison. Another inscription from Gortyn dating to this period boasts a slightly higher number of gladiators, seventeen pairs, but this was still relatively small compared to earlier evidence.[185] This is further suggested in Lugdunum where the Imperial high priest of the Three Gauls, T. Sennius Sollemnis, who records the immense costs of hosting eight pairs of gladiators on each of the four days of his *munus* in c.AD 220.[186] What this suggests is that measures such as those taken in the *Aes Italicense* were not upheld following the reign of Commodus and the prices for gladiators began to rise once more. However,

[183] Potter (2011): 291, 300-301.
[184] *CIL* X, 6012.
[185] *IG,* IV 305.
[186] *ILTG* 341; see Fishwick (1991): 580.

since most inscriptions simply list the number of pairs presented at these games, the evidence for financial organisation remains scant.

2.6 - Costs That Are Not Discussed

The expenses which have been analysed so far primarily only cover those for gladiators themselves. There were many other more mundane, yet highly important, aspects of these events which have not been discussed and typically absent from the academic discussion about financing gladiatorial events. However, hiring equipment for the amphitheatre and attendants to carry out vital roles must have played a significant part of their overall budget. Some evidence for these costs may be attested in the prizes lists of Aphrodisias.[187] In many of these lists, which mainly discuss the individual prizes for Greek-style festivities, there are often sections dedicated to outlining the costs of setting up the venue itself.[188] In *CIG* 2758 block B, for example, there is a reference to "awning and equipment for the theatre, 1,000 *denarii*". For gladiatorial games, the *edicta munerum* from Pompeii attest to how important features of this type were to the appeal of the event.[189] For example, references to awnings and scented water to be sprinkled onto the audience appear in the advertisements of gladiatorial events within the text alongside the promotion of additional entertainment such as athletic performances or beast-hunts:

> Brought to you by Decimus Lucretius Satrius Valens, permanent priest of Nero Caesar, son of Augustus, twenty pairs of gladiators. And presented by Decimus Lucretius, son of Valens, ten pairs of gladiators. From the fifth day before the kalends of April. There will be a *venatio* and awnings.[190]

This could suggest that awnings, although very common and likely expected of these games, were not strictly required when hosting an event at the amphitheatre. The *vela* mentioned here served to ensure spectator comfort throughout the event as it was used to shade the audience from the heat of the sun, but also to regulate the temperature of the stone step-seating of amphitheatres.[191] Additionally, the use of scented water would have served not only to cool the audience but also to mask the smell of sweat and blood at these events.[192] The lack of preserved piping at the Pompeii

[187] These prize lists are discussed in more detail in chapter 5.7.2.
[188] For these prize lists refer to Roueché (1993).
[189] For *edicta munerum* promoting awnings and additional features from Pompeii see: *CIL* IV, 3884 (awnings), 7995 (awnings), 7994 (awnings), 7993 (awnings), 7992 (awnings), 1185 (awnings), 1180 (scented water and awnings), 1177 (scented water and awnings), 7989 (scented water), 1189 (awnings), 1190 (awnings), 1186 (awnings), 9962 (awnings), 1183 (awnings), 1199 (awnings), 1194 (awnings), 9970 (awnings), 9969 (awnings), 9983a (awnings), 9977 (awnings).
[190] *CIL* IV, 7995.
[191] Scobie (1988): 222-223.
[192] Day (2017): 176; Mahoney (2001): 107; Jacobelli (2003): 36.

Figure 1 - Referee Intervening in a Gladiatorial Combat: Zliten Mosaic (source: https://www.livius.org/site/assets/files/19822/dar_buc_ammera_gladiators_tripoli_mus04.jpg (accessed 23/12/2020))

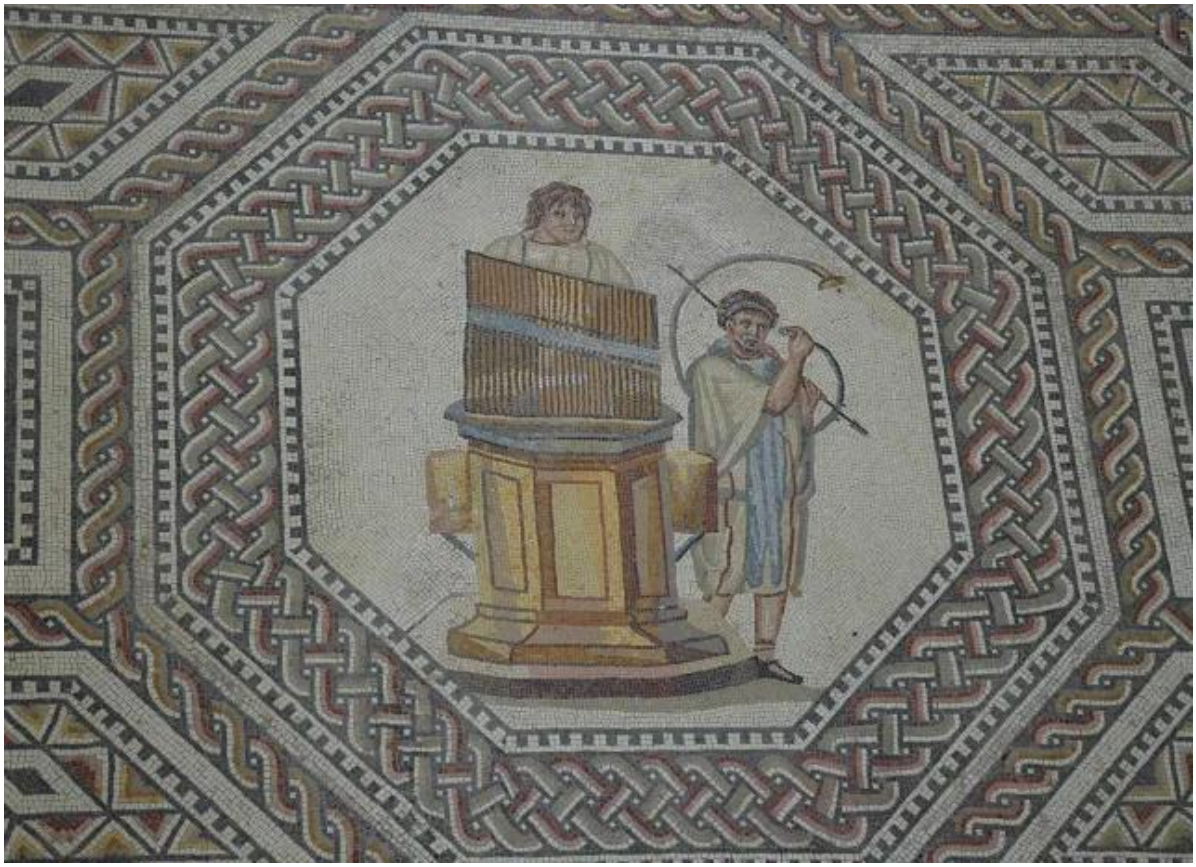

Figure 2 - Nennig Gladiator Mosaic, (accessed from: https://followinghadrian.com/2013/08/04/the-gladiator-mosaic-at-nennig-germany/ (23/12/2020))

amphitheatre suggests that attendants would have been employed to distribute the scented water via perforated skin bags.[193] There is much that is unknown about these 'back-end' costs for gladiatorial games. Other costs include those of workers for these events. For example, the referees hired to ensure that the rules of combat were followed were likely to have been external contractors as seen from the *collegium* of head referees during the reign of Hadrian (fig. 1). However, the fees for hiring these referees is unknown.[194] Musicians appear in depictions of gladiatorial events who competed with the cheers of the crowd.[195] A useful illustration of these attendants that were hired for the games can be found in the Amphitheatre mosaic found at Zliten and the gladiator mosaic at Nennig (fig 2).[196] In this mosaic at least ten pairs of gladiators are fighting alongside the referees to ensure they follow combat rules, behind these combatants are the accompanying musicians. This consideration does not include *venationes,* exotic beast hunts, which were heavily associated with gladiators during the Imperial period. They present their own challenges for interpreting the costs of capturing, transporting, and presenting animals for public spectacle, which will be discussed in greater detail below.[197]

2.7 – Organisation

2.7.1 - How was a *Munus* Organised?

Texts such as the *Aes Italicense,* the *lex coloniae Genetiuae,* and honorary inscriptions are essential to understanding the cost of gladiatorial combats but reveal little in the way of the organisational process. The second century AD literary work, the *Metamorphoses*, by Apuleius provides a detailed, but admittedly fantastical, version of this process in Roman Greece. The text tells of the adventures of Lucius, in ass-form, throughout Roman Greece while he seeks to encounter the goddess Isis. However, the people who populate the narrative are realistic and are meant to represent contemporary Greece, depicting proconsuls, magistrates, and the behaviours of the general population.[198] Books four and ten of this text describe in detail the organisation and hosting of two

[193] Scobie (1988): 223.
[194] MacLean (2014): 582. Referees (*summa rudis* and occasionally an assistant, the *secunda rudis*) are attested in the ancient sources see *EAOR* 1.48-53, 2.36, 3.63-4, 5.12, 59; a scene from Zliten shows a referee holding back a victorious gladiator, Aurigemma (1926): fig. 90. Robert (1940): 263 suggests that these men were ex-gladiators, but Ville (1981): 325-6 and 370-1 saw this as a confusion between freed gladiators (*rudiarii*) and referees (*summae/secundae rudis*) and suggested there were enslaved referees based on the *Liber Spectaculorum* (the *lex pugnandi* for gladiatorial games)). See Fagan (2011): 193-4 for more.
[195] MacLean (2011): 582.
[196] Aurigemma (1926): figs. 77, 86a, 86b, and 87. For another depiction of music during gladiatorial combats see the Nennig Mosaic depicting two musicians playing a horn instrument and a water organ (Simpson (2000): 635).
[197] See chapter 3 for more discussion.
[198] Edmondson (2016a): 279.

different *munera*. Democrates' (literally 'Crowd Pleaser') games in Plataea and Thiasus' three-day *munus,* hosted in gratitude of being elected at *duovir quinquennalis* in Corinth.[199]

Apuleius was well qualified to write about the euergetic activities of the elite, having carried out a political career in North Africa from AD 158-159 onwards:

> Still, after his defeat we passed by gift of the Roman people to king Massinissa, and thereafter, newly refounded with veteran soldiers, we became a most distinguished colony, in which colony my father had the position of mayor in the emperor's place, when he had held every office. I have maintained his position in that city from when I first began to be a member of the city council, not at all unworthily of him and, I hope, with equal honour and repute.[200]

According to St. Augustine, Apuleius had also held the office of high priest of the Imperial Cult of the African province.[201] This meant that Apuleius was writing from experience when he described these events, particularly Thiasus' *munus* which goes into some detail on the process of announcing, preparing, and successfully presenting these games.

The process of hosting a gladiatorial combat began with a public promise, known as a *pollicitatio.* These promises were a formal declaration of the magistrate-elect, a formal ritual, to form a social contract between the individual and the population guaranteeing how their office would be carried out.[202] Magistrates took up office at the start of January.[203] However, preparations for these events, as noted in the *Metamorphoses,* would have taken significantly longer. One historical example of these promises shows the advanced planning that had to take place. The inscription from the later second century AD which honours the local *pontifex* at Pisidian Antioch, L. Calpurnus Longus, for his display of 36 pairs of gladiators, beast hunts, and *sparsiones*. The *pollicitatio* is specifically recalled at the start of this inscription:

> He was the first to promise a gladiatorial *munus…* and within two months built a wooden amphitheatre.[204]

This example illustrates a relatively quick preparation time, only two months, likely accounting for the time that was needed to hire gladiators and for the construction of an amphitheatre. The promise of Q. Voltedius Optatus Aurelianus shows that he gave HS200,000 to the local treasury in

[199] For Democrates: Apu., *Meta.* 4.13-21, and Thiasus: Apu., *Meta.* 10.16-35.
[200] Apuleius, *Apol.* 24.8-9.
[201] St. August. *Ep.* 138.19.
[202] Edmondson (2016a): 284.
[203] Ibid.: 283.
[204] *CIL* III, 6832.

return for being elected as *duovir quinquennialis* and supplemented this with an additional HS38,000 to host a four-day event consisting of gladiators and beast-hunts.[205] Aurelianus' games demonstrate how these politicians promised games in order to bring attention to much larger sums donated to the city which the general population may have otherwise not been aware of.

In the *Metamorphoses* Thiasus' promised events also did not take place immediately after the promise or his election into office. This can be seen in the detail that the ass transformed back into a human immediately after his performance in the arena, which occurs immediately before the festival of Isis at Cenchreae, on the Saronic port of Corinth.[206] This suggests that Thiasus' *munera* can have only taken place during February or March.[207] It is Apuleius' detailed description of Thiasus' preparations that makes it clear that it took several months to complete. The primary destination of this journey was Thessaly:

> In his pursuit of public glory he had even travelled to Thessaly at that time to buy the most renowned wild beasts and famous gladiators there.[208]

The region's gladiatorial centre was Larissa as attested by gladiator epitaphs discovered there.[209] Apuleius also mentions the city at the start of the *Metamorphoses* in reference to an upcoming *munus* taking place there.[210] Perhaps it was Larissa where Thiasus intended to procure his gladiators and beasts.[211]

Assuming that Thiasus began his journey immediately after his election at the start of January, then the trip would have taken him 15.3 days.[212] This calculation assumes that Thiasus made the journey by oxcart and took a partial sea route to avoid going a much lengthier all land trip, matching the description by Apuleius.[213] He specifically mentions that the four-wheeled wagons remained 'unused'

[205] *ILS* 9406 = *AE* 1910, 78 found at Carthage and dating to AD 133.
[206] The mention of the festival of Isis and the prayer to mark the start of the sailing season see Apu., *Meta.* 11.17.3. More discussion on scheduling and the irregularity below.
[207] Edmondson (2016a): 281.
[208] Apu., *Meta.* 10.18.
[209] Edmondson (2016a): 285; for the gladiator epitaphs found at Larissa see Robert (1940): 115-116, nos. 56-57, *SEG* XXXII 605.
[210] Apu., *Meta.* 1.7.
[211] Edmondson (2016a): 285.
[212] This calculation is based on the ORBIS network model of the Roman world (http://orbis.stanford.edu/) with the parameters of the journey beginning in January, only by road, and driven by oxcart.
[213] Apu., *Meta.* 10.18, and in 10.19 it is said that Thiasus made his return trip 'partly by land and partly by sea'.

Figure 3 - Travel Route: Corinth to Larissa

which suggests that Thiasus had brought them to Thessaly as his primary mode of transport. This also only considers a one-way journey. This means that his overall trip would have taken 31 days in total.

If correspondence had been sent ahead of and everything was ready to be inspected and negotiated it would still have taken Thiasus at least a full day for the gladiators and beasts to be prepared and loaded for travel. This brings the overall journey to 32 days. Early to mid-February would have been the earliest month which the *munus* could have possibly been hosted, which means that it was possible that Thiasus could have begun his journey at the start of January and still have the *munus* before the festival of Isis at Cenchreae.

Apuleius states that Thiasus hosted the games "through a desire to win public glory."[214] This attitude also extended to his journey, making sure that both he and his cargo were highly visible:

> Having now arranged and bought everything according to plan, he was preparing his return home. He spurned his splendid carriages and rejected his beautiful four-wheeled wagons, which followed unused, some covered and some open, at the very end of his retinue. Likewise he despised his Thessalian horses and other Gallic mounts, whose noble breeding ensured their high-priced esteem. He had me decked

[214] Apu., *Meta.* 10.18.

> out instead with gold discs and dyed caparisons and crimson tapestries and silvered bridle and decorated halter and shrill tinkling bells, and he himself rode on my back.[215]

Apuleius depicts a spectacular convoy which would have travelled through, and stayed at, several towns. The 'shrill tinkling bells' attached to the ass that Thiasus was riding would have ensured that no one would have missed his arrival.[216] Each stop would have served to spread his name and the awareness of his generosity to Corinth. This is highlighted by the description of his return to Corinth where he is said to have been greeted by a large crowd of people cheering for not only Thiasus but also at the entourage that followed. Edmondson notes that this event appears as a local version of the Imperial *adventus.*[217] This procession into Corinth served the same purpose as the 'tinkling bells' did throughout Greece. It brought attention to Thiasus' upcoming games and his generosity, in that he personally travelled to ensure that the gladiators and beasts brought back for the public's amusement were the absolute best available.

When this process is visualised is appears like this:

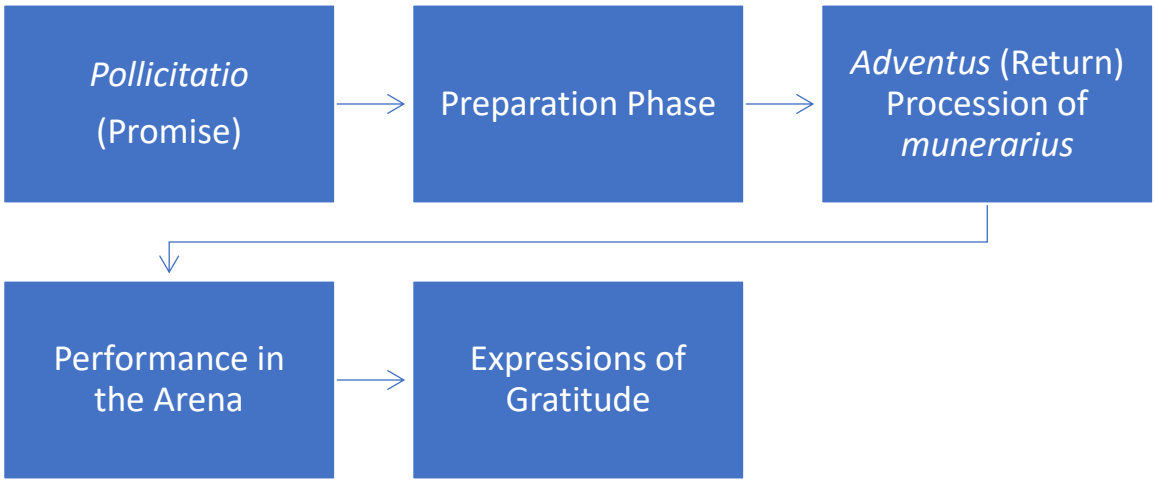

Figure 4 - Organisational Process of a Munus

The evidence provided by Apuleius only illustrates that journey to obtain performers. This is only one potential method of organising *munera* and a fictional one at that; it shows just how complex preparations for gladiatorial combats were. For most benefactors it likely took months to collect the necessary resources for these events. As seen with the estimated travel times of Thiasus, those who lived in cities which did not have *ludi* readily available needed to carry out lengthy journeys in order to bring gladiators to their spectacles.

[215] Apu., *Meta.* 10.18.
[216] Edmondson (2016a): 286.
[217] Ibid.: 289.

2.7.2 - Scheduling

The *munera* of Democrates and Thiasus in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* show that games could take place throughout the year, likely to have been determined by the availability of a venue if necessary and by the preference of the organiser. From the 42 *edicta munerum* which are recorded at Pompeii, it is possible to identify the most intense periods of hosting *munera.* This is mainly seen in the spring months of April, May, and June in the Campanian locale, as opposed to a much quieter event calendar from September onwards. These trends appear alongside the agricultural and political events that would have had a significant impact on the choice of date for these events. Additionally, the impact can be seen between major festivals and markets taking place in Rome and the games in the Campanian region. The relation between these contributing factors and the *munera* themselves are represented through three categories.[218] However, what is revealing about these is the clear awareness of events taking place outside of Pompeii and an avoidance of periods in which there is a high concentration of spectacles taking place in the wider Campanian region, or the festivals of importance taking place in the city of Rome itself, as seen in the below graph.

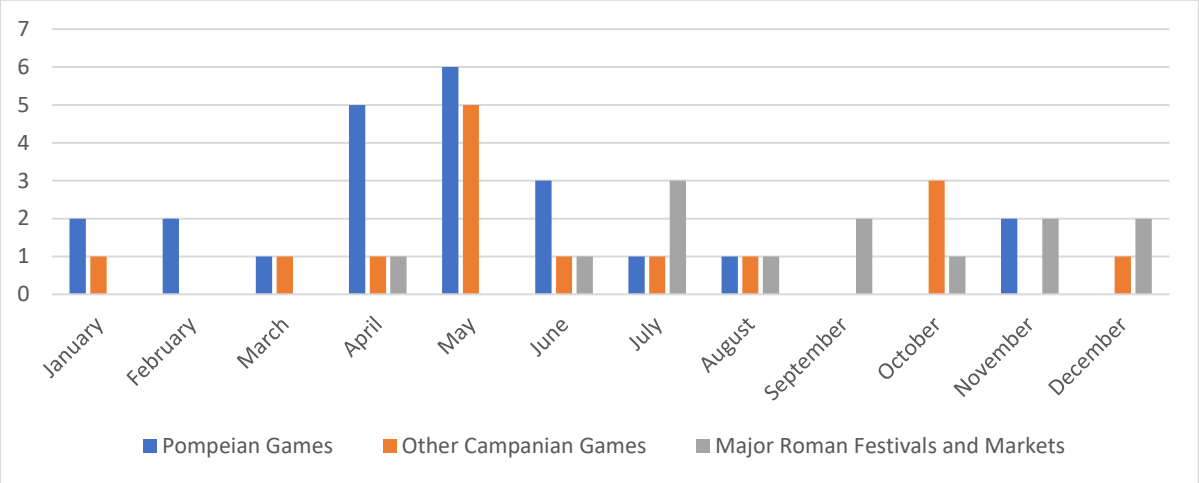

Figure 5 - *Visualisation of the Edicta Munerum*

What is immediately apparent is the popularity for *munera* taking place between April and June, displaying more than twice as many games as other months, during which generally only one or two events are recorded.[219] When studying the months of low to no event hosting an interesting and

[218] These three categories have been combined and colour coded for easier reading. See appendix 2.3 for a full list of the events illustrated in this graph.
[219] For these April-June games see *CIL* IV, 1193 (and 1201); 3384; 1186; 10161; 1184; 2508; 3881 (and 1187); 3882; 2508; 9974; 7994; 1183; 9976; *AE* 1990, 177c; *CIL* IV, 1189 (and 1190); 1204; 7988; 9977; 7993 (and 1177, 1178, 3883?).

convincing correlation appears between the various local annual events and when organisers chose to host games. For example, political factors, especially the dates upon which the people voted and that which newly elected officials took office, appear to be months in which organisers avoided scheduling games in Campania. March is known to be the election month in Pompeii.[220] Therefore, when considering the epigraphic evidence, we know of only one event in Pompeii itself, and then one further in Puteoli, which suggests that perhaps elections took place at a different time leading to the presence of a four-day event.[221] Compare this with July, the month which newly elected officials took office; this is another mostly barren month for Campania. Once again only two games can be dated to this month, one in Pompeii hosted on the 8th July, and another in Nuceria on the 28th.[222] However, July also presents further difficulties for organisers when attempting to schedule their events, the end of the month is marked by the grain harvest (26th July). Furthermore, July was a month which was filled with several major festivals taking place in the city of Rome, the *ludi Apollinares* and the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, and markets, the *Mercatus Apollinares*, which could have attracted potential spectators out of the city.[223] Also, according to the writing of Columella in his *De Re Rustica* crops should be harvested quickly before the peak of summer heat, the latest date he ascribed to the "Rising of the Dog Star" which he explains as being when the heat is at its most severe.[224] All these factors suggest that the choice of date for a *munera* was a difficult one, organisers wished to maximise the citizen-base that could attend the event, and as it appears here, they consciously avoided particular months and events that would potentially split their audience.[225]

This idea of inter-regionality and an avoidance of other events, particularly those being hosted at Rome is best illustrated by the total absence of *munera* hosted in Pompeii from September to October. September appeared to have been a month to avoid for both the city of Pompeii and the surrounding Campanian towns. September may have been an inopportune time for hosting games due to it being a period of intense agricultural activity in the region, as people began ploughing their land and beginning to sow their crops for the next harvest season.[226] However, when considering the Roman festival calendar, it becomes clear that September was essentially a full month of festivities. Annually from the 4th through to the 19th of September Rome hosted the *ludi Romani*, which was

[220] Franklin (2001): 10.
[221] Tuck (2009): 131; *CIL* IV, 1185 (and 7995) (Pompeii); *CIL* IV, 9970 (Puteoli).
[222] *CIL* IV, 1180 (Pompeii); 4299 (Nuceria).
[223] Scullard (1981): 159-160 (*ludi Apollinares*); 167 (*ludi Victoriae Caesaris*).
[224] Col., *De Re Rust.* 2.20.1; Columella also dates the rising of Dog Star on the 26th of July (see *De Re Rust.* 11.2.53).
[225] Tuck (2009): 137-8.
[226] Col., *De Re Rust.* 2.10.2; 2.10.23; 2.4.11.

followed by a period of markets, the *Mercatus Romani*, between the 20th and the 23rd. This suggests a distinct avoidance of months which major Roman festivals took place, the same can be seen in December for example, where only one *munus* is recorded taking place in either Puteoli or Herculaneum, but none were hosted within Pompeii itself. However, December was also the month in which the Roman *Saturnalia* festivities took place. Further reinforcing this notion of a multi-regional audience, or at least that Pompeian citizens may have made the journey to Rome in order to attend major festivals.

It has often been suggested that games were more likely to be held at certain times of the year than others. It is immediately clear from the visualisation of the 42 inscriptions that there are peak periods for *munera* in Campania. While these peaks may also avoid certain 'busy' times in the political, agricultural, and festival calendars, they also occur in months where the climate is the most temperate. These peaks also relate to months which were widely considered 'healthy' for Campania, and this may also partially contribute to an explanation for the avoidance of months where disease was able to spread easily.[227] The concept that weather was a driving force for scheduling can be somewhat disregarded. If this was the case, then September should be the month in which the most *munera* can be observed, which is not the case.[228] The clear peak can be observed in the months between April and June which occupies most of the spring months in Campania, and then the very beginning of summer. This stands in stark contrast to the near-total absence of recorded *munera* in Autumn, where there appears to have been in avoidance of both other Campanian and Roman festivals, and the beginning of the planting season in the agricultural year.

When comparing this data with Shaw's analysis of Christian funerary inscriptions, which record the day of death, in order to reconstruct mortality rates in ancient Italy illustrates some similarities with the months with a lower rate of *munera*. Shaw illustrates that in southern Italy the highest mortality rates occurred during the summer months and peaking in both August and October.[229] If these were the months where the transmission of disease was at its peak, then it may be possible that organisers may have chosen to avoid such large-scale congregations such as *munera*. However, this was not the strongest factor which drove event scheduling as October still displays a high rate of *munera* above the average one or two per month. This factor would require additional research of

[227] Shaw (1996): 100-38.
[228] Tuck (2009): 128.
[229] Shaw (1996): 126.

games taking place in other regions such as in Rome with comparison to their mortality rates for this trend to be considered as a potential driving factor.

Audiences did travel from different cities in order to see *munera* and *ludi* in the Roman world. For spectacular events in general, Cicero's account of the displays of the pirate captives of Publius Servilius:

> One man, Publius Servilius, took more captains of pirates alive than all our commanders put together had done before. Was any one at any time denied the enjoyment of being allowed to see a captive pirate? On the contrary: wherever Servilius went he afforded everyone that most delightful spectacle, of pirates taken prisoners and in chains. Therefore, people everywhere ran to meet him, so that the, assembled not only in the towns through which the pirates were led, but from all neighbouring towns also, for the purpose of seeing them.[230]

Furthermore, travel for a *munus* can be observed in an extreme example of attendance in the AD 27 incident at Fidenae recorded by Tacitus illustrates how people did not just include spectators from small towns to cities, but also flocked from cities such as Rome to small towns to see these spectacles:

> A certain Atilius, of the freedman class, who had begun an amphitheatre at Fidena, in order to give a gladiatorial show, failed both to lay the foundation in solid ground and to secure the fastenings of the wooden structure above; the reason being that he had embarked on the enterprise, not from a superabundance of wealth not to court the favours of his townsmen, but with an eye to sordid gain. The amateurs of such amusements, debarred from their pleasures under the reign of Tiberius, poured to the place, men and women, old and young, the stream swollen because the town lay near. This increased gravity of the catastrophe, as the unwieldy fabric was packed when it collapsed, breaking inward or sagging outward, and precipitating and burying a vast crowd of human beings, intent on the spectacle or standing around… Fifty thousand persons were maimed or crushed to death in the disaster; and for the future it was provided by a decree of the senate that no one with a fortune less than four hundred thousand sesterces should present a gladiatorial display, and that no amphitheatre was to be built except on ground of tried solidity.[231]

Inscribed reservations for most of the sixty tribes that made up the Tres Galliae, as well as for those from Gallia Narbonensis, illustrates the distance which people travelled in order to see games at the amphitheatre at Lugdunum.[232] This practice has also been discovered at the Colosseum where one inscription records reserved seating for delegates who had come to Rome from Gades on the Iberian Peninsula.[233] Pompeii appears to be no exception to this willingness to travel for games as demonstrated by the advertisement of a two-day event taking place at Capua:

[230] Cic., *Ver.* 2.5.66.
[231] Tac., *Ann.* 4.62-63.
[232] Tuck (2009): 141.
[233] Ibid.

> Glad(iatorum) par(ia) XL P(ubli) Furi et L(uci) R[---]ami(?) pug(nabunt) / Cap(uae) d(ie) Eid(ibus)(!) X, IX, K(alendas) Februar(ias) vela et / [---]erunt / aqua(?)[234]

This is one of many *edicta munerum* that advertise games for other local Campanian cities including, Puteoli, Nuceria, Nola, Cumae, Forum Pompilli, Cales, and Herculaneum.[235] This inter-regionality of advertisement for *munera* demonstrates a desire for multi-regional audiences to attend events. This was likely done to bolster the potential the viewership of their generosity and, in turn, increase the range in which their reputation both social and political spread within the Campanian circuit.[236]

2.8 - Conclusion

Analysing the financial aspects of provincial gladiatorial spectacles is limited by a scarcity of evidence and hidden costs. What is clear is that there was a distinct shift in attitude, cost, and scale between the Republican and Imperial periods. With this new expectation, money was made available from town councils to these politicians in order to help with this financial burden. The early Imperial period illustrates the popularity of gladiatorial entertainment as a civic duty. The *edicta munerum* of Pompeii demonstrates not only the personal prestige that could be earned from such events, as in the case of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius' career, but also the commonly presented aspects. Between twenty and thirty fighters, awnings, scented water, and beast hunts might all be features of a memorable *munus*. But public money was still being used for the games of local magistrates, as in the inscription recording Gaius Pomponius Diogenes' spectacle in Paestum. The second century AD demonstrates how apparent increasing cost of these events placed a particular strain on the upper echelons of provincial society, the Imperial Priests. This apparent struggle by the provincial elite culminated in the AD 177 *Aes Italicense* restricting the asking price of gladiators in relation to the overall budget for an event. The *Aes Italicense* shows how larger and more spectacular events, especially those that are recorded in inscriptions with costs, were organised and how much they cost. However, there is a lack of evidence documenting the 'hidden costs' of hosting a *munera.* How much of the overall budget was reserved for the payment of attendants and to promote these events? We see from Pompeii that not all commonly associated features of a day of games, such as awnings to shade spectators were compulsory. Benefactors were free to choose who and what they wished to present at their events. This suggests that money was required for much more than just purchase of gladiators, even if they were the major component of expenditure. Similarly, the organisational and scheduling process can be reconstructed via Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and the

[234] *AE* 1990, 177b.
[235] *CIL* IV, 9970 (Puteoli); 10161 (Nuceria); 3881 (Nola); 9976 (Cumae); Forum Pompilli (*AE* 1990, 177c); *CIL* IV, 9977 (Cales); 4299 (Herculaneum).
[236] Benefiel (2004): 349.

edicta munerum. Munera were promised, announced, and organised well in advance of their showing. While they could be hosted at any time of year, there was an awareness of regional and societal events such as major festivals, gladiatorial combats in other cities, and agricultural milestones.

The Exotic Beast Trade and its Organisation

3.1 - Introduction

Since the introduction of displays of exotic beasts to the public in the third century BC there was enthusiasm from both the elite and the public for these spectacles involving animals. Animals were initially trophies brought back from victorious campaigns to be displayed in Triumphs or the Circus Maximus. These events transitioned from simple displays of animals to hunts. They became increasingly popular throughout the second century BC, and lasted after the disappearance of the gladiatorial combats which they had often accompanied during the Imperial and Late Antique Periods.[237] This chapter will discuss the organisation, transportation, and economic processes that preceded the presentation of animals in the arena. Much of the evidence concerning the organisation process concerns the capture and transportation of animals for the games. While there is some discussion of the costs involved, they often come from a much later period where prices appear to have soared due to several factors. This chapter will concern itself much more with the infrastructure and networks upon which the beast-trade for public entertainment functioned and how the Roman Empire created an environment in which members of the provincial elite could import exotic beasts from around the Empire for their fellow citizens' entertainment. For context, an analysis of the Republican uses of animals for spectacle and how benefactors obtained beasts will provide the basis upon which the complex Imperial networks are based. This will be followed by a thematic study of the mechanisms employed to capture, transport, and sell animals for the arena.

3.2 - Republican Uses of Beasts and the Purchase of Beasts to Rome

Roman use of exotic animals for public entertainment began in the triumphs of victorious generals in the third century BC. It is clear from the choices of animals being displayed at these triumphs that the emphasis was placed on the exotic nature of captive creatures brought to Rome from far away conquered lands. The first of these exhibitions was in 275 BC with the presentation of four elephants taken from Pyrrhus at Beneventum and displayed in the triumph of M. Curius Denatus.[238] Then in 251 BC Lucius Caecilius Metellus, proconsul at the time, showed 142 elephants in the Circus Maximus as spoils of war taken from the Carthaginians.[239] It is not until 186 BC that the first *venatio* was organised by Marcus Fulvius Nobilior following the Aetolian campaign with the hunting of lions and leopards.[240] This is the first evidence of a spectacle with the intent of hunting the animals

[237] Kyle (1994): 181.
[238] Sen., *De. Brev. Vit.* 13.3.
[239] Polyb., *Hist.* 1.84.
[240] Ibid.: 39.22.1-2.

presented rather than merely displaying them for the public. Aymard suggests that this hunt is just the first recorded, and that Rome must have already had a history of such games as illustrated by the 170 BC lifting of a ban on the importation of African beasts into Rome, suggesting that such shows must have already been very popular.[241] It appears from this point onwards the variety of animals presented in these shows settle in the standard exotic (herbivores) and vicious groupings (lions, tigers, etc.) that are seen throughout the Imperial Period. This is demonstrated in 169 BC where the curule aediles, one of which was Scipio Nasica, hosted 63 leopards, 40 bears and 'some elephants' in the Circus Maximus.[242]

This kind of event eventually evolved, similarly to gladiatorial combats throughout the second and first centuries BC, to become increasingly spectacular and focusing more on the hunting and beast-fight aspects of these events in contrast to the curiosity value they had in the third century BC. The first century BC pushed the spectacular aspects of these events to its limits. Sulla displayed in 93 BC, as part of his praetorship, 100 maned lions and hunters to kill them as part of a gift from King Bocchus of Mauretania.[243] This is then escalated by Pompey in 55 BC at the dedication of his theatre in the Campus Martius where in addition to theatrical, musical, and athletic events, he hosted a beast-hunt lasting five-days in the Circus Maximus consisting of 20 elephants, 500 or 600 lions, and 400 other African beasts along with Gaetulian hunters.[244] Caesar followed suit appropriately in 46 BC by not only showing the first giraffe to be brought to Rome and 400 lions, but also 40 elephants bearing torches during his Gallic triumph.[245] Additionally, as dictator in 45 BC Caesar hosted Rome's first Thessalian-style bullfight.[246] *Venationes,* much like gladiatorial combats, demonstrate a trend of gradual escalation in size and variety. Unlike gladiators though, their political connotations were always clear. These events in part began as physical and unusual manifestations of Roman military prowess overseas.

It appears that during the Republican period the infrastructure of *venationes* was informal and relied upon the use of political contacts.[247] The only indication of how benefactors organised beast-hunts during the Republic can be found in Cicero's *ad Familiares* with his letter concerning M. Caelius

[241] Aymard (1951): 74-76. Plin., *NH* 8.64 for the Senate's lifting of the ban in 170 BC.
[242] Liv., 44.18.8.
[243] Plut., *Sulla* 5.1; Plin., *NH* 8.20.53.
[244] Plut., *Pompey* 52.4; Cass. Dio, 39.38.
[245] Plin., *NH* 8.27.69 for the 46 BC display. Kyle (2007): 288.
[246] Plin., *NH* 8.70.182.
[247] Epplett (2001): 210.

Rufus. His letters were written at the same time as Cicero was appointed to the governorship of Cilicia in Asia Minor.[248] Rufus wrote to Cicero in relation to the upcoming elections in Rome, in which he had hoped to secure the curule aedile office.[249] The repeated correspondence that is attempted by Rufus shows evidence of his efforts to encourage others to gather beasts:

> In nearly all my letters to you I have mentioned the subject of leopards. It will be a disgrace to you if, when Patiscus has sent ten to Curio, you don't get many more. Curio has made me a present of those ten, and of another ten from Africa… If you will only remember to set the Cibyrates to work, and to write to Pamphylia – for they say that more are caught there – you will get what you want done… For as soon as the leopards are caught, you have my people, whom I have sent about Sittus' bond, to look after the animal's keep and bring them to Rome. I think, too, if you write encouragingly, I shall send some more men of mine to your part of the world.[250]

This is followed by a more insistent series of letters by Rufus in October and again in February:

> Curio is treating me generously, and his present has given me work to do. For if he had not given me some African beasts, which had been brought here for his shows, I might have done without such things. But now, since I must give a show of that sort, I should like you to attend (As I have been all along asking you to do) to my having some beasts from your province.[251]
>
> It will be a disgrace to you if I don't have any Greek leopards.[252]

This is contrasted by Cicero's letter to Atticus illustrating the burden that such demands had on provincial governors who had to deal with the issue of delivering of these requests over the interests of their provincial subjects:

> The only new thing in that letter was about Cibyrate leopards. I am very grateful to you for replying to M. Octavius [the colleague of Caelius] that you didn't think I would do what he suggested. But henceforth give a definite refusal to all improper requests… As for M. Octavius, I reply, as I have done once already, that you answered him rightly; only I wish your answer had been a little more confident. For Caelius sent me his freedman with an elaborate letter about leopards and about getting subscriptions to his shows from the communities of my province. On the latter point my answer was that I should have been displeased at his request even if my governorship had been wrapped in obscurity, and the report had not reached Rome that not a penny was being paid in my province unless it was owed; and I told him that it was illegal for me to collect the money and for him to receive it… About the other matter, I said that it was not consistent with my reputation that the Cibyrates should hold a municipal hunt on official orders from me.[253]

Not only does this illustrate the informal nature of the capture and transport of wild animals for games during the Republic, but also depicts how this could have acted as a burden to provincial officials and the provincial population.[254] However, this very well could have been an attractive

[248] Jennison (1937): 137.
[249] Kyle (2007): 286-7.
[250] Cic., *Ad Fam.* 9.3.
[251] Ibid.: 8.8.10.
[252] Ibid.: 8.6.5.
[253] Cic., *Ad Att.* 5.21.5, 6.1.21.
[254] Jennison (1937): 140.

system to governors who may have seen this as an opportunity to use their posts as a means of handing out favours which they could call on later.

Organised hunting is not purely a Roman phenomenon, as similar organised events can be found in the Egyptian, Assyrian, Persian, and Macedonian cultures. These royal hunts were part of a process to depict the king as not only a good leader but also protector and provider to the people.[255] As populous metropoleis and large-scale empires emerged it became more difficult for kings to ensure a successful royal hunt. Precautions, like the hunting-parks, were established by the state to ensure that these animals were not only guaranteed to be readily available but also convenient.[256] The best-known depiction of these organised hunts is the Assyrian 'Royal Lion Hunts' of Ashurbanipal (fig. 6) dated to the seventh century BC.[257] In this series of wall panels the king is the sole figure to be shown slaying the released lions, both on foot and on horseback. Later Persian kings adopted this hunting imagery through the use of their 'paradises', as attested to have been used by Cyrus the Younger at Celaenae in Phyrgia in Xenophon.[258] The hunting façade found at the tomb at Vergina in Macedon (fig. 7) depicts what is thought to be Philip II hunting lions, attesting to a culture of lion hunting in the region, but there is no indication where this hunt was meant to take place.[259] The Persian campaign of Alexander the Great is recorded as making use of these game-parks, which were rich from wartime neglect, following his conquest of the Persian empire. In one case Alexander is recorded as dispatching a lion and other beasts, following which it was decided that it was too risky for the king to hunt without attendants.[260] It is possible this contact with the Persian practice of housing exotic and ferocious beasts for royal use that brought to Macedon the game-parks encountered by the Romans during their multiple wars with the Macedonians in the third and second centuries BC.

[255] Kyle (2007): 34-35.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Refer to BM 1856,0909.16 for a representation of North Palace (Nineveh), Room S1, E panel depicting the release of a lion for hunting.
[258] Xen., *An.* 1.2.7 says that in addition to a palace Cyrus had a *paradeisos megas* here.
[259] Lane Fox (1996): 137-138.
[260] Quint. Curt., 8.1.11-13.

Figure 6 - Assyrian 'Royal Lion Hunts' of Ashurbanipal (7th Century BC) (BM 1856,0909.16)

Figure 7 - Façade at the Tomb at Vergina with a fresco on the frieze depicting hunting scenes (after Andronikos (1989): 101)

It was likely these encounters with the Greek tradition of elite hunting and structured hunting that inspired M. Fulvius Nobilior to present his *venatio* in the Circus Maximus in 186 BC.[261] Robin Lane Fox suggests the possibility of this, especially considering that the donor of these games had been a philhellene from a predominately philhellenic family.[262] Later Scipio Aemilianus was given free rein of the game-park in the newly conquered Macedon, whose animal stock had not been hunted during the past four years of war but had continued to be staffed.[263] Encounters such as these showed the Romans how to build and manage game parks, perhaps an education that would later lead to the development of the Imperial *vivaria*.[264] Varro attests to the use of game reserves being used by the Roman elite at their country estates in the 30s BC:

> "Why," said he, "I saw it carried out more in the Thracian fashion at Quintus Hortensius's place near Laurentum when I was there. For there was a forest which covered, he said, more than fifty *iugera*; it was enclosed with a wall and he called it, not a warren, but a game-preserve (*therotrophium*). In it was a high spot where was spread the table at which we were dining, to which he bade Orpheus be called. When he appeared with his robe and harp, and was bidden to sing, he blew a horn; whereupon there poured around us such a crowd of stags, boars, and other animals that it seemed to me to be no less attractive a sight than when the hunts of the aediles take place in the Circus Maximus without the African beasts."[265]

While these personal 'game-preserves' only appear to have stocked locally obtainable fauna they would have been staffed by attendants to ensure the animal populations and perhaps to deliver specific animals as desired by the owner. Additionally, the use of the Greek term *therotrophium* rather than the Latin *vivarium* may also indicate some inspiration from the Macedonian tradition.

What can be seen is a general progression of heavily organised and structured hunting events coming from the East to the West. The Assyrians gave these hunts more structure, which was copied and refined into the Persian style *paradesoi,* finally making the transition to the Hellenistic empires following Alexander's campaigns. The Romans adapted this practice to suit their Republican and Imperial needs. They served as an effective and popular method of creating memorable events following military success or in the pursuit of political office. This can be seen in the literary record of *venationes* and other similar animal displays. Nobilior is remembered for being the first to present a structured hunt in Rome. Claudius Pulcher presented the first elephant as *aedile* in 99 BC.[266] Sulla

[261] Polyb., *Hist.* 31.29.1-2.
[262] Lane Fox (1996): 146.
[263] Ibid.
[264] Ibid.
[265] Var., *De Re Rustica* 3.13.2-3.
[266] Plin., *NH* 8.7.

was the first to present maned lions during his praetorship in 93 BC.[267] The first presentation of leopards, a hippopotamus, and crocodiles by the *aedile* Marcus Aemilius Scaurus in 58 BC.[268] Pompey was the first to present a Rhinoceros in his great games of 55 BC. Caesar presented the first giraffe during his quadruple triumph in 46 BC.[269] Finally, Augustus introduced the first tamed tiger to the Roman people in 11 BC. Beast-hunts added another dimension to the Roman elite's pursuit of *memoria*. Like triumphs, they served as a physical manifestation of not only the individual's success but also that of the Roman empire. Young politicians like Caelius Rufus were able to make use of their political contacts in order to source animals for their games and impress the public with the exotic fauna which inhabited the ever-expanding Roman empire.

3.3 - Beast Capture and Trade Infrastructure: Hunter Corporations

While the Republican period paints a picture of beast trade based largely upon political connections and informal methods of acquiring these beasts, the Imperial period illustrates a developing infrastructure based on a retail model instead. It is unclear exactly when this infrastructure development occurred. These changes likely occurred during the early Imperial period when evidence for hosting public entertainment suggests that it became a more prolific part of not only political life, but also provincial life. The third century AD preserves epigraphic and mosaic evidence for several organisations who provided access to exotic animals and *bestiarii,* similar to how a *lanista* provided gladiators for games. While much of the evidence for these families has been found in North Africa, potential epigraphic evidence from Noricum mentions a prominent local family called the *Albii* who could have been involved in beast-trade also (figs. 8 and 9).[270] North Africa remains, not surprisingly, the most prolific region for evidence for these hunter troupes. This suggests not only that there was a significant demand for beasts from the region, but that Africa had an established means of supplying them to local benefactors. Troupes that have been recorded include the *Pentasii*, the *Synematii*, the *Tauriscii,* and the most prevalent of them all, the *Telegenii*.[271]

[267] Plut., *Sull.* 5.1; Plin., *NH* 8.20.53.
[268] Plin., *NH* 8.40.
[269] Suet., *Jul.* 26.2-3.
[270] This evidence is somewhat speculative and is suggested in Epplett (2014): 512; Epplett (2016): 133-134 notes that perhaps the inscription to the *Albii* family's health set up by the local governor was in response to supplying animals for one of his spectacles. Epplett (2001) discusses this in depth as well. See also Egger (1966) and (1967) for general discussions of the epigraphic evidence that led to this theory.
[271] Auguet (1972): 114.

Figure 8 - Hunt scene dedication to the Albii (inscription: AE 1998, 1011), Teurnia (Salzburg) (Egger (1966): figs. 1-3)

Figure 9 - Albii Inscription (CIL III, 4738), Teurnia (Salzburg) (http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=4946 (accessed 4/01/2021))

Figure 10 – The Magerius Mosaic, Smirat (AD 225-250) (Inscription: AE *1967, 549 =* AE *2000, 1597-8 =* AE *2007, 1684) (Wikimedia Commons)*

Figure 11 - The Worcester Mosaic (4th century AD) (Worchester Art Museum (https://www.worcesterart.org/collection/Ancient/1936.30.html (accessed 4/01/2021))

While these corporations were heavily involved in providing animals and hunters for the games, it is not entirely clear how long they were involved in the process. It can confidently be said that they were involved as 'middle-men' in the provision of beasts and hunters for *venationes*. This can be seen in the Magerius mosaic at Smirat (fig. 10), recording the payment of the *Telegenii*:

> 'Magerius!' 'Magerius!' Through the herald was said: 'My Lords, since the *Telegenii* have earned your favour, give to them 500 *denarii* for each leopard.' It was acclaimed: 'By your example may those to come learn the *munus* any may those past hear. Who has offered such games? When have such games been offered? By the example of the quaestors, you will present the *munus.* At your own expense you will present the *munus* on that day.' Magerius gives. 'This is what it means to be wealthy. This is what it means to be powerful… From your *munus* they are let go with these sacks.[272]

The primary purpose of the mosaic is to commemorate the generosity of the *munerarius,* Magerius, to both the city with his gift of four leopards, but also to the *Telegenii* as seen in the central feature of the four leather bags with the symbol ∞ for 1,000 on them.[273] This suggests that Magerius actually paid the *Telegenii* 1,000 *denarii* per leopard, rather than the declared 500 *denarii*. However, it must also be recognised that the bag represented in this mosaic could be generic representations of bags of money. The 1,000 *denarii* theory becomes more uncertain considering that the text in the centre specifically refers to the payment of 500 *denarii* for each leopard.

Particular attention has been paid to the detailing of the leopards themselves. Each are named, *Romanus* ('The Roman'), *Luxurius* ('The Luxuriant One'), *Crispinus* ('Curly'), and *Victor* ('The Victor'), additionally tied around their midriffs are garlands (two with ivy and two with millet).[274] The inclusion of names and garlands suggests that these are not merely wild leopards brought to Smirat for the games, but trained animals. This suggests that these were leopards raised in captivity. Specially trained leopards would have been preferable to wild ones, as the roar of the arena crowd would have forced untrained animals to instinctually find the darkest shade in the arena, remaining immobile until they were either killed or driven from there.[275] Tigers are well documented in being captured as cubs rather than the adults, perhaps for the same reason. One account of this hunting technique is detailed in Pliny's *Natural History*:

> Hyrcania and India produce the Tiger, an animal of terrific speed, which is most noticeable when the whole of its litter, which is always numerous, is being captured. The litter is taken by a man laying in wait with the swiftest horse obtainable, and is transferred successfully to fresh horses. But when the mother Tiger finds the lair empty (for the males do not look after their young) she rushes off at head long speed, tracking them by scent. The captor when her roar approaches throws away one of the cubs. She snatches it up in her mouth, and returns and resumes the pursuit at even a faster pace

[272] Magerius mosaic inscription, translation from Futrell (1997): 49.
[273] Bomgardner (2009): 169.
[274] Ibid.: 168.
[275] Ibid.

> owing to her burden, and so as in succession until the hunter has regained the ship and her ferocity rages vainly on the shore.[276]

This is reinforced in multiple visual depictions of Tiger hunts throughout the Empire. The Worcester Hunt mosaic from Antioch (c. AD 500) (fig. 11) depicts a huntsman fleeing while his extended arm grasps a cub, with the mother tigress in pursuit close behind.[277] A similar scene can be found in a tomb painting at the Tomb of *Nasonii* in Rome, showing two tigers chasing three horsemen who are galloping towards their ship, two more huntsmen can be seen on foot, one ready to drop a cub while the other deflects the tigress' attack with a shield.[278] While the ancient evidence only depicts a bait and capture technique being used for leopards, as seen in the Piazza Amerina Great Hunt paintings (fig. 12), this is evidence for the capture of young felines likely to be trained for the games.[279] It is likely that similar techniques could have been used by these corporations in order to secure cubs for specialised training in the arena.

Hunter companies, such as the *Telegenii,* appear to have had specific symbols and tutelary deities as well. The *Telegenii, for example,* were followers of Bacchus/Liber Pater, considered the number three as their totem number, and used ivy leaves, stalks of millet, and a staff topped with a crescent-shaped prong as their symbolic icons.[280] These symbols can subsequently be found in the decorative border of the Magerius mosaic, bearing stalks of millet and fronds of ivy.[281] Several corporations have been identified, which have been categorised as 'sodalités', to date over twenty of these have been identified.[282] While many can be identified by their emblem/cipher identification, traces of these corporations can be found in epitaphs erected by them and African red slip-ware depicting *venationes*.

The prolific presence of these companies is perhaps due to the popularity of these events within North Africa, for they do not appear anywhere else in the Empire in such numbers to suggest regular operation. One unusual piece of mosaic evidence attesting to these corporations is the 'Fancy Dress

[276] Plin., *NH* 8.25.
[277] Toynbee (1973): 72.
[278] See P.S. Bartoli and G.P. Bellori (1791) *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum et sepulchri Nasonum,* 55, pl. 15, fig. 1.
[279] Toynbee (1973)*:* 82-83.
[280] Bomgardner (2009): 169-170. see fig. 3 for a series of examples of the *Telegenii* emblems.
[281] Ibid.
[282] For more on this see Beschaouch (1966; 1977; 1979; 1985; 2006a; 2006b). A full table of these sodalités can be found in the appendix 3.1 and 3.2 for a range of different *Telegenii* emblems as identified in Beschaouch (1966).

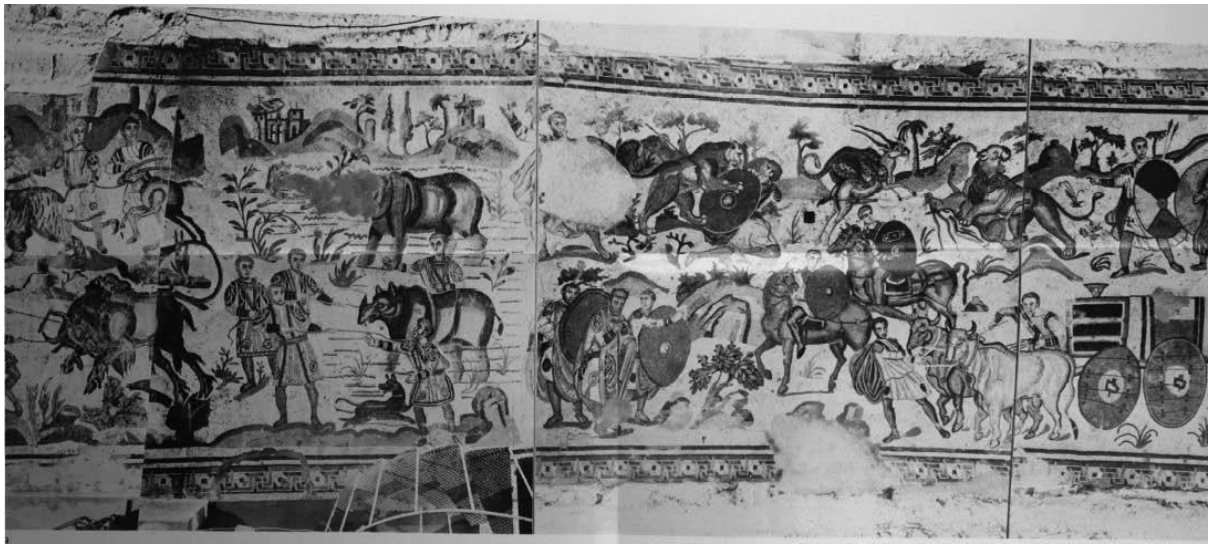

Figure 12 - The Great Hunt Mosaic, Piazza Amerina (AD 315-330) (Carandini, Ricci & Vos (1982))

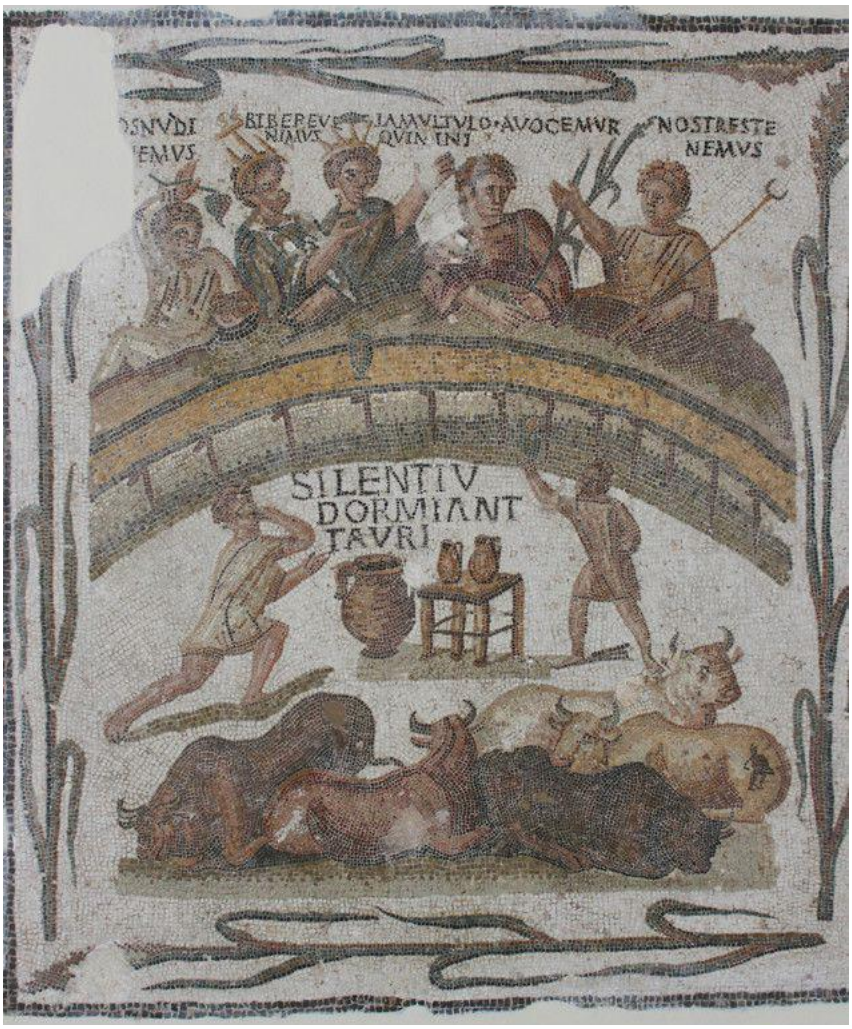

Figure 13 - The Fancy Dress Mosaic, Thysdrus (AD 225 – 250) (AE 1961, 66 = AE 2007, 1684) (Sparreboom (2016): fig. 33)

Banquet' found in Thysdrus (fig. 13) dating to the mid-third century AD. The scene depicts what appears to be an amphitheatre scene with many sleeping bulls surrounded by two figures speaking

to the audience: 'Silence, let the bulls sleep.' Sitting above is a fairly typical banquet scene of five figures, each speaking.[283] What is distinctive of this mosaic is the dress/props that the audience is adorned with. Each is accompanied by a symbol representative of the hunter corporations, a crescent-moon on a stick, a millet stalk, three-pointed crown with a S on it, five-pointed crown, and an ivy leaf. These are all identified emblems of established sodalités. On the hindquarters of each of these bulls are brand marks (a gladiator and a *sistrum*-like shape) suggesting that they were not wild animals. Some of the marks correlate with the features of some of the drinkers, but not all.[284] The significance of this scene is unclear, but it seems to be illustrating a scene where these hunter corporations were observing the bulls for a fight in the amphitheatre. Perhaps this is indicative of a custom held by these corporations where animals for a *venatio* would be paraded and accompanied by a feast prior to the games. The millet stalks framing the scene may indicate the corporation responsible for the bulls. The millet could represent five different sodalités: *Fangargi, Caprasii, Leontii, Barasii,* and the *Lignii*.[285] The only sodalité which has the millet stalk emblem and the cipher four is the *Leontii.* Perhaps the scene is depicting the festivities the night before a *venatio* where bulls were being provided and fought by the *Leontii.*

There is evidence to suggest that the *Telegenii* were also involved in the oil trade. Oil amphorae discovered at Ostia and Thaenae have seals matching the iconographical imagery mentioned above (fig. 14).[286] This suggests that the *Telegenii* were not only a thriving exotic beast trading company but may have also had other trading interests in North Africa. This would explain why these companies show evidence of providing animals for the games, but none for the capture of animals in the wild. Beginning their existence as basic commodity traders, these businesses would have an already established trading network, with ships available to transport these beasts. However, this evidence is not conclusive, instead, it is indicative of potential trade activity which could facilitate the chain of supply around the Empire.[287]

[283] Dunbabin (2016): 203 says that these the comments by the spectators fit the theme of a drinking party ('We shall strip off', 'We have come to drink', 'You are talking too much', 'Let us enjoy ourselves', but she does note that the final exclamation 'We hold thee' is more obscure, but does not provide more comment.)
[284] Dunbabin (2016): 203 based on the claims made in Salomonson (1960): 53-95.
[285] Sparreboom (2016).
[286] Ibid.: 170.
[287] Ibid.; MacKinnon (2006): 144.

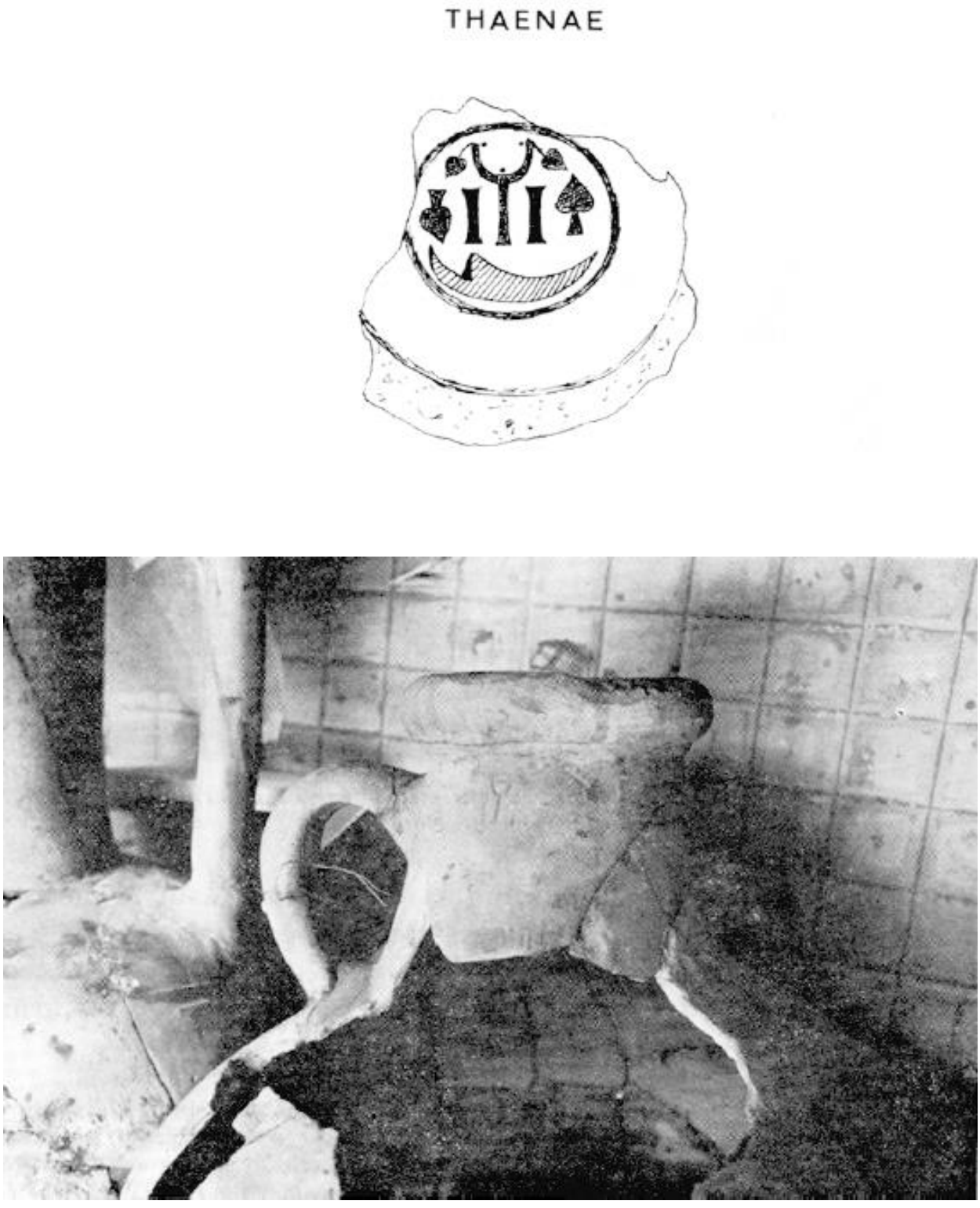

Figure 14 - Oil Amphorae from Thenae and Ostia respectively (Beschaouch (1977): figs 10 and 11)

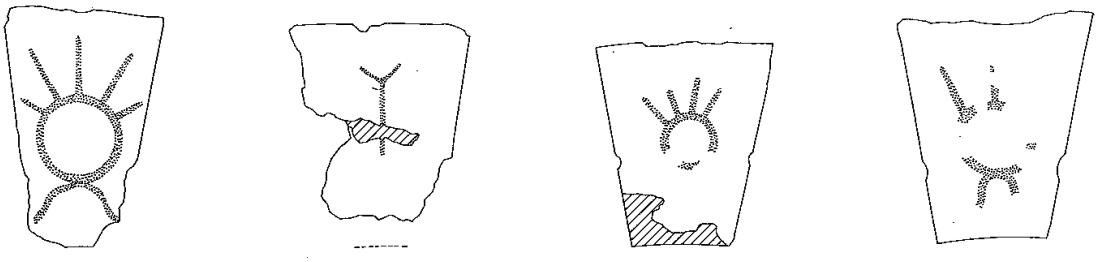

Figure 15 - Sodalité Emblems from the frigidarium baths of Julia Memmia, Bulla Regia (Thébert (1991): 195)

Scholars discussing these companies disagree about the exact activities of the sodalités. Similar symbols appear around North Africa, Thébert suggests the discovery of several sodalité-like symbols on the walls of the *frigidarium* in the baths of Julia Memmia at Bulla Regia (fig. 15) is suggestive of their involvement with the benefactress.[288] Perhaps even suggesting that the groups were permitted to use the baths freely, even as a meeting place for members, or the symbol could also have served as an indication of the bath owners favourite company. Hugoniot, in contrast, dismisses the suggestion that the sodalités had other business interests. He emphasises that since their primary activity were as *venatores* for the games, these men would be *infames* and of low social status, similar to *lanistae* and gladiators, and therefore would have unlikely conducted other business.[289] Hugoniot agrees that these companies likely acted like *collegia,* having patrons, formal membership, banquets and funerary activities.[290] The *collegium* suggestion would account for the repeated funerary epigraphic evidence indicating that the sodalités erected tombstones for their members. [291] He adds no extra discussion in regards to the emblems found on oil amphorae around the Empire however. Vismara suggests that rather than a *collegia* of performers, the companies acted more like the *familiae gladiatoriae,* providing hunters and animals for *venationes* upon request, complete with costumes and settings.[292] But she does note that the evidence regarding the sodalités is sparse and we cannot reconstruct their activity with certainty.[293]

Whatever the precise activity of the sodalités was, it is clear that they were popular purveyors of beast-hunts. African red slip ware likely from El Aouja (fig. 16) dating to the third century AD

[288] Thébert (1991): 193-210.
[289] Hugoniot (2003): 40-48.
[290] Hugoniot (1996): 401-3.
[291] See appendix 3.3 and 3.4 for examples of these funerary monuments erected by the sodalités.
[292] Vismara (2007) : 118-120.
[293] Ibid.: 118.

Figure 16 - North African Red Slip Ware 'NIKA' Acclamations for the Telegenii and the Pentasii (3rd Century AD, El Aouja) (Herrmann and Hoek (2013): 494, pl. 8c. and Christie's)

illustrates the popularity of these companies.[294] Many of these vases depict *venatio* scenes with an inscription acclaiming that a particular sodalité emerge victorious: *Telegeni nika, Pentasi nika, Taurisici nika,* and *Sinemati nika.* It appears that these jugs were another form of supporter paraphernalia which could be purchased before a day of games.[295] This suggests that these sodalités did not only act as a convenient way for North African organisers to source *venatores* and beasts for their games, but also accrued a following among the crowds they performed for. They appear to have been similar in popularity to the coloured chariot factions who accumulated loyal fanbases of not only the colour but also to the racers and horses themselves.[296] This is indicative of the special naming of trained animals and performers, as seen in the Magerius mosaic. Magerius expected viewers of this mosaic to recognise not only the *Telegenii,* but also specific hunters and leopards that

[294] Salomonson (1960): 51.
[295] Sparreboom (2016): 183.
[296] For more on the chariot factions see Cameron (1976).

Figure 17 - Castellum Tingitanum Venatio Mosaic (Beschaouch (2006b): figs. 1, 2, and 3)

were presented. Sodalités also performed against each other, perhaps one's animals against another's *venatores.* A mosaic discovered at the Algerian site of *Castellum Tingitanum* (fig. 17), displays three *venatores,* two fighting against a boar, and on the lower register, another mounted hunter facing a leopard.[297] In front of the boar are three stalks of millet, reminiscent of depictions of emblems and ciphers found in other artistic representations of sodalités. The emblem is reminiscent

[297] Beschaouch (2006a): 1492-1498.

of the *leontii* which shows a lion between two pairs of millet stalks. Faint, but still recognisable is a yellow leaf with XV alongside it on the left by the two *venatores.* Beschaouch identifies these sodalités as the *Caprasii* (emblem: millet stalks, cipher: three) and the *Mensurii* (emblem: leaf cipher: fifteen).[298] This mosaic acts in a similar way as the Magerius mosaic does, commemorating a day of games in which the *Caprasii* provided animals and the *Mensurii* provided *venatores*.

The question of how far back in the supply chain these corporations would have been involved in the capture of the animals that they were supplying to benefactors still remains. There are no depictions directly linking corporations to the hunting of animals in the wild. It would have been beneficial for *bestiarii* to be involved in the capture of wild animals in order to deepen their understanding and experience, which would have proven invaluable in the arena.[299] This may have been the case, but this is a purely theoretical assumption without any physical evidence to suggest it. What is more likely to have been the case is that local huntsmen, such as those mentioned in Rufus' request for leopards, were commissioned to capture animals, ready for transportation to the games or training by the corporations.

Native involvement in sourcing animals for Roman entertainment is referenced multiple times. Seneca and Pliny report that King Bocchus of Mauretania gave native spearmen for Sulla's games in 93 BC.[300] Cicero notes that a troupe of hunters known as the *Shikarees* had been hired to capture felines in Laodicea.[301] Further, Pliny makes note of an event taking place in Rome during 61 BC where Numidian bears were matched with Ethiopian hunters.[302] Plutarch says that Juba also spoke of hunters being used to dig pits to capture elephants, these hunters were presumably native huntsmen rather than soldiers since a Roman military presence was not established in Mauretania until after Juba's death.[303] Each of these confirm that the practices being asked of Cicero during his governorship in Cilicia was commonplace during the late Republic.

[298] Beschaouch (2006a): 1496. For reference inscriptions for the emblems and ciphers see: *CIL* VIII, 12421 (*Mensaurii*) and 11237 (*Caprasii*).
[299] MacKinnon (2006): 144.
[300] Sen., *De Brev. Vit.* 13.6; Plin., *NH* 8.20.
[301] Cic., *Ad Fam.* 2.11.2.
[302] Plin., *NH* 8.54.131.
[303] Plut., *Mor.* 972b. Plin., *NH* 5.1.11. MacKinnon (2006): 144.

Outside of specialised military hunters, it is probable that corporations such as the *Telegenii* made use of a network of local huntsmen to procure their beasts. They provided a service to benefactors that made *venationes* much more accessible in the Imperial period. Acting as middlemen between local hunters and benefactor they provided an avenue for reliably high-quality animals and hunters for the arena. Reliability of supply was a significant concern of many elite hosting *venationes* with intentions to import exotic animals. An example of this can be found in the letters of Pliny the Younger, where he attempts to assure a friend that his intent to display panthers would be appreciated by the crowd:

> I am sorry the African Panthers you had brought in such quantities did not turn up on the appointed day, but you deserve the credit although the weather prevented their arriving in time; it was not your fault that you could not show them.[304]

Perhaps this is why there was such demand for professional troupes and suppliers of arena animals. The uncertainty of sea travel and the potential for setbacks or delays called for professionals who had an established network and reputation for providing not only a quality product but also a timely delivery.

3.4 - Beast Capture and Trade Infrastructure: Military Hunters

Clear evidence of the military's involvement in beast capture and transportation also occurs during the Imperial period. Animal hunting was an important role for some Roman soldiers, this is mentioned in the *Cestes* of Julius Africanus who recommends the capture of wild animals, in this case lions, as an effective military exercise.[305] Soldiers are recorded as being sent to control local populations of wild animals that could interfere with agriculture. These soldiers are specifically recorded as capturing these animals rather than killing them, indicating that these animals were destined for either Imperial games back in Rome, or to be sold to local benefactors of games. The Egyptian *papyri* provide examples of this, not especially surprising since this province was considered an ideal source for exotic beasts commonly used in the games like hippopotami and crocodiles.[306] One example from the late first or early second century AD records the fulfilling of a soldier's orders at the Wadi Fawakhir:

> Antonius Proculus to Valerianus. Write the note to say that from the month of Agrippina until now we have been hunting all species of wild animals and birds for a year under the orders of the prefects. We have given what we have caught to Cerealis and he sent them and all the equipment to you…[307]

[304] Plin., *Ep.* 6.34.3.
[305] Epplett (2001): 211. Julius Africanus, *Cestes* 14.
[306] Epplett (2001): 211.
[307] Davies (1989): 193.

This letter reveals a lot about the nature of these regiments deployed specifically for hunting animals. The explicit mention of 'all species of wild animals and birds' is evidence that these soldiers were specifically hunting for the games, if this was a unit sent to gather food provisions it would be unlikely that such a report would be made for a mundane task.[308] It is unknown if troops were sent on missions such as these on a regular basis or in preparation for specific *venationes.*[309] A mid-fourth century AD document records the request of a priest in the Fayum that the cavalry stationed nearby capture a herd of gazelles that were destroying crops.[310] Similar to the Antonius Proculus letter, the use of the word 'capture' in this might indicate their intended use in a *venatio* rather than as food.[311]

The use of soldiers to capture vicious and pest animals is not only found in Egypt. The German frontier also presents evidence of these specialised military hunters in the epigraphic record, in particular *ursarii.*[312] One particular inscription from Cologne records the activity of these hunters. Set up by *legio I Minerva*, it documents the capture of fifty bears over a six-month period by the centurion Tarquitius Restutus Pisauro.[313] The specification of 'capturing' the bears rather than killing them suggests that this may be a scenario similar to that of Antonius Proculus. Tarquitius was likely sent orders by a superior in recognition of his skills in capturing bears alive both to relieve the local population of an immediate danger, but also to ensure that these beasts were available for use in the arena. A half-year hunt must have been a part-time duty as it seems unlikely that Pisauro could simply abandon his duties as centurion for a simple hunt.[314] What is particularly interesting about this inscription is the specific number of bears caught. The other examples of military missions do not specify exact amounts or even species in some cases. This may suggest that Pisauro exceeded the requested quota of captured bears for the six-months, a point of pride for him and his fellow hunters.[315]

Similarly, at Dura-Europos, the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* in AD 219 records the presence of seven *signiferi,* and four in AD 222.[316] In each of these records there are troops specifically assigned as *ad*

[308] Epplett (2001): 211.
[309] Ibid.
[310] Bell et al. (1962): 44-46, n. 6.
[311] Epplett (2001): 212.
[312] Ibid.: 214.
[313] *AE* 1910, 61.
[314] Epplett (2001): 214-215.
[315] Ibid.
[316] Ibid.: 215.

leones, seven in AD 219 and four in AD 222. Davies suggests that *ursarii* and *ad leones* were possibly being ordered to capture these animals in order to gather skins to make uniforms, a known part of multiple military uniforms (*signiferi, aquiliferi, imaginiferi,* and *cornicines*).[317] While this could be a reason for so many examples of soldiers capturing dangerous animals there is a lack of titles relating to other animal skins that were commonly used in military uniforms, most notably *luparii.* [318] However, wolves were not a common feature at *venationes.* Troops such as the *ad leones* at Dura-Europus may have been capturing for skins, but that their capacity for capturing lions would far exceed the number of *signiferi* in the region.[319] Rather, the excess lions may have been sent to Rome to be gifted to the people in a *venatio* following which the skins of the slain beasts could be redistributed to other military regiments throughout the Empire.[320]

What is unknown is what happened when a military hunter like Pisauro captured more than the requested amount. If these animals were destined for a specific event that had already been promised, then these extra animals may have been just added to the initially expected amount. As seen in the *edicta munerum* of Pompeii and many of the honorary inscriptions recording beast-hunts specific numbers of animals were not provided. They merely record the presence of a *venatio* on the day. Alternatively, if these were Imperially requested hunts, the bears may have then been destined for the Imperial *vivaria* both in Rome and nearby. These Imperial menageries appear to have been mainly run by the military. One *vivarium* is recorded as being overseen by a *venator immunes* who was part of the Praetorian Guard.[321] This was not necessarily always the case though, the early Imperial inscriptions from the second century AD recording a *procurator ad elephantos* and *procurator camellorum* and an *adiutor ad feras* and a *praepositus herbariarum* in Laurentum does not suggest that these men had an active military connection.[322]

These *vivaria* provided a central hub for animals not only to be held and purchased, but also to be trained, and perhaps even bred. Pliny wrote about an event which involved a rhinoceros which was bred and trained specifically for fights with elephants:

[317] Davies (1989): 170.
[318] Epplett (2001): 215.
[319] Ibid.: 215-216.
[320] Ibid.
[321] *CIL* VI, 130; Epplett (2014): 513.
[322] *CIL* VI, 8583 (*procurator ad elephantos*), *AE* 1971: 68 (*procurator camellorum*), *CIL* VI, 10209 (*adiutor ad feras*), *CIL* V, 10208 (*praepositus herbariarum*).

> At the same games there was also a rhinoceros with one horn on the nose such as has often been seen. Another bred here to fight matches with an elephant gets ready for battle by filing its horns on the rocks, and in the encounter goes specially for the belly, which it knows to be softer.[323]

While Pliny has embellished a lot of this story by attributing human-like actions to animals what is of note is the recognition that the rhinoceros was 'bred here'. This suggests that the Romans sometimes bred animals specially for the games. This would be a logical choice for exotic animals especially, not only can you train certain behaviours, but it would also be significantly cheaper to breed and avoid the risk of travel stress severely harming or even killing the animal in transit to its final destination. Another Cologne-based inscription suggests that the local campsite was equipped with such amenities. A dedication to Diana set up by Aulus Titius Severus (centurion of the sixth legion) mentions that there was a *vivarium* at the camp.[324] Cologne provided an ideal central position for the collection of animals in the German provinces before being shipped elsewhere.[325] Archaeological remains indicate that provincial military camps, in particular those in Zugmantel and Dambach, have what could have been enclosures for wild-beasts.[326] Similar circular remains have also been found at the excavations of the British site of Lunt.[327] Another point to note from this inscription and the others mentioned here is the frequent connection between *vivaria* and Imperial hunts with centurions. Even the *custodes vivarii* of the Praetorian Guard in Rome share this rank. This suggests that there was a consideration in the Roman administration that men of centurion rank were ideal officers for the supervision of the small contingents of soldiers involved in these hunting missions.[328]

3.5 - Retail Middlemen?

Now that it has been established that the capture and transportation of wild beasts was carried out by both private corporations and by Imperial military forces on temporary assignments, it must be considered how citizens were able to secure these animals for their own privately funded events. The Magerius mosaic illustrates that it was possible for benefactors to directly purchase or hire animals and hunters from the hunter corporations. But how could the same be possible for those not in North Africa where the majority of the evidence for such groups exist?

[323] Plin., *NH* 8.29.
[324] *ILS,* 3265 (... *idemque vivarium saepsit*…).
[325] Epplett (2001): 219.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.

Mosaic evidence from the Piazza delle Corporazioni (fig. 18) shows that major port cities such as Ostia had established offices for animal trade of many different kinds ranging from boars and elk through to elephants. Ostia's proximity to Rome must also be recognised as a potential factor creating a unique environment. The high frequency at which exotic animals were brought from North Africa and Asia Minor to Ostia to supply such grandiose games likely also afforded the local Italian elite more opportunities to purchase beasts for their own games.

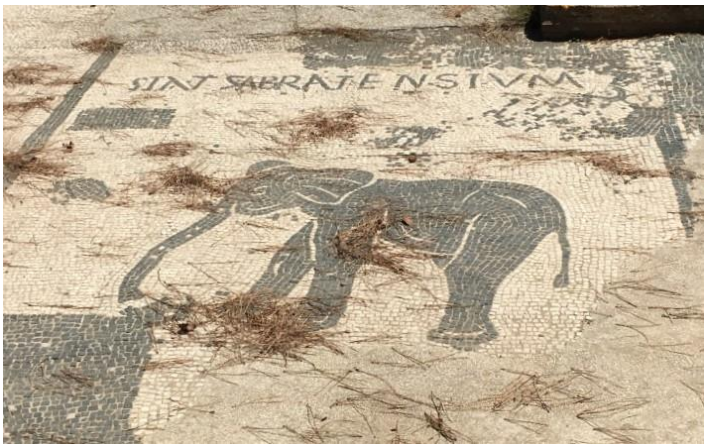

Figure 18 - Piazza del Corporazoni 'Sabratensium' Mosaic (Author (2018))

While these storefronts do not record the company names which they represented, Ostia could have acted as a central Italian hub for receiving and purchasing animals, and it can be assumed that similar offices were situated at the other major commercial hubs throughout the Empire. There are records of various exotic animals being shipped into major port cities like Ostia, as recounted in Pliny's *Natural History* which tells of how the sculptor Pasiteles wanted to model his work from live specimens and went to the docks to do so. In this story, we are told that Pasiteles simply went down to the docks where he could approach stacked cages of African animals that were waiting to be transported to their final destination.[329] The story ends with the near-death of the sculptor as a lion escapes while Pasiteles is carefully examining a lion close by. What is important is the recognition that these major port towns could have acted as centres for not only finding exotic beasts but also receiving them. By considering this in addition to the mosaic evidence found at the Piazza delle Corporazioni in Ostia, it is feasible that these port towns would have also been centralised hubs for retailers of live animals for the arena.

The most common interpretation of the '*Sabratensium*' elephant mosaic at Ostia is that they were importers of ivory being hunted in the Sahara.[330] Sabratha is known to have been a hub for olive oil,

[329] Plin., *NH* 36.4.40.
[330] Meiggs (1960): 287 suggests a purely ivory trade purpose based off *AE* 1934, 146 dating to the second century AD suggesting an association between Sabratha and the ivory trade. Scullard (1974): 253 widens this theory claiming that it is entirely possible that this is an office for elephant trade in general.

ivory, and beast trade, acting as a coastal hub for trans-Saharan trade.[331] But if this company had the facilities necessary to establish reliable trade between Sharan Africa and Ostia (hunters, over-land transport, ships, etc.) it would not have been a difficult transition to the transportation of live elephants across the Mediterranean. While more complex than transporting ivory, techniques for transporting other animals such as horses may have helped ease this process. Further, the potential profits to be made from selling elephants along with ivory would have been significant.

3.6 - Other Historical Exotic Animal Trade Networks

By analysing the trade networks and subsequent challenges faced by other cultures that imported exotic beasts it is possible to make further comment on how the Roman beast trade network functioned. The best-recorded example of a multi-regional network of trade in exotic beasts being transported either over land or by ship is the 19th century hunter companies of London, Liverpool, and Hamburg. While these beasts were not being transported for the same reasons as the Roman trade, exotic animals were still sought out by the contemporary elite for display in circus acts, private menageries, and for scientific studies. However, what is consistent is the challenges faced by these companies in capturing and transporting these animals from the furthest corners of the world to countries like England and Germany.

The most famous of these traders was the London based Charles Jamrach, who alongside his sons, Anton and Albert, were the pre-eminent traders of exotic beasts in England during this time.[332] The reason for Jamrach's pre-eminence was his worldwide network of agents that ensured a steady supply of beasts for his business, these were men who were stationed at major ports in order to purchase exotic animals that were transported on cargo ships from across the multiple European empires.[333] Jamrach's agents travelled the world in search of prized animals, one such example of this is the 1873 acquisition of four tapirs, two orangutans, a panther, an elephant, a bear, and 'various large birds' which were subsequently stored in the courtyard of the Hotel de la Paix in Singapore.[334] He also employed local hunters in the area, in this case the Fernandez brothers, who traversed the Malaysian Peninsula in search of potential purchases, at one point planning a shipment of eight each of rhinoceros', tapirs, tigers, panthers, and numerous species of birds.[335]

[331] Wilson (2002): 242.
[332] Simons (2014): 29-30.
[333] Ibid.: 39, Liverpool, Southampton, Plymouth, Deal, Bordeaux, Marseilles, and Hamburg to name a few.
[334] Ibid.: 38-39.
[335] Ibid.

The extensive trade network of Charles Jamrach appears very similar to that which was developed by the hunter corporations in ancient Rome, like the *Telegenii*. This is even more reminiscent of the Sabratha mosaic found at Ostia suggesting the sub-Saharan trade of elephants and ivory into Italy. It would not be difficult for these businessmen to be acting as the 'middle-men' like Jamrach, making use of local hunters and the already existent movement of animal goods in order to source live exotic animals for *venationes*. There is evidence for similar transactions taking place in the Roman empire, in particular the grain trade, as seen in the Oxyrhynchite *papyri*:

> Given to Didymus, *strategos* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, by Posidonius also called Triadelphus, master of eight boats carrying 40,000 *artabae* in the Neaspoleos administration, I have received and had measured out to me the amount ordered by you the *strategos* (named) and by the *basilicogrammateus* (named) of the same nome, from the *sitologoi* (named) of the Psobthis district, in accordance with the order of his excellent the *procurator Neaspoleos,* from public granaries of the said village at the river Tomis (a specified amount of) wheat, produce of the year (specified), unadulterated, with no admixture of earth or barley, untrodden and sifted, which I will carry to Alexandria and deliver to the officials of the administration safely, free of all risk, and damage by ship. This receipt is valid, there being three copies of it, of which I have issued two to you the *strategos* and one to the *sitologoi.* Date.[336]

This demonstrates the many hands which grain went through before reaching Alexandria where it would be stored until needed in Rome.[337] A similar situation is likely the case for the beast trade. Purchasing or commissioning native hunters, perhaps with along with the assistance of 'professional' hunters from the corporation, which were then transported to the nearest city for further trade or to await transport to their final destination in the arena.

The difficulties involved in transporting these animals is another aspect that is worth considering. While evidence like Symmachus' record of malnourished bears for his son's games in AD 393 hints at the challenges faced by the ancients, there are no explicit references to animals dying on the journey to their destination. It is unlikely that this was not an issue faced by these ancient traders of exotic beasts. Looking once again to the 19th century exotic beast trade it is possible to see the disastrous effect that travel fatigue had on the mortality rates of these animals during this process. The German explorer Josef Menges published a list of prices paid for animals in Kassala compared to their respective costs in Europe, for example, an elephant could be purchased for 80-400 marks and later sold for 3,000-6,000 marks; similarly, a giraffe cost 80-200 marks initially, and later sold for 2,000-3,000 marks; in the most extreme case, a rhinoceros could be purchased for 160-400 marks

[336] *P. Oxy*. 1259.
[337] Rickman (1980): 264.

which on the European market would fetch 6,000-12,000 marks.[338] Menges justifies this mark up of, roughly 7,500 per cent in the case of a rhinoceros, due to the immense costs which it took to transport these animals to Germany. He continues to list in detail the process undertaken in order to bring these animals back as safely as possible. Initially, 50-100 camels were required for the trip, 50-60 people to walk with the animals, and supplies to keep the animals healthy after capture.[339] This was then followed by numerous train trips each which required the loading and unloading of animals, plus further supplies to feed these animals.[340] He then finally notes that all this does not take into consideration the fact that anywhere between a third to two-thirds of these animals would die in the process.[341]

This high mortality rate can be found in the 1869 expedition carried out by Lorenzo Cassanova on behalf of the Hagenbeck company based in Hamburg. The expedition which was active in the area between Egypt and Ethiopia collected thirty-two elephants, eight giraffes, twenty antelope, sixteen buffaloes, two rhinoceros, one hippopotamus, twelve hyenas, four lions, four ostriches, twelve hornbills, and a variety of other bird species.[342] Accompanied by 300 Arab attendants, 95 camels, and 80 goats to provide milk for the hippopotamus and rhinoceros, the six week journey overland to load the animals onto a steamship for transport to Trieste resulted in the escape of two elephants and a further five were killed 'by accident'.[343] Following a further train journey from Trieste to Hamburg, the resulting menagerie numbered eleven elephants, five giraffes, six antelope, one rhinoceros, twelve hyenas, seven hornbills, and four ostriches.[344] Of the £19,140 contemporary value of Hagenbeck's cargo, the surviving animals were only worth £6,830.[345] If this expectation of losing up to two thirds of any one delivery was a standard in the 19th century then it must have also been a reality for the Roman beast trade. Perhaps this is why records of only late arrivals and malnourishment are preserved in the ancient sources. Travel related deaths of animals are not mentioned because they were simply the norm and were to be expected in this business.

[338] Menges (1876): 232. Mark conversion for Kassala prices can be found in Rothfels (2002): 57.
[339] Menges (1876): 233.
[340] Ibid.
[341] Ibid.
[342] Simons (2014): 39-40.
[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.
[345] This price is based off a breakdown of costs for exotic animals in 1879 as advertised by Charles Jamrach in London, this can be found Simons (2014): table 2.3.

The question then is how this model of the 19th century beast trade can fill the gaps created by a lack of information in the ancient record? One big question that has remained in the study of the infrastructure of *venationes* is that of transportation and purchase. While companies like the *Telegenii* could be commissioned directly for their services, not only in purchasing trained animals but also hunters to perform in these shows, as seen in the Magerius mosaic. The Sabratha mosaic at Ostia demonstrates that there was a market for the importation of animals into Italy specifically. This can theoretically be applied to other major port centres around the Mediterranean. But with the lack of archaeological evidence of holding pens for animals to accommodate animal trade where exactly did these traders hold their livestock?

It would have been more practical for these traders to have had regional hubs close to the hunting grounds. This has multiple benefits. It would solve the lack of space for holding animals, with the exception of the Imperial *vivaria* in Rome and Laurentum, but this was likely only to store the animals for Imperial spectacles. Additionally, this would provide an intermediary holding space for corporations whose services included trained animals and *venatores* for hire. Modern veterinary manuals discussing the transportation of wild exotic herbivores refer to an intermediary holding period in which the animals are tamed and become accustomed to human activity and smells, referred to as the Boma technique.[346] It is during this period that captured animals can have injuries treated and be fed good quality food to improve their overall condition. This is done to reduce the degree of stress on the animals during the transportation process which in turn significantly decreases the mortality rate of these creatures.[347]

These manuals also mention the sheer difficulty of transporting carnivores, especially leopards and lions without the use of sedation due to their extremely unpredictable and aggressive nature.[348] This difficulty is alluded to in Claudian's *De Consulatu Stilichonis* describing the sheer terror of the sailors who were employed to transport these exotic beasts across seas and the oxen who drew the carts across land:

> Whatsoever inspires fear with its teeth, wonder with its mane, awe with its horns and bristling coat – all the beauty, all the terror of the forest is taken. Guile protects them; neither strength nor weight avails them; their speed saves not the fleet of foot. Some roar enmeshed in snares; some are thrust into wooden cages and carried off. There are not carpenters enough to fashion the wood; leafy prisons are constructed of unhewn beech and ash. Boats laden with some of the animals traverse seas

[346] Openshaw (1993): 195.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Epsie (1993): 286-287, 290, 291.

> and rivers; bloodless from terror the rower's hand is stayed, for the sailor fears the merchandise he carries. Others are transported over land in wagons that block the roads with the long procession, bearing the spoils of the mountains. The wild beast is borne a captive by those troubled cattle on whom in times past he sated his hunger, and each time that the oxen turned and looked at their burden they pull away in terror from the pole.[349]

This passage demonstrates several aspects for the transportation of exotic beasts for *venationes*. It confirms that wooden cages were used for the containment of large felines, at times being constructed on site rather than specially commissioned for their purpose. It also illustrates the difficulty of moving these animals, transporting them across the land was faced with the issue of keeping the oxen calm in proximity to their natural predators. Claudian also seems to be suggesting that the sailors recruited to move this cargo were not used to such a dangerous presence. It is likely that a trainer or carer for the animals was present on the ship, but the ship itself does not appear to have been owned and operated for the express purpose of moving exotic beasts for spectacles.

Beast traders must have been faced with hesitation from many crews when trying to hire ships to move animals. The use of ships for the transportation of carnivores is attested on a late third century AD sarcophagus from Ostia which depicts a pair of sailors arriving in a port by ship bringing three caged lions (fig. 19).[350] The use of ships and crates to transport African carnivores is further confirmed in a mosaic from Carthage Demarch dating to the early fourth century AD. This mosaic depicts hunters leading a lion into a wooden crate, and below the crew of a ship loading the captured animals (fig. 20). It is stated by the modern manuals, wild animals become extremely unpredictable during sea travel, herbivores becoming timid and carnivores irritable and prone to lashing out at their handlers. Perhaps it was the unpredictable and difficult nature of these exotic carnivores that not only made them so prized by organisers but also why they appear in such a small number in local *venationes*.

[349] Claud., *De Stil.* 3.317-332.
[350] Bruni and Abbado (2000): 59, fig. 18.

Figure 19 - Sarcophagus with Relief of a Boat Shipping Lions, Ostia (late 3rd century AD)

Figure 20 - Capture and Transport of Wild Beasts, Carthage Demarch (Early 4th c. AD) (Dunbabin (1978): 53-5)

Figure 21 - Known Amphitheatres in North Africa (as per Heath (2016) map)

This is not to say that the Roman traders of exotic beasts consciously held these animals for the purposes of increasing their chances of survival over the Mediterranean. It is much more likely that they were being held for the purposes of training and being on stand-by ready for prospective buyers. However, this would have been a by-product of this, and perhaps this was a contributing factor to the exclusion of animal death in the ancient sources. It would also have been more practical for these traders to hold these animals elsewhere, and once purchased, they would have been able to ship the requested animals promptly and in as a good a state as possible.

3.7 - Reconstructions of Roman Beast Trade and Complications

With this knowledge about the Roman and 19th century beast trade's solutions to these problems, it is possible to create theoretical models of these journeys. This section will project two possible routes to highlight the time taken to carry out these transactions. These routes are Ara Agrippinensium (modern Cologne) to Rome and Carthage to Pompeii. The two routes to Rome have been included to illustrate a scenario in which it is securely attested that exotic beasts were brought into the city. Carthage was one of the largest metropolitan centres in not only Africa Proconsularis, but also in North Africa. This makes this city a prime candidate as a centre for the movement of exotic beasts internationally. Africa Proconsularis is also the African province in which there was the highest density of amphitheatres on the continent (fig. 20). This, alongside the sheer popularity of *venationes* in the region, means that Carthage was likely the main location for major corporations who provided and trained animals not only for international trade but also to perform locally. This then provides the southern location for sourcing animals for the amphitheatre. Carthage's location on the extreme northern coast of Africa and its proximity to Sicily provided an easy point from which ships could launch while keeping to coastal routes to ensure regular stops to feed and care for their cargo. Ara Agrippinensium is the location of the centurion Tarquitius Restutus Pisauro whose inscription records his achievement of capturing over fifty bears in six months.[351] This has been selected in order to give a northern scenario which can stand in direct comparison to the Carthaginian example. This also indicates a route in which sea travel was minimised. River and cart travel would have given animals the least stressful journey possible to their final destination in which conditions could be better controlled. This likely would have led to significantly lower death rates of animals in transit.

[351] *CIL* XIII, 8174.

The problematic aspect of choosing destinations for these routes is that outside of North Africa it was unusual for the evidence recording *venationes,* mostly epigraphic, to specify what animals would be shown. As a result, it is difficult to pinpoint how far-reaching the exotic beast trade was. Pompeii's *dipinti* depicted lions and tigers alongside many other local animals such as bears, boars, etc., this may be suggestive of the presence of these creatures in the arena, *venatio* culture was thriving in Pompeii. Many of the *edicta munerum* include a *venatio* in addition to the gladiatorial combats being produced. The same problem is also present here, while these are detailed for the number of gladiators being hosted, the *venatio* is often relegated to being merely mentioned with no detail of what is to be presented. However, the Sabratha office at Ostia suggests that there was an international infrastructure in place to support the importation of exotic animals to local elite. While the evidence is scarce for this sort of trade this should not be taken as an indication that it never occurred.

According to the ORBIS model, which models the duration and costs of travel across the ancient Mediterranean, these journeys range in duration from seven days (Carthage to Pompeii) to thirty-two days (Cologne to Rome).[352] The length of sea travel would have posed another problem for the Romans, reduced travel times were vital to the overall condition and survival of the merchandise.[353] Constant supervision would have been required for these animals to survive the trip. Travel fatigue, dehydration, and malnourishment would have been constant concerns, this would have provoked behavioural changes, disease, and the overall weakening of the animal.[354] Animals in these poor conditions are at a much higher risk of dying along the way, after succumbing to journey fatigue an animal's health deteriorates rapidly after three hours.[355] Travel could have been expedited through the use of rowers, but there were a variety of factors that could delay delivery.[356] Pliny the Younger wrote to his friend Valerius Maximus lamenting the delay of his panthers in Rome due to weather conditions.[357] Claudian further notes that the size of the animal was also a contributing factor towards journey duration, noting concern that the weight of elephants would slow down the ship significantly.[358] Symmachus expressed dismay at the poor state of a variety of animals, particularly

[352] Total length for these journeys as per ORBIS (orbis.stanford.edu).
[353] MacKinnon (2006): 148-149.
[354] Ibid.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Claud., *De Stil.* 3.325-7 notes that boats carrying animals were equipped with rowers, further mentioned at 3.365.
[357] Plin., *Ep.* 6.4.3.
[358] Claud., *De Stil.* 3.354-5.

bears, upon arrival for his son's games.[359] To avoid such problems and minimise the mortality rate of these creatures several measures would have been put in place, further lengthening the journey. One particularly important precaution would have been the use of several stops along the way to allow the animals momentary reprieve from the stress of the sea voyage and to care for injured or ailing animals. This would have limited the use of open sea travel. While significantly faster, it would have made it extremely difficult for sailors to avoid the disastrous effects of the unpredictability of wild animals, especially the big felines that were so popular with audiences.

Taking this journey fatigue into consideration, the subsequent costs demonstrate that purchasing animals for the games was immensely expensive. For the purposes of comparative results, this model will assume that a *venatio* will be held on the scale like that of Magerius in the mid-third century AD, involving four leopards and hunters. Magerius records that the costs for these leopards and their hunters totalled 2,000 *denarii*, 500 per leopard/hunter combination. This model assumes that wild animals are being captured and transported on a 'per order' basis and so it is reasonable to assume that some animals would die along the way. To account for this loss, Cassanova's expedition for the Hagenbeck company will serve as a basis for average loss on a journey. The resulting average loss incurred during Cassanova's expedition was 37.8%. In order to ensure that at least four leopards were able to be shown at these games, those responsible for the capture and transportation of the animals would require at least ~2.5 times the required animals, in this case, ten leopards.

Assuming costs similar to Magerius, it could be expected that these games would cost a total of 5,000 *denarii.* While this would have been a modest showing in comparison to something like a gladiatorial showing in which 20-30 pairs were put on for HS50,000 (12,500 *denarii*), it remains in the financial boundaries of the provincial elite. However, Magerius was hosting his shows in North Africa, and as seen with the 19th century accounts, prices were significantly different locally to their European counterparts. Diocletian's Price Edict of AD 301 illustrates this well, leopards were categorised into two classes. A first-class leopard being priced at 100,000 *denarii* and a second-class leopard being not much cheaper at 75,000 *denarii.*[360] The price edict must have been more representative of the costs of these animals outside of North Africa then. Applying these prices to this model results in a very different picture. If an organiser only wanted first-class leopards, the resulting cost for ten leopards would be 1,000,000 *denarii.* For only second-class leopards, 750,000

[359] Symm., *Ep.* 9.117; 2.76.
[360] For a complete list of prices for animals seen in the arena see appendix 3.5.

denarii. Finally, for an even mixture of the two classes, 875,000 *denarii.* Note also that the price edict makes no mention of the inclusion of hunters, so it must be assumed that this price was only for the leopards alone.

The sheer difference in price range between these projections based on the Magerius mosaic and Diocletian's Price Edict shows that there must have been a stark difference in the *venationes* displayed in North Africa and in the rest of the Roman Empire. Even a modest set of games with only four leopards appears to have been an impossible financial feat for most members of the provincial elite during the early fourth century AD. The lack of pre-third century AD evidence for the costs of exotic animals for the arena only complicates this matter more. It is difficult to say if the exclusion of specific species of animals is evidence for the exclusive use of animals that could be captured and bred locally, such as boars, bears, and bulls for these games. In this light, do the *dipinti* of Pompeii's amphitheatre serve as the only time at which citizens could witness such beasts in the city? Easily bred and herded exotic animals, such as ostriches, were within the financial realm of the local elite hosting games but do not appear in the inscriptions and mosaics recording beast-hunts outside of North Africa. Diocletian's Price Edict sets a maximum price for an ostrich at only 5,000 *denarii*. This sits right between the two classes of boar (first class: 6,000 *denarii* and second class: 4,000 *denarii*) which could have been captured locally and therefore avoided all the complications associated with capturing and transporting animals from Africa. Perhaps the certainty of local animals was preferred by benefactors over the several elements that could lead to delays in importing exotic beasts, and risk ruining their show.

But as seen in the modern veterinary manuals, much of the stress related to journey fatigue, especially in wild herbivores, is a result of their proximity to human activity. The Boma technique, discussed above, involved a period of containment (usually 4-8 weeks) within an encampment to acclimatise animals to human activity.[361] This transition period is not only connected to human activity, but it is also the period in which animals are fed good quality feed and can be treated for any injuries that occurred as part of either their initial capture or their transportation to the campsite.[362] This resting period means that animal can be in the best possible condition before being moved to their final destination. Death of cargo on the way to the destination must have been a common factor when moving these animals by cart and ship, this is precisely why most modern

[361] Openshaw (1993): 195.
[362] Ibid.

manuals stress the importance of moving wild animals while tranquilised. This is stressed not only to avoid the unpredictable nature of wild carnivores but also to reduce stress as much as possible and give the animal the best chance of survival.

But why is it that the ancient record has very little mention of the loss of animal life on these ships until Symmachus, who seems to have been outraged at the poor condition of his bears.[363] As seen with the cost projections, even to produce a set of games including four wild leopards, traders would have needed to ship twice as many animals to guarantee a specific number. As seen with the *lanistae* for gladiators, there was an expectation for continued returns and therefore even *gregarii* who had not yet attained a formal class title were expected to fight multiple bouts. Magerius and many other North African mosaics attest to the popularity of trained animals for *venationes,* this is also found in the literary evidence recording the use of animals in Rome for entertainment. The assumption that animals destined for the arena would die there is largely based on the lavish late Republican games and Imperial games at Rome. These games were financed by the richest men in the Empire who could afford such an expenditure. Especially during the Imperial period where the Emperor's games sourced animals from the multiple *vivaria* (two outside the walls of Rome and one at Laurentum) that bred and trained animals for this purpose. Is it possible then that beast-hunts outside of Rome did not necessarily end in the death of the animal? The naming of leopards in the Magerius mosaic would suggest that these animals would have been known to onlookers, similar to how named racehorses and charioteers are depicted in chariot mosaics.[364] Just like gladiators, killing such expensive and trained animals may have come with an additional cost, which may explain why the inscription on the Magerius mosaic quotes 500 *denarii* for each leopard, but in actual fact he may have paid them 1,000.

Companies such as the *Telegenii* must have also had locations to both store and train their animals. It may be possible that smaller *vivaria*-like structures could be found around North Africa which housed animals and provided a training ground for both animal and hunter to rehearse before local performances. The presence of *Telegenii* emblems on oil amphorae in Ostia and the Sabratha suggests that these companies operated outside of their North African hubs. It has already been discussed that animals were held in the dockyards while they wait to be moved to their final destination. Is it possible that the training grounds for organisations like the *Telegenii* served as a

[363] Symm., *Ep.* 2.76.2.
[364] The depiction of racehorses and charioteers is discussed in further detail in chapter 4.

holding location for animals that were being prepared to perform in arenas outside of Africa? This may account for the lack of complaints regarding the poor condition of arena animals upon arrival or even the death of several. This would have essentially served as an unintentional Boma period, allowing for animals to heal, be fed, and become used to human activity before being finally shipped.

3.8 - Money Matters

One of the most difficult aspects of analysing the beast trade for games is the lack of information regarding prices and back-end costs to carry out such events. Often when an overall price is involved these events are not the sole entertainment being presented. Many of the honorific inscriptions that remain have beast-hunts run in accompaniment to other entertainments, primarily gladiatorial combats. Mosaics such as the Magerius mosaic do provide figures, boasting to the crowd that he would give in to their demands to pay the *Telegenii* 500 *denarii* for each leopard, when in actual fact the bags of coin presented are marked with the symbol for 1,000, ∞. The inscription on this mosaic itself seems to suggest the crowd had a major part in determining how much huntsmen were paid for their services. Fagan notes that the inclusion of the audience's demands to pay 500 *denarii* while actually paying 1,000 is a sign of Magerius' 'civic-minded generosity.'[365] The concept of the audience determining such an important factor as to whether hunters get paid or not is doubtful. It is more likely that the 4,000 *denarii* price point had been discussed during the organisation process, and that this 'spur-of-the-moment' gesture was merely to bolster Magerius' public image.[366]

The other point in which prices for beasts are preserved is in the late antique period, most notably in the price reforms of Diocletian. These price reforms document that the price for an African lion was set at 150,000 *denarii*.[367] This not only demonstrates how profitable the animal trade was in the late third and early fourth centuries AD but also that the price point for desirable exotic beasts for games was significantly high. It is possible that this was due to the economic situation of the late third century AD, and that animal prices were changed by the same kind of demand and inflation that caused laws such as the *Aes Italicense* did for gladiators. When analysing the subsequent effects of the popularity of *venationes* around the Empire, an emerging scene of overhunting and a decline in these species' population density appears. This can be observed in the letters of Symmachus where

[365] Fagan (2011): 130.
[366] Bomgardner (2009): 169.
[367] *SEG* 14.386; Shelton (2014): 472. See appendix 3.5 for a complete record of the prices of exotic beasts for spectacles.

he orders bears and other species from specialist *ursorum negotiatores* for his son's games as Quaestor.[368] Only to find that upon arrival that only a few cubs had been sent, and those sent were in miserable condition due to starvation and travel stress.[369] This would not have been a new phenomenon, and that it is likely that ancient authors simply did not discuss or at least downplayed this aspect of animal transport.[370] The confined conditions onboard these ships would have created multiple complications. Journey fatigue would set in after three hours which would lead to several symptoms: behavioural changes with some becoming more vicious and others becoming more withdrawn, disease due to malnourishment and cramped conditions, and that the health of young separated from their mothers would diminish rapidly.[371] This meant that these animals required close attention paid to them throughout the entire journey.[372]

A fifth century AD epigram recording the attitudes towards animal capture describes the mutual benefits of capturing animals for entertainment:

> The countryside marvels at the triumphs of the amphitheatre and the forest notices that strange are there. The many farmers look at new struggles while ploughing and the sailor sees varied entertainments from the sea. The fertile land loses nothing, the plants grow in greater abundance while all the beasts fear their fates here.[373]

This illustrates the multifaceted nature of the beast-trade and *venationes* in the ancient world. Not only did they present a popular form of entertainment for those in the cities, but also relieved stress on those in more agricultural settings from the dangers of the local wildlife. Maps depicting the distribution of wild beasts common in the arena illustrate that bears, leopards, and lions were widespread throughout North Africa and must have been a common sight for the local population.[374]

But this attitude also took its toll on the wildlife and evidently is reflected in these beast-hunts. Reduced numbers of vicious animals were presented with more of an emphasis on keeping these animals alive. This change was complimented with a larger number of herbivores, which could also be redistributed as meat to the public following the event. It is clear from letters and legal texts that attempts were made to prevent the rapid decline of these animals. Symmachus's letters indicate

[368] Symm., *Ep.* 5.62.
[369] Ibid.: 2.76.2.
[370] MacKinnon (2006): 150.
[371] Ibid.: 149.
[372] Ibid.
[373] Rosenblaum (1961): no. 60.
[374] See appendix 3.6 for historical distribution maps of wild animals in the Roman period.

that the trade in bears was the only part of the beast-trade to have been taxed.[375] Ammianus Marcellinus documents how the transport and capture of animals for Imperial shows in Rome became a role for the military governors and that local collectors would be hired for Imperial shows given in the provinces.[376] Aelian shows that licenses became required to capture elephants, and at times, the capture, hunting, and killing of lions.[377] The attitude of putting the safety and prosperity of the Empires' subjects described above was still a priority. This is best seen in AD 414 when the government removed the requirement of these licences to kill lions, the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II are recorded as declaring:

> The safety of our provincials must be preferred to our own pleasure.[378]

This is followed by the statement that this announcement was not an express declaration to hunt and sell lions freely, merely a measure to ensure the safety of provincial citizens where killing these animals was a necessary part of self-defence and protecting livestock.[379]

This reduction in the number of vicious animals presented is also seen at Rome. The *Historia Augusta* says that during his term as aedile Gordian I presented a beast-hunt for each month in office, one that is described records the presentation of over 200 stags, 30 wild horses, 100 wild sheep, 10 elks, 100 bulls, 300 ostriches, 30 wild asses, 150 wild boar, 200 chamois, and 200 fallow deer.[380] With the exception of the ostriches and wild horses, these are all locally found animals and herbivores. A similar event can be found in the record of Probus' triumph in AD 281 which displayed 1000 ostriches, 1000 wild boar, and an unspecified number of deer, ibexes, wild sheep, and other 'grass-eating beasts'.[381] These are all animals that require relatively small amounts of training, only needing basic upkeep, and could be breed and kept in high quantities. But they are a long way from the spectacles of the first century BC Republican style games such as the 400 lions presented by Caesar in 46 BC.

[375] Symm., *Ep.* 5.62.
[376] Amm. Marc., 24.5.2; *Cod. Theod.* 15.11.1-2 for provincial local collector use.
[377] Ael., *NA* 10.1.
[378] *Cod. Theod.* 15.11.1.
[379] Jennison (1937): 141-142.
[380] SHA *Gordiani Tres* 3.5-8.
[381] Kyle (1994): 202; SHA, *Probus* 19.2-4, it must be noted that lions and leopards were killed on another day in a set of games hosted by Probus (see 19.5-6).

3.9 - What Could a Venue Hold? A Look at Provincial Amphitheatres and the Feasibility of Presenting Particular Species

It must also be considered what animals an arena could feasibly contain. By analysing this, it may be possible to narrow the potential for exotic beasts to have been imported into the area for *venationes,* or whether benefactors would have opted for local fauna instead. This is made particularly difficult by the fact that most records of provincial *venationes* simply do not mention what animals were available for the audience. The *dipinti* at the amphitheatre of Pompeii that decorated the podium wall show that *venationes* were held, but unlike the African mosaic evidence, it does not quantify which animals were presented.[382] Reproductions of these *dipinti*, made before frost destroyed them in 1816, depicted lions and tigers along with other less exotic animals such as bears and boars.[383] However, this is not enough to attest to the importation of African animals into Pompeii for these games. Alex Scobie suggests that it is unlikely that such creatures were ever presented at this arena, unless these animals were presented to the public in cages, otherwise the podium wall of 2.18 metres high could not have securely contained these animals, especially large felines.[384]

Ancient texts do record the use of fences and grilles at amphitheatres for this exact purpose, as seen in the descriptions of Nero's amphitheatre in the Campus Martius.[385] The posts were likely made of timber and the nets of rope, accounting for the lack of archaeological evidence to confirm the existence of such equipment directly. However, at many amphitheatres across the Empire post holes can be found in the podium walls which it is possible that such devices could be socketed into.[386] These sockets can be found at the amphitheatres at Syracuse and at Trier. At Syracuse, the inner facing wall of the drain (3.5 metres from the podium wall) found at the arena are socket suitable for receiving netting posts at 2-metre intervals.[387] Such sockets are also found in the Colosseum also, at c.4.75-metre intervals and 4 metres from the podium wall.[388] The netting would allow for protection from such animals while also ensuring that an unimpeded view for every spectator. These sockets

[382] Scobie (1988): 209.
[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Calp., *Ecl.* 7.50-56 describes Nero's timber amphitheatre in which the fences, placed on wooden rollers held up posts equipped with elephant tusks which suspended a gilded metal net to contain the beasts presented; Plin., *NH* 37.11.45 also discusses this net, also related to Nero, but merely notes that the nets were knotted with amber.
[386] Scobie (1988): 209-210.
[387] For Trier see Wightman (1970): 81.
[388] Scobie (1988): 209.

can be found at amphitheatres with a range of podium wall heights, from Pompeii's 2.18 metres to Trier's wall being over 4 metres tall.[389]

If such measures were taken for spectator security, they must have been effective. There are no existing accounts of animals escaping into the crowd, something which would have surely been mentioned by our ancient texts regarding the arena and beast-hunts.[390] This is not to say that the Romans employed similar safety practices as would be expected in modern events, yet the repeated presence of these sockets suggests that such fencing may have been used for a similar purpose.

In North Africa, the popularity of *venationes* is clear and can be found in the archaeological remains of the amphitheatres in this region. This region was widely considered the best location for animals for the games. This was not only because of the variety and exotic nature of these animals, but animals such as lions from this region were also considered to have been of a higher quality and desirability. There is a significantly high density of amphitheatres in this area, for example, the Tunisian region which during the Roman period was known as *Campi Magni* had around 70 venues in total.[391] This is also a region where even the smallest amphitheatres were constructed to facilitate *venationes* better. These features include aspects such as which appear to have been animal pens built into the arena walls and mechanisms designed to introduce these animals into the arena.[392] Such mechanisms can be found in even the smallest amphitheatres; they are present in those found at Agbia (c.3,000 spectators) and Mactar (c.5,500 spectators).[393]

This illustrates beast-hunt spectacle as having regional variety. The grand spectacles with a wonderous variety of different exotic animals depicting Rome's Imperial might, that so many scholars discuss, was largely a phenomenon of Rome itself. What is more likely to have been the case is that many amphitheatres displayed local beasts such as boars, bears, and other readily available fauna. It was not impossible to have such exotic beasts displayed at provincial arenas, just an impractical and expensive endeavour. Regions such as North Africa demonstrate that beast hunts were highly popular and a common part of civic life. One merely needs to refer to the third century

[389] Scobie (1988): 212.
[390] Ibid.
[391] Bomgardner (2009): 163.
[392] Ibid.; Bomgardner (1992): 174.
[393] Bomgardner (2009): 163.

AD mosaics depicting these events which will be discussed in detail below to see that provinces that lay on the beast trade routes likely had greater access to these animals.

3.10 - Reconstructing the Numbers of Animals at these Events

There is a distinct shift in mosaic art of North Africa during the Severan period towards hunting scenes and depictions of *venationes*. These types of hunting scenes were almost non-existent in mosaic art before this period, what is interesting is that animal related imagery becomes one of the most prevalent depictions in the North African genre from this period onwards.[394] One style of mosaic that is of particular interest is the 'Catalogue' mosaics. These mosaics fill the gaps created by the honorific inscriptions and *edicta munerum*. While simple in design, the essential purpose of these inscriptions was likely to commemorate smaller scale games that were not considered grand enough for an honorific inscription.[395]

An early depiction of this kind can be seen in the amphitheatre scene of the Le Kef mosaic (fig. 22). Set in a semi-circular space surrounded by nets with two openings on either side and one in the bottom centre, above is an arrangement of twenty ostriches separated into two groups facing each other, with eleven deer. The symmetrical nature of these scenes suggests that the damaged area should contain the other half of these deer, resulting in twenty to twenty-two deer.[396] While this piece does not explicitly say that it is cataloguing the number of animals shown at what was likely a fairly modest event, the specific numbers of animals and particular species suggests that what is depicted here was likely to have been a *munus* that clearly the benefactor was proud of.

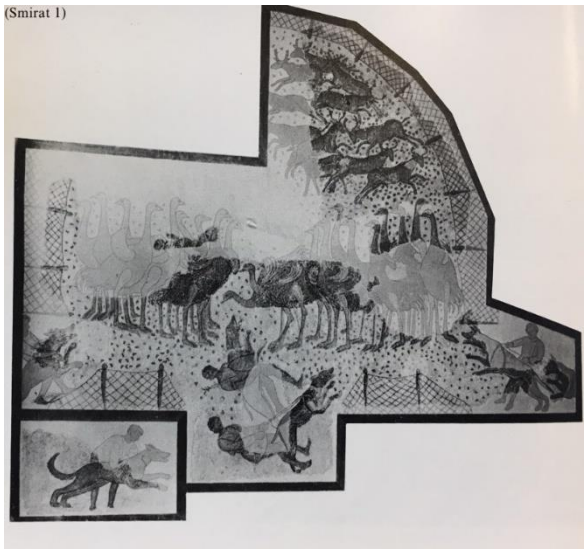

Figure 22 – Le Kef Mosaic, Sicca Veneria (Mid 3rd c. BC) (Dunbabin (1978): pl. 54)

[394] Dunbabin (1978): 46, 47. Examples also appear in other regions during this period such as the Great Hunt scene at the Piazza Amerina in Sicily.
[395] Ibid.: 69.
[396] Dunbabin (1978): pl. 54 and p. 69.

Figure 23 - 'Mel Quaestura' venatio mosaic and close-up, Carthage (AD 250-275) (Dunbabin (1978): 71, 250)

A similar and more explicit reference to a *munus* can be found at Carthage (fig. 23) in the depiction of numerous African animals, many of which are highly associated with the games. Of the surviving mosaic, there are depictions on a blank background with rose petals for decoration, leopards, a bear, an ostrich, a mouflon, two antelope, two stags, a bull, a boar, and a deer.[397] The array of animals that were included is indicative of a *venatio,* and this is reinforced by the arrangement of certain beasts in combat, best seen in the bear pouncing on the ostrich in the upper left corner. From the surviving illustrations, some have inscriptions on their hindquarters indicating quantity. This is found on both bears (N XL and N XXX), ostrich (N XXV), both mouflon (N X and N VI), and the antelope (N XV). This further adds to the idea that this is not just a depiction of hunting in an aristocratic sense. These inscriptions likely refer to how many of each animal were presented.[398] The separation of the groups of animals beyond the stalks of millet may suggest that this inscription is a commemoration of multiple days of beast-hunts, the different groups represent those presented on two different days.[399] The right group is most likely to have been the first day of games, not only does it occupy more space in the overall layout, but the quantities recorded are much larger, forty bears, twenty-five ostriches, 10 mouflon, and fifteen antelope. It must be remembered that this is not a complete record of the *venatio* since much of it has not survived. However, the Leopards have been treated differently in this scene. It would be expected from the rest of the animal depictions that the leopards would have a number inscription too, but the choice has been made to depict the six leopards of the *munus* separately. Perhaps this technique has been utilised to emphasise what would have been considered the 'main event' of the beast-hunt. This matches with other presentations of leopards in the provinces, the Magerius mosaic, for example, suggesting that exotic felines were both very expensive, perhaps due to their specialist training, and a well-received feature of a *munus* by the audience. This inscription on the upper central field reading MEL QUAESTURAI has been interpreted as expanding to *mel(ius) quaestura,* potentially evidence that a private citizen-funded these games and was proud of their official scale. Although this may refer to a similar acclamation made by audiences, *exemplo quaestorum munus edes* found in the Magerius mosaic of Smirat.[400]

A similar style of mosaic can be found at Rades, possibly indicating the presence of a Carthaginian workshop that produced these artworks (fig. 24).[401] Once again, we see the primary attraction of this

[397] Dunbabin (1978): pl. 57.
[398] Ibid.: 71-72.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Ibid.: 72.
[401] Ibid.: 72, pl. 58.

show depicted individually. In this case, bears and boars were the main spectacles, and each bear has been individually named (BRACIATVS, GLORIOSVS, SIMPLICIVS, ALECSANDRIA, FEDRA, NILVS, and --]ITVS). The naming aspect of this mosaic, just as in the Magerius mosaic, indicates the hire of a famous troupe of trained bears, likely from one of the hunter corporations like the *Telegenii*. If the names were not enough to suggest this, the central bear figure, Fedra, is depicted climbing a wooden post, pointing to the use of a trained bear.[402] Other than the bears and boars much of this mosaic is heavily damaged, on the surviving bull it is recorded in white N XVI, making clear that sixteen bulls were presented at these games. Also in black are the letters AR on its hindquarter, potentially a record of the stable which these bulls were purchased from.[403] Ostriches and what appears to be a stag in the lower-left corner are also seen running from the bear named Braciatus, but no number indicators have been included or survived. The difficulty of this mosaic is that so much of it is heavily damaged that it cannot be discussed in terms of animals presented at this *munus* confidently. It is possible that the left side contained more named bears, one of the bears

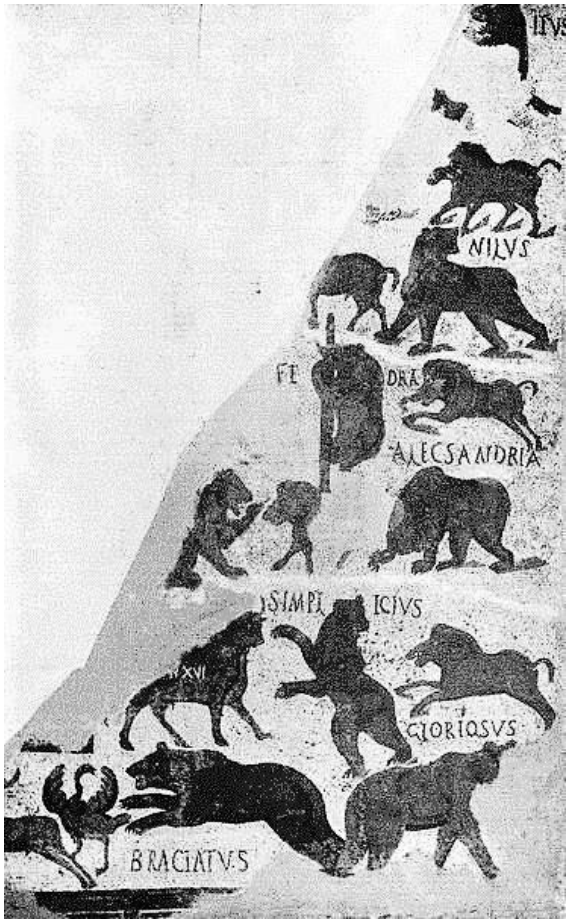

Figure 24 - Mosaic with trained bears, boars, and bulls, Maxula (AD 250-275) (Inscription: ILAfr., 350) (Dunbabin (1978): 72-3)

Figure 25 - 'Fortuna Redux' Mosaic, Theveste (Early 4th c. AD) (Inscription: CIL VIII, 16667 = ILAlg. I, 3097) (Dunbabin (1978): pl. 59)

[402] Robert (1940): 327-328.
[403] Dunbabin (1978): 72-73.

that surrounds the central boar has only partially survived with no name for example. But surviving fragments show that there were other animals on this side too, potentially more bulls perhaps, not enough has survived to say for certain. In total, this mosaic preserves a record of eight bears, four boars, sixteen bulls, an ostrich, and a stag. Based on a symmetrical reconstruction it is likely that there would have been eleven boars that would have been originally on this mosaic.[404] The letters MORI (which upon discovery originally read LVSIVS MORINVS) have two main interpretations of this name. Many suggest that this is the name of a famous and victorious *venator,* while the other theory suggests that Morinus was the name of the *munerarius.* This theory is likely as it has been seen in many of the other mosaics which have been analysed in this chapter, commemorating men who wished to proudly display their name along with the record of the games which they had given.[405] This is further backed by the fact that very few of the *venatores* in these mosaics are named at all, possibly reserving that prestige for only the most famous.

An example of a different style for cataloguing these events is the mosaic of the games from Tébessa (fig. 25).[406] Coming from the Great Bath complex in the city this is an example of a highly public version of cataloguing *venationes* demonstrating that they were not just used for a private context, in the benefactor's home for example. Surrounding the central image of this pavement is a grid which contains an array of different beasts marked with different numbers: a boar (VIII), a gazelle (II), an ostrich (with the inscription CVRI[S] XI), a bull (X), and a bear (XVIII). Each of these animals are depicted mid-leap, capturing them as they would have been seen in the games. The central panel contains an assortment of different scenes. A boat filled with amphorae with the inscription FORTVNA REDVX at the top. Below this, a man with surrounded by bulls and horses with the inscription CVRIS XI repeated twice. Finally, at the bottom, what appears to be a victorious athlete holding the customary palm branch named MAR[CELL]VS with a bag behind him marked XII, presumably his money prize. This scene is a commemoration of games hosted in celebration for the successful return of a local mercantile expedition in which beast-hunts were presented alongside athletic games.[407] However, no theory has been put forward regarding the CVRIS XI inscription which is included three times, perhaps referring to a gift, it is unclear.

[404] Dunbabin (1978): 73.
[405] Ibid.; Poinssot and Quoniam (1952): 129, n. 2.
[406] Dunbabin (1978): pl. 59.
[407] Ibid.: 74.

While these *venationes* catalogues of North Africa are few and often are problematic in their own right, they do represent a rare view at what would be an otherwise invisible portion of privately funded beast hunts. Depictions of beast-hunts in other regions of the Empire do not give this level of detail and generally show a non-descript *venatio* scene which only give an idea of what could have been presented, in contrast to the specific numbers seen in North Africa. Catalogue mosaics show the common quantities and species of animal that private benefactors were purchasing in the third century AD. Except for the Carthaginian mosaic, the number of animals being presented is somewhat modest in size as expected of their likely private and unofficial nature. The Carthaginian exception to this modest scale appears to have been rather exceptional, as the benefactor proudly asserts that his games were like those of the quaestors. But there is a clear emphasis on prime exotic animals, such as leopards and bears, being depicted individually. This stands in contrast to the use of numbers added to the hindquarters of a single figure to indicate the display of multiple animals of the same species. Perhaps it is because of the popular nature of such animals that the providers of these beasts put a conscious effort into training them specially for the games. Potentially this is why games documented with named animals, such as the Magerius mosaic or the Rades mosaic, display so few of these animals. Specially trained beasts were clearly more expensive, likely due to the increased investment from the supplying troupe. But it is possible that these trained animals also came with a similar shifting price point, similar to what had been decreed about gladiators.[408] It would be logical that animals with special training and which had built enough of a reputation to be named would have been more expensive if benefactors wished to kill them in the arena.

3.11 - Conclusion

The complexity and integration of the animal trade in the Roman Empire demonstrates not only the profitability of such a business but also the necessity for such a business in the provinces. It is during the Imperial period that this complex system was created to service a provincial elite who were now expected to host both gladiatorial and beast-hunt entertainment. The Republican system of using political contacts would not apply to a local elite who may have had very little to no contact with the elite of Rome that appear to have been so frequently contacted for access to exotic beasts in the first century BC. During the Imperial period, a dual system was created, military hunters for Imperial shows both in Rome and around the Empire, and a retail system which enabled the local elites to purchase and import foreign animals for their games. This retail system appears to have emerged from pre-established companies, as indicated with the *Telegenii* and their possible olive oil

[408] Refer to the *Aes Italicense* (chapter 2.4) for more information on the shifting price scale of gladiators in the late second century AD.

connection. These hunter corporations acted in much the same way as a *lanista* did for gladiators, not only making animals readily available, but also offering *bestiarii* for hire. However, specific numbers and prices for these animals remain scarce. While evidence, such as the Magerius mosaic and Diocletian's price edict, does provide some suggestion of the immense price of arena animals, it does not provide sufficient evidence to recreate overall costs for these events. While it is possible to estimate the scale of privately funded events through the catalogue mosaics of North Africa from the third century AD onwards, they too are problematic. They suggest that there was an emphasis on predators and larger aggressive herbivores, such as elephants and rhinos, but in a smaller quantity, which would then be complemented with herbivores which would have been cheaper and easier to capture and transport. It is unlikely that these corporations extended across the Empire. Smaller provincial towns and areas far from trade hubs must have been restricted in what they could have produced. In this case, there would have been an emphasis on locally sourced animals, bears, boars, etc. There must have been a regional variance on what was considered a *venatio*. In areas like North Africa, the variety of animals must have been much like those occurring in Rome and major Roman settlements. Whereas at other cities, perhaps even at Pompeii, the beast-hunts must have closely reflected the local hunting taking place. Nonetheless, these events provided a spectacular destination for animal populations that were detrimental to agricultural activity around the Empire, and therefore served a dual role.

Chariot Racing

4.1 - Introduction

Chariot racing was one of the most popular and prolific forms of Roman entertainment from third century BC to the Byzantine period. Archaeological evidence for monumental stone-built circuses in the wider Empire is sparse in comparison to other venues for public entertainment, such as amphitheatres and theatres. This does not mean that chariot racing was not present throughout the Empire. Races are attested in a variety of different ancient sources, literary, epigraphic, mosaic, and papyri, in towns where circuses have not been discovered. While much is known about the organisation of chariot racing in Rome and the integral role of the factions, the organisational process outside of the city differed from region to region depending on the frequency of races and the cultural context in which they were being displayed. This chapter will begin by assessing the distribution of chariot racing as a whole and the Roman factional system which other major urban centres adopted. This will be followed by a breakdown of the different methods in which chariot racing could have been organised. Once the organisational systems have been established a discussion of the evidence of costs for these races and what can be extrapolated from the few prices that we do know for these events. Following this there will be a consideration of the processes involved in racehorse breeding, rearing, training, and careers. This will finish with a discussion on the activity of the factions and smaller horse-training entities while not racing, an aspect which is largely invisible in the ancient sources.[409]

4.2 - Foundations: Chariot Racing Organisation at Rome

The earliest races are supposed to have occurred during the first victory of the city of Rome over the Latins during the reign of the king Tarquinius Priscus, illustrating just how deep-rooted circus racing was in the life of the Roman people.[410] It remained a popular event for the city up to the first century BC, being one of the main spectacles, alongside theatre, that was funded by the aedilican posts for major religious festivals such as the *ludi Romani* (or *Magni*).[411] As Cicero complained in his *De*

[409] For further reading on other aspects of chariot-racing in the Roman world see Potter (2011), Kyle (2007), and Bell (2014) for general introductions to chariot racing; Humphrey (1986) for an exhaustive record and analysis of the architectural, archaeological, and artistic evidence throughout the Empire including Rome; Cameron (1976) for an analysis of the Coloured factions, their origins, racers, and growth throughout the Roman Empire; and Hyland (1990) for the breeding and use of horses.

[410] Liv., 1.35; Bell and Willekes (2014): 483.

[411] Dunbabin (2016): 138. Veyne (1990): 208 and Scullard (1981): 40-1 note that most religious festivals taking place on fixed dates during the Roman Republic consisted mainly of chariot racing and/or theatrical performances, illustrating not only their importance to the public, but also to the magistrates who organised them.

Officiis, the overseeing and subsidising of the magisterial *ludi* were widely considered to have been the best way to gain political prestige.[412] The Roman chariot racing industry was such a large enterprise that the factions, which likely rose during the financial strains of the Second Punic War, were eventually influential all across the empire.[413] The systems that evolved in Rome set the standard for other major urban centres. This helps to understand better the organisational structures which were the basis of municipal and provincial circus racing.

It is likely that early on chariot racing in Rome was organised much like its Greek and Etruscan counterparts, with individuals submitting their own horses and drivers to the games in a somewhat loose organisational system.[414] This was different under the middle and late Republic. Livy discusses how in 214 BC the financial stress of the Second Punic War led to the privatisation of the provisioning of horses for the *ludi*:

> Since the censors on account of the emptiness of the treasury now refrained from letting contracts for the maintenance of temples and the furnishing of horses used in religious processions and for similar matters, those who had been in the habit of such; bidding came in large numbers to the censors, and urged them to take action and let contracts at once for everything, just as if there were money in the treasury; that no one would claim his money from the treasury until the war was over.[415]

This shows that religious institutions were responsible for the provision and likely organisation of chariot racing taking place in Rome. However, from the late third century BC private individuals became the leading providers of horses for the races. This could also be interpreted as the origins of the coloured factions that would later come to dominate the Roman chariot racing scene. Initially, these factions were private institutions owned by wealthy businessmen who profited from providing organisational services to magistrates required to host games. According to Tertullian, the factions did not appear simultaneously:

> But as chariots had such inventors, the charioteers were naturally dressed, too, in the colours of idolatry; for at first these were only two, namely white and red,--the former sacred to the winter with its glistening snows, the latter sacred to the summer with its ruddy sun: but afterwards, in the progress of luxury as well as of superstition, red was dedicated by some to Mars, and white by others to the Zephyrs, while green was given to Mother Earth, or spring, and azure to the sky and sea, or autumn.[416]

[412] Cic., *De Off.* 2.56-60; Rawson (1981): 4.
[413] Kyle (2007): 258.
[414] Humphrey (1986): 12-17 and Rawson (1981): 1-2 for an analysis of the evidence attesting to Etruscan involvement in the introduction of chariot racing in Rome; For a more detailed analysis refer to Thuillier (1981), (2018), and Bronson (1965).
[415] Liv., 24.18.10-11.
[416] Tert., *De Spec.* 9.5.

The validity of this fanciful description provided by Tertullian merits some criticism. Semi-mythical origins for the factions are a common feature of the literary account of the factions.[417] Tertullian makes it clear that two entities existed before the familiar four colours came into being. This matches with other less detailed records of the faction's existence. Pliny notes that a passionate supporter threw themself onto the funeral pyre of a Red charioteer named Felix in the 70s BC, while rivals at the time claimed that the individual had been intoxicated by the burning of spices.[418] It has been suggested that the rival of the Reds were the Whites, just as the Blues would hate the Greens more than any other faction.[419] The earliest attestation to the Greens is with Suetonius, who tells us that Caligula was an avid fan.[420] Similarly, the Blues are attested both in Suetonius and Martial. Suetonius tells us that Vitellius was a long-time supporter of theirs and Martial singling out the Blues and Greens to represent chariot racing.[421] It appears that the Reds and perhaps the Whites existed prior to the Imperial period. The earliest references to the Blues and Greens may indicate that they came into being only during the Julio-Claudian period.

If this suggestion is correct, initially two entities appear to have formed following the privatisation of horse breeding and training in Rome. As they gained widespread support throughout Rome, this resulted in other ambitious individuals following suit, thus resulting in the four main factions: Blues, Greens, Reds, and Whites.[422] During this period the *domini factionum* were wealthy *equites* who ran the factions for profit.[423] The Imperial biography of Commodus illustrates this, stating that extra races were added to the annual calendar in Rome to 'to enrich the *domini factionum*'.[424] Augustus too was recorded as having permitted senators to breed horses, possibly in reaction to the monopoly secured by the *equites*.[425] The profit focus is also emphasised in an anecdote regarding Nero's father. Domitius is recorded as attempting to avoid paying prize money to charioteers, this was followed by a protest, not by the charioteers short of their pay, but the faction *domini*:

> He was moreover so dishonest that he not only cheated some bankers of the prices of wares which he had brought, but in his praetorship he even defrauded the victors in the chariot races of the amount

[417] See Cameron (1976): 59 for a more detailed discussion on the semi-mythical origins of the factions, showing that all accounts trace the four colours back to the four basic elements/seasons (Green – Earth, White – Air, Red – Fire, Blue – Water, on p. 64).
[418] Plin., *NH* 7.186.
[419] Cameron (1976): 56.
[420] Suet., *Calig.* 55.
[421] Suet., *Vit.* 7; Mart., *Ep.* 14.131.
[422] Meijer (2010): 54 states that these four factions were firmly established by the end of the first century AD, each with their 'own faithful band of supporters.'
[423] Cameron (1976): 6.
[424] SHA, *Commodus* 16.9.
[425] For evidence of Augustus giving permission to senators see Cass. Dio 55.10; Cameron (1976): 6.

> of their prizes. When for this reason he was held up to the scorn by the jests of his own sister, and the managers of the troupes made complaint, he issued an edict that the prizes should thereafter be paid on the spot.[426]

While the prize money was destined for the charioteer, a portion of it may have acted almost as a 'finder's fee' for the *domini*, similar to how gladiators were paid a portion of their prize money dependent on whether they were a slave or a freedman.[427] If this was the case, it is likely how the factions made money for the maintenance of their team.

This changed in the third century AD by which point the management of the factions had passed to retired charioteers rather than *equites*.[428] An inscription of AD 275 reveals that the *dominus* of the Reds was a retired Caesarean charioteer named Polyphemus (*dominus et agitator factionis russatae*).[429] This does not appear to have been an isolated instance; the same managerial shift occurred in the Greens. The funerary inscription of the African charioteer M. Aurelius Liber documents him as the *dominus et agitator factionis praesinae*.[430] While the second inscription is undated, sarcophagus evidence from the late third century AD depicts four charioteers racing, two of them are labelled as Liber and Polyphemus, indicating that they were contemporaries.[431] Perhaps this new style of management seen in the factions is indicative of increased Imperial involvement in the organisation of chariot racing. During this period, the Roman factions were primarily provisioned by imperial stables and received feed from public granaries, but they still required an individual to oversee the management of the whole operation.[432] Retired charioteers who had successful careers were a natural choice; they would have had a better appreciation and eye for quality horses/charioteers than rich *equites*. This transition to a publicly funded format for the factions occurs at the same time that they begin to appear in the Eastern Empire, a region which was devoid of such evidence until the third century AD.[433] This is important as the Greek tradition in the East meant that horse racing was frequently organised alongside agonistic events which were financed through public liturgies. The presence of factions in the East was likely to have been connected to an Imperial edict that public entertainment for public ritual should be fulfilled with public funds and resources. In this way, the factions became an Imperial institution rather a private one. This would

[426] Suet., *Nero* 5.
[427] For the payment of gladiators see *Aes Italicense*, I 45-46.
[428] Roueché (1993): 49.
[429] *ILS* 5297.
[430] *ILS* 5296.
[431] Cameron (1976): 9.
[432] Ibid.
[433] Ibid.: 209-213 and Roueché (1993): 50 for in-depth discussions on the evidence surrounding Roman-style chariot racing in the eastern empire during the Imperial period.

explain why factions came to encapsulate the organisation of all Roman public spectacle, including gladiatorial and beast-hunts, during the fifth century AD.[434]

4.3 - Chariot Racing in the Empire: Regional Differences and Popularity

Based on the archaeological evidence for monumental stone-built circuses the regions in which Roman-style chariot racing enjoyed the most popularity were North Africa and the Iberian Peninsula. These regions were frequently referenced by ancient literary, epigraphic and mosaic evidence as the most prestigious regions for not only racehorses but also charioteers. This is demonstrated in an inscription from Rome which lists the names of 74 horses. Accompanying the names of these horses is their breed or country of origin, of the 74 horses, 46 of them are recorded as being from Africa, with others being from Gaul, Spain, Sparta, Cyrenaica, and Thessaly.[435] This illustrates how horses were bred throughout the empire, but that there was a clear preference for horses of North African origin. Another horse list mentions that an unknown charioteer had won 584 races with African horses and 1,378 with Spanish horses.[436] The letters of Symmachus mention that as part of the preparations for his son's games in Rome in AD 401 he wished to secure racehorses from Spain.[437]

The Iberian Peninsula also appears to have been a centre for producing successful charioteers who showed promise at an early age and were subsequently purchased by agents of the Roman factions to race in Rome. The most famous of these, the mid-second century AD charioteer Gaius Apuleius Diocles, born in Lusitania, is recorded as competing in 4,257 races over his 24-year career for the Reds, Greens, and Whites (an average of 170 per year), of which he was victorious in 1,462.[438] He is stated as retiring at the age of 42 having earned HS34.8 million in prizes.[439] This illustrates two factors about the careers of the often-servile charioteers at Rome. Their careers generally began at a young age, in Diocles' case, 18, and successful charioteers had the potential to earn significant amounts of money throughout their careers. Another famous Spanish charioteer, Flavius Scorpus, is recorded in the Diocles inscription as having won 2,048 races; Martial mentions he died aged 27.[440] Diocles also expanded on the horses that he drove, claiming that he was the best driver of African

[434] Webb (2008): 42
[435] *CIL* VI, 10053, see appendix 4.1 for full inscription.
[436] *CIL* VI, 10056.
[437] Symm., *Ep.* 4.58, 4.59, 4.63, 5.56, 5.82, 5.83, 7.97, 9.12, 9.18, 9.19, 9.21, 9.23.
[438] *CIL* VI, 10048 = *ILS* 5287, see appendix 4.2. For an in-depth analysis on Diocles' and other known charioteer careers with a commentary on the movement of charioteers between factions see Teeter (1988).
[439] Bell and Willekes (2014): 485.
[440] Harris (2014): 309; Mart., *Ep.* 4.47; 5.25; 10.50, 53, 74.

horses. He explains that he beat the previous champion of the African horse, Epaphroditus who had won 134 times with the African horse Balbus, whereas Diocles with his Pompeianus had secured 152 victories. The explicit mention of being the best driver of African horses could suggest that there was prestige to be won by successfully driving these horses, perhaps they were more challenging to drive. However, it is just as possible that Diocles mentioned this since he was particularly successful with or preferred to drive African horses.

A relative scarcity of archaeological evidence for monumental or semi-monumental stone circuses in comparison to amphitheatres has led some to suggest that gladiatorial, beast, theatrical, and agonistic spectacles were more popular than chariot racing. The sheer financial undertaking and the amount of flat space required for the construction of stone circuses mean that they were often the last public building to be added to a city. A monumental circus suggests that chariot racing was taking place at such a frequency to merit the full construction of a venue, typically adhering to the contemporary form of the Circus Maximus, taking its final form during the time of Trajan.[441] However, not all cities required a monumental circus in order to host races as seen with 'semi-monumental' circuses, like that referred to in an inscription from the North African town of Auzia.[442] Dating to AD 227 it was set up by Decennius Claudius Iuvenalis Sardicus in commemoration of his son and two grandsons; it refers to the construction of turning posts, eggs (lap counters), and a judges' *tribunal* in the circus. This could be interpreted in two ways, as additions to an existing structure or as a circus with only limited built elements. Humphrey believes that the circus being referred to here was not a full monumental circus.[443] This is based on the lack of any direct evidence for monumental seating in the region and the presence of an inscription claiming that the costs of chariot racing in the city cost a surprisingly low amount, HS540.[444] The low cost of these races in comparison to figures given for other contemporary Roman spectacles, such as the figure of HS50,000 for gladiatorial games and panthers at Carthage in AD 133, suggests that these races at Auzia cannot be representative of what chariot racing generally cost to host.[445] Because of this low price to host the races, it suggests that the scale of the races at Auzia would have been modest. It is unlikely that a full monumental circus would have been built to accommodate such events.[446]

[441] Humphrey (1986): 55.
[442] *CIL* VIII, 9065 (see appendix 4.3). It's thought its municipal development occurred primarily in the late second and third centuries AD, considering that the earliest datable inscriptions from Auzia date to AD 198.
[443] Humphrey (1986): 329.
[444] *CIL* VIII, 9052 Refer to the 'Costs of Chariot Racing' section below for further discussion on this inscription and possible interpretations.
[445] Humphrey (1986): 329.
[446] Ibid.

Alternatively, the gifts given by Iuvenalis were not additions to a monumental circus, instead they were the construction of permanent pieces of circus decoration to a flat area reserved for occasional chariot races that took place in the city.[447] This argument is reinforced by the absence of any reference to the restoration of the circus, which suggests that these features were being constructed for the first time.[448] The 'circus' at Auzia illustrates the danger of assuming popularity solely on the presence of surviving archaeological remains for venues. Just like gladiatorial and agonistic events, chariot racing did not necessarily require a monumental stone structure.

Outside of North Africa and Spain there is evidence for circuses and chariot racing activity, but it does not appear with the same frequency as it does in the previously discussed regions.[449] Comparing the evidence between regions reinforces the theory that Spain and North Africa were the main centres for Roman style chariot racing. The Gallic provinces provide some securely attested monumental stone circuses, but for the most part the evidence from this region comes in the form of mosaics and a series of pottery appliqués. Interestingly, the known circuses from these regions appear primarily in provincial capitals or related centres (Lyon, Saintes, Vienne, Trier, and Arles).[450] Perhaps this suggests a situation similar to that of gladiators in Greece where these events were mainly hosted as part of Roman celebrations, most notably the Imperial cult.[451] This is reinforced by an inscription from Lyon recording the circus games of Sextus Ligurius Marinus that were hosted in connection to his promotion to *pontifex.*[452] A series of pottery appliqués displaying chariot scenes, also from Lyon, further illustrates chariot racing activity in the city. These small discs embedded into a vase depict a victorious charioteer, generally riding in a *quadriga*, with a victory inscription underneath. These most common inscriptions on these appliqués read NICA PRAESINE, ORTE PRASINUS EST, PRASINE VINCAS, ORTE VENETUS EST, and CALOS VENETE.[453] These vases were likely

[447] Humphrey (1986): 329.
[448] Ibid.: 330.
[449] Ibid.: figs 137, 149, 179, 201, 205, and 267 remain to be the most complete maps including both circuses, alleged circuses, and other evidence suggesting circus activity. However, some details are out of date. For example, a circus has been discovered at Colchester, England since the publication of the book. For further information on discovered circuses see Crummy (2008), Romano (2008), and Sepúlveda et al. (2002) for examples of circuses that have since been discovered.
[450] Humphrey (1986): 388, Lyon was the capital of the Three Gauls, Saintes the original capital of Aquitana, Trier the capital of Gallia Belgica, Vienne the second city of Gaul in the 4th c. AD, and Arles also rose to significance in the 4th and 5th c. AD.
[451] For more information on gladiatorial combats hosted in Greece, see the above chapter on the organisation of gladiatorial combats.
[452] *CIL* XIII, 1921.
[453] Humphrey (1986): 414. These appliqués demonstrate an awareness of at least the Green and Blue factions and potentially their presence in Gaul.

sold as souvenirs during a day of games, similar to those found throughout the Empire depicting gladiators and beast hunts.

Mosaic evidence may also suggest a certain degree of popularity. One mosaic found at the villa of Sainte-des-Colombe-les-Vienne, close to Vienne's circus, is framed by four charioteers.[454] The charioteer in the bottom left corner is also accompanied by the number CLXXVI. Presumably, this number indicates the victories won by this specific charioteer. But without an accompanying name for this charioteer it is hard to know if this was meant to depict a well-known local charioteer or not. Unlike other charioteer mosaics, the rider is not the central figure of the mosaic and they are in a state of racing rather than victory, which is what would be generally expected for a named individual. It is possible that if chariot racing was not a regular event in Vienne and the number of professional charioteers was limited that an individual could be known for their victory record. This might suggest that 176 victories constituted an exceptional career here and that avid followers of chariot racing in the area would be able to recognise a rider based on this alone. Another mosaic from Trier, dating to c. 250 AD, depicts a front-facing Red faction charioteer victorious in a *quadriga.*[455] Both the driver and what must have been his most famous horse are named, Polydus and Compressore respectively. There must have been some popularity for the sport in the Gallic provinces, sufficient, to have the Roman factions and racers that had built enough of a representation to have mosaics commissioned of them. The currently available evidence suggests that chariot racing was associated mainly with Imperial centres and festivals. However, the local population appear to have enjoyed the sport enough to buy souvenirs and own mosaics that celebrated their favourite teams and racers.

Britain proves an even more challenging region to comment on. A monumental stone-built circus has been discovered at Colchester, but otherwise, the evidence for racing is limited and later in date than what this thesis aims to survey.[456] Cylindrical mould-blown cups with circus scenes have also been found in Colchester (fig. 26), often accompanied by scenes of gladiatorial combats or athletic sports.[457] Similar cups appear to have been in widespread use around the end of the first century

[454] Humphrey (1986): fig. 197.
[455] Hoffmann (1999): pls. 100-101.
[456] Crummy (2008).
[457] Cool and Price (1995): 43, see also nos. 232-238 for examples of these cups.

AD, but only in the western and north-western provinces.[458] One mosaic from Horkstow dating to the fourth century AD depicting four racers in alternating red and white costumes (fig. 27) indicates possible awareness of the factional system.[459] Another victorious charioteer type mosaic was discovered at a villa in Rudston. It has been suggested that it depicts *Sol* as it accompanies four circular panels with bust representations of the seasons. [460] Therefore, it is hard to comment on chariot racing's presence in Roman Britain. There were enough regular races to merit the construction of a circus and various artistic depictions of the sport. Dating evidence suggests that the circus was possibly constructed in the second century AD, but this is recognised as problematic and should be treated as an earliest possible date.[461] This, along with all of the artistic evidence dating to the fourth century AD, indicates that when chariot racing came to Britain it was limited in its scope and popularity. However, it must also be recognised there was very little citizen epigraphy and virtually no literary texts relating to the province, apart from those in relation to military operations, from the early second century AD onwards.

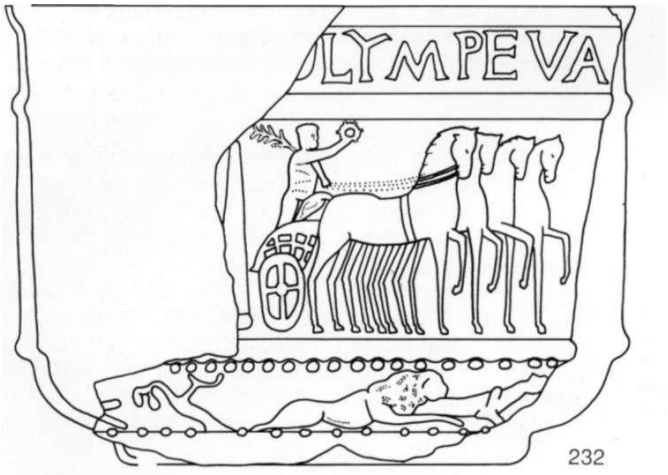

Figure 26 - Cylindrical mould-blown cups with circus scenes found in Colchester (Cool and Price (1995): no. 232)

Figure 27 - Horkstow Mosaic (Humphrey (1986): fig 202)

[458] Cool and Price (1995): 44; similar examples can be found at Chavanges (Harden et al. (1987): 169, no. 90), Colchester (Harden et al. (1987): 168, no. 89), Couvin (Schuermans (1893)), Heidelberg-Neuenheim (Heukemes (1972): 17, abb. 13), Montagnole (Lenormant (1865)), Trier (Goethert-Polaschek (1977): 43, no. 129, Tafn 12.136, 35), and Trouville-en-Caux (Sennequier (1985): 44-47, no. 12).
[459] Humphrey (1986): fig. 202.
[460] Ibid.: fig. 434, fig. 203.
[461] Crummy (2008): 28.

The eastern Roman empire provides a rich, but also problematic, area for the study of chariot racing. The earliest confirmed presence of a Roman factional system does not occur until the early fourth century AD with the records of a faction manager in Alexandria which will be discussed in detail below. This delay was likely caused by the cultural differences between East and West during the Roman period. While the organisation of Western horse racing looked to the events taking place in the Circus Maximus and Rome for their structure, the East looked to Olympia.[462] The East was nonetheless a significant region for Roman style chariot racing. Horse lists show that cities in Greece and Asia Minor were famous breeding regions. Many of the monumental circuses here were built mainly in the later second and third centuries AD.[463] Like Gaul, some of these venues had strong connections to Roman celebrations. The circus at Antioch, dating to the second century AD, was used annually for the games of the Syriarch in honour of the Emperor.[464] Tyre's circus is thought to have been a gift from Septimius Severus in return to the city's loyalty civil wars of the 190s AD, and in commemoration of their *colonia* status.[465]

The lack of literary and artistic evidence before the third century AD led Humphrey to suggest that Roman chariot racing did not reach its 'heyday' until the fourth century AD.[466] Perhaps the East's strong connections to their Greek origins contributed to this lack of chariot racing. It would be inaccurate to say that Roman chariot racing did not exist in the East, but it does not appear to have been a popular form of entertainment until late antiquity. Organisational aspects that demonstrate a regular hosting of these games, such as factions, appear here not long after when all entertainment is organised via the factions.[467] Because of the fundamental difference in the organisation of Greek hippodrome racing it is better suited for discussion under the category of 'agonistic festivals' further below. Individuals submitted their own teams to race and it was the owners, not the racers, who were credited with the victory.

[462] Humphrey (1986): 438.
[463] Ibid.: 438-441.
[464] Ibid.: 460.
[465] Cameron (1976): 209.
[466] Humphrey (1986): 489-491.
[467] Webb (2008): 42.

4.4 - Methods of Organisation in the Empire

Chariot racing in the city of Rome during the Imperial period was organised in its entirety through the coloured factions: Blue, Green, Red, and White. While magistrates were required to fund such ventures, they only had to visit the faction headquarters to pay a fee for their services. From that moment onwards the factions would provide horses, chariots, charioteers, and support staff for the event.[468] The situation in the municipalities and provinces was more complicated. While factions were present in many of the major centres of Iberia and Northern Africa, they do not appear to have been a necessary part of Roman-style chariot racing. Rather the situation appears to have been more impromptu, using resources that were available to local elites, whether that be established factions, horse breeders, or privately financed organisations.

Evidence for faction activity in the Roman Empire is primarily found in major cities where monumental stone-built circuses have been discovered. The mosaic and epigraphic evidence for factions in the provinces suggest that they functioned in much the same way the Roman ones did, providing a service in which wealthy individuals could hire all that was required for the races. One such example of this is the mosaic evidence discovered at the Maison des Chevaux discovered at Carthage (fig. 28).[469] Dating to the beginning of the fourth century AD, the mosaic depicts various scenes divided into a checkerboard pattern. Of the 198 panels that it would have originally displayed, only 61 survive today. Originally the top row depicted figures of charioteers on foot, alongside them are four *sparsores* (water-sprinklers) holding amphorae, one for each faction.[470] These figures are accompanied by a variety of different horses, mythological figures, and scenes of human activity such as hunting, fowling,

Figure 28 - Maison des Chevaux panel close-up (Dunbabin (2016) figs. 6.18a)

[468] Nelis-Clément (2002); Meijer (2010): 52; Crowther (2007): 130; Balsdon (1969): 315.
[469] See Dunbabin (1978): pls. J and 84, 85, 86.
[470] Dunbabin (2016): 160.

athletics, a man lying sick in bed, and a couple playing dice together.[471] It has been suggested that since the charioteer and horse repeating imagery is the only consistent theme amongst throughout the entire piece, it is possible that this mosaic was designed as a game in which viewers were meant to guess the names of what must have been famous racehorses of the day.[472] This is reinforced by the accompanying inscription 'good luck to the people [i.e. the fans] of the Blues', suggesting that this building was either owned by a follower of the Blue faction or perhaps a clubhouse for fans.[473] This is just one of many examples of provincial evidence for factions. An inscription which dates to the second century AD from Tarragona documents the faction affiliation of a charioteer, Fuscus, who belonged to the Blues.[474] While it does mention his popularity, it does not give explicit detail about his career like the inscriptions of great charioteers in Rome such as Diocles. The epigrams of the *Latin Anthology* preserve the names of several charioteers at Carthage, along with evidence that some of these men were foreign to the city, both of Egyptian and wider African origins.[475] This suggests that the provincial factions acted much like those at Rome, they purchased charioteers who showed promise, albeit on a more limited geographic scope.

North African evidence attests to the presence of factions at Carthage, Sousse, Lepcis Magna, and Cherchel.[476] However, these are all cities which had monumental circuses and can be said to have had a high enough frequency of races to warrant such a building due to city size and population. Were the factions only present in cities where races were frequently occurring and were therefore considered to have been profitable for the *factionarius*? Smaller towns where chariot racing may have been hosted once or twice a year appear not to have been considered economically feasible for the establishment of a formal coloured faction.[477] These organisations had to consider not only the cost of horses, but also for charioteers, their sustenance costs, the maintenance of chariots, stable hands to care for the animals, trainers, and other staff that the Roman factions are known to have

[471] Dunbabin (2016): 160.
[472] Ibid.: 160-161.
[473] The inscription in Latin reads: *felix populus veneti*; Dunbabin (2016): 161.
[474] *CIL* II, 4315 (*D(is) M(anibus) / factionis venetae Fusco sacra/vimus aram de nostro certi stu/diosi et bene amantes ut sci/rent cuncti mon<u>mentum / et pignus amoris integra / fama tibi laudem cur/sus meruisti certasti / multis nullum pauper timu/isti invidiam passus sem/per fortis tacuisti pul/chre vixisti fato morta/lis obisti quisquis homo / es quaeres talem subsiste / viator perlege si memor / es si nosti quis fuerit vir / fortunam metuant omnes / dices tamen unum Fus/cus habet titulos mor/tis habet tumulum con/tegit ossa lapis bene habet / fortuna valebis fudimus / insonti lacrimas nunc vi/na precamur ut iaceas pla/cide nemo tui similis* / τοὺς σοὺς ἀγῶνας αἰὼν λαλήσει). Humphrey (1986): 344.
[475] Latin Anthology 172, 173, 179, 288, and 322; see also Stevens (1988).
[476] Humphrey (1986): 333. A curse tablet from Carthage (*DT* 234.69-76) calls on a *nekudaimon* to ensure that the charioteers of the Blue faction fall 'fall in every part of the hippodrome and especially at the turns' Hollmann (2003): 68.
[477] Ibid.

provided for organisers.[478] It was possible that factions could have provided services to nearby towns, in the same way as *lanistae* hired out gladiators to compete in neighbouring cities, or like the sodalités of North Africa who trained and presented exotic beasts for *venationes*.[479] While it was indeed possible for the factions to function like this, there were other options which benefactors may have considered more practical for small towns who may have only had a semi-monumental circus or even just a designated area of flat ground for such occasional events.

There is evidence that small towns had privately funded ventures, much like the original ownership of the Roman factions. This is demonstrated in the sixth century AD papyri evidence from Oxyrhynchus. This shows that both the Green and Blue factions were present in the city and were financed by a single wealthy family, the Apiones.[480] The first is an account from c. AD 565-66 which records the gift of wine from the Apion family to the Blues.[481] There are several entries for wine here, including wine not only for the charioteers, but also for the horses, and the *Philitiani* of the faction.[482] Another receipt dating to AD 618 shows that for a month the Apiones were also responsible for paying the 'starters' of the Blues their wages.[483] While the natural response to this sort of evidence would be to suggest that the Apiones were benefactors of the Blue faction, there is evidence that demonstrates that they also gave to the Green faction. Dating to AD 552, a receipt records the payment of one *solidus* less than four carats to contribute to the costs of veterinary treatment of horses from the Green faction and an additional sum to cover expenses associated with this, perhaps for materials required for treatment.[484] This evidence illustrates how the Apiones had a close association with both factions present in the town. The family also had a viewing box at the town's hippodrome, an area for the exclusive use of the Apiones and their guests.[485] It is uncertain just how involved the Apiones were in the functioning of the town's faction, but they clearly had a particular interest in horses and chariot racing. References to their estate in the papyri evidence

[478] The factions at Rome provided personnel for a large range of tasks. These included men to operate the opening mechanism for the starting gate, the eggs and dolphins that counted the laps, *sparsores* to sprinkle water on the horses so they did not overheat mid-race, *hortatores* who were mounted on horses to not only encourage drivers, but also to indicate upcoming dangers or the best routes to take. See Dunbabin (2016): 141 and MacLean (2014) for more. *CIL* VI, 10046 = *ILS* 5313 gives a list of the *familia quadrigaria* of the Red faction: other than charioteers they included a doctor, a cobbler or leatherworker, a man to construct chariots, and several who operated the opening mechanisms for the starting gates, see appendix 4.4.
[479] Humphrey (1986): 333.
[480] Cameron (1976): 10.
[481] *P. Oxy.* 2480.
[482] Humphrey (1986): 517-518 explains this is likely derived from *philition* 'common mess' and he interprets it to mean club members or faction personnel.
[483] *P. Oxy.* 152.
[484] *P. Oxy.* 145.
[485] *PSI* VIII.953.62.

show that it included stables and the personnel associated with the rearing and training of racehorse, such as the *hippotrophoi* whose responsibility it was to breed and train horses.[486] It is possible that the Apiones were the financiers of both the factions in Oxyrhynchus. The inclusion of multiple factions was perhaps to create the competitive nature associated with chariot racing in major urban centres such as Rome, or particularly during this period, Constantinople, to which the family had connections. This may have been the case in other small towns across the empire, where private individuals financed and possibly provided for factions in order to improve the town's (and their own) social prestige. It may have been the case that faction activity could not have continued to take place without their financial assistance. If this was the case, this could suggest that some local factions were only an extension of household and patronage networks, rather than independent 'entrepreneurs.'

Figure 29 - Marcianus Mosaic, Mérida (Humphrey (1986): fig. 176)

Where factions were not present local horse-breeders who supplied the Roman market could have provided horses for the races. This would account for the heavy concentration of circus related mosaics and epigraphy that comes from these regions. Additionally, we know from the horse lists and charioteer inscriptions at Rome, both discussed above, that these regions also provided horses for the Roman factions. The best evidence for breeder involvement with the races is the chariot racing mosaics where horses bear distinct marks on their hindquarters which are often interpreted as being stable marks. One example of this is the mosaic from Cherchel depicting the horse Muccosus. There are two marks on this horse, one indicating that the horse raced for the Green faction, *PRA*, and the second of its stable *Cl. Sabini,* Claudius Sabinus.[487] However, these stable marks are also often seen without any faction affiliation. In Mérida, for example, a mosaic survives which figures two victorious charioteers in *quadrigae*.[488] Each charioteer is identified by name, Marcianus and Paulus, suggesting

[486] *P. Oxy*. 138, 140, 1862, 1863.
[487] Humphrey (1986): 310.
[488] Ibid.: 375-376

their fame in the area. The left lead horse of Marcianus must have also been a famous horse during his career as its name also accompanies it, Inluminator, and the stable name, Getuili (fig. 29). At Torre de Palma, another circus mosaic has been found which names five individual horses, Hiberus, Leneus, Lenobatus, Pelops, and Inacus, all adorned with plumes and elaborate collars typical of circus horses, on two of these horses are brand marks. It has been suggested that four of these horses were of the local horse breed and that they belonged to a stud farm which this villa owned.[489] The distribution of evidence for breeding and chariot racing suggests that breeding was a significant part of the culture in the provinces of Lusitania and Baetica in the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula. Many of these races were taking place in smaller Iberian communities where it would have been difficult not only for factions to operate in these regions due to a lack of frequency, but also almost certainly for a lack of funds required to host full-scale circus games.[490] It would seem more likely that these organisers were securing provisions for the races from local stud farms who also benefitted from an opportunity to train horses that were possibly destined for the Roman factions.[491]

The presence of horse-breeders and their involvement in the provision of horses, and likely drivers too, raises the question of how integral these businessmen were in the functioning of the provincial factions. One example of this comes from papyri remains recording the shipment of barley for the Blue faction in Alexandria. Dated to AD 315, the first records the transfer from the granary at Karanis to a river port where the barley was handed from a foreman of a donkey caravan to a shipmaster due for Alexandria and signed by two village officials of Karanis.[492] Here the barley is recorded as being delivered to the *hippotrophos* (horse-breeder) Hephaestion. The second, dated five days later, is a receipt for money as payment of the delivery of the barley previously mentioned and is issued by the same two Karanis officials mentioned in the first.[493] However, Hephaestion here is no longer referred to as *hippotrophos*, instead he is referred to as the *factionarius* of the Blues in Alexandria.[494] This titular differentiation raises questions as to how involved horse-breeders were in the administration of the provincial factions. As seen in the estate records of elite estates that were clearly somewhat involved with the racehorse trade, such as the Apiones at Oxyrhynchus, *hippotrophoi* were those responsible for the breeding and training of horses. Considering the

[489] Humphrey (1986): 376.
[490] Ibid.: 386.
[491] For more on how this appears to have reduced costs see below 'Costs of Chariot Racing.'
[492] *P. Cair. Isid.* 57, see appendix 4.5.
[493] Humphrey (1986): 511-512.
[494] *P. Cair. Isid.* 58, see appendix 4.6.

concentration of horse-breeders documented in both Iberia and Northern Africa, along with the high numbers in which horses from these regions appear in the records of those who raced in Rome, many of these stud farms must have become immensely wealthy. Major provincial centres where chariot racing was frequently hosted such as Alexandria, Carthage, and Italica, were in a situation where it was economically feasible for businessmen to establish themselves as formal factions. This would reflect the development of the Roman factions which initially began as business ventures for *equites* to provide for the games in the Circus Maximus which eventually transitioned into 'Player Manager' operated.[495]

4.5 - Costs of Chariot Racing

Like other forms of Roman entertainment, the evidence appears only to record the overall cost of the games. However, it is unclear whether this is an indication of the overall cost or the prizes which were awarded at the event. This is further complicated by the fact that the most explicit examples have figures which sometimes appear staggeringly low in comparison to other forms of spectacle. The only direct evidence for the cost of these games outside of Rome is the six-monthly games at Auzia priced at HS540 for each day of races, totalling HS1080 annually to celebrate the birthdays of a benefactor and his wife is a prime example of how the primary evidence suggests that chariot racing in the provinces was a low-cost pursuit.[496] However, it is unlikely that this was the actual cost for the races at Auzia. Epigraphic evidence that has been discussed above shows that Auzia's circus would have been modest in construction, perhaps being merely a *spina* with the essential decoration required for races (*ova, delphines,* and *metae*). This in relation to our available evidence of the costs involved in other forms of public spectacle, such as the *Aes Italicense* for gladiatorial combats shows that costs for a single event could range up to HS200,000 (over four days, HS50,000 per day).[497] The Magerius mosaic demonstrates that the costs for leopards and their *venatores* were initially HS500 each which was then raised to HS1,000 per leopard (HS4,000 in total). Chariot racing not only involved men and horses in order to operate, rather it required the use of an extensive range of operational staff, judges, and specialist equipment in order to present even the most modest of races.

[495] Cameron (1976): 9-10.
[496] *CIL* VIII, 9052.
[497] *CIL* II, 6278 = *ILS* 5163 dating to AD 177.

The HS540 figure does not even match the evidence for the prices of horses throughout antiquity. A Ptolemaic receipt shows that horses were priced at 800 *drachmae,* the high expense of these animals is further emphasised by the included 10 *drachmae* price for mules.[498] The sale of a famous racehorse called Seianus during the late Republican period apparently secured a price of HS100,000.[499] Finally, Diocletian's price edicts of AD 301 even set the maximum price for a racehorse at 100,000 *denarii,* whereas a cavalry horse for the military was set at a much cheaper 36,000 *denarii.*[500] This demonstrates not only the immense cost of horses in general but also the prestige and higher value of a horse destined for the circus. So how was it possible for the races are Auzia to cost a mere HS540? Perhaps these games were supplied by a local stud farm, and due to the seemingly modest size of the circus, it would not surprising if these races were small.[501] The costs here could have been so low if the horses did not have to be rented, perhaps being provided by local citizens for free and possibly even driving the chariots themselves, in a style similar to that of the Greek agonistic type horse races.[502] In this light, the HS540 price could be seen as covering secondary costs of chariot racing, prizes and operational staff.

When considering the costs involved in chariot racing, several components need to be analysed before a total can be given with any certainty. The factions provided a unique service to the organiser. Instead of merely providing one component of races, they charged a fee to provide a portion or all the provisions required alongside other factions participating. These factions needed to cover a broad range of products to function effectively. Other than the obvious need for horses and charioteers, often coming from servile backgrounds, a variety of operational staff and goods were required. As mentioned above, epigraphic evidence recording the *familia quadrigaria* of the Red faction in Rome shows the breadth of personnel that were hired in order to facilitate several critical roles within daily operations of the chariot factions. These included a doctor, a cobbler or leatherworker, a man to construct chariots, and several who operated the opening mechanisms for the starting gates.[503] Several other personnel were needed on the track and can be found in the mosaic depictions of chariot races. On the track water sprinklers were situated throughout to throw water over horses to keep them from tiring and possibly to clean off the foam that formed around

[498] *P. Cair. Zen.* 59093.
[499] Gellius 3.9.4.
[500] Diocletian's Price Edict 30.1.1a (Racehorse) compared to 2 (Cavalry horses). Prices taken from Crawford and Reynolds (1979): 34.
[501] Humphrey (1986): 329.
[502] Ibid.
[503] *CIL* VI, 10046 = *ILS* 5313 see Appendix 4.4.

horses mouths as a result of physical exertion.[504] Another individual would ride on horseback alongside the charioteer from their faction to inform the racer of upcoming turns and dangers.[505] To indicate the faction of the leading charioteer for to both the audience and the judging officials another slave was required to wave a banner of the winning colour.[506] Various individuals holding large sticks, similar to referees in gladiatorial combats, were posted around the track who communicated judges and officials how the race unfolded and to ensure that rules were followed.[507] Finally, musicians and heralds were posted near the finishing line to celebrate the victorious charioteer.[508]

These costs would also include the hiring of charioteers. While it is unclear exactly how charioteers were chosen and subsequently trained for the circus, it is clear that many charioteers were imported to the city as slaves. This is best demonstrated by the famous charioteers Diocles and Scorpus; both raced in Rome and both from different parts of the Empire. These two charioteers emerged from the regions of Portugal and the Balkans.[509] Furthermore, this is illustrated in Horsmann's catalogue of these performers which lists 223 inscriptions that record a total of 229 charioteers:

Table 9 - The Social Status of Charioteers[510]

Status	Overall Number	Percentage
Incertus	124	54.15%
Incertus (*Libertus*/*Ingenuus*)	7	3.06%
Incertus (*Servus?*)	4	1.75%
Ingenuus	1	0.44%
Libertus	10	4.37%
Libertus Augusti	1	0.44%
Libertus?	3	1.31%
Servus	32	13.97%
Servus/*Libertus*	11	4.80%
Servus/*Libertus*?	2	0.87%
Servus?	34	14.85%

[504] Nelis-Clément (2002): 208, depicted in the circus scene from Gérone in front of the charioteer labelled Filoramus (fig. 2, no. 1).
[505] Ibid.: 281, seen in the Gafsa chariot mosaic (fig. 6, no. 3).
[506] Ibid.: 283, they are depicted holding several coloured banners, best seen in the Silin circus mosaic (fig. 5, no. 2), but also can be found on the Piazza Amerina circus scene (fig. 3, no. 2).
[507] Ibid.: 285-286, found in the Piazza Amerina circus mosaic (fig. 3, no. 1) and the Silin circus mosaic (fig. 5, no. 6).
[508] Ibid.: 288, found in the Piazza Amerina mosaic (fig. 3, nos. 3 and 4) and in the Gafsa mosaic (fig. 6, no. 5).
[509] For Diocles: *CIL* VI, 10048, line 2; For Scorpus: Syme (1978): 86-94.
[510] Horsmann (1998): 175-306; this data also includes charioteers from Rome. When Rome is removed these racers are either from unclear or servile origins. For a full table of the origins and statuses of these charioteers see appendix 4.7.

According to this data, only one charioteer identified as freeborn (*ingenuus*). Even with half the cases recorded being unclear, it can be seen that these racers were typically from a servile background. While a circus is not the only identifier of chariot activity, it seems that charioteers were sometimes chosen from regions where chariot racing was not widespread. Perhaps these famous charioteers were purchased as stable hands at a young age and, as they became familiar with the horses, had the opportunity to race later. Scorpus was purchased at a young age, recorded in the Diocles inscription as winning 2,048 races and in Martial as dying before the age of twenty-seven.[511] Charioteers did not always come from similar paths. It appears that some cities with circuses were known for the charioteers they trained. Laodicea is recorded in the fourth century AD *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* as being a city that was famous for producing trained charioteers for other eastern centres.[512]

Personnel must have also included those who were veterinarians. Texts such as Pelagonius' *Ars Veterinaria*, the *Mulomedicina Chironis*, and Vegetius, provide evidence for such men who were specialists in treating equine injuries. Many of the injuries discussed in these manuals would have been common occurrences for horses racing in the circus: leg injuries and concussions from running on the hard-packed dirt of the track; joint and tendon stress in the legs and back from sudden and high-speed turns at the *metae*; and eye injuries from whips or inflammation from kicked-up sand of the racecourse.[513] Moreover, in the Oxyrhynchus papyri of the Apiones we know that money was transferred to the Greens for veterinary treatment and its associated costs. The focus of these manuals and their apparent interest in chariot treatments suggests that they were designed for managers of factions or stud farms to treat their racehorses without having to hire a veterinarian, only requiring their services for severe cases.[514] There must have also been other related costs required for the maintenance of the races. Feed for horses, *hippotrophoi* to train the horses year-round, materials for repairs such as wood for chariots and leather for reigns and protective equipment, and agents to travel the empire finding horses to fill the stables and promising charioteers to drive them.

[511] Harris (2014): 309; Mart., *Ep.* 10.53.
[512] Humphrey (1986): 492.
[513] Bell and Willekes (2014): 486.
[514] Adams (1995): 114.

4.6 - The Racehorse: Breeding and their Careers

If it is true that horse breeders played such an integral role in the organisation of chariot racing in the Empire, then some consideration must be given to the commodities that they are producing, the racehorse. Questions must be asked first concerning what sort of horses were being chosen for the races, the breeding practices of stud farms, training, nutrition, and the duration of a horse's career in the circus. As seen from the horse lists from Rome and the horses mentioned in the charioteer funerary texts, horses were sourced from all over the Empire. The demand for horses can be estimated for the Roman racing scene, comprising approximately sixty-six regular days of racing per year.[515] The factions would need to amply provide for the twenty-four races (of twelve charioteers per race) usually presented each day would be a minimum of 576 (twelve *bigae* in twenty-four races) and a maximum of 1,152 (twelve *quadrigae* in twenty-four races).[516] Breeding was a significant part of the economic landscape of the provinces, especially in regions which were famous for the horses they produced, such as Iberia and Africa Proconsularis. Libanius also records that several cities in the East were known for the horses they bred and trained, most notably Antioch and Bithynia.[517]

While much scholarship has surrounded aspects of these horses such as their onomastics, little attention has been placed on the systems that fed this Roman racehorse market. There evidently was a general physiological conformation that was expected by those raising racehorses. Pelagonius outlines the ideal horse as:

> Small head, black eyes, nostrils open, ears short and pricked up; neck flexible and broad without being long; mane thick and falling on the right side; broad and muscular chest, big straight shoulders, muscles sticking out all over the body, sides sloping in, double back, small belly, stone small and alike, flanks broad and drawn in; tail long and not bristly, for this is ugly; legs straight; knee round and small, and not turned in; buttocks and thighs full and muscular; hoofs black, high and hollow, topping off with moderate sized coronets. He should in general be so formed as to be large, high, well set up, of an active look, and round-barrelled in the proportion to his length.[518]

Many of the ancient authors who discuss the breeding of racehorses recognise that horses required specific physiological builds in order to be successful in the roles assigned to them, as Varro notes:

[515] Willekes (2019): 458; Meijer (2010): 52 states that there were 64 races per year based off the Calendar of Philocalus (AD 354), this would result in a slight difference in total horses potentially needed for the races in Rome: *biga*: 36,864 (as opposed to 38,016), and *quadriga*: 73,728 (as opposed to 76,032). Neither of these estimates take into consideration that it is possible that a horse might have been raced multiple times in one day, and that horses could race several times a year.
[516] Willekes (2019): 458-459; This assumes that each horse only races once per day.
[517] Lib., *Or.* 49.10-11 (Antioch) and *Ep.* 381 (Bithynia).
[518] Pel., *Ars Vet.,* translation taken from Hyland (1990): 6.


Figures 30 and 31 - Examples of the North African Barb (left) and the Pindos Pony (right)

> As some horses are fitted for military services, others for hauling, others for breeding, and others for racing, all are not to be judged and valued by the same standards. Thus the experienced soldier chooses his horses by one standard and feeds and trains them in one way, and the charioteer and circus-rider in another…[519]

Columella also makes this distinction clear:

> There is the noble stock, which supplies horses for the circus and the Sacred Games; then there is the stock used for breeding mules which in the price of its offspring fetches a match for the noble breed, and there is the common breed, which produces ordinary mares and horses.[520]

A horse destined for the racetrack would require a different build than that for the battlefield, most notably the emphasis on a musculature that facilitated short distance sprinting over the endurance a cavalry horse would need. Ancient racehorse breeds would have been smaller and more compact than modern racing breeds which generally stand at over 15 hands tall (1.52m). These traits can be found in some modern breeds that originate from regions that were known to have been breeding centres. The Pindos pony coming from Thessaly stands at only 11.2-12.1 hands high (1.14-1.23m) and is known for its long working life (fig. 30).[521] Additionally, the North African Barb from the Maghreb region is another candidate that was likely related to the circus horses (fig. 31). Standing at 14-15 hands high (1.42-1.52m), they are known for their strength, endurance, and hardiness.[522]

These specialist skills required trainers to be able to identify not only the finest stallions and mares for breeding but also promising foals and fillies for the circus. This is further suggested by the special care taken when breeding and rearing racehorses:

> The more excellent the class is, the richer must be the pastorage assigned to it. The feeding-grounds chosen for herds of horses must be spacious and marshy, mountainous, well-watered and never dry,

[519] Var*., De Re Rust.* 2.7.15.
[520] Col*., De Re Rust.* 6.27.
[521] Hendricks (2007): 341-2.
[522] Ibid.: 293-295.

> empty rather than encumbered by many tree-trunks, and producing an abundance of soft rather than tall grass. The stallions and mares of the common stock are allowed to be pastured everywhere together, and no fixed seasons are observed for breeding. The stallions of the noble stock will be put to the mares about the time of the Spring Equinox, so that the mares may be able to rear their offspring with little trouble when the pasture is rich and grassy, at the same season a year later at which they conceived then they give birth to their young in the twelfth month.[523]

There is an emphasis on the attention paid to when racehorses were bred. While common stock had no predetermined breeding season, the racehorse was bred specifically in the Spring Equinox in order to ensure ideal breeding conditions and ideal rearing conditions (temperature, weather, premium grass, etc.). This special treatment also applied to the age at which racehorses begin their training. Columella specifies that typically horses began to be broken for their destined career at age two, while racehorses should only be broken at age three:

> At two years of age a horse is suitable to be trained for domestic purposes; but, if it is to be trained for racing, it should have completed three years, and provided it is entered for this kind of effort only after its fourth year.[524]

This suggests two things, first that trainers were specifically looking for a general physiological conformation that was only detectable from the age of three. Second, that the conformation was not the only assessment in which a horse had to pass in order to be destined for the racetrack, they also had to prove that they had the speed and skill desirable for the races. This is further reinforced in Pliny's *Natural History* where he claims that the circus did not claim horses until age five:

> But a different build is required for the circuses; and consequently though horses may be broken as two-year olds to other services, racing in the circus does not claim them before five.[525]

While Pliny explicitly states that horses are not taken in by the circuses until age five, should this instead be interpreted as the factions (likely in this case, the Roman factions who raced in the Circus Maximus) did not purchase horses from horse-breeders until age five? This, along with Columella's suggestion that horses should not race until age four could be interpreted as meaning that these horse-breeders reserved horses who showed promise for the circus from the market until aged three. This may have differed between organisational entities. The coloured factions at Rome are known to have had the luxury of Imperial stables, where they could breed the finest bloodlines from famous racehorses. Smaller provincial factions that were private entities would have either had their own stock to use or would have had to resort to local breeders for new horses.

[523] Col., *De Re Rust.* 6.27.
[524] Ibid.: 6.29.
[525] Plin., *NH* 8.162.

After the horses reached the age of three, they began a year of training in order to familiarise the horses with the harness, racing in a team, and the sprinting required for the track. If this was the case, then horses were hired out for local races to provide them experience in *bigae* racing and to identify further which horses were exceptionally talented and therefore fetch a much higher price in the market. Modern analysis shows that racehorse's speed does decrease beyond four/five years old.[526] However, these studies also found that the experience of older horses balanced the expected inverse performance trends related to age.[527] It is possible that the delayed entry to the racetrack for horses in the Roman period was in recognition of the benefits of an experienced horse over a younger and faster, but inexperienced horse. This emphasis on experience is even more beneficial when considering that horses are not racing on their own, but in a team. Any mistake or trip on the track, if not responded to correctly, could be disastrous and fatal for not only the horse itself, but also for the other one to three horses in the team, the charioteer, and even other teams racing as well.[528] Experience was vital for not only success but also for the trainers to produce racehorses that could both compete in the high-stakes Roman circuit, and that would, as a result, fetch a higher price in the market.

A focus on purchasing experienced and proven horses would have been an essential factor for the established factions. There is no direct evidence for this practice in the Roman period; however, this is also an area that was sparsely recorded in the ancient record. This is best illustrated in the lack of evidence for horse costs beyond generalised prices set by Diocletian. While training would have been carried out in factional stables, it would have been in their financial interests to have these horses on the track as soon as possible. Training on arrival would have been to match potential teams and their drivers. While certain drivers like Diocles and Polydus had horses associated with them, they would not have been able to race the same horse multiple times in one day. This meant that on any one day of races the factions would have required an immense number of horses ready to run.

Once a horse had proven their talent for the races, they appear to have enjoyed a long career. Pliny claims that horses were decommissioned from the racetrack at age twenty, and if destined for the breeders would be bred until age thirty-three:

[526] Boyle, Gurthrie, and Gorton (2010): 698.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Willekes (2016): 199.

> Breeding takes place as a rule in the Spring Equinox when both animals are two-years old, but the progeny is stronger if breeding begins at three. A stallion goes on serving to the age of thirty-three, as they are sent from the racecourse to the stud at twenty. It is recorded that a stallion at Opus even continued to forty, only he needed assistance in lifting his forequarters.[529]

According to Pliny's statement, a horse would have a career of fifteen years before leaving the circus for a stud farm. If racehorses were expected to have such long careers then rental prices may have been low early on in their career, only to be raised later once they had established a reputation amongst fans and charioteers. However, some take issue with Pliny's statement, saying that while it is technically possible for stallions to breed at thirty, it is highly unlikely that the stallion would be physically capable, even if it was, most stallions are sterile at this age.[530] Rather it seems that Columella is more accurate in saying that stallions are suitable for breeding between the ages of three and twenty.[531] Even in modern horse racing horses only have a career lasting until age fifteen. This is demonstrated in a 2010 study of the performance of investor owned vs. trainer owned stables in New Zealand statistics which compares the horses racing in 1997-98 and 2002-03.[532] The minimum and maximum ages display a much shorter career, 1997-98 having a minimum age of two and a maximum of eleven, 2002-03 displays similar figures with a slightly higher maximum, the minimum being two again and the maximum at thirteen.[533] Perhaps it is more accurate to assume that horses in the circus were being retired closer to these modern figures, so at the latest at 15 years old, and probably before rather than at twenty.

Just like gladiators and wild beasts, many also would have died before the full potential length of their career. Many chariot mosaics and literary depictions of the races include the crashes that must have been commonplace on the track, especially at the turning posts (fig. 32).[534] Martial recorded that the famous charioteer Scorpus' career was tragically cut short as a result of a crash.[535] Crashes would have resulted in the death of a significant number of horses on the track. This meant that the breeding infrastructure was not only the foundation of the chariot racing industry but also the

[529] Plin., *NH* 8.163,
[530] Hyland (1990): 32 explains that even in modern horse breeding only the most exceptional studs are able to continue breeding into their twenties.
[531] Col., *De Re Rust.* 6.28: "It is generally thought that a stallion is not suitable for breeding purposes before it is three years old, and that it can continue to procreate until its twentieth year" (*Marem putant minorem trimo non esse idoneum admissurae, posse vero usque ad vigesimum annum progenerare*).
[532] Boyle, Guthrie, and Gorton (2010): 695.
[533] Data taken from HRNZ (Harness Racing New Zealand) official figures available on their website (www.hrnz.co.nz), The sample sizes for 1997-98: 4,087 horses and 2002-03: 3,861.
[534] Humphrey (1986): fig. 36 shows the Lyon Circus Mosaic which depicts several teams racing, two of which are shown toppling over at the turning posts. This is also the point at which many curse tablets hope that horses would topple over as well for more see Hollmann (2003): 68.
[535] Mart., *Ep.* 10.50.

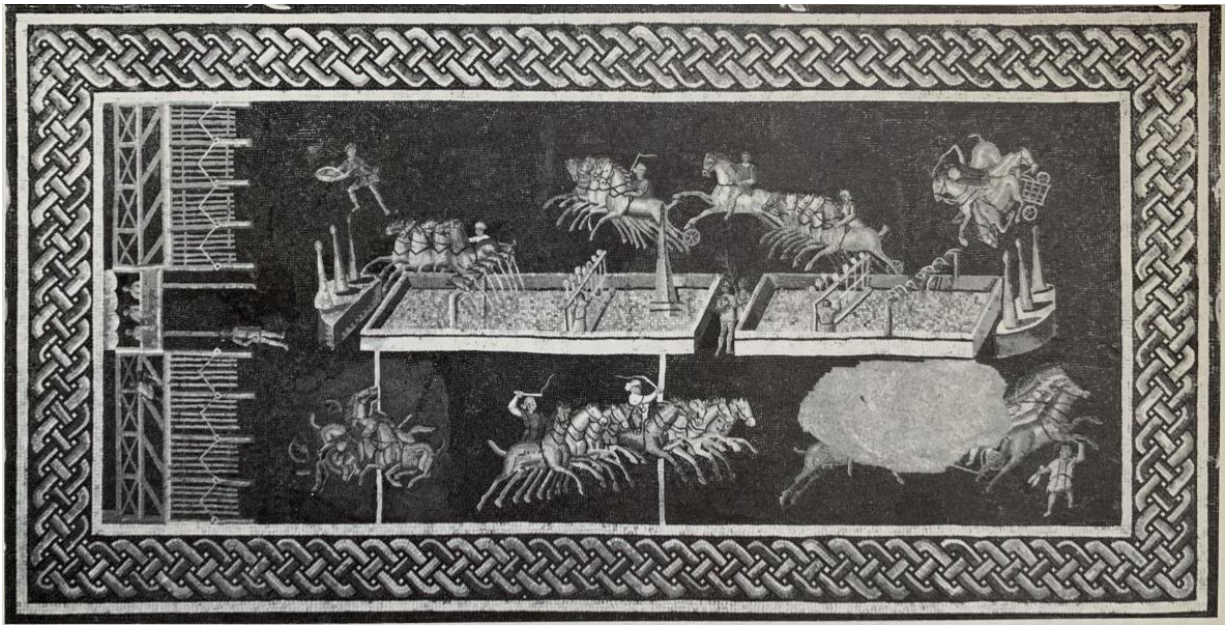

Figure 32 - Lyon Crash Mosaic (Humphrey (1986): fig. 36)

crucial element that was constantly replenishing the factions supply of horses. Perhaps this is why only one or two horses, rather than a whole team, are named in the records of famous charioteers. They were favourite racing animals that had both the skill to win races, but also the luck to have survived.

Evidence for what happened to horses following their racing careers is nearly non-existent. It is generally presumed that following their careers these horses were sold to either a horse-breeders, to work on farms, or potentially to a knacker for slaughter and to be reprocessed into other goods. From a zooarchaeological perspective this is a complicated matter considering that no remains have been excavated that can be linked to chariot racing for certain, this is presumably due to the resale of horses following their career. Presumably the only horse remains that would be expected to appear close to the circus are those that died while on the track, but most were likely to have been retired to other activities.[536] So what happened to the horses after they could no longer race? Pliny states that these racehorses are retired to stud farms.[537] When looking at the Greek methods of retiring a racehorse it appears that breeding was not the destiny of every racehorse, three entries in the *Greek Anthology* refer to victorious Panhellenic horses who were retired to farms turning millstones in their old age.[538] These poems also have to be taken with some caution. While they do

[536] Johnstone (2004): 424-425.
[537] Plin., *NH* 8.163 (see above for passage).
[538] *Greek Anthology* 9.19, 20, 21. This is even the case in modern horse racing, the entire career of a horse is crucial for deciding its post-racing fate. Willekes (2019): 460, footnote 32 discusses how the 1986 Kentucky Derby winner Ferdinand is believed to have died in a Japanese slaughterhouse in 2002 following an

reference specific horses and their victories in several competitions such as the Nemea, the Isthmia, and the Pythia, they also speak from the perspective of the racehorse themselves. It is possible that while these may be real cases of famous racehorses being retired as workhorses, they could also be designed to evoke a sense of *pathos* for these mighty creatures who were sold into slavery and hard labour.[539] But factions could make a final profit on a successful racehorse who had gained a reputation for its speed by either selling it to a stud farm or use it for breeding purposes. Even today, breeders are willing to pay a premium price for proven racehorses in the hope that they can produce offspring that inherit the elusive 'speed gene' that is so desirable.[540]

When this information is synthesised, it is possible to recreate the life of a racehorse. Horses were raised, trained, and tested to determine their suitability not only for the circus, but also whether they were suitable for the Roman racing market or merely to be reserved for more local events. The life and career of a Roman racehorse would have likely been like this:

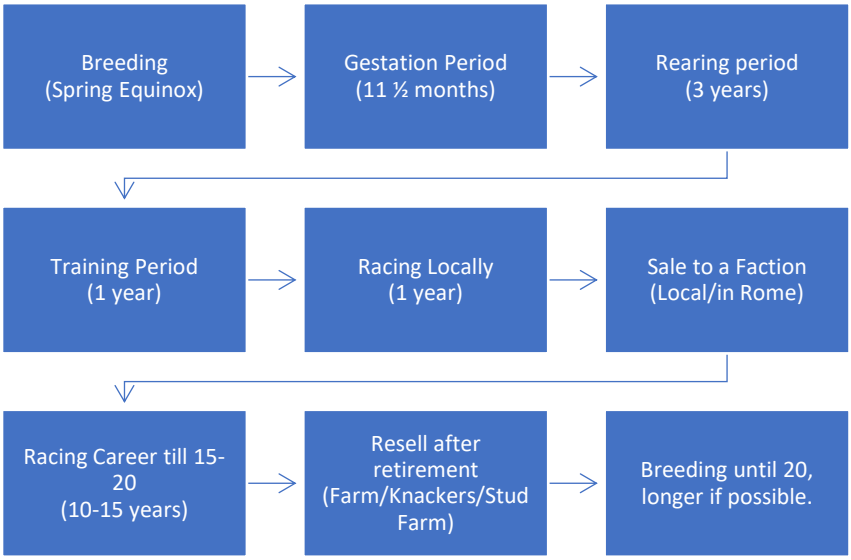

Figure 33 - Life and Career of a Racehorse

unsuccessful career as a breeding stud. Whereas proven runners today fetch significant prices as breeding studs such as the 2000 Kentucky Derby winner, Fusaichi Pegasus, who was reportedly purchased for over USD $60,000,000.

[539] This can be seen in all three of the referred poems, *Greek Anthology* 9.19 states that the horse 'Eagle' suffered "the same fate as Heracles, who also, after accomplishing so much, put on the yoke of slavery." 9.20 about an anonymous horse also says "I, who ran swift as the winged winds – see me now, how in my old age I turn to the rotating stone driven in mockery of the crowns I won." Finally, 9.21 records that Pegasus now drags "the heavy weight of the round Nisyrian mill-stone, grinding fine from the ears the fruit of Demeter."

[540] Willekes (2019): 459. For genetic studies of this Speed Gene see Hill, Ryan, and MacHugh (2010) Hill, Ryan, and MacHugh (2012), and McGivney, Mikko, Lindgren, and MacHugh (2012). It must also be noted that the studies conclude that these genes should be interpreted as a selective marker of genetic potential.

This represents how a comparative approach to studying the ancient racing industry with today's can be an effective method of representing an otherwise invisible aspect of Roman chariot racing.

4.7 - Conclusion

While the information for costs for chariot racing is sparse, the organisation of these games illustrates how Rome's constant need for resources for their own events had a significant impact on the popularity and frequency of games across the Empire. It also demonstrates how this influence created a variety of organisational methods that are not present in the other major forms of public spectacle. Like gladiators, racers were relatively easy to acquire. Most of the charioteers both inside and outside of Rome were of servile status. The greater challenge for these organisational entities was providing fast horses for the track. While horse breeders made their money primarily from providing for the Roman factions, they also needed a place to train their horses before final sale. Local chariot racing provided an opportunity for breeders to give their racehorses racing experience in an environment that was much lower stakes than the Circus Maximus. Racehorse breeding required a considerable investment of not only financial means but also time. It was also entirely possible that after this investment, horses destined for the track simply did not have the 'speed gene' or even the mind for it. These horses would have been quickly reassigned to different roles: breeding, hunting, cultural, etc. This is all taking place in what was clearly a very competitive market. Any advantage was an invaluable edge towards maximising profits and ensuring that horses were sold into the most lucrative market, the Roman one. However, it is clear that these breeders also operated within the local market as well, as illustrated by the presence of stable marks on mosaics depicting famous racehorses. As seen with the case of Hephaestion of the Alexandrian Blues, breeders might have also been managers of local factions. This may be the case with other urban centres where evidence for factions exist. These were cities where chariot racing took place with enough frequency that made a formal organisation dedicated to the provision of trained horses, charioteers, and related equipment to local magistrates. Who better to provide these services than the local breeders who were likely serving these magistrates in the first place? They had the expertise to run such an operation, the personnel knowledgeable in training and racing horse in the Roman style and would have had the equipment necessary too. The only difference between their previous status and as a faction was that they became one of the most popular providers of racehorses in the region. This would be the natural evolution of a horse breeder in the provinces.

Agonistic Festivals

5.1 - Introduction

Unlike the other events that have been discussed so far, agonistic festivals had a different organisational challenge, the raising of funds for prizes and scheduling. The increased number of festivals in the second and third centuries AD meant that organisers had to make sure that their festival was both prestigious and could out-compete or not at least clash with other festivals.[541] This is best seen in Hadrian's agonistic calendar which outlines a western circuit, a Greek circuit, and an eastern circuit over three years. Organisers had to make sure that a venue, prizes, and basic equipment were ready on the day of the event. Athletes transported themselves as they came voluntarily, and musicians would have brought their own equipment to perform with. The challenges of agonistic festivals and their organisation will be demonstrated through a thematic study. The themes discussed will be grouped into three broad categories, definition, infrastructure, and finance. This chapter will begin with a brief definition of the different types of festivals and how this was reflected in the prizes that competitors could win. A study into the 'catchment areas' of participants will then be conducted to define the geographic scale of these games, illustrating that it was largely an eastern phenomenon. The organisation of the traditional *periodos* festivals (Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games) will be outlined in order to demonstrate the changes to their organisation during the Imperial period. The role of the *synodoi* will be discussed, in particular how their role changed during the Imperial period and their importance to both the competitors and to the scheduling of the agonistic calendar. Foundations, such as that of the Demostheneia, show the logistical process of producing a festival and how organisers ensured that money was raised in the lead up to the competition. Further to this financial process, the prizes and pensions made available to victors will also be considered. This will focus not only on how much they received but also on how lifelong pensions could be banked or transferred. Finally, agonistic contractors, those who performed for a salary rather than compete for a prize, will be analysed and it shall be discussed how these performers provided a valuable buffer for organisers who relied largely on voluntary competitors for their shows.[542]

[541] Robert (1984): 35 for the 'agonistic explosion'.

[542] For further reading see Graf (2015) for an in-depth study on the cultural factors behind Greek and Roman festivals in the Roman Greek East during both the Imperial and Late Antique periods; for coinage promoting agonistic festivals see Klose (2005) and Harl (1987); for analyses of festival and performer identity see van Nijf (1999) (2001) (2012), van Nijf and Williamson (2015), and Webb (2012); Rouché (1993) for commentary on the epigraphic evidence from Aphrodisias; König (2005) on an analysis of Greek style athletics in the Roman Empire.

5.2 - Different Types of Festivals: Sacred and Prize Festivals

There were two distinct categories for agonistic festivals in the ancient world, Sacred and Prize. These categories not only determined the prestige of the victories but also what rewards successful participants could expect to receive. The major festivals that often emulated the Classical and Hellenistic games were titled the *hieroi stephanitai agones* (sacred crown games).[543] These games, described in Greek as στεφανίτης, date back to the original agonistic festivals hosted in the Archaic period. They are traditionally defined as:

> games with an international catchment area that offered as the only prize a crown made of leaves, but that were so prestigious that cities rewarded their own victors with special privileges.[544]

During the Classical period, this qualification typically only extended to the panhellenic festivals, also known as the *periodos*, Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian.[545] The number of these expanded in the Hellenistic period with the Greek cities of Asia Minor petitioning that their festivals might also gain the status of 'sacred crown games'.[546] In the Roman period a city could improve the prestige of their festival by emulating one of these four games.[547] This was due to the increasing number of new festivals appearing on the annual circuit, especially in Asia Minor. Festivals needed a way to stand apart from the rest.[548] These festivals were given titles such as *isolympic* and *isopythian*, literally translating to 'equal to the Olympic or Pythian games', as an attempt to equate their festivals to other more prestigious sacred games to attract more participants from across the Empire.[549] While these festivals were not necessarily exact replicas of the festivals of the *periodos*, they did emulate the honours and social prestige that could be won from these games.[550]

More numerous were the *agones thematеitai,* the Prize festivals.[551] The primary difference with these festivals was that they offered monetary prizes for victories and sometimes for second and third-placed competitors too. These festivals were still religious like the Sacred games, normally dedicated to the patron deity of the host city. Unlike the Sacred games, Prize games appear to have been intended for the local region. The epigraphic evidence of competitors careers shows that these

[543] van Nijf (1999): 177-180.
[544] Remijsen (2011): 99.
[545] Ibid.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Pleket (2010): 154.
[548] Zuiderhoek (2009): 86. Also see Zuiderhoek (2009): fig. 5.4 which shows that 64% of the epigraphic evidence recording spectacle life in the eastern Roman Empire concerned agonistic festivals.
[549] van Nijf (1999): 180.
[550] Ibid.: 180; see also Robert (1974) for more on the Olympic games in Ephesus and local imitations.
[551] van Nijf (1999): 177-180.

festivals did not bring the same respect and glory as those of Sacred status.[552] It has been suggested that these prize festivals became increasingly important in the Roman period as the non-aristocratic classes began to participate more.[553] While these festivals were not considered as prestigious as those of the sacred games, they offered significant financial prizes for participants ranging up to 5,000 *denarii*.

5.3 - The Catchment area of Competitors

The catchment area of these competitors is one way of illustrating who was interested in participating in the major sacred games. Agonistic festivals are considered to have mainly been a Greek phenomenon. Architecturally the grouping of *stadia* would confirm this, with the only confirmed venues in the west being in cities connected to Imperial festivals in Rome (Kapitoleia), Naples (Sebasteia), and Puteoli (*isolympic* games established by Antoninus Pius).[554] However, dedicated venues were not required to host these games. Like chariot racing a large flat area with some seating, either temporary or permanent, would have sufficed for these spectacles. Other references in the ancient evidence confirms this, showing that agonistic festivals were hosted in various western cities such as Nîmes, Marseilles, and Vienne, along with a mosaic depicting an agonistic festival at Gafsa in Tunisia.[555] But this does not suggest that these events were widespread either. This is also confirmed by the origins of known agonistic competitors during the Imperial period, where only a small minority of these men appear to have been from the western Empire. It is important to note that the inscriptions that discuss agonistic competitors only preserve those who won victories at these games. This creates an inherent epigraphic bias in the data. The increase in victories in any one region does show that there was more activity during a period, but it does not entirely rule out the existence of competitors coming from parts of the Empire that do not show in the epigraphic record.

[552] *IG* XIV.1102 gives a lengthy record of the career of Markos Aurelios Demetrios, the record is detailed when it concerns victories at Sacred festivals, but the record of his prize festival victories is restricted to "many *chrematic* games including the Eurykleia at Sparta and the Mantinea and others" illustrating that these victories were not considered as important to record in detail. English translation Miller (2004).
[553] Pleket (2010): 153.
[554] See *CIL* X, 515 and *Scriptores Historiae Augustae Hadrian* 27.3 for the *isolympic* games of Antoninus Pius at Puteoli; Dodge (2014): 556; Newby (2005): 36.
[555] Newby (2005): 84 (pl. 4a) for Gafsa, 76-77 for Nîmes (also *IG* XIV, 2496 for an inscription indicating the presence of both an artistic and athletic synod in the city, *CIL* XII.3155 for an inscription recording Caesar paying for the race track in the city, and Caldelli (1997): 420-423, N7 for an inscription honouring an *agonothete*); Plin., *Ep.* 4.22 for Vienne. Many of these inscriptions were written in Greek even though the primary epigraphic language was Latin, reinforcing the links between agonistic activity and its Greek origins.

The Connected Contests database cross-references competitors with festivals and specific competition types.[556] The database records 1236 individual competitors from all over the Mediterranean basin and dating from the Greek and Roman periods. Without outlining date restraints, only 33 competitors can be confirmed as coming from the West. A large proportion of these came from Sicily and Southern Italy, areas with strong Greek backgrounds. When the date constraints of 100 BC – AD 500 are added to narrow this figure to include only competitors who would have been active during the Roman period, only 17 of the total 689, a mere 2.4% of the total competitors on the database were from the West. Once again, there is a strong presence of athletes coming from cities with Greek origins.[557] Rome is the only distinctly un-Greek exception here, but with the existence of the Kapitolia festival this is not surprising.

Similar patterns are seen in the catchment areas of the victors of other sacred crown games. The catchment areas of the Olympic and Isthmian Games illustrates that even the most famous festivals of the time were populated exclusively by Greek and Egyptian competitors.[558] Analysing a collection of 944 Olympic victors across the entire history of the festival's existence, it is possible to demonstrate the changes in areas where Olympic victors originate.[559] For the Imperial period, the main catchment areas for the Olympic Games were the western coastlands of Asia Minor, spreading further east into Bithynia, Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Cilicia.[560] Additionally, Syria and Egypt produced some victories too. The rate of Alexandrian victors sharply increased from four between 200-100 BC, two of which are the same athlete, to 26 by AD 230.[561]

A similar pattern can be seen in the catchment areas from the Isthmian Games. Victors from Asia Minor appear from the mid-first century BC, with a noticeable presence in the second century AD also.[562] They were accompanied by victors originating from Anatolia and Cilicia in the second and third centuries AD.[563] While occasional victors appear from Syria, this is less frequent than those at the Olympic Games and does not appear to have extended any further East.[564] The results of these

[556] See http://connectedcontests.org/ created by Onno van Nijf and Christina Williamson for the full database.
[557] Puteoli: 1, Rome: 5, Sicily: 4, Nîmes: 1, Thouroioi: 1. Also see appendix 5.1 for a visual depiction of Olympic victors 300 BC – AD 400.
[558] See Farrington (1997) and (2010).
[559] Moretti (1957).
[560] Farrington (1997): 18-19.
[561] Ibid.
[562] Farrington (2010): 426.
[563] Ibid.
[564] Ibid.

studies show no western victors outside of the Imperial family. However, studies such as this are severely limited; the total number of victors preserved for the Olympic Games is an estimated maximum of 25% of projected totals. Even worse is the preserved victors for the Isthmian Games, where only 1.8% of the overall estimated victors can be identified.[565]

5.4 - The Organisation of the *Periodos*

5.4.1 - The Olympic Games

Each of the Classical *periodos* festivals experienced changes in their organisational structure during the Imperial period. This change appears to have been mostly indirect, except for the Isthmia which was reinstated in the Caesarean colony of the reconstructed Corinth. It is essential to analyse the organisation and its subsequent change during the Roman period of these events as they are the best-documented examples of how these organisational processes functioned, and often, differed between festivals.

The Olympic Games were unique in that the administrative structure remained largely unaltered in the Roman period. They remained in their original host town of Elis, and the members of the administrative structure were still chosen from the Elean citizen base. The lack of change was the result of two considerations. First, that the Olympic Games were still considered to have been the preeminent athletic festival and Elis' was considered the undisputed administrator of the sanctuary and its festivals.[566] Secondly, Elis was a small and relatively unimportant city from a political perspective. This, along with the region's lack of important harbours and large cities, also made it economically unimportant.[567] This meant that the Eleans could continue to organise the Olympic Games as they had been for centuries. While many emperors and Roman elites financed building projects at Olympia, the organisational structures appear to have stayed much the same.[568]

The organisation of the Olympics centred around a board of ten *hellanodikai* selected from the Elean populace.[569] These men carried out several different roles, as organisers, judges, and keepers of the peace.[570] This group had presided over the festival since 400 BC. The title of the 'Perpetual

[565] Farrington (1997): 23-24 and (2010): 426.
[566] Laurence (2012): 87.
[567] Ibid.
[568] Ibid.
[569] Ibid.: 88.
[570] Evjen (2018): 130.

Agonothete' (διηνεκής ἀγωνοθέτης) was introduced in the Roman period. It was a rare title with only two known recipients, each being rewarded for their exceptional benefactions. The first to receive this title was Herod the Great in 12 BC, who is said to have stopped at Olympia in the festival year and noticed that the games were in financial stress:

> In these cases, it may be said, the individual communities concerned were the sole beneficiaries; his bounty to the people of Elis, on the other hand, was a gift not only to Hellas at large but to the whole world, wherever the fame of the Olympic games penetrates. For, observing that these were declining for want of funds and that this solitary relic of ancient Greece was sinking into decay, he not only accepted the post of president (ἀγωνοθέτης) for the quadrennial celebration which coincided with his visit on his voyage to Rome, but he endowed them for all time with revenues, which should preserve an unfading memory of his term as president (ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ διηνεκὲς πόρους χρημάτων ἀπέδειξεν, ὡς μηδέποτε ἀγωνοθετοῦσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιλιπεῖν.).[571]

It appears that the post was created for Herod in reaction to his generosity.[572] The only other recorded perpetual *agonothete* dates to the late second/early third century AD. This time it was awarded to a Rhodian citizen named M. Cocceius Timasarchos. There is less detail on how this man secured the title, his name appears in several political posts in Rhodes and as the archon at the Panhellenion from AD 197-201, and later as the Olympic *agonothete* (τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος Ὀλυμπ[ίων]).[573] It is not known what Timasarchos did to gain this title, but it is generally assumed that it was due to a similarly exceptional benefaction to the Olympic Games that earned him this honour. Other than these exceptional cases there is very little indication of the *agonothete*'s importance to the Olympics. It appears the role of the Olympic *agonothete*, unlike in the Demostheneia and in the other festivals, was largely a symbolic and honorific title which was given to the benefactor of the Games. They had very little to no involvement in the organisation of the festival itself.

The Olympic Games required more personnel than just the *hellanodikai* and an *agonothete* in order to function. An inscription from 28 BC, the 189th Olympiad, lists several regular and on-call officials who worked at the sanctuary. Some of these individuals would have been required on the sanctuary year-round, but others would have only been needed for the games. These officials included priests, flautists, a libation pourer, a three-man group of libation dancers, a woodman, butcher, five bailiffs, a seer, a key holder, and a tour guide:

> Sacred to Zeus. The administration for the 189th Olympiad. Sacred Attendants: Eudamos, son of Euthymenes; Sophon, son of Lykos; Aphrodeisios, son of Euporos. Spondophoroi: Antiochos, son of

[571] Flav. Jos., *BJ* 1.426-427.
[572] Laurence (2012): 90-91.
[573] Oliver (1970): 107-109, no. 21 and 22; the Ἑλλάδος in this post suggests that Timasarchos was *agonothete* at the Olympic Games at Elis, and not some other *isolympic* games elsewhere.

> Antiochos; Herakleides, son of Herakledes; Lykidas, son of Lykidas. Prophets: Kallitos, Klytiad, son of Antias; Pausanias, Iamid, son of Diogenes. Bailiffs: Arkesos, son of Harmodios; Kallias, son of Pausanias; Hippias, son of Karops; Moschion, son of Dameas; Pausanias, son of Diogenes. Flutist: Aristarchos, son of Aristokles; Exegete: Polychares, son of Aristokrates; On-call Sacrificing Priest: Zopyros, son of Olympichos. Secretary: Herakleides, son of Herakleides. Wine-pourer: Alexas, son of Sophron. Libation-dancers: Epiktetos, son of Herakleides; Hilaros, son of Antiochos; Epiktetos, son of Aphrodeisios. Woodman: Euthymos, son of Sotion. Parcher and Butcher-Cook: Alexas, son of Lykos.[574]

There are several similar lists preserved at Olympia, the earliest dating to 36 BC, which contain an immense number of administrative and organisational personnel required to run not only the sanctuary but also the festival.[575] Again, these inscriptions emphasise the centrality of Elis and the Elean people in the organisation of these festivals.[576]

5.4.2 - The Pythian Games

The Pythian Games show how the Roman administration in the Imperial period indirectly influenced the organisational infrastructure of a major agonistic festival. Traditionally these games were run by the Amphiktyonic League. This body was composed of the Thessalians, Phokians, Delphians, Boiotians, Perhabians, Dolopians, Phthiotians, Magnesians, Malians, Dorians, Ionians, and Lokrians.[577] In the Archaic and Classical periods, the 24 representatives from these cities held a similar role as the Olympic *hellanodikai*, including judging contests, policing the games, and the maintenance of the sanctuary and its associated venues for contests.[578]

The Pythian Games was originally a joint venture by the League that took place in the symbolic location of Delphi. The *polis* of Delphi only had a partial role in the administration of the Games, with only two seats in the League, the city's influence over how the festival was organised was limited. However, during the Imperial period Roman influence appears to have determined the dominance of certain cities in the League. Under the rule of Augustus the Amphiktyonic League appears to have often been rearranged to suit Roman needs, along with the introduction of the *epimelete*, the chief officer. As a result, the organisation of the Pythian Games changed hands numerous times. The *epimelete* carried several roles in the League; he was credited with the erection of buildings, statues, and dedications in the sanctuary at Delphi.[579]

[574] *IvO,* 64, translation as per Miller (1991).
[575] For these inscriptions see *IvO,* 59-141.
[576] Laurence (2012): 92-93.
[577] See appendix 5.4 for exact composition and its change over time.
[578] *FD* III.1.544; Philostr. *VS* 2.27, 616; *CID* 2.139.
[579] Laurence (2012): 147.

By the second century AD the *epimelete* was officially given the responsibility of organising the Pythian Games.[580] The *epimeletai* were instrumental to the organisation of the Festival and likely had a significant amount of influence before officially taking over the organisation of the Games in the second century AD. The Roman interference here is apparent since these officials were voted in by the representatives of the Amphiktyonic League. The reorganisation of League seats also appears to have influenced the hometowns of these *epimeletai*. Under the reign of Augustus, the League was rearranged to include the Roman colony of Nikopolis, and the city was allocated a dominant position in the League with ten seats out of a total twenty-four. Nikopolis was the hometown of the first five known *epimeletai,* Theokles, son of Eudamos (Tiberian); P. Memmius Kleandros (Neronian); Ti. Claudius Kleomarchos (Neronian); Ti. Claudius Celsus (Neronian); and Ti. Claudius Hipparchos (uncertain Julio-Claudian).[581] Under Nero this power balance shifted to Thessaly with a maximum possible number of seats given to the city being 12.[582] Hadrian changed this balance, choosing to favour the Athenians and Spartans by allocating them an equivalent number of seats with a corresponding decrease in the representation from Thessaly.[583] Finally, by Pausanias' lifetime, this was balanced out with the dominant votes being allocated to Thessaly, Nikopolis, and Macedon, each with six seats out of thirty.[584]

During the Julio-Claudian period the *agonothete* office was also added to the administrative structure of the Pythian Games. A full list of the *agonothete*'s duties is unclear, but it is thought that it included many of the roles that the *epimelete* and Olympic *hellanodikai* carried including leading the festival processions, starting the events, policing the event, and disciplining contestants.[585] However, the *agonothete*'s primary function was likely as a financier of the Games. Similar to those at Olympia, the *agonothetes* of the Pythia appear to have come from all over the several city-states that composed the Amphiktyonic League, with the majority coming from Nikopolis, Delphi, and Thessaly. The earliest of these known is a man named Archenoos, from Agros, the only Peloponnesian known to have gained the title of *agonothete* for the Pythia.[586] The limited geographic variation for those obtaining the *agonothete* title suggests that there was less

[580] Weir (2004): 56-57.
[581] Ibid.; Sanchez (2001): 529.
[582] *FD* III.4.302, col. I, lines 14-15; *FD* III.4.114; *BCH* 79 (1954): 427-428.
[583] *FD* III.4.302, col. II, lines 3-6.
[584] Paus., 10.8.4-5.
[585] Weir (2004): 64.
[586] *IG* V 589.

competition for this office than the *epimelete*.[587] During the Imperial period the Pythia quickly changed from being a collectively maintained and organised festival shared by the Amphiktyony to being the responsibility of two individuals, the *epimelete* and the *agonothete*.

5.4.3 - The Nemean Games

The biennial Nemean Games were the youngest in the Classical *periodos*, founded in Argos in 573 BC. Argos was a host to several festivals in the Roman period, with the Heraia and an imperial Sebasteia being added to the city's event calendar.[588] In the Hellenistic period, the Nemea and Heraia were organised by separate *agonothetai*. However, when both festivals were moved to Argos the separate offices were dissolved, and a single *agonothete* oversaw organisation, assisted by a board of ten *hellanodikai.*[589] This appears to have occurred before the end of the third century BC, as Livy reported that Philip V served as *agonothete* for both games in 209 BC:

> And then, leaving a garrison against Attalus, in case he should cross over in the meantime, he set out himself with a few horsemen and light-armed and came to Argos. There the direction of the games in honour of Hera and of the Nemean Games was conferred upon him by vote of the people, because the kings of the Macedonians claim that they sprang from the city.[590]

The addition of the Sebasteia in the Imperial period was a conscious association of the Imperial cult and the ancient Nemean Games. Similar to the addition of games in honour of the Imperial cult alongside the Isthmian Games in Corinth, this was an opportunity for the Imperial cult to be celebrated alongside that of Zeus.[591]

The organisation of the festivals appears to have been largely untouched during this period, but with a lack of sources to suggest otherwise, this cannot be stated for certain. Presumably, the Sebasteia came under the responsibility of the single *agonothete* who organised the city's other festivals. Perhaps since the city had already made the switch to an *agonothete* and *hellanodikai* organisational structure three centuries earlier, little change could be made to streamline these games.

[587] Weir (2004): 58.
[588] Laurence (2012): 182, 183.
[589] *IG* IV 589, 597; *SEG* XXV, 362, II. 16-18.
[590] Liv., 27.30-31.
[591] Laurence (2012): 183.

5.4.4 - The Isthmian Games

The biennial Isthmian Games displays the most change in the Imperial period while still presenting itself as a Greek festival rooted in a prestigious history dating back to the sixth century BC. The reconstruction of Corinth in 44 BC by Caesar came with the relocation of Isthmian Games to the city from Sikyon where it had been held since the sack of Corinth a century earlier.[592] The new games were headed by an *agonothete*, just like those at Delphi. While Corinth remained a Roman colony with its official language being Latin, the language of the Isthmian festival remained Greek.

The first datable celebration of the Isthmia at Corinth can be found in a victors' list discovered near the Corinthian gymnasium.[593] The first line of the inscription dates it thirty-three years after the victory at Actium, AD 2.[594] Numismatic evidence suggests that the Isthmia was running in Corinth as early as 43-42 BC, with issues depicting Bellerophon and Pegasus above Corinth and Poseidon seated holding his trident.[595] In 40 BC another Corinthian issue was produced bearing a pine wreath, the traditional prize for the Isthmia.[596] These issues suggest that Corinth was stating that the Isthmian games rightfully belong to Corinth, as is likely the case with the 43/42 BC issue.[597] The 40 BC issue depicting pine wreaths is indicative of the games actually being produced in Corinth as this was a common form of numismatic promotion across the Greek world.[598]

These new Isthmian Games were headed by an *agonothete*, as seen in an inscription found on a recut Byzantine half-column. This inscription records the presidency of the Corinthian Imperial Games, the Isthmian Games, and the Caesarean Games:

> Gnaeus Cornelius Plucher,
> son of Gnaeus Pulcher,
> *aedile prefectus iure dicundo*, *duovir et duovir quinquennialis*.
> *Agonothete* of the festival of Tiberius Caesar Augustus (*Tib*[*ereon Claudi*]*eon Sebasteon*),
> and *agonthete* of the Isthmian Games and of
> the Caesarean Games (*Caesar*[*eon*]),
> who was the first to bring back the Isthmian Games ([*I*]*sthmion*)
> to the Isthmus under the care of the colony of Julian Corinth
> and established a competition among the youth and,

[592] Laurence (2012): 209-210.
[593] Meritt (1931): Corinth 8.1, no. 14.
[594] ἔτους ΛΓ' ἀπὸ τῆς | ἐν Ακτ[ίωι] καίσαρος γίκης.
[595] Laurence (2012): fig. 7.7
[596] Amandry (1988): type IV, pp. 39-40, pl. V: R1-R5.
[597] Laurence (2012): 210.
[598] Harl (1987): 63-70 discusses 'agonistic issues' during the Imperial period in detail; see pl. 27.9, 28.2-4 and 29.9 for examples of this in Asia Minor.

> after having renewed all of Caesar's rituals,
> terminated and offered a banquet to all the settlers.
> Son…
> …father Cornelius Regulus, through the decurions' decree.[599]

What is notable here that the same individual who was *agonothete* was also responsible for the Isthmian and Caesarean Games. The Caesarean Games date back to the 30s BC.[600] An inscription dating to AD 15 that records the career of T. Manlius also indicates that the *agonothete* of the Isthmian Games was also responsible for these Caesarean Games (Ἴσθμια και Καισάρεια).[601] This is likely a result of how the *agonothete* of each of these games was in office for four years presiding over the entire organisation of the games and perhaps preparing the next *agonothete* for their term. The Isthmia was also organised by ten *hellanodikai* to assist him in his duties.

What was unique about the Corinthian Games was their bi-cultural nature. As Rome's administrative centre in Greece, Corinth showed a greater degree of Roman connection and culture than other Greek cities. This is illustrated by the presence of Greece's only amphitheatre in Corinth, a stark reminder of Corinth's Roman association. The Isthmia firmly rooted the Roman colony to its ancient Greek history. This is demonstrated by a three-sided victory list of the Isthmian Games set up in the early Julio-Claudian period the primary language is Latin, but the names of officials and their roles were merely transliterated, but not translated.[602]

5.4.5 - Organisational and Administrative Trends in the Roman Period

Except for the Olympic Games, each festival in the traditional *periodos* saw a funnelling in their administration to a single *agonothete*. While the number of people involved likely stayed the same, the key decisions were made by one individual who visibly presided over the ceremonies and games. Agonistic festivals had always been euergetistic and were political tools for the elite, as seen with the inclusion of the *agonothete* office at the Olympic Games which was primarily an honorary role for its primary benefactor. However, these events were also religious celebrations, and the frequent documentation of festivals being financed through sacred funds is noteworthy. The *agonothete* role was similar to the *editor* of *ludi.* It was a highly visible role, and its holders were responsible for overseeing the successful operation of the entire festival. They led the procession, opening the competitions, and had their names associated with the festival.

[599] Kajava (2002): 177.
[600] West (1931): Corinth 82; 64-66.
[601] Ibid.: no. 81; Kent (1966): Corinth 8.3, no. 154; Corinthian Inventory #I-71-15.
[602] Laurence (2012): fig. 7.13; Kent (1966): Corinth 8.3.155, 208, 209, 212, 214.

This development is especially notable in the Sacred festivals which were usually organised as a collaborative effort, best illustrated by Olympia's *hellanodikai,* or the involvement of the Amphiktyonic League in the Pythia. The emphasis of the *agonothete* role in the Roman period is perhaps a result of the Roman political landscape, always promoting the generosity of the organiser, and in turn, legitimising his powerful position within the city.[603] While the festivals themselves remained a celebration of Hellenic culture and history, the organisational structures used to host these games shifted more towards those used in prize games which emphasised the importance of a single overseeing organiser. This was potentially a result of Roman aristocratic euergetistic practices, with local wealthy individuals competing to emphasise their civic generosity to both the plebeian and elite populations.

5.5 - The Role of the Synod during the Imperial Period

The *synodoi* of athletes and artists were Integral to the organisation of agonistic festivals. These associations first appear between 280-270 BC, each had their base in the various agonistic centres of the period.[604] They initially operated in order to protect the interests of athletes and artists going to major agonistic events, in particular, the personal security of competitors during travel. At times, these associations clashed about who was responsible for a particular issue. Conflicts even arose between the *synodoi* regarding the responsibility of specific issues. One example of this was when the *synodoi* of Athens, the Isthmia, and the Nemea which could only be resolved by the Roman senate when they declared the freedom of movement for competitors.[605] Many of these *synodoi* remained firmly connected with the individual festivals that they were initially associated with.

The Imperial period saw a fundamental structural change in the way that the *synodoi* functioned and interacted. Rather than having individual associations of different agonistic festivals in Greece and Asia Minor, they became an interconnected network which in the second century AD was centred in Rome.[606] Regional associations dealt with the administrative organisational aspects such as registration of competitors and regulating their privileges such as appearance fees, tax exemptions,

[603] Camia (2011): 42.
[604] Van Nijf (2006): 225.
[605] LeGuen (2001): ii, 102-104 with, i, 98-113.
[606] König (2005): 221. van Nijf (2006): 225 defines them as 'one larger supra-regional and… 'global' association'.

and pensions.[607] The central synod in Rome would have communicated with imperial officials, the Emperor, and relayed legal changes onto the rest of the Greek world.

The primary purpose of the *synodoi* became to defend the economic interests of their members. This is best seen in the letters from Hadrian to the Travelling Theatrical Association of Artisans of Dionysus, which addresses Trajan's earlier declaration that pensions would only be paid out upon re-entry of the individual's hometown.[608] This set of letters demonstrates the dynamic between the central Roman synod and those found throughout the eastern Roman Empire. Lines 55-56 and 83-84 mentions that the information present in these letters should be distributed to those who are affected by its contents:

> <lines 55-56> Those governing provinces will ensure that everything happens as I have ordered; I allow you to inscribe this on *stelai*, wherever you wish, so that they will be known to all. Farewell.
>
> <lines 83-84> Cities in which the games established here are held shall inscribe my letters on *stelai*, and the synods shall inscribe them in their temples. Farewell.

The directions for publication are minimal, Hadrian directs *synodoi* to inscribe *stelai* and erect them wherever it was relevant, likely the building of local artisan associations in this case. It is unclear just how much involvement the *synodoi* had in determining aspects of agonistic organisation such as when festivals would be hosted. Organisers were required to report their festivals to the local synod in order to ensure that it conformed with the *periodos*, the annual festival calendar. One example of this is in an inscription announcing a new festival at Aphrodisias demonstrating that the festival was organised with the synod in advance in order to ensure that potential competitors had enough time to travel:

> because the competitors must leave afterward for Herakleia, and always hereafter in a cycle...[609]

Hadrian's rearrangement of the festival calendar also meant that travelling competitors could easily travel between countries and towns in order to participate in several festivals across the Empire. The agonistic festivals of this calendar were arranged by geographic distance, with annual events being separated in a western, Greek, and eastern circuits.[610] This facilitated the needs of professional performers much better than the restrictions put in place by Trajan.

[607] See *ITralleis,* 112 for example.
[608] See appendix 5.2 for a full translation.
[609] *P&P* 51 1.13-15.
[610] Gouw (2008).

Membership of these associations was not a universal right of the performer. Papyrus evidence from Hermopolis shows that the boxer Herminus had to fill out an application to become a member of the Sacred Athletic Travelling Hadrianic-Antonian-Septimian Guild of Worshippers of Hercules and Agonios and the Imperator Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus.[611] The application for this synod appears to have been standardised, with spaces left in the text for the performer to fill out their name and other required personal information. Finally, Herminus was required to pay a HS400 fee in order to process his application and become a formal member of the association. Interestingly, this application was submitted after his victory. It is stated that only after the application has been successfully submitted Herminus would receive HS760 per month for his victory, and any other victories in a festival of similar prestige would be recognised with the same amount. This raises the question of when a performer would need to register at a synod. Herminus' case suggests that competitors would only need to register at their hometown synod after they had emerged victorious at a festival. While the *synodoi* defended the rights of agonistic performers at an Empire-wide scale; their day-to-day activities would have more likely dealt with competitor privileges such as tax exemption, pensions, appearance fees, and freedom from official duties.

These *synodoi* do not appear to have expanded to participants in all competitions at agonistic festivals. The application for a recognition of victory for M. Aurelius Serapion of Oxyrhynchus in AD 275 reports:

> Since I have produced the usual affidavits for my crown and formally entered here (i.e. my hometown of Oxyrhynchus), and acquired as a result tax freedom and exemption from civic duties in all respects according to the regulations of the contests...[612]

This suggests that Serapion did not have the same privileges that were outlined in the letters to the Dionysiac Artists by Hadrian.[613] This is perhaps due to the nature of who the actual victors of equestrian events were. Unlike athletic and artistic performers, prizes for the victories of equestrian events went to the owners of the horses which won the race, not the drivers. Since these recipients were not technically performers, there was no synod-like association to represent equestrian victors or their charioteers who were presumably paid for their services by the owner.[614]

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[611] *P. Agon* 6.5 leaves a blank space for Herminus' name; *Select Papyri* no. 306 for Herminus. Potter (2011): 281. See appendix 5.7 for a full translation.

[612] *P. Agon* 10 (ἐπεὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τὰ συνήθη ἀποκρίματα κομισάμενος εἰσήλασα ἐνταῦθα, ἐκ δὲ τουτοῦ ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἀλιτουργησίαν πάντῃ ἐσχηὼς κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀγώνων θεσμοὺς κτλ).

[613] Slater (2015): 155 discusses this is detail. *P. Agon* 4.47 Augustus confirms Empire-wide unknown rights for Dionysiac Artists, *P. Agon* 1.2 and he confirmed increased rights for athletes as well (see Suet., *Aug.* 45), but the evidence for these rights is incomplete and our first complete records of performer rights is under Hadrian.

[614] Slater (2015): 159.

Much like the charioteer factions, it appears that the administration of these the *synodoi* were made up of retired competitors. The victory list of the Alexandrian athlete Markos Aurelios Demetrios, dating to c.AD 200, demonstrates how following a successful career he became the head priest of the local synod:

> I am the son of Markos Aurelios Demetrios, who was head priest and *Xystarches* for life of the *Sympas Xystos* and Director of the Imperial Baths, a citizen of Alexandria and of Hermopolis, a pankratist, a *periodonikes,* and a wrestler beyond compare - I am Markos Aurelios Asklepiades, also known as Hermodoros, the eldest of the temple trustees of the great Serapis, high priest of the *Sympas Xystos, Xystarches* for life, and Director of the Imperial Baths; a citizen of Alexandria, Hermopolis, and Puteoli; a member of the *boule* of Naples and Elis and Athens; both a citizen and member of the *boule* of many other cities; a pankratist, an unbeaten immovable unchallenged *periodonikes* who won every contest I ever entered. I was never threatened, nor did anyone ever dare to attempt to threaten me, nor did I ever end a contest in a draw, nor debate a decision, nor withdraw, nor miss a competition, but I won my crown in actual *skamma* of every contest I entered, and I worked my way through the preliminary qualifying events as well. I competed in three lands: Italy, Greece, and Asia, winning the following competitions in the *pankration*: the Olympics at Pisa in the 240th Olympiad [AD 181], the Pythian Games at Delphi, the Isthmian Games twice, the Nemean Games twice (the second of these when my competitors withdrew), and the Shield Games of Hera in Argos, the Capitoline Games in Rome twice (the second of these when my competitors withdrew after the first *kleros*), the Eusebeia Games at Puteoli twice (the second of these when my competitors withdrew after the second *kleros*), five games at Athens (the Panathenaic, the Olympic, the Panhellenics, and the Hadrianic twice), five games at Smyrna (the Asian Commonwealth Games twice [the second of these when my competitors withdrew], and similarly the Olympic in Smryna and the Hadrianic Olympic), the Augusteia Games at Pergamon three times (the second of these when my competitors withdrew after the first *kleros*), three games at Ephesos (the Hadrianic, the Olympic, and the Barbilleia Games when my competitors withdrew after the first *kleros*), the Games of Asklepios at Epidauros, of Haleia at Rhodes, the Chrysanthic at Sardis and many *thematic* games including the Eurykleia at Sparta and the Mantinea and others. I competed altogether for six years, but retired from competition when I was twenty-five years old because of the dangers and jealousies which were gathering around me, and after I had retired for several years, I was forced to compete in the local Olympic Games of my native Alexandria and won the *pankration* in the 6th Olympiad there [AD 196].[615]

A similar inscription can be found at Naples erected in AD 107, which records that another Alexandrian athlete called Titus Flavius Archibus became the high priest of the Alexandrian synod:

> To Good Fortune. The Loyal and Patriotic and Reverent and Itinerant *Synodos* of the Alexandrians honours Titus Flavius Archibius of Alexandria, high priest for life of the entire *xystos,* victor incomparable, who had won the *pankration* in the men's category at the 220th and 221st Olympiads [AD 101 and 105]. In Rome at the third celebration of the Great Capitoline Games [AD 94] he won the *pankration* in the *ageneios* category, and at their fourth celebration [AD 98] he won the *pankration* in the men's category, and at their fifth celebration [AD 102] he won the *pankration* in the men's category, and at their sixth celebration [AD 106] he again won the *pankration* in the men's category, the first of mankind to do so. At the Heraklean Victory Games held by the Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus he was crowned in the *pankration* in the men's category. At the Pythian Games he won the *pankration* in the *agenios* category, and at the next Pythiad he won both the *pale* and the *pankration* in the men's category, and at the next Pythiad he won the *pankration* in the men's category, the first of mankind to do so. At the Isthmian Games he won the *pankration* in the men's category. At the Aktian Games he was the *pale* and the *pankration* in the *ageneios*

[615] *IG* XIV, 1102, translation as per Miller (2004).

> category, and at the next festival he won the *pankration* in the men's category, the first of mankind to do so. At Naples he won the *pankration* in the *ageneios* category and in the next two festivals he won the *pankration* in the men's category. At the [...broken away...] he won the *pale* and the *pankration* in the *ageneios* category, and at the next two festivals he won the *pale* and the *pankration* in the men's category, and at the next festival he won the *pankration* in the men's category, the first in mankind to do so. At the Balbilleia Games at Ephesus he won the *pale* and the *pyx* and the *pankration* in the men's category, the first in mankind to do so. At the sacred four-year games at Antioch he won the *pankration* in the boys' category and at the next festival four years later he won the *pale* and the *pyx* in the *ageneios* category, and at the next festival he won the *pankration* in the men's category, and at the next festival again he won the *pankration* in the men's category, the first of mankind to do so. At the League of Asia Games at Smyrna he won the *pale* and the *pankration* in the *ageneios* category. At the sacred four-year games at Alexandria he won the *pankration* in the *ageneios* category and four years later he won the *pankration* in the men's category and again at the next festival he won the *pankration* in the men's category and at the next festival he won the *pale* and the *pankration* in the men's category the first of mankind to do so. He also has victories in the *pale* and the *pankration* at the Shield of Argos Games and many other four-year games in the boys', *ageneios,* and men's categories.[616]

Both men were hugely successful, winning multiple victories in several Sacred games including the *periodos* that was so highly sought after. However, this would not have been the case for most athletes.

Perhaps service in the synod was one of the only positions that athletes could hold due to injuries they had sustained during their career. Galen observed that athletes suffered from several ongoing injuries after their retirement and warned against such a career:

> Perhaps someone would say that they have a blessing in the pleasure of their bodies. But how can they derive any pleasure from their bodies if during their athletic years they are in constant pain and suffering, and not only because of their exercise but also because of their forced feedings? And even when they have reached the age of retirement, their bodies are essentially if not completely crippled… Finally, athletes have big incomes while they are actively competing, but when they retire money quickly becomes a problem for them and they soon run through their funds until they have less than they started with before their careers.[617]

It must be acknowledged that Galen was attempting to deter those interested in the athletic lifestyle, and in its place, promote a more academic lifestyle which he claimed was more fruitful. Nevertheless, it would have been true for many athletes, especially those in high impact sports, such as boxing, wrestling, and pankration, that injuries were frequent. As seen with the above two examples, these athletes were highly active in the festival scene, and such vigorous competing and training must have taken a physical toll. This meant that many forms of labour were likely impossible for those who had not been able to secure a comfortable retirement fund. Just as with chariot-

[616] *IG* XIV, 747, translation as per Miller (2004).
[617] Galen, *Exhortation for Medicine* 14, translation as per Miller (2004).

racing, retired competitors were the ideal candidates for these *synodoi* as they were aware of the needs and challenges that their fellow athletes or artists faced.

5.6 - Foundations and the Demostheneia

Some agonistic festivals were funded through the establishment of foundations. The purpose of these foundations was to ensure that the necessary funds were raised for the continuing celebration of the festival. Foundational texts also provide a valuable source of information on organisational structures behind these events. One foundation account comes from the Serapieia at Tanagra in the first century BC, where the *agonothete* Glaukos illustrates how he financed his festival. It is said that he received 3,000 *drachmae* from the civic board in charge of the agonistic foundation established by Charilaos to cover the costs of the event.[618]

Table 10 - Breakdown of the Serapieia Foundation

Expense	**Amount (in *drachmae*)**
Golden Crowns for Victors	2,070
'Sums of money' for Second Place	400
Salary of the Goldsmith	46
Salary of the Costume Maker	230
Salary of the Choirs	190
Auletai	40
Sacrifices to Isis, Serapis, and the other gods	300

The sums reported total to 3,276 *drachmae,* 276 more than he is said to have received from the council. This money may have been provided by Glaukos himself, even though it is not explicitly stated.[619] Perhaps this was excluded from the account since it was expected that an *agonothete* would cover any additional expenses for the festival. This is made more apparent when Glaukos states that he personally paid an unspecified amount for the sacrificial victims, libations, and the daily banquets that were offered to the judges, artists, choir, and victors. What this account lacks is the sources of income from which the 3,000 *drachmae* were raised to cover the expected festival costs.

[618] Calvet and Roesch (1966): 298-300, lines 307-309.
[619] Camia (2011): 51-52.

The mid-second century AD Demostheneia inscription describes the entire process of hosting the festival, from its organisation to the event programme.[620] The festival was hosted in the style of the penteteric festivals, on July 1st of the fourth year.[621] Specific amounts of money that were to be contributed to the festival are mentioned. This money was raised either through regular payments by individuals or investments made by an allocated individual. Initially, Demosthenes or one of his relatives donated 1,000 *denarii* each January to the foundation until the festival had acquired property that could generate enough revenue to cover this expense. One of the twenty *eikosaprotoi* would be chosen to purchase property worth at least 1,000 *denarii* at his own risk. The profit from this property had to generate a minimum of 10 *asses* per month for every 100 *denarii* of its value, the equivalent of a seven and a half per cent return per annum. Over the three-year period, this would amount to 4,450 *denarii;* this includes the 1,000 *denarii* paid by either Demosthenes or one of his relatives in the January of the fourth year.

This text also outlines the programme and the monetary prizes to be paid to the victors.[622] 1,900 *denarii* was allocated for prizes, 600 *denarii* for the hired shows, 150 *denarii* for the citizen gymnastic competitions, and 1,800 *denarii* for the judge's fees. The 150 *denarii* for the gymnastic competitions which was open only to local citizens was to be "divided among the individual contestants". This suggests that citizens of the city did not compete for the same prizes as those who travelled from elsewhere. The judge's fee of 1,800 *denarii* was distributed in different amounts amongst the city: 3 *denarii* to each judge not from the city council, 40 *denarii* for each judge from the council, and the remaining 300 *denarii* was distributed to the citizens of Oenoanda. The total of 4,450 *denarii* shows just how modest these events could be. This can be compared with the budgets outlined by the more or less contemporaneous *Aes Italicense* for the costs of gladiatorial combats.[623] The minimum overall budget for an event classified in this text was 30,000 *denarii*, anything lower was to be considered *munera assiforana.*

[620] For the full foundation and translation see Mitchell (1990), originally published in Wörrle (1988); see also Roger (1991) for further discussion.
[621] Mitchell (1990): 183-184, the text reads, "publicly promise (the foundation of) a *thymelic* [theatrical] festival to be called the Demostheneia, which will be celebrated after three-year intervals just as the other penteteric festivals are celebrated, so that in the fourth year it commences on the Augustus day [1st] of Artemeisios [1 July]".
[622] See appendix 5.6 for full text.
[623] See Oliver and Palmer (1955).

The organisers of the Demostheneia were not solely responsible for the provision of sacrificial animals at the festival. The inscription outlines that it was the duty of the city's officials and the surrounding towns to provide bulls for sacrifice:

> The *agonothete* himself, one bull; the civic priest of the emperors and the priestess of the emperors, one bull; the priest of Zeus, one bull; the three *panegyriarchs*, one bull; the secretary of the council and the five *prytaneis*, two bulls; the two market supervisors of the city, one bull; the two gymnasiarchs, one bull; the four treasurers (*tamiai*), one bull; the two *paraphylakes* [rural police-officers], one bull; the *ephebarch*, one bull; the *paidonomos*, one bull; the supervisor of the public buildings, one bull; of the villages, Thersenos with Armadu, Arissos, Merlakanda, Mega Oros, ... lai, Kirbu, Euporoi, Oroata, ... rake, Valo, and Yskapha, with their associated farmsteads (*monagriai*), two bulls; Orpenna Sielia with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Ogarsan ... ake with Lakistaunda and Kakasboi Killu and their associated farmsteads, ... bull(s); .yrnea with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Elbessos with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Nigyrassos with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Vauta Marakanda with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Milgeipotamos Vedasa with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Prinolithos Kolabe ... with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Kerdebota Palangeimanake with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Minaunda Pan..syera with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Ornessos, Aetu nossia, Korapsa with their associated farmsteads, one bull; ... a Sapondoanda with their associated farmsteads, one bull; and no one has the authority to exact a tax for these sacrifices.[624]

The preserved text records the request for 67 sacrificial bulls. This would have been a massive reduction to the overall costs for the festival, as these animals were required for religious means. However, this number could have been significantly higher since there are gaps in the text. Diocletian's price edict can indicate how much money was saved by requiring local towns and farmsteads to provide sacrificial bulls.[625] The only reference to bulls in the edict is that of a breeding stock, where they are priced at 5,000 *denarii*.[626] However, it is unknown if these bulls would have been the same as those used for sacrifice. Comparing this to the costs of similar domestic animals still demonstrates how it would have been a significant investment for an *agonothete*. Sheep (400 *denarii*), goats (500 *denarii*), and rams (400 *denarii*) are only classified as first-class on the edict, even if these were used instead of a more expensive bull the cost of 67 animals would range between 26,800 *denarii* and 33,500 *denarii*. While these calculations are merely indicative of the potential cost of sacrificial bulls if they were purchased, it also illustrates how an organiser of a festival could save thousands of *denarii* by calling upon the surrounding towns to provide sacrificial animals.

[624] Translation from Mitchell (1990): 186.
[625] For a complete copy of the price edict see Crawford and Reynolds (1979).
[626] Ibid.: col. 2, ch. 30.1 line 15.

5.7 - The Prizes and Pensions of Agonistic Festivals

5.7.1 - Sacred Festivals

Sacred festivals did not award competitors for their victories with cash prizes opting rather to give symbolic prizes. Often these were prizes of crowns of vegetation or flowers such as the laurel, pine, and oak wreath, additionally awards of citizenship, statues, tax-exemption, and meals.[627] Since the Imperial period saw an explosion in festival culture organisers often needed to compete to secure the top athletes. Organisers achieved this by offering high appearance fees attracting a well-known individual to their games over others and to appear more prestigious in an agonistic calendar that was becoming increasingly crowded.[628] Dio Chrysostom mentions that those wishing to seek popularity could pay up to five talents (30,000 *drachmae*) for the appearance of a famous competitor at their event.[629] The addition of appearance fees to what should be a voluntary entry shows how competitive the nature of agonistic festivals had become. Dio Chrysostom's inclusion of famous performers or 'some other Olympic victor' differentiates these competitors from the hired performers competing for a set salary. These appearance fees also demonstrate the change in attitude from Classical and Hellenistic competitors in agonistic festivals. Organisers were willing to pay lavish appearance fees to ensure that prestigious competitors would choose their festival over another. This demonstrates the introduction of a blurring between the traditional practice of competing at your own expense for the glory of the victory and the euergetistic use of money in order to bring glory to both the organiser and the city.

Pensions were awarded to victors of sacred festivals by their hometown. It is not until the third century AD that we get any detailed record of how much these monthly pensions were. Papyri from Hermopolis record that pensions usually ranged from 180 to 200 *drachmae* per month for each victory obtained.[630] The papyrus of Herminus, discussed above, shows that he received HS760 monthly for his victory in boxing, equating to 190 *denarii*.[631] The money provided by pensions were significant compared to other common occupations of the Roman period. The annual salary for a legionary foot soldier during the third century AD is estimated to have been 450 *denarii* from AD 197

[627] Slater (2015): 147.
[628] Remijsen (2015): 295.
[629] Dio Chrys., 66.11 he specifically refers to famous competitors: 'seek some Amoebeus [singer] and Polus [tragic actor] or hire some Olympic victor for a fee of five talents.'; Mitchell (1990): 188.
[630] See Drew-Bear (1986): 93 for more.
[631] *P. Agon.* 6.5.

to AD 212, then 675 *denarii* up to AD 234, Diocletian doubled this to 1350 *denarii*.[632] In contrast, if an athlete from Hermopolis made a single victory in a sacred game which awarded a pension of 180 *drachmae* per month, annually, they would be earning 810 *denarii* more than a foot soldier in Diocletian's army where the salary was at its highest.[633] This illustrates the scale of financial reward potentially available to athletes and performers were competing within. The Hermopolis papyrus makes the distinction of 'per victory', so the overall potential pensions accumulated for a successful athlete could have been much higher. Often these competitors would travel the Empire competing in festivals almost year-round. This is illustrated in an incident occurring in AD 93 where the Egyptian boxer, Apollonius, was banned from the Olympic Games for arriving late to the mandatory training period:

> Afterwards others were fined by the Eleans, among whom was an Alexandrian boxer at the two hundred and eighteenth Festival. The name of the man fined was Apollonius, with the surname of Rhantes – it is a sort of national characteristic for Alexandrians to have a surname. This man was the first Egyptian to be convicted by the Eleans of a misdemeanour. It was not for giving or taking a bribe that he was condemned, but for the following outrageous conduct in connection with the games. He did not arrive by the prescribed time, and the Eleans, if they followed their rule, had no option but to exclude him from the games. For his excuse, that he had been kept back among the Cyclades islands by contrary winds, was proved to be an untruth by Heracleides, himself an Alexandrian by birth. He showed that Apollonius was late because he had been picking up some money at the Ionian games. In these circumstances the Eleans shut out from the games Apollonius with any other boxer who came after the prescribed time, and let the crown go to Heracleides without a contest.[634]

The Imperial period is distinct from the earlier periods in that festival culture in the East became increasingly professionalised, and competitors could participate in festivals year-round.

This professionalisation was linked to the increasing number of festivals made available to participate in. By analysing the inscriptions of recorded athletes from the Hellenistic period onwards, it is possible to see a distinct rise in the number of festivals mentioned.[635] The resulting data illustrates that the rate of hosting agonistic festivals increased in the Roman period:

[632] See Alston (1994): 114-115 for these estimates which are based on the literary records of Imperial pay rises for soldiers, Herodian III.8.4 (Septimius Severus in AD 194), IV.4.7 (Caracalla in AD 212), and VI.8.8 (Diocletian in AD 234).

[633] 1 *drachma* was roughly the equivalent value of a *denarius*. Therefore, if an athletic victor were being paid 180 *drachmae* per month, their annual payments from the city (180 over 12 months) would be 2,160 *drachmae.* At the higher end of the scale, let us assume that a victor was awarded with a 200 *drachmae* per month pension, this would equal 2,400 *drachmae* annually.

[634] Paus., 5.21.12-14.

[635] Data for inscriptions come from the Connected Contests Database by Onno van Nijf and Christina Williamson. Some inscriptions only mentioned a festival name with no location or a location but no festival name. For these I have counted the names with no location as a separate festival and the locations as a festival in that location but not connected to those that may already have been recorded in that town.

Table 11 - Number of Agonistic Festivals Mentioned in Victory Lists

Period	Total	Greece	Asia Minor	Egypt	Italy	Macedon
Hellenistic	65	32	9	4	0	1
First Century AD (30 BC – AD 99)	70	26	29	3	2	0
Second Century AD	85	22	38	5	1	0
Third Century AD	103	30	56	6	7	0

This expansion of agonistic festivals weighted towards the cities of Asia Minor. Similarly, the trend can also be found in the attendance records of the traditional *periodos*:

Table 12 - Change in Attendance at the Traditional Periodos[636]

Period	Mean Festival Mention Rate	Olympia	Pythia	Nemea	Isthmia
Hellenistic	5.86	159	47	31	30
First Century AD (30 BC – AD 99)	3.22	61	19	14	17
Second Century AD	4.07	47	35	26	34
Third Century AD	2.26	26	20	11	12
Reduction in Mentions		83.65%	57.45%	64.52%	60%

The availability of more sacred festivals meant that participants did not have to travel as far to gain the prestigious four victories that traditionally was obtained at the Olympia, Pythia, Nemea, and Isthmia. The most attended festival of the Hellenistic period, the Olympia, had 156 total mentions in the epigraphic evidence, compare this to the third century AD where it was only mentioned 26 times, an overall decrease of 83.65%, with a similar reduction in epigraphic mentions being found in each of the other festivals. The increase in regional agonistic festivals meant that people did not have to travel as far to obtain prize money or pensions, and made it more accessible for more people to participate in more festivals year-round.

During Trajan's reign, the process for receiving pensions appears to have been a much longer, and it required the victor to return to their hometown first:

> To Trajan:
>
> The athletes, Sir, think that the rewards which you have promised as prizes in the sacred contests ought to be due to them from the day they receive their laurel crowns, for they argue that the date of

[636] For the full list of inscriptions used to make this table see appendix 5.8.

> their entry into their native place is immaterial, and that the material fact is the time of their victory which entitles them to that entry. I am in the habit of countersigning the drafts for payment with the phrase "under the head of sacred money," and I have a very strong feeling that the time ought to be dated from the day when they make their entry. The same people are also demanding the special rewards for the contest which you have made sacred, although they were winners before it was so made by you, for they say it is only fair that they should receive the rewards for games which have now begun to be sacred, considering that they do not receive the rewards for those which have ceased after their victory to be so. On this point I have the gravest doubts as to the advisability of making the prizes retrospective, and giving rewards to which the winners were not entitled when the contests took place. I beg you, therefore, to set my doubts at rest - that is to say, I beg that you will deign to explain the way you wish your generosity to be applied.
>
> Trajan to Pliny:
>
> It seems to me that the rewards ought to begin to be due from the date when the winner makes his public entry into his own city. The special rewards for those contests which I have been pleased to class as sacred ought not to be retrospective, if they were not sacred before. Nor does the fact that the victors no longer receive the rewards for the contests from which I have taken away the sacred privileges assist their claim, for though the conditions of the contests are changed, the rewards which they have carried off are not reclaimed.[637]

It was common practice for these performers to be constantly travelling, as seen above with the punishment of the Alexandrian boxer Apollonius. This was presumably in order to maximise the number of victories they could obtain, with competitors perhaps returning to their hometowns only a few times a year. Trajan's decree required competitors to return home in order to process and receive their pensions. This lengthy process not only reduced the amount of time these professional athletes and performers could be competing in the festival calendar but also significantly reduced the amount of money which could be accumulated from pensions. Since pensions appear to have been established on a 'per victory' basis, this would have been a significant impact on a full-time competitor's potential income.

Trajan had made it so that competitors had to decide whether it was worth to continue travelling year-round accruing victories, but not actually banking pensions and honours for their return home. Alternatively, they could return to their hometown for their sacred procession and then begin the lengthy process of establishing proof of their victory and a pension through the hometown's administrative officials. This changed during Hadrian's reign, as seen in an extensive trio of letters to the Travelling Theatrical Association of Artisans of Dionysus.[638] Lines 49-51 of this text reverses the decree of Trajan, establishing that pensions were to be applicable from the date of victory:

> The payments for victors will be owed not on the day that one should make his victorious entry (into his homeland) but, rather, from the day on which the letters concerning the victory were delivered to their home cities. It will be permitted to those going on to other contests to send the documentation.

[637] Plin., *Ep.* 10.118-119.
[638] For a translation of these letters see Potter (2010): 354-363, full translation is provided in the appendix 5.5.

This resolved the complaints of the victors seen in Pliny, and this process would cost the hometown nothing extra since no money could be paid out until a victor made their return home.

Pensions went through an extensive bureaucratic process before a victor could receive money. It is unclear how long these ongoing monthly payments were paid to the victors who won them. The general scholarly view is that these pensions lasted for life, but, it has also been claimed that these pensions were for a limited period.[639] Cassius Dio describes these payments as ἀθάνατος σίτησις (literally 'eternal maintenance payment').[640] σιτήσεις, which along with its variant words ὀψώνια and συντάξεις translate as 'pension', and ἀθάνατος meaning 'open-ended' or 'standing'.[641] This suggests that pensions may not have always been life-long. This kind of terminology is not restricted to Dio either. In the Hellenistic period Miletus gifted victors σιτηρέσια, and Imperial Ephesus awarded *obsonia,* a Latinised version of the Greek ὀψώνια.[642]

A papyrus from Egypt dating to the reign of Antoninus Pius complicates this definition as it requests that a victor's monthly pension and the accrued funds owed by the city be transferred from him to his son, Hellanikos, living in Smyrna:

> The crown which I won, from the funds of Hermopolis, as decreed by Antonius and Hadrian, these the aforementioned guardians of my son and heir will go after and turn over to my son…[643]

The duration for which the pension will be transferred to his son is not specified as he was not yet dead. Perhaps what the will suggests is that a pension did not need to be collected monthly. Instead, they could be accrued and collected at one time or transferred to an individual specified by the victor. This is because pensions had to be collected in person by the victor, and so the athlete could not claim their money while they were away competing in other festivals. The pension process can be reconstructed as it was in AD 100 by analysing the epigraphic and papyrological evidence:

[639] See Wallner (2014): 317; Pleket (2013): 371 for these divergent views.
[640] Cass. Dio, 52.30.4; Slater (2015): 149-150.
[641] Ibid.
[642] Slater (2015): 149-150.
[643] *P.Ryl.* II 153 (ὅσου δὲ χρόνου [ἐν]οφείλεταί μοι ὀψώνια ὑπὲρ οὗ ἔσχον ἀθλητικοῦ στεφάνου ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων τῆς [Ἑρμοῦ πόλεως καθὼσ] διέταξαν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἀντωνῖνος καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ πατὴρ Ἁδριανὸς ταῦτα οἱ προγεγραμμέ[νοι ἐπίτροποι τοῦ υἱοῦ] μου καὶ κληρονόμ[ου] μετελεύσονται καὶ προσθήσουσιν τῷ υἱῷ μου.).

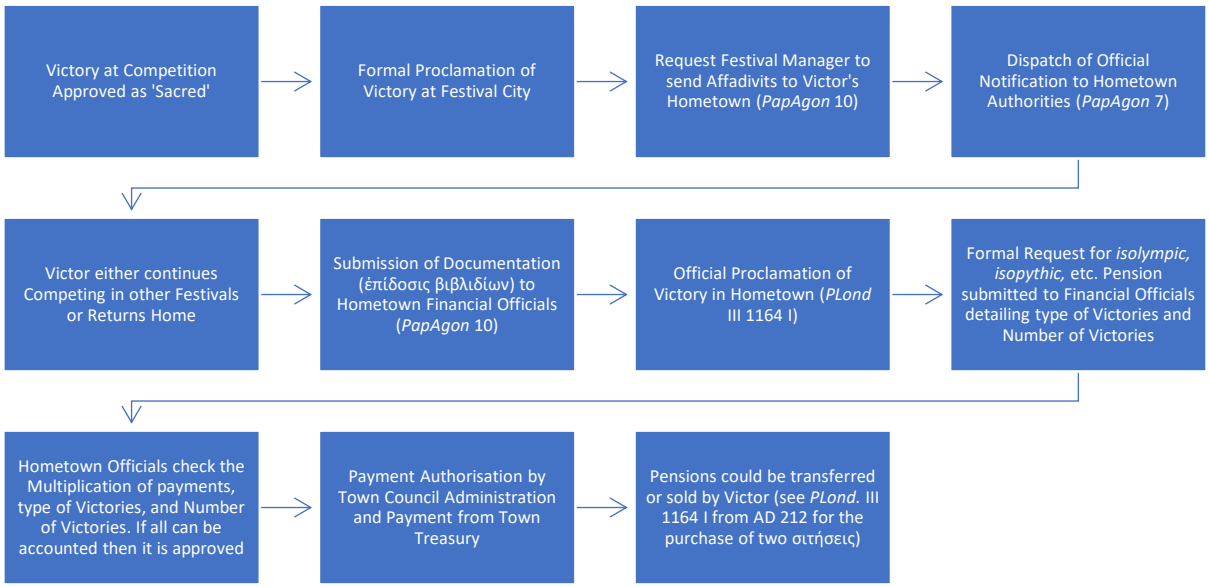


Figure 34 - Agonistic Pension Process[644]

This, in combination with the year-round festival calendar, is perhaps why competitors felt it more beneficial to continue travelling rather than return to their hometown following a victory. Hadrian's agonistic calendar shows that there were year-round festivals in the five years that is outlined. Except for February, March, and June every other month had multiple festivals regularly scheduled:

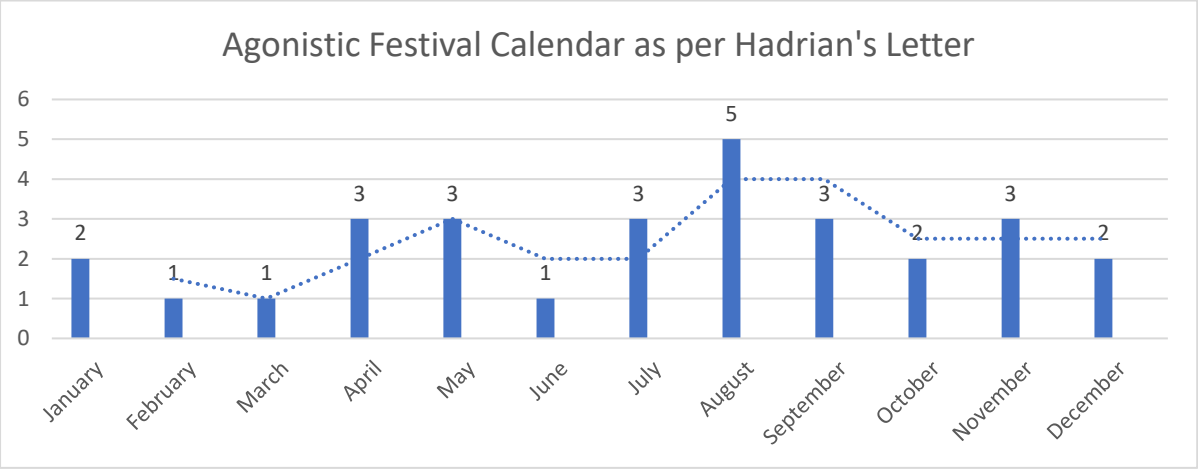


Figure 35 - Hadrian's Agonistic Calendar Visualisation[645]

This may suggest that late winter and early spring were considered to be the 'quiet' months of agonistic festivals. One potential explanation could be weather considerations, but if this were the case, then we would expect to see similar drops in event frequency across the entire winter.

[644] Slater (2015): 158-161.

[645] This graph shows all festivals outlined in the five-year cycle (AD 133-137). Festivals that have been listed as being in two months (for example, the Olympia of AD 133 which is scheduled in July/August) have been included in both months.

Alternatively, these low months could have been periods of high prize festival frequency, which were not included in this calendar. However, the festivals of these months, the Olympia at Ephesus in February and the Panathenaia in March must have been prestigious events.

5.7.2 - Prize Festivals

Prize festivals date back to the Classical Period, most notably are the extensive prize lists for the Athenian Great Panathenaia dating to the fourth century BC.[646] Citizens at these festivals could earn significant amounts of money, sometimes the equivalent of several years' worth of pay from paid labour.[647] Prizes were the most expensive items that organisers had to account for when organising this style of festival. There is a wide range of epigraphic evidence dating to the Roman period which outlines the degree to which this dominated the overall budget of the spectacle. The Serapieia at Tanagra of the first century BC had a total of 2,470 *drachmae* spent on the prizes and production costs.[648] 2,070 *drachmae* were allocated for golden crowns to be awarded to the victors of competitions, 400 *drachmae* for second prizes, and finally, 46 *drachmae* were to be paid as a salary for the goldsmith who made the crowns. Prizes for festivals in Sparta appear to have run even higher shown in an incomplete *logismos* of an *agonothete* who organised either the Ourania or the Eurycleia in the mid-second century AD which states that HS87,760 were allocated for prizes.[649] The endowment for the Spartan Leonideia, also in the second century AD, amounted to HS120,000.[650]

Prize festivals became increasingly important in the Roman period as the pool of participants extended into the non-aristocratic classes.[651] While these festivals were not considered as prestigious as the sacred games, they still offered significant prizes. Organisers and cities posted extensive prize lists in public proudly promoting their generosity and the prestige of the festival to passers-by. The amounts awarded to victors were no small matter either. Local citizens could earn anywhere between 150 *denarii* for minor competitions such as trumpeting or heralding, all the way up to 500 *denarii* for best citizen tragedian and even 1,500 *denarii* for best adult pankratist and

[646] Evjen (2018): 189-193, see appendix 5.3 for the complete prize list as per Evjen.
[647] *IG* I² 374 demonstrates that in the Classical period wages for a skilled worker ranger from 1 *drachma* to 1.417 *drachmae* per day. Comparing this to the value of the olive oil offered as a prize for the men's *stadion* race (100 *amphorae* at a conservative price of 12 *drachmae*) would be the equivalent of four years (of 300 days of employment per year) or three years under the higher pay rate. See also Young (1984) for more on the prizes of the Panathenaia.
[648] Calvet and Roesch (1966): 298-300, lines 307-309; Camia (2011): 46-47.
[649] *SEG* (1954) 11, 838.
[650] *IG* V 1, 18-20.
[651] Pleket (2010): 153.

boxer.[652] This is dwarfed by prizes offered for non-citizen competitors travelling from throughout the *oikoumene*, with the highest prize offered in the same prize list being 5,000 *denarii* for the young-men's pankratic victor.[653] The adult pankratist's prize has not been preserved, but presumably this prize was much higher than those on offer to youths.

While competing in the sacred games was considered honourable, monetary prizes made a festival no less attractive or honourable to competitors. Established early on in Greek festival culture was the distinction between working for a wage in these festivals and competing for a cash prize.[654] When a participant competed and won in one of these festivals, they not only increased their family's wealth but also contributed to its honour and their individual prestige.[655] Because many of these competitors already had sufficient wealth to afford the necessities of life, these prizes and appearance fees were merely an added benefit of the victory. In contrast, those who were hired to perform were looked down upon.[656] There was no guarantee that a competitor would win a prize, and therefore, the honour was greater than those who would benefit financially regardless of the outcome. However, as the participant pool in the Imperial period had expanded to include those who competed to make their living, the inclusion of generous prizes and pensions were necessary.

Aphrodisias preserves multiple prize lists for what appear to have been significant festivals with impressive prizes. One inscription, *CIG* 2758 A-G, documents prize pools and organisational costs totalling 86,620 *denarii*:

> Contests of those from the synod, and of the citizen boys. Block A: For the musical [contest] of those from the synod the prizes are as follows: *Column i:* Trumpeter, 150 *denarii*; herald, 150 *denarii*; writer of *encomia*, 200 *denarii*; poet, 200 *denarii*; boy harp-singer, 150 *denarii*; pythic flautist, 200 *denarii*; comedian, 400 *denarii*; [tra]gedian, 500 *denarii*' cyclic flautist, 300 *denarii* [.../ *Column ii:* Adult harp-singer, 500 *denarii*; overall victor, 200 *denarii*. For the athletic contest of the citizen boys, [?] denarii. Adult stadium-runner, 1,000 [*denarii*]; adult wrestler, 1,500 [*denarii*]; adult pankratist, 1,500 [*denarii*]; adult boxer, 1,500 [*denarii*] [.../ II. *An anonymous musical contest Block B:* ...] adult harp-singer, 3,250 *denarii*, second prize, 1,000 *denarii*; Latin poet, [? *denarii*]; poet, [? *denarii*]; overall victor, 1,000 *denarii*; secretary, 550 *denarii*; panegyriarch, [? *denarii*]; awning and equipment for the theatre, 1,000 *denarii*; [... / *III. A musical, gymnastic and equestrian contest Blocks D and E: Column i:* ...] trumpeter, 500 denarii; herald, 500 *denarii*; pythic flautist, 1,400 *denarii*, second prize, 400 *denarii*; cyclic flautist, [?1],500 *denarii*, second prize, 500 *denarii*; comedian, 1,600 *denarii*, second prize, 500 *denarii*, third prize, 300 *denarii*; tragedian, 2,700 *denarii*, second prize, 800 *denarii*, third prize, 600 *denarii* [... / *Column ii*: ...] adult long-distance runner, 2,000 *denarii*. For young men: stadium-runner, 2,000

[652] *CIG* 2758 block A.
[653] *CIG* 2758 block B, column ii.
[654] Ramijsen (2015): 223-224.
[655] Ibid.
[656] Ibid.

> *denarii*; pentathlete, [?1,000] *denarii*; wrestler, 3,800 *denarii*; boxer, [3,800 *denarii*]; pankratist, 5,000 *denarii*; adult pentathlete, 1,340 *denarii*; boy stadium-runner, 1,400 *denarii*; [... / *Column iii*: ...] For boys: wrestler, [?*denarii*]; boxer, [?*denarii*]; pankratist, [?*denarii*]. For men: wrestler, [?*denarii*]; boxer, [?*denarii*]; pankratist, [?*denarii*]; hoplite-runner, [?*denarii*]; race-horse, [horse, ?*denarii*]; race-horse, [colt, ?*denarii*]; pair [of horses, ? *denarii*]; pair [of colt, ?*denarii*]; second prize for colts, 350 *denarii*; chariot (with) horses, 1,500 *denarii*; chariot (with) colts, 1,000 *denarii*; chariot (with) horses, second, 500 *denarii*; for the *xystarch*, in reimbursement, 745 *denarii*; for the supplier of straps, 301 *denarii*; for releasing of the pulleys, 300 *denarii*; for sand-pit and the mud-pit, 400 *denarii*; for oil, 2,000 *denarii*; for sculptors, 1,500 *denarii* [... / *IV. Anonymous musical and gymnastic contest Blocks C and F: Column i*: ...] choral harpist, 500 *denarii*; choral flautist, 750 *denarii*; harp singer, 1,500 *denarii*, second prize, 400 *denarii*; pyrrhic dancer, 500 *denarii*; satyr performer, 150 *denarii*; overall victor, 500 *denarii*. Athletic prizes: boy long-distance runner, 5[?00] *denarii*; boy stadium-runner, 525 *denarii*; boy double-circuit runner, 500 *denarii*; boy pentathlete, 500 *denarii*; boy wrestler, 500 *denarii*; *Column ii*: boy boxer, 1,000 *denarii*; boy pankratist, 1,650 *denarii*; young man stadium-runner, 750 *denarii*; young man pentathlete, 385 *denarii*; young man wrestler, 1,500 *denarii*; young man boxer, 1,500 *denarii*; adult long-distance runner, 750 *denarii*; adult stadium-runner, 1,250 *denarii*; adult double-circuit runner, 1,000 *denarii*; adult pentathlete, 500 *denarii*; adult wrestler, 2,000 *denarii*; adult boxer, 2,000 *denarii*. *Stop. Column iii*: adult pankratist, 3,000 *denarii*; hoplite runner, 500 *denarii*; horse-jumper, 250 *denarii*; horseman, 750 *denarii*; for sand-pit and pulleys for the stadium, 500 *denarii*; hire of straps, 250 *denarii*, for *xystarch,* as reimbursement, 674 *denarii*; for statues, 1,000 *denarii* ?*end*.[657]

Since many of the prizes for horse racing in this list have not survived the overall figure would have likely been over 90,000 *denarii.*

Another inscription from Aphrodisias, *CIG* 2759, discusses a festival that was set up by Flavius Lysimachus and ran on a four-year cycle, hosting only musical competitions:

> For the contest, in the talent category, of Flavius Lysimachus, in a four-year cycle, musical only, the prizes are as follows: *Column i*: trumpeter, 500 *denarii*; herald, 500 *denarii*; encomium writer, 750 *denarii*; poet, 750 *denarii*; pythic flautist, 1,000 *denarii*, second prize, 350 *denarii*; flautist, 1,000 *denarii*, second prize, 350 *denarii*; boy harp-singer, 750 *denarii*, second prize, 250 *denarii*; [?.../ *Column ii*: Choral flautist, 1,500 *denarii*, second prize, 500 *denarii*; tragic chorus, 500 *denarii*; choral harp-player, 1,500 *denarii*, second prize, 500 *denarii*; comedian, 1,500 *denarii*, second prize, 500 *denarii*, third prize, 300 *denarii*; tragedian, 2,500 *denarii*, second prize, 800 *denarii*, third prize, 500 *denarii*; [?... / *Column iii*: General contest for comedians, 200 *denarii*; general contest for tragedians, 210 *denarii*; new comedy, 500 *denarii*; ancient comedy, 350 *denarii*, second prize, 150 *denarii*; new tragedy, 750 *denarii*; pyrrhic dance, 1,000 *denarii*, second prize, 350 *denarii*; adult harp-singer, [?*denarii*], second prize, [?*denarii*...[658]

While costs recorded on this inscription are limited in that it only preserves prize money, compared to the other previously mentioned festivals, it does serve to contrast the differing scales in prize money. In total, the inscription records 22,810 *denarii* in prize money.

Comparing the Aphrodisias prize lists with other already discussed costs for festivals demonstrates the difference in scale that agonistic festivals could have. Unlike the Demostheneia inscription, these lists only record the costs for prizes and organisational costs such as the amount spent to purchase

[657] *CIG* 2758 A-G, translation from Roueché (1993): 168-173, appendix 1.52.
[658] *CIG* 2759, translation from Roueché (1993): appendix 1.53.

oil, sculptors, and equipment operators. *CIG* 2578 several more events than the Demostheneia; offering prizes for athletic, musical, theatrical, and equine events for local citizens and competitors who had travelled to Aphrodisias for the event. *CIG* 2758 records a total of 78,050 *denarii* worth of prize money, while the Demostheneia only had 1,975 *denarii* of prizes available:

> On the Augustus day of Artemeisios [1 July], a competition for trumpeters and heralds, in which the victors will be given a prize of fifty *denarii*; then, after the meeting of council and the assembly on the 5th, a competition for writers of *encomia* in prose, in which the victors will be given seventy five *denarii*; the 6th day to be left clear because of the market which takes place then; the 7th, a competition for poets, in which the victors will be given seventy five *denarii*; the 8th and 9th, a competition for playing the shawm with a chorus (*chorauloi*), the first prize winner will be given 125 *denarii* and the second seventy five *denarii*; the 10th and 11th, a competition for comic poets, the first prize winner will be given 200 and the second 100 *denarii*; the 12th, a sacrifice for ancestral Apollo; the 13th and 14th, a competition for tragic poets, the first prize winner will be given 250 and the second 125 *denarii*; the 15th, the second sacrifice for ancestral Apollo; and the 16th and 17th, a competition for *citharodes* [singers accompanied with the *cithara*], who shall receive as first prize 300 *denarii* and as second prize 150 *denarii*; the 18th, an open competition for all, for which will be given a first prize of 150 *denarii*, a second prize of 100 *denarii*, and a third prize of fifty *denarii*; and twenty-five *denarii* will also be given to the person who provides the scenery; for which prizes are not provided; and the other acts which are for the benefit of the city are hired for these days, for which 600 *denarii* will be paid; the 22nd, gymnastic competitions for citizens, on which 150 *denarii* will be spent.[659]

While the two events do not share all the same competitions, only sharing six events in common (trumpeter, herald, encomium, poet, comedian, and tragedian), they are roughly comparable in scale. The Demostheneia hosted ten events while the festival of Flavius Lysimachus had sixteen. The competitions that both these festivals share was those judging the best trumpeter, herald, encomium, poet, comedian, and tragedian. However, the prize money offered by Flavius' festival must have made it a more appealing event for travelling participants.

Comparing the prize pools for just the events which the two festivals share this becomes clear. The Demostheneia offered a prize of 50 *denarii* for the best trumpeter and herald, but Flavius' event does not combine the two, offering 500 *denarii* to both the best trumpeter and the best herald. The best writer of *encomia* at Demosthenes' festival earnt a mere 75 *denarii* in comparison to the Flavius' 750 *denarii* prize; the same prizes also applied to the best poet as well. In contrast, the competition for the best comic and tragic poet was evidently a more prestigious title which came with an appropriately handsome reward, with both festivals offering prizes for not only the victor but also the runners-up. The Demostheneia offered 200 *denarii* for the victor of the comic poetry event, while the runner-up was awarded 100 *denarii.* The tragic poet earning 250 *denarii* and 125 *denarii* for their efforts. This was modest in comparison to Flavius' prizes for the same events, the

[659] Mitchell (1990): 184.

best comedian earning 1,500 *denarii,* the second best 500, and the third, 300. The more prestigious tragedians were awarded 2,500 *denarii* for the victor, 800 for the runner-up, and 500 for the third position. The question is then directed towards how many judges were needed for such an event. If 525 were used for the festival at Oenoanda, then how many were required for an event at minimum twenty times the size in terms of overall budget? Upscaling the overall budget for judge's fees as outlined for Demostheneia, 1,800 *denarii*, to be in proportion with this Aphrodisian festival, it is possible that judge's fees could have been up to 36,000 *denarii.*[660] This means that the total cost for the event could have been up to 126,000 *denarii.*

Table 13 - Overall Costs for Agonistic Festivals

Festival	**Cost in *denarii***
Serapieia (Tangara)	3,276
Ourania/Eurycleia (Sparta)	21,940 (Prizes only)
Leonideia (Sparta)	30,000 (Prizes only)
Demostheneia (Oenoanda)	4,450
CIG 2758 A-D (Aphrodisias)	86,620 (Incomplete list)
CIG 2759 (Aphrodisias)	22,810 (Prizes only)

Many of these games provided modest prizes and had a programme primarily made up of citizen-only competitions. This is also seen in the Roman period. In both the Demostheneia and the Aphrodisias prize lists there is the inclusion of citizen events. These citizen-only competitions had significantly smaller prizes, and sometimes these competitions are only described as 'gymnastic competitions for citizens' as seen in the Demostheneia above. The smaller prizes are clearly meant to appeal on a local scale; this is best seen in a festival at Ambryssus during the Severan period where the largest prize on offer at the Gorgas festival was 15 *denarii*.[661] It is clear from these sorts of prizes that the intended audience was local at best, in comparison to Aphrodisias offering a prize of 5,000 *denarii* for the Pankratic victor, which compared to the annual salary for a soldier in AD 234 was the equivalent of nearly 8 years of salary. Yet even at Demosthenes' modest event, the top prize of 250 *denarii* must have been a handsome sum to many.

5.7.3 - Monetary Prizes at Sacred Festivals

Some festivals in the Roman period introduced monetary prizes to festivals described as eiselastic or Sacred. The Great Artemisia at Ephesus is said to have increased the prizes (*athla*) for athletes under

[660] This is based off the assumption that an event 20 times the scale would incur judge's fees around 20 times higher. However, no costs have been preserved to confirm this.
[661] *SIG*[3] 1063; See Spawforth (1989) for more.

the order of the 'president and head of the festival' (*agonothetes kai panegyriarches*) in the mid-second century AD.[662] This festival is distinguished explicitly as being sacred and separate from 'money' games in another inscription c. AD 170, calling it the *Artemisia hiera eiselastika.*[663] This also appears to be the case with the sacred Ouranian games at Sparta, where victors were crowned with a wreath and given a symbolic prize, along with a cash prize.[664]

The presence of monetary prizes seems to have been normal and perhaps expected in the fourth century AD. Libanius claims that athletes were attracted to the Olympic games in Antioch 'by referring to the glory, to be derived from the wreath and by adding money'.[665] While it could be suggested that the money referenced by Libanius here were the pensions that were commonly awarded as part of a Sacred victory, the use of χρήματα rather than the more appropriate ὀψώνια indicates otherwise. Soon after this letter, Libanius repeats this claim by raising the question of 'exhortation [to come to Antioch] by means of money'.[666] While this could be a reference to appearance fees that were given to famous athletes the proximity to the first letter referring to winning money through these games suggests it is referencing the Antioch Olympic festival. Josephus also suggests that the first agonistic festivals in Jerusalem hosted by King Herod offered similar money prizes:

> Herod, however, celebrated the quinquennial festival in the most splendid way, sending notices of it to the neighbouring peoples and inviting participants from the whole nation. Athletes and other classes of contestants were invited from every land, being attracted by the hope of winning the prizes offered and by the glory of victory. And the leading men in various fields were assembled, for Herod offered very great prizes not only to those who engaged in music and games but also to those who engaged in music and those who are called *thymelikoi.*[667]

The most obvious indication of this mixing of Sacred festivals with monetary prizes is the third century AD announcement in Beroea, Macedonia that praises the *agonothete* for 'having announced (κατανγείλαντα) and organised (ἀγαγόντα) *eisaktious agonas talantiatious thymelikous kai gymnikous*.'[668] In this, we see the defining terminology for both Sacred (*eisaktious*) and Prize (*thymelikous*) games combined. Perhaps this event offered traditional competitions in which

[662] *SIG*[3] 867.
[663] *Greek Inscriptions British Museum* (1890), III, 605.
[664] Cartledge and Spawforth (1992): 185-186; Moretti (1953): no. 71.
[665] Lib., *Ep.* 1180 (τῇ παρὰ τοῦ στεφάνου δόξῃ καὶ χρήματα προστιθές).
[666] Lib., *Ep.* 1182 (τῆς… δὶα χρημάτων παρακλήσεως).
[667] Flav. Jos., *Jewish Antiquities* XV, 269-271.
[668] Robert (1940): 81, no. 15 I. 12ff; Pleket (2010): 157-158 suggests that this could be translated as 'announced and organised games (musical and athletic) which were both sacred and thematic.'

symbolic prizes and pensions were offered, then citizen-only and other less prestigious events were awarded cash prizes. This would be similar to how the Great Panathenaia handled artistic events. While athletic events received the highly valuable and symbolic olive oil associated with Athena, those competing in the artistic events were given their awards in the form of silver *drachmae* and crowns.

The addition of money prizes to these Sacred games was probably intended to attract top athletes to attend.[669] One of the primary concerns of organisers in the Imperial period must have been the attendance of performers. With the explosion of agonistic festivals in the second century AD and a reliance on performers which came from an increasingly professional pool of athletes and artists, there must have been competition to secure competitors. The increasing presence of professional competitors that participated to make a living rather than the traditional aristocratic pursuit of the honours associated with Sacred victories may have led some organisers to introduce these cash prizes to their games.[670] Alternatively, these prizes may have been the result of events that had originated as Prize festivals but had transitioned to Sacred status.[671] These smaller festivals may have always awarded monetary prizes, especially if they began as Prize festivals, and had simply taken the sacred categorisation as a mark of prestige to appeal to a non-local competitor group.[672] This blurring of Sacred and Prize festivals in some cases demonstrates the influence of the Roman period on agonistic culture. The increasing professionalisation of competitors and the expansion, not only in numbers but also in geographical scope, of the annual event calendar may have led some organisers to include monetary prizes to attract participants who could not compete for honours only.

[669] Pleket (2010): 156-157.
[670] Ibid.
[671] Moretti (1953): 196, 245 (no. 84b), 246 shows that games could transition from prize to sacred; Pleket (2010): 156-157.
[672] Price (1984) makes an argument that Greek terminology can be flexible, which might be helpful for understanding the difference between strictly Sacred festivals and these blurred Sacred festivals with cash prizes. His discussion suggests that the use of *theos* in Greek Imperial cult terminology should be translated more literally as 'among the gods' or 'like a god' and that these epithets in the Greek mindset presented the Emperor as "higher than mortals, but not equal to the gods." (p. 94). This theory could be suggested of the use of *eisaktious* in the Beroea example. This could be reinterpreted as meaning that this festival was equivalent to a Sacred festival in honours, but had cash prizes. Such terminology could have also been a method of increasing the prestige of the festival which would have attracted a wider competitor base to these smaller and more regional events.

5.8 - Agonistic Contractors

A majority of the performers at agonistic festivals were either local citizens or those who have travelled for the chance to be victorious at these games. However, the use of 'hired' performers was a standard part of the programme. Flavius Lysimachus' festival at Aphrodisias does not mention the use of hired performers, but the fragmentary and incomplete nature of the inscription means that it is entirely possible that they would have been present at this event. These hired acts appear to have been included with the costs for finances, as in the Demostheneia where it is included between the money paid to those who provided scenery and the prizes for citizens. It is likely that in the unpreserved section of Flavius' prize list there would have been hired performers also.

The main issue with these hired performers is that they were referred to as 'acts which are for the benefit of the city are hired for these days' with little to no specification on what these individuals were paid to perform. The papyrological evidence from Egypt gives a more detailed perspective on both what these performers did and the process by which they were hired and paid. One example, dating to AD 181, outlines the hire of two *pantomimoi* for five days in the village of Ibion Sesymbotheos for an unspecified festival.[673] It states that the *pantomimoi* were required to provide their own orchestra and other necessary performers. These two actors were to be paid 36 *drachmae* per day and were to be provided with bread and oil throughout the festival.[674] These performers were required to provide everything that was required for their appearance, even the prize crown that would be awarded to them*,* for which 2 *drachmae* was provided to cover this expense.[675]

Unlike the papyrus discussed above, mimes and pantomimes are absent from the prize lists of these festivals. It is known that pantomime was a popular form of entertainment during the Roman period. This can be seen in the evidence at Pompeii of activity of the master pantomime, Ancius Anicetus who toured the Campanian region performing.[676] A further potential reference to Ancius at Puteoli records the name of C. Ummidius Actius Anicetus *pantomimus*, but the inscription remains undated and may refer to a student of his.[677] A further honorific dates to the third century AD where the pantomime Tiberius Julius Apolaustus of Ephesus was awarded the silver wreath at the Actian

[673] *P.Flor*.I.74; Webb (2012): 232-233.
[674] Ibid. (μεθ' ἧς ἔχετε συμφωναις πᾶσης μουσικῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων).
[675] Ibid. (ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ στεφάνου δ[ρα]χμας δύο).
[676] For references to Ancius' performances refer to a series of graffiti found on tombs outside the Porta di Nocera: *CIL* IV, 5395, 5399, 3877.
[677] *CIL* X, 1946; Franklin (1987): 96-97.

games at Nicopolis.[678] If these pantomimes were popular, then it would be unusual for them to be excluded from theatrical festivals. It is possible that these pantomimes were commonly freedmen or non-citizens who travelled the Empire working on a contract basis as 'salary-performers' rather than in pursuit of the honours that the aristocratic athletes and other artists competed for. The hired performers referred to in the prize lists and the foundation of Demosthenes are referencing these contract performers, explicitly mentioning the mime artists as being among the performers "for which prizes are not provided".[679] Clearly, pantomime was not less compelling than other performances, as demonstrated by the acclamations for Ancius and the silver wreath awarded to Apolaustus at the Actian games. Pantomime did not fit with the traditional agonistic festive structure; yet it can be seen in many of these prize lists the events that were awarded prizes adhere to what would be considered traditional Greek athletic and musical events.

Hired acts were a necessary inclusion because prize competitions relied on the attendance of citizens both from the city and from the wider empire for competitors. Participation at agonistic festivals was spontaneous, and especially for a new or recently established event, the issue of turnout of participants would have been a genuine problem for organisers.[680] Prestige could be added to a festival by organising in the same vein of the ancient *periodos*.[681] While these iso-festivals were enormous in prestige, they alienated 'poorer' participants.[682] As seen in the Demostheneia foundation, these performers cost less than the prizes or pensions that would have been offered to the participants of Sacred competitions. This is mainly because these hired competitors were not competing for a prize, rather they were paid regardless of the outcome. This is seen in the pantomime contract from Ibion Sesymbotheos discussed above where they were paid 36 *drachmae* per day. There are several other examples of these 'set fee' performers in the Egyptian papyri corpus. *P. Oxy.* III 519 dating to the second century AD records the payment of artists, people to walk in procession, pankratists, and boxers for a festival. This document mentions that both pankratists and their competitors were to be paid a set salary regardless of the outcome.[683] This suggests that contract performers were not only restricted to what were considered 'lesser competitions' such as pantomime. Another late third century AD record of two festivals at Oxyrhynchus shows that for the Serapis feast there was a hired dancer, comedy-actor, and two

[678] *IEphesos VO:* nos. 2070/1, lines 14-16; Klose (2005):128.
[679] See appendix 5.6, Column II
[680] Webb (2008): 32.
[681] Pleket (2010): 154.
[682] Ibid.
[683] Ramijsen (2015): 222-223.

pankratists who served as entertainment.[684] When these papyri mention performers by name they had purely Egyptian, not combined Greek, names suggesting that they were of low- or middle-class origins.[685] This Indicates, at least in Egypt, that these hired performers were not necessarily travelling troupes like that of Actius Anicetus in southern Italy. Perhaps they were local performers who did not come from the wealthy backgrounds of competitors for prizes and relied on a steady income from these intermediary performances.

5.9 - Conclusion

Agonistic festivals provided a different organisational challenge from the other spectacles that have been discussed in this thesis. Participants in these events were volunteers either from the local citizen-base or those who had travelled from further afield to compete for significant cash prizes, pensions, or the honours that came from these victories. This, combined with the increasingly professionalised nature of the athletes and artists, meant more people were participating in a more crowded agonistic calendar. International *synodoi* had to collaborate, occasionally with the Emperor, in order to ensure that an annual calendar would allow for the smooth transition of performers from one Sacred festival to another. The logistical processes involved with agonistic festivals primarily included aspects of purchasing essential supplies such as sand and craftsmen, the hiring of contracted performers and staff to support the games, and to ensure that sufficient money was prepared before the day of the event. Organisers could make a festival more alluring and prestigious to travelling competitors than other similarly scheduled events by adding euergetic elements such as appearance fees, lavish cash prizes, or paying for statues and inscriptions recording a victor's achievements. This appears to be the major development of the Roman period. The increased number of agonistic festivals taking place in any one year meant that organisers of smaller festivals needed to attract competitors to their event over others.

[684] *SB* IV 7336.
[685] Ramijen (2015): 223, combined Egyptian-Greek names was common for competitors performing on the local Egyptian agonistic festival scene.

The Organisation of Spectacles: Common Factors and Specific Differences

6.1 - Introduction

Entertainment in the Roman Empire was organised in regional clusters. While gladiatorial combats appear to have been a constant across the Empire, events like chariot racing and beast-hunts could vary in frequency and form. This regionalisation mirrored the supply chains that were put in place to fulfil the needs of the games at Rome. This chapter will draw from the analysis presented in chapters one through five, and then it will compare and contrast the variation of entertainment outside Rome (gladiatorial combats, beast-hunts, chariot racing, and agonistic festivals), their similarities, and notable differences. This will show a transition from the haphazard organisation of games in the Republican period to a highly specialised and supralocal network of entities which catered to the unique needs of benefactors in the Imperial period. These comparisons will also demonstrate that these events were highly regionalised within the areas that Rome sourced their own resources for spectacles. The first half of this chapter will analyse the chronological changes and geographic variance of provincial entertainment, while the second will analyse the organisational and financial differences between spectacles.

6.2 - Change Over Time

The evidence concerning entertainment in the Imperial period primarily dates to the second and third centuries AD. However, this must be analysed with caution due to the inconsistency of evidence between events and the nature of the Roman epigraphic record where the number of surviving inscriptions peaks in the second century AD.[686] This also applies to the pictorial evidence of these games, with many of the preserved examples dating to the third century AD. Many event types, such as beast-hunts and chariot racing, do not have detailed epigraphic evidence that recorded the specific costs or the number of performers that were presented. Most of the evidence regarding these events instead comes from artistic sources dating to the third century AD and some references in the literary record regarding cost. However, the evidence for gladiatorial combats in the provinces primarily dates between the second half of the first century AD and the end of the second century AD. The popularity of gladiatorial spectacle led to an unchecked increase in the cost of gladiators, which resulted in organisers becoming hesitant to host these games. This problem was

[686] See MacMullen (1982), Meyer (1990), Woolf (1996), and Meyer (2011) for more on the rise and decline of the 'epigraphic habit' between the first and third centuries AD.

addressed by the *Aes Italicense,* which based gladiator prices on the overall budget of an event.[687] The text suggests that by AD 177 it was common for Imperial Priests to resell their gladiators at exorbitant prices to gain a profit from their benefaction.[688] The financial issues which the *Aes Italicense* aimed to correct appears to have continued into the third century AD as the recorded numbers of gladiators presented in *munera* continued to diminish.[689] In contrast*,* the number of agonistic festivals in the Eastern provinces continued to grow in the third century AD. This is demonstrated by the increased number of competitor inscriptions and the general increase of festivals that were mentioned in these texts.

Furthermore, the organisational processes for these events were refined throughout the Imperial period. There was a transition from the somewhat informal systems of the Republican period to more formal and ordered structures that were more accessible to provincial benefactors. The Republican period spectacles primarily focused on the use of elite networks to gain access to the necessary resources to host an event. This is most apparent in M. Caelius Rufus's letters to Cicero requesting leopards while he was the governor of Cilicia.[690] Further evidence can be found in Cicero's letters to Atticus which suggests that he should lease out his recently purchased gladiators for a profit before selling them.[691] Similar developments are seen in the literary evidence regarding the early organisation of chariot racing. Initially, individuals submitted their own horses and charioteers to compete in races, a role which was later taken over by temples in the third century BC as they became responsible for the breeding and provisioning of horses for the circus.[692] During the Second Punic War, these contracts were auctioned out to *equites*, which likely established the entities that would later become the four coloured factions.[693] Initially, only two factions appear to have existed in Rome, the Reds and the Whites, but by the end of the first century AD the other major teams, the Blues and the Greens, had also come to prominence. These coloured factions appear to have been a largely Imperial period phenomenon, especially outside of Rome where they would not frequently appear until the second and third centuries AD.[694]

[687] See appendix 2.2 for full text.
[688] *Aes Italicense* column I, lines 45-55 and 59-61.
[689] See chapter 2.5 for more on this.
[690] Cic., *Ad Fam.* 9.3, 8.8.10, 8.6.5; with Cicero's complaints and discussion of the burden of these requests to Atticus in Cic., *Ad Att.* 5.21.5, 6.1.21.
[691] Cic., *Ad Att.* 4.4a.2.
[692] Liv., 24.18.10-11; Humphrey (1986): 12-17.
[693] Ibid.
[694] See chapter 4.2 and 4.3 for a more detailed discussion of this development.

The Imperial Period introduced formal systems for organising spectacles. The *edicta munerum* of Pompeii mentions several different *ludi* that provided gladiators to regional events, including two Imperial *ludi* at Capua.[695] This appears alongside the proliferation of the performer *synodoi* as middlemen between performer, host, and the Emperor.[696] Factions in the provinces appear at the same time as all four coloured factions became fully prominent in Rome and the city required an immense number of horses to supply them.[697] However, it is unclear the level of connectivity between provincial factions or even to neighbouring cities which did not have formally established coloured factions. The ancient evidence suggests that there appears to have been very little connection between the factions and that they did not travel to race at different cities. Such travel would have certainly been logistically possible, but as seen in the modern horse-racing moving horses for these purposes would have to be done carefully. As any interruption to a horse's routine would cause unnecessary stress on the animal and risk it not performing as expected on the day of the race.[698] An exotic beast industry in North Africa was formed around the need to provide trained animals to be presented in the arena, primarily in Rome. This created a market where hunter organisations like the *Telegenii* could provide trained animals and *bestiarii* to the local elite at a much lower price compared to the rest of the Empire.[699] They appear to have functioned much like the gladiatorial *ludi*, even to the point where they may be potential evidence to suggest that benefactors may have hired multiple hunter organisations to compete against each other.[700] These formal organisations helped establish festival-cultures in which provincial elite could access the resources to host spectacular games that were previously only available in Rome itself.

6.3 - Regional Variation

There was a significant degree of regional variation in the evidence for spectacles that benefactors hosted throughout the Empire. These differences existed for two reasons, the availability of resources and the local cultural preferences for particular forms of entertainment. Organisers might

[695] E.g. *CIL* IV, 2508 lists individual gladiators that had competed in the four day *munus,* listing who had won, been spared, or killed (in a later addition to the advertisement, see Fagan (2011): 210-212 for more discussion on reasons for this addition), after each fighter's name was the inclusion of either 'Neronian' or 'Julian' to indicate in which of the Imperial *ludi* they originated; this can also be seen in other *edicta munerum*, see *CIL* IV, 10237 and 10238a for more examples.
[696] See chapter 5.5.
[697] See chapter 4.4.
[698] See Willekes (2016): 196-203 and Rose and Evans (1990) for more on modern racehorse training and its application to the ancient Roman racing industry.
[699] See chapter 3.3.
[700] Refer to the discussion of the Castellum Tingitanum mosaic in chapter 3.3.

have occasionally hosted uncommon events or with spectacular elements, such as exotic beasts, but most would have been restricted to what was locally available and affordable. The cost of transporting desirable exotic beasts was significant and was likely unattainable for most provincial benefactors. Therefore, many would have made use of what was readily available to them depending on what was being sold locally: racehorses for chariot racing, exotic beasts for *venationes*, and slaves for gladiatorial combats. Gladiatorial combats served as one of the most accessible forms of entertainment as trained, class-specific, gladiators could be hired from *ludi* in major cities.[701] Larger group combats could be populated by the cheaper and less experienced members of a *ludus,* specified as *gregarii* in the *Aes Italicense*.[702] Similarly, the midday executions of convicted criminals would have provided another affordable supplement to a *munus*.

Public entertainment in Rome was far more varied and spectacular than what could be expected in the wider Empire. By the end of the first century AD the city had access to venues for all types of entertainment and infrastructures that could support lavish spectacles that were unrealisable to most of the Empire. This includes spectacles that could be found exclusively in the city, such as *naumachiae* which were typically hosted at great expense by the Emperor.[703] Two possible provincial venues could have hosted similar water spectacles in Mérida and Verona. However, both of these venues would have only been able to facilitate miniature *naumachiae* at best.[704] Moreover, resources such as exotic beasts and racehorses were readily available from suppliers such as the chariot factions, the Imperial *vivaria*, and animal retailers at Ostia for those who wished to host specific events. For this reason, the events and infrastructures at Rome best serve as a source of information regarding organisational structures and practices that were emulated in the rest of the Empire.[705]

Proximity to Rome also influenced the games that were hosted in a city. Pompeii's *edicta munerum* show that often beast-hunts and athletics accompanied gladiatorial combats. Of the 38 recorded

[701] For examples of how widespread these *ludi* were see *ILS* 1396 and 1397.
[702] *Aes Italicense* column I, line 35-40.
[703] For recorded examples see: Suet., *Jul.* 39.4 (Caesar), Cass. Dio, 48.19.1 (Sextus Pompeius), *Res Gestae* 23 (Augustus), Cass. Dio, 59.10.5 (Caligula), Suet., *Claud.* 21.6 (Claudius), Suet., *Nero* 12.1 and Cass. Dio, 62.15.1 (Nero), Mart., *Spec.* 24.6 (Titus), Suet., *Dom.* 4.1-2 (Domitian), and Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 28.1 (Philip the Arab); see also Coleman (1993) for a more in-depth discussion of *naumachiae*, their venues, and purpose in Roman spectacles.
[704] Coleman (1993): 57.
[705] See chapter 3.4, 3.5, 3.10, and 4.2.

edicta: twenty are recorded as having presented both gladiators and beast-hunts; eleven only showed gladiators; five had gladiators, beast-hunts, and athletes; and one records an event where only a beast-hunt and athletic event was included.[706] While specific details on how large these events were or who performed in these supplementary shows are not recorded, it does show that in Campania there was a broader spectrum of options for what a *munus* could be accompanied by. Comparing these *munera* to those in the rest of the Empire highlights the influence of proximity on the scope of entertainment. It appears that benefactors in Italy may have been able to take advantage of the supply chains that were set up for Rome, such as animals from Ostia or gladiators from the Imperial *ludi* in Capua. The expectations for what would be presented on the day, such as athletics and spectacular beast-hunts, may have been influenced by the games and festivals taking place in Rome. Many of these spectacles would have been open for attendance by those in the surrounding regions, particularly Campania. Gladiatorial combats documented in the Iberian Peninsula, on the other hand, record that beast-hunts accompanied these events, but they do not include the theatrical and athletic performances that were hosted in Italy.

When analysing entertainment from a regional perspective, it is clear that the spectacles being hosted in the provinces correlate with the industries that supplied Rome. To a certain extent spectacle culture was shared, as is the case with gladiatorial combats, but certain regions were more privileged than others, as with North Africa and their access to exotic beasts. Therefore, it is possible that this diversity was created by the globalising forces of the Roman Imperial period.[707] The city pulled resources from across the Empire to secure the highest quality animals and entertainers for their events. This connectivity between the far reaches of the Empire and its Roman centre resulted in the creation of several entities (*ludi*, chariot factions, and the agonistic *synodoi*) that could feed both the Roman and the local desire for games. These 'glocalised' entities display an embracing of Roman infrastructures for entertainment, but in such a way that fulfils local needs. 'Glocalisation' is defined as the blend of the global and the local, adapting global products or practices for a local taste.[708] One example of this related to Roman entertainment can be found in the Capitolia festival that took place in Rome, this was a Greek cultural practice that was embraced and adapted for the city of Rome. The North African hunter corporations best illustrate this change in the wider Empire, the *Albii* family's potential beast trading business at Noricum, and the use of local breeders for

[706] Sabbatini-Tumolesi (1980).
[707] For the further discussion on the ways in which globalisation can be applied to the ancient world see Pitts (2020) and (2008), van Alten (2017), Pitts and Versluys (2015), Gardner (2013), Geraghty (2007).
[708] Khondker (2005): 184-185. The sociologist Jan Nederveen Pieterse (2004) has also used the terms melange, hybridity, and syncretism to discuss similar processes.

racehorses in Iberia and North Africa which display unique infrastructures that can only be found in particular parts of the Empire. As seen with the discovery of a pottery shard baring the *Telegenii* insignia in Ostia, these entities were not entirely restrained to their original locality. Instead, they are likely to have been the individuals who interacted with the central supply chains in order to produce exotic beasts, promising charioteers, and fast horses for the Roman market. In turn, these local suppliers produced opportunities for provincial benefactors to access these supply chains in a more affordable manner. If this were the case, it would explain why certain events were hosted at different frequencies across the Empire. Members of the local elite were expected to host games for the public, sometimes several times depending on their political advancement. They would have required solutions that did not completely drain their personal wealth.[709] By using the supply chains local to them, they could ensure that they satisfied this euergetistical expectation while keeping expenses affordable.

This is not to say that benefactor choice was not considered when hosting public spectacles. While social expectation, local popularity, and the availability of resources would have been limiting factors for many benefactors, there still was an element of choice between the events that could be hosted. Although entertainment was expected to be hosted by members of local elites as part of their social standing, few spectacles, with the exception of the *munera* required by the *lex coloniae Genetiuae*, are known to have been legally required to be hosted in the provinces and municipalities. The proliferation of different kinds of events demonstrates that different regions preferred certain events over others.[710] Vienne's agonistic festival demonstrates how benefactor choice resulted in the hosting of an unconventional spectacle for the region. Agonistic Festivals were not common in the Latin West for a number of possible reasons; the benefactor of this event distinctly chose to host it over the other possible options, such as gladiatorial combats. This choice could have been for several reasons. As seen with the Demostheneia at Oenoanda and the Eurycleia at Sparta agonistic festivals that were financed through a private foundation were named after the original benefactor.[711] The desire for long-lasting commemoration on a repeated basis could have been the

[709] Euergetism, particularly the competitive aspects of it, had the chance to be financially ruinous, see Cass. Dio, 52.30 and *IG* IV 1, 65 concerning the first century AD benefactor Epidarus for examples of this.
[710] Woolf (2012): 222, 225 and Witcher (2016): 642 discuss how Roman globalisation was not so much about the acquisition of global material culture, but how it was used and its effect. They use the example of the bathhouse; this structure was an empty gesture if nobody made use of it. Similarly, there was little use in hosting a spectacle that was not popular in a region where it had little popularity, best seen with Agonistic festivals which were hosted in large numbers in the Eastern empire, but only a handful of examples can be found in the West.
[711] Cartledge and Spawforth (1992): 110.

deciding factor for such a deviation from the euergistical norm. As discussed in the Euergetism chapter above (chapter 1.3.1), most elite gifts to the city would have been on the scale outlined by the *lex coloniae Genetiuae*. The entertainment that an organiser could give would have been restrained by how much they could afford to give.

Regional clusters of specific spectacles can be found throughout the Empire. Beast-hunts were most popular in North Africa, chariot racing in the Iberian Peninsula, and agonistic festivals in Greece and Asia Minor. Other than the epigraphic and visual sources, these regional clusters are also reflected in the locations of attested monumental stone-built structures. While many spectacles did not necessarily need a specialised venue to be hosted, venues for entertainment do indicate that specific event-types were likely more popular and hosted more frequently than others. Amphitheatres outside of Rome are most frequently found in Italy (38.7%), North Africa (16%), and Gaul (13.7%).[712] The density of North African amphitheatres was likely influenced by the presence of an exotic animal industry and the need for arenas for hunting exotic beasts. This is reflected in the unique additions seen in amphitheatres in this region. Mechanisms for introducing animals into the arena are found even in the smallest of North Africa's amphitheatres, such as at Agbia and Mactar.[713] A visual depiction of this is seen in the Ostrich Hunt Mosaic from Sicca Veneria of the mid-3rd century AD which depicts the holding of ostriches in an exterior enclosure connected to the amphitheatre. Monumental circuses also followed a similar pattern, being found most frequently in regions where horses were being bred specifically for the Roman market: Iberia (27.1%), Asia Minor (25.9%), and North Africa (17.7%).[714]

Spectacles such as exotic beast-hunts and chariot racing were hosted frequently in the regions of the Empire which were famous for breeding and capturing animals for these games. While evidence for these forms of entertainment is present throughout the rest of the Empire, they were recorded at a much lower rate. If the necessary resources to host a specific event type were not immediately available to an organiser, it was possible to purchase resources such as animals and performers and

[712] Of the 256 amphitheatres that are recorded in Heath's (2016) map of amphitheatres in the Roman Empire: 99 were found in Italy (excluding Rome) (38.7%), 35 in Gaul (13.7%), 17 in Iberia (6.6%), 15 in Britain (5.9%), 14 in the Germanic provinces (5.5%), 16 in the Eastern European provinces (Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Thrace, and Moesia) (6.3%), 4 in Greece (1.6%), 14 in Asia Minor (5.5%), and 42 in North Africa (16.4%).
[713] Bomgardner (2009): 163.
[714] These statistics were calculated from Humphrey (1986) adding in the Colchester example (Crummy (2008)). 15 in North Africa (17.7%), 23 in Iberia (27.1%), 13 in the North-western Provinces (Gaul, Germany, and Britain) (15.3%), 3 in Greece (3.5%), 22 in Asia Minor (25.9%), and 9 in Italy (excluding Rome) (10.6%).

have them transported over land and sea.[715] Exotic animal remains have been found in Europe, such as the remains of Camels and some of these remains were discovered close to the amphitheatres, but they appear to have been imported into the continent for several reasons such as agriculture and trade.[716] However, the luxury of presenting non-local resources came at a significant price. As seen with the transportation of animals over land and sea, the process would have raised the cost of the event significantly which made some aspects of public spectacle outside the financial reach of many members of local elites.[717]

Agonistic festivals were unique as these events were almost exclusively hosted in the Eastern provinces. Although some examples of these festivals did exist in the West such as the Capitolia, many of these appear to have been connected to the Emperor. Rather than being a product of abundance of local wealth or skilled performers, this trend appears to be more grounded in a traditional form of Greek celebration from the archaic period onwards. While agonistic festivals did exist in southern Italy and a few other western cities, such as Vienne, Rome, and Naples, they were usually part of Imperial festivals or connected to cities with Greek colonial origins and regions with significant Greek influence.[718] Similar trends are found in the known participants for agonistic festivals. Most competitors who came from Rome were members of the Julio-Claudian family, and those from the West more generally originated from Sicily and Southern Italy, both regions with Greek backgrounds.[719] While the known record of Roman agonistic festivals and competitors is far from a complete list, it does show that the East was densely provided with festivals. Agonistic festivals in the West were comparatively sparse with fewer people interested in competing. Greek

[715] As seen in the letters of the fourth century senator Symmachus and in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* in which Thiasus is said to have travelled to Thessaly in order to purchase famous gladiators and animals for his *munus*.
[716] See Habinger et al. (2020) for a discussion of the reasons why Camels could have been brought to Europe; Camels are recorded as being used in the circus (Geoponika XVI, 22; SHA, *Elagabalus*, XXIII, 1; Suet., *Nero* XI, 1; Cass. Dio, LX, 7), so it is possible that they were brought to Europe to race, but there is little record of this in the wider ancient record.
[717] See chapter 3.6-3.7.
[718] Vienne being an exception to this, see Strabo 4.1.11 and Pelletier (1982): 8 which discuss how Vienne was established by the Allobroges in the first century BC and it transitioned to a Latin colony a century later. This could be an example of an individual benefactor who was interested in interacting with Greek cultural practice in a public manner, in particular the ongoing commemorative aspects of the founding benefactor of some agonistic festivals, such as the Demostheneia would have been appealing to many benefactors.
[719] Germanicus Caesar (*IvO* 221 = *SEG* 40.390), Tiberius (*IvO* 220 = *SEG* 40.389), and Nero (Suet., *Nero* 24.2 and 25.1) are attested as being victorious in agonistic festivals, primarily of the traditional *periodos*. Three other Romans are recorded as having been victors at agonistic festivals: Gnaeus Marcus (*IvO* 222, at the Olympia), Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (*IG* XIV, 2012 = *CIL* VI, 33976 = *ILS* 5177, Greek poetry at the Capitolia), and Lucius Minicius Natalis (*IvO* 236 = *SEG* 35.385, chariot racing at the Olympia).

cultural pride and traditions may have been an influencing factor that led to the repeated organisation and hosting of agonistic festivals in the Eastern provinces of the Empire.

There was a clear resurgence in agonistic games which began in the first century AD and peaked in the third century AD.[720] This trend could indicate another form of glocalisation as the Greek East was adapting to a new pan-Imperial culture which began emerging from the reign of Augustus in the first century AD. Changes such as Caracalla's *Constituto Antoniniana* which granted Roman citizenship to all free-born citizens in AD 212 only strengthened these ties to Rome.[721] However, as seen in the statistical trends concerning the expansion of agonistic festivals and culture above, certain aspects of Greek identity were strengthened as a result, although with some new Roman practices. Festivals such as the Demostheneia and the Eurycleia illustrate the merging of Roman aristocratic euergetism which focused glory on the financier and the Greek agonistic festivals that had been celebrated since the Archaic and Classical periods. They also stand in stark contrast to the more common practice of naming festivals either after the gods they celebrated, the hosting city, or by the festivals that they emulated. Perhaps this is likely why these festivals and their participants are almost exclusively from the Greek East. In this way, the Greeks were actively expressing their Greek identity by taking part in the practice of art, music, literature, and gymnastics while they still participated in Roman political structures.[722] This may have contributed to its absence in the Latin provinces in the West as aspects of these games, such as the use of nudity and the participation of social elites as performers were the antithesis of the Roman spectacle culture. It was one thing to be educated in the Greek language and culture, but another to have actively and publicly participated in a Greek celebration as seen in Pliny's adverse reaction to the Vienne festival.[723]

6.4 - Organisational Differences and Development

There was no one standard form of organisation for Roman spectacles. Each event type had its own specialised entities which provided the necessary elements of the games that were being hosted. Retired performers appear to have managed the day-to-day operations of most of these organisational entities, as seen in the chariot factions and agonistic *synodoi*. These businesses acted as points of contact for the organiser where they could purchase or hire everything needed for their

[720] Comparing the 65 festivals mentioned in Hellenistic victor inscriptions to the 103 mentioned in third century AD inscriptions.
[721] Whitmarsh (2010): 10; Woolf (2005): 111.
[722] Ibid.: 9.
[723] Plin., *Ep.* 4.22.

games. Other back-end elements such as *vela*, ramps, and resources like sand, were also purchased by the organiser, but it is unknown who would have provided them for the games. Perhaps these were bought from local retailers and craftsmen who specialised in these commodities, alternatively, they may have been paid for and provided by the city. Mention of specific retailers and craftsmen can be found in several prize lists including the payment for: awnings, equipment for the theatre, the supplier of straps, releasing of the pulleys, sand-pit and the mud-pit, oil, and sculptors.[724] Similarly, the *edicta munerum* advertised when awnings were deployed at the games.[725] This suggests that perhaps its presence was not an included or regular part of the amphitheatre and that they had to be hired from a separate entity which leased and maintained these coverings; although, this is not clear from the epigraphic evidence. It would not be until the late third and early fourth centuries AD when factions were incorporated into the organisation of every spectacle type, and it is only then that the Roman empire saw anything resembling a singular organisational entity.[726]

The organisational entities that were present in Rome (*ludi*, chariot factions, and the agonistic *synodoi*) were emulated in regions where their respective events were frequently hosted.[727] This illustrates not only the popularity of specific events regionally but also the businesses that facilitated them. It would not have been economically feasible for such businesses to survive in regions where only one or two event types were frequently hosted. *Venationes* appear alongside many gladiatorial combats in the wider empire, although, little to no details are given about the animals that were presented at these events. It appears that this was likely the result of benefactors using local animals, which would not have warranted a detailed description in commemorative inscriptions and would have likely made use of local hunters rather than an established hunter troupe such as those found in North Africa. Normally, only the number of gladiatorial pairs were included in inscriptions recording *munera*. Even this aspect of the record is not consistent. Generally, the only numbers that were recorded exceeded twenty pairs.[728] Details such as numbers appear to have been only considered a necessary inclusion if they were particularly extraordinary. This is likely why there are very few records of games that can be securely attested as *munera assiforana*. Similarly, if an organiser could only get access to animals that could be found locally, then it may have been

[724] *CIG* 2758 A-G.
[725] See chapter 2.6.
[726] See chapter 4.4.
[727] For detailed discussions of these organisational entities see chapter 2.7, 4.4, and 5.5.
[728] See the epigraphic evidence referenced throughout chapter 2 for this figure.

considered unnecessary to include these on an inscription detailing the notable deeds of a specific individual. Merely mentioning that they had presented the event would suffice in that case.

This was not the case in North Africa however. The evidence from this region concerning beast-hunts is highly detailed and often specifies which species were presented. Other organisational entities show similar trends, regions such as Iberia and North Africa were breeding centres for the Roman chariot racing industry, and this is reflected in the local popularity for circus racing. This absence of evidence does not suggest that these entities were completely absent in other regions, as seen with *amphorae* discovered at Ostia bearing the symbol of a North African exotic animal provider, the *Telegenii*. It was possible that these enterprises could have extended far beyond their local region, but they do not appear to have operated in a significant capacity. It is also possible that associations like the *Telegenii* only operated as an intermediary entity that dealt with local hunters in North Africa and with retailers of exotic animals in other parts of the Empire. The evidence bearing the *Telegenii* insignia that was found at Ostia was part of an *amphora* which suggests that they could have had other business interests such as oil or wine that could have facilitated the transportation of their animals. Other alternatives, such as the *Albii* who could have provided wild beasts for the local governor at Noricum, show that smaller-scale operations were possibly present throughout the Empire which did not resemble the organisational entities that Rome used.

Where businesses concerned primarily with the capture and supply of animals for the arena were not present, other arrangements were made. The best example of this would have been local hunters who could provide wild animals for *venationes.* To a lesser extent, the military acted as an alternative source of wild beasts. However, animals caught by soldiers were likely transported back to Rome for the emperor's games. Local horse breeders who supplied the Roman and provincial factions appear to have provided racehorses in regions where there were no formal factions.[729] Alternatively, chariot races could have been entered by locals with access to horses and the appropriate equipment rather than have them hired from any one individual.[730]

[729] As seen in the Mérida mosaic depicting the horse Inluminator whose hind quarters contain the stable marking of the Getuili. Similar motifs can be found on a mosaic from Torre de Palma which depicts five names horses, two of which have pictorial versions of the stable brand.
[730] For a more detailed discussion see chapter 4.4.

The organisational structures of agonistic festivals are the best recorded compared to the other forms of entertainment discussed in this thesis. This was likely due to how the financial and organisational aspects of these festivals were closely tied to its respective *polis* or League. The *agonothete*, the face of the games, acted primarily as a financier and provided additional funds for elements that could not be covered by money that was allocated by the city. Because of this, the organisational structures for agonistic festivals were relatively simple; they focused on ensuring that enough money could be consistently raised to meet the base-cost of the event. This was supplemented by additional funds from the *agonothete*'s private wealth which would have been spent on elements of the festival that were not regularly included. However, the distribution of the revenue made by the city and donated by the benefactor was more complicated than other event-types. It was used to pay several merchants and craftsmen who provided supplies for the event, such as sand, or produced the necessary equipment that could not have been easily brought by those travelling to compete. Additionally, money was spent on producing statues and inscriptions that commemorated the victors of each event and the individual costs of most aspects of hosting the festival. This stands in distinct contrast to the other contemporary forms of entertainment where a majority of the budget for an event appears to have been directed towards the purchase or hire of entertainers. However, the process of regulating and paying out of sacred pensions was the responsibility of the victor's hometown. The regularity of these spectacles meant that the organisational process could be refined to ensure that money for materials, equipment, and craftsmen were secured long before the festival began. The regularity at which these festivals were hosted is perhaps why the organisation and costs of the events are so well documented. These events required an organisational structure that could consistently provide money for an event, best demonstrated by the foundations created to finance festivals such as the Demostheneia.

6.5 - Monetary Costs

The evidence for financial information regarding public entertainment during the Imperial period is inconsistent. For some spectacle types, such as gladiatorial combats and agonistic festivals, there is a plethora of detailed budgets and overall costings for games.[731] In contrast, this cannot be said for beast-hunts and chariot racing. This lack of information has presented the opportunity for several

[731] Examples of these details records for gladiators: the *edicta munerum* from Pompeii (those of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius most prominently) and the inscription of Lucius Fadius Pierus who presented "thirty pairs of gladiators and African beasts", and then after a few months another "twenty-one pairs of gladiators and beast-hunts" (*CIL* IX, 2350); for Agonistic Festivals: both the Demostheneia inscription (Wörrle (1988) and Mitchell (1990)) and the prize lists of Aphrodisias (*CIG* 2758 A-G and *CIG* 2759) give extensive detail on the scheduling of the festivals and the cost of the prizes.

reconstructions throughout this thesis.[732] However, it is not possible to accurately calculate the cost of these games for organisers with the available information. Beast-hunts were primarily documented alongside gladiatorial combats, and these honorary inscriptions do not differentiate between the money spent on gladiators and that spent on animals. Diocletian's Price Edict demonstrates how expensive these spectacles would have been, ranging from the extreme price of the first-class lion at 150,000 *denarii* to 2,000 *denarii* for a second-class stag.[733] Based on this, it is possible to determine why beast-hunts were recorded in such vague terms. It would seem likely that when an organiser was able to afford a *venatio* for their games, they only made use of locally available animals and perhaps this meant that it was not considered spectacular enough to have been commemorated in detail. Similar practices are seen with inscriptions concerning gladiatorial combats where only a *munus* is recorded and no figures are specified regarding the number of pairs presented, potentially indicating that these were the *munera assiforana* cited in the *Aes Italicense.* These financial barriers to entry for *venationes* and the apparent lack of barriers in North Africa may be why the African provinces have such a vast record of exotic beast-hunts celebrated, particularly using animals that were prized even in the *munera* of Rome.[734]

Chariot racing suffers from a similar absence of financial evidence. Without any specific details regarding where the horses and charioteers were hired from or any indication of prizes, it is impossible to tell if the prices recorded are an accurate representation of what chariot racing cost to host. When referring to the cost of individual horses for the circus, the HS540 figure from Auzia seems unlikely to have been a typical price for these races.[735] Such a low cost could have been achieved if the benefactor were the owner of a stud farm or a racing faction or local citizens submitted their own horses and racers, in the same way as was done at panhellenic festivals in the archaic and classical periods. Additionally, this does not take into consideration the back-end costs to operate and maintain these races. Trainers, craftsmen to furnish and repair chariots, and veterinary professionals, to name a few, were needed to ensure that chariot racing was readily available. The complex infrastructure of chariot racing would have further contributed to the cost of hiring horses for the games. Because of this inconsistency in the evidence for how much the different spectacle types cost, it is unhelpful to focus on this aspect alone.

[732] See chapter 2.4 (cost reconstructions based on the *Aes* Italicense), chapter 3.6-3.7 (19th century comparison and reconstructions), and chapter 4.6 (training and breeding of racehorses).
[733] See chapter 3.7 for a fuller discussion of these prices and appendix 3.5 for a complete table of arena animals.
[734] See chapter 3.3 and 3.10 for more discussion on the prominent evidence of beast-hunts in North Africa.
[735] See chapter 4.5 for discussion of the Auzia example and other recorded prices for chariot racing.

Within the civic landscape, entertainment was a significant aspect of the elite's contribution to a city's economy. Texts such as the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* illustrate how games were a regular expectation of those who held political office. Indicators of wealth, such as land ownership, suggests that the concentration of money in many provincial cities was focused within a few families.[736] Commitments such as the Imperial Cult meant that certain types of entertainment, like gladiatorial combats, were hosted across the entire Empire. This is likely why these games have the most complete evidence for costs compared to the other events discussed in this thesis. By comparing the reconstructions of the costs for the different entertainment types, it is apparent that most games of any significance from the first century AD onwards cost HS30,000 or more.[737] This explains why laws regarding the cost of entertainment, such as the *lex coloniae Genetiuae* and the *Aes Italicense*, specify minimum costs. If public entertainment was considered an important part of an elite's contribution to the city, then those benefactions that were deemed a compulsory aspect of political office needed to be affordable by all who entered political office. While the records of entertainment that specify an overall budget average HS30,000, there are many examples of spectacles that were smaller in size. The Magerius mosaic, for example, shows that he had paid 2,000 *denarii* for four *bestiarii* and leopards that were provided by the *Telegenii* which would amount to roughly HS8,000, a third of the average recorded budgets. However, this mosaic only records one aspect of the spectacle and it was possible that more was presented on the day, but Magerius wanted to commemorate the *venatio* specifically. Agonistic festivals had the widest representation of possible scale. While many prize lists record costs that ranged between HS12,000 to HS120,000, some festivals cost far more or far less.[738]

Comparing the cost of entertainment to other forms of euergetism better demonstrates where public spectacle fit within the euergetistical spectrum. The best-attested form of euergetism outside of entertainment was building projects. The cost for these projects could range significantly, costing on average between HS3,000 to HS50,000; however, they could reach up to HS600,000.[739] It was

[736] Refer to Duncan-Jones (1990): table 43 and 45 for an analysis on the ownership of land and proportion of land owned by the largest estate in provincial cities.
[737] The first budget that the *Aes Italicense* applied to was HS30,000-60,000 (*Aes Italicense* column I, lines 30-34); four of the six analysed prize lists for Agonistic festivals ranged between 21,940 *denarii* and 86,620 *denarii* (although each of these four lists are either incomplete or only record the prizes, the actual cost for these events were likely higher).
[738] For instance, compare the figures in table 13 recording the cost of Prize Games to the Gorgas festival where the largest prize on offer was 15 *denarii* (*SIG*[3] 1063).
[739] Duncan-Jones (1982): 75.

possible for these projects could cost significantly more, as seen with the rebuilding of Massalia's walls by Crinas which Pliny suggests cost HS10 million.[740] This meant that architectural euergetism could realistically only be carried out effectively by the very wealthy. In contrast to this, statues cost significantly less to erect, averaging around, HS3,000 to HS7,000.[741] However, the erection of statues and inscriptions can be seen as a supplementary gift to the city as they were usually in commemoration of an event or to record an individual's career. It can be seen that the costs of hosting entertainment lay in between the costs of building projects and those of statues. Therefore, it is possible that hosting these games were considered a much more accessible form of euergetism to local elite that would provide a consistent return of glory for the benefactor without such a high cost. This meant that not only could more members of the local elite host games, but they could afford to host these spectacles multiple times during their political career. As seen in the *edicta munerum* of Pompeii, it was common for some political figures to repeatedly host games due to the popularity that could be gained from them.[742] The memory of these games could be preserved through the erection of inscriptions such as the recently discovered inscription published in Osanna (2018), or through the preservation of the advertisements that were painted on the side of buildings. While many of these were likely not intended to be long-lasting records of events, the survival of particular advertisements such as those of Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius shows that spectacular and well-received events had more chance of being preserved.

6.6 - Conclusion

The Imperial period witnessed a transition in the organisation of public entertainment. With the increased connectivity taking place between Rome and the rest of the Empire what had once been a largely ad hoc arrangement, based primarily on personal contacts, became an ordered system with specialised individuals to meet the needs of the different games. The establishment of these formal entities to supply entertainment and the expansion of supply lines across the Empire meant that

[740] Plin., *NH* 29.9; Another benefactor, Cuello, followed a similar project with an equally expensive project of repaving the roads of Sisapo through to Saltus Castulonensis after suffering heavy rain damage, estimated to have cost HS12 million. Another similar case of architectural euergetism can be seen in the gift of HS16 million for an aqueduct to the city of Alexandria Troas by the senator Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes, for which we are told that HS12 million had already been assigned from public funds (Philostr., *VS* 548-549; see also Duncan-Jones (1974) for more discussion of similar benefactions).

[741] Duncan-Jones (1982): 78.

[742] For example, the material referring to Gnaeus Alleius Nigidius Maius (*CIL* IV, 47991, 1179, 7790, 7993, 1177b, 1180) in which one (*CIL* IV, 7790) refers to Maius as the "first among the presenters of *munera*" and (*CIL* IV, 1177b) as the "first of the colony". These spectacles clearly helped make Maius a prominent figure in Pompeii as he was appointed Imperial High Priest and hosted the first *munus* after the gladiatorial ban in Pompeii from AD 59 to 69 (*CIL* IV, 1180). See Futrell (1997): 46-47 for a collection of inscriptions concerning Maius and Franklin (1997) for more on his career.

these public spectacles became significantly more accessible to benefactors outside of Rome. This thesis has demonstrated that while provincial benefactors did have a degree of choice when it came to the organisation of games, most decided to take advantage of what was locally available to them. Localised versions of the businesses that could be found in Rome begin to appear in regions of the Empire that were major exporters of animals for the games. This is best illustrated by the many hunter associations of North Africa. When formal organisations to supply games were not locally available other individuals were able to fulfil these roles, notably the local horse breeders and hunters. Entertainment outside of Rome increasingly relied on supply chains established for Rome itself. However, in the wider Empire localised versions of the organisational entities at Rome made hosting games not only easier, but also cheaper in regions where resources were already being collected and exported.

Implications and Areas of Further Research

This thesis began with a simple question, how was entertainment organised and supplied outside of Rome? The aim has been to go beyond the spectacular elements to what occurred behind the scenes and break down how exactly did benefactors put on these shows, how much did it cost, and which individuals supplied the resources needed to host these games regularly. One of the most prominent patterns that emerged was the transition from a haphazard organisational system in the Republican period to a highly specialised and supralocal set of infrastructures in the Imperial period that catered to the unique needs of specific games. Throughout it has been demonstrated that the hosting of entertainment in Rome's Empire was not only influenced by the cultural preferences of benefactors and local citizens, but also by the logistical challenges that came with preparing these events. The organisational systems that facilitated these events in the Empire were localised and alternatives were needed in regions where entities, such as gladiatorial *ludi* and factions, were not present.

Several methods have been used to reconstruct the costs and organisational structures of entertainment. By applying the prices recorded in both the *Aes Italicense* and from the writing of the second century AD jurist Gaius to epigraphic records of gladiatorial combats, potential deconstructions of the overall budgets into specific gladiator pairs can be created. The data does not exist to allow full costing of these events, but the order of magnitude in relation to civic finances has become clear. Spectacles were big business, and many profited from facilitating them. Similarly, the use of comparative approaches, such as the study of the 19th century hunter trade, demonstrates that it is possible to create models for the transportation of arena animals, allowing for further discussion concerning an aspect that is almost entirely unrecorded. The same has been done with globalisation theory. Applying aspects of globalisation theory has allowed for a depiction of Roman entertainment which was partially influenced by the logistics of organising an event, rather than entirely dependent on benefactor preference.

Each approach illustrates the complex organisational and financial processes that had to take place in order for these games to occur regularly. Not only did the organising of public entertainment take several months, but it also required several specialists to provide the performers for the games. People were needed to train and supply gladiators, exotic beasts, and charioteers, other lesser-

known individuals that supplied less prominent, but still vital, resources to these games such as straps, oil, sand, medical expertise, and building materials. The services of each supplier needed to be paid for and required a reliable means of acquiring and providing these commodities. The epigraphic evidence recording these games make very little reference to the infrastructures involved in organising the event. Instead, they merely mention that an event occurred, perhaps with a note on any exceptional features, such as specific species of animals or the overall cost. However, these were not regular additions. By bringing together evidence from across the Empire and over a large time period along with the approaches mentioned above, this thesis has compared each infrastructure to each other to demonstrate that the availability of resources affected which events benefactors chose to host.

Further studies into this topic would benefit the most from new approaches to studying the Roman world. A focus on the developments taking place at a macro-level allows for a richer discussion on the hosting of games outside of Rome. Digital approaches not only allow for a largescale perspective of the games, but they would also better demonstrate just how connected these events were both to each other and to the infrastructures that supplied Rome. By analysing these events and how they were organised on a macro scale, it is possible to observe the overall changes and the unique infrastructures that emerged as a result of the challenges they presented to the benefactors. While focused studies of particular games and kinds of entertainment allow for a far more detailed view of individual aspects of these events, they do not consider the larger-scale developments that took place. These do not only include those that took place across the Empire and throughout the centuries, but also in terms of the hosting behaviours of entertainment in general.

The use of comparative studies of other historical periods where the organisation of similar industries has produced valuable results and demonstrates that some of the logistical problems that were likely faced by the Romans were also concerns in other periods. Horse-racing and circuses remained popular events throughout the medieval period and were later spread across the world. This thesis has made use of the 19th century beast trade and the training of racehorses today to reconstruct a model of how they could have functioned in the Roman world. Comparative studies allow for opportunities to bridge the gaps found in the ancient evidence. Detailed studies of how similar events were hosted throughout history may shed unexpected light onto the Roman period which was previously impossible with only the use of Greek and Roman sources.

Globalisation, while a modern concept, has also provided a valuable approach to this topic. However, it must be applied to the ancient world carefully. When it is used to focus on the connectivity of the Empire it can be a powerful tool for analysis. The developments of game hosting throughout the Empire did not occur in individual vacuums. Rather, the exploitation of particular resources from specific regions, such as horses from Spain or exotic beasts from North Africa, likely led to the increased presence of these sports in these areas. This increased availability of resources and the presence of an accessible supply chain led to the need for local organisational entities. These entities appeared in one of two ways; they were either an emulation of the businesses found at Rome, such as the provincial factions, or localisations that catered to a unique local need, such as the hunter associations in North Africa. They demonstrate that a glocalisation process was taking place across the Empire during the Imperial period. Further application of these concepts alongside a macro-approach to the organisation of games would further strengthen the relationship between Rome's supply chains for their games and the events that were taking place in the wider Empire.

Digital approaches to studying the ancient world, such as mapping and visual cross-referencing of geographic location to recorded games, would also serve to illustrate these arguments significantly. Tools such as *Connected Contests* by Onno van Nijf and Christina Williamson, and Sebastian Heath's mapping of all known amphitheatres allow for a macro approach to the study of the ancient world. By visualising these aspects of the Roman Empire it is possible to see trends which could be otherwise missed. They demonstrate the density of structures and the connectivity between festivals, allowing for a more convincing analysis of these clusters. One potential project that would significantly further the study of entertainment outside of Rome would be a tool which could visualise all evidence for these games throughout the Empire. Being able to visually compare the scale and frequency of different games in the Empire side-by-side would demonstrate just how regionalised Imperial entertainment was.

How were these events organised? Entertainment during the Imperial period was supplied by several different entities and individuals who presented unique solutions to the organisational challenges that were posed by their respective events. These entities appeared across the Empire for a variety of different reasons, but availability and cost were significant factors to what could be hosted in a region. This is not to say that cultural considerations and benefactor preference were not

contributing factors, most clearly demonstrated in the organisation patterns of agonistic festivals. However, it is not a coincidence that evidence for events such as exotic beast-hunts and chariot racing have been found in higher concentrations in regions where Rome imported their animals from. Being local to these supply lines meant easier and cheaper access to particular resources by both the supplier and the benefactor.

This is perhaps why gladiatorial combats appear to have been so widespread across the Empire. The barriers, both financial and logistical, to setting up businesses such as a *ludus* were not as high as those for other events. This is likely the reason why epigraphic documents regarding the cost of these performers exist. The concerns regarding how much these events cost and the accessibility of its performers were Empire-wide. However, there is no similar evidence in relation to the other kinds of entertainment discussed in this thesis. This is potentially a result of the contrast between the widespread hosting of gladiatorial combats compared to other forms of entertainment that required hard to obtain animals or those that were culturally specific to one region of the Empire. With some training any slave could become a gladiator, but not all horses were suitable for racing and not all animals were considered desirable in the arena.

The results of this thesis have illustrated the need to consider the organisation of entertainment during the Imperial period as a whole rather than on an event-by-event scale. While studying the games individually allow for a detailed understanding of how they functioned, they do not consider the wider contexts in which these events existed. Therefore, it is necessary to study these cultural phenomena both in terms of their local context and also of the Empire-wide networks that sustained and connected them. By doing so, it is possible to understand the complexities of how these events were able to be supplied and regularly hosted outside of Rome. There was no one single retailer of the games. Each event had its own unique infrastructure to meet the individual needs of both the games and the benefactor. However, beyond this, availability was key factor to organisation. Certain events could not be hosted without specific resources, and if they were not readily available, they needed to be imported. The cost of this would have been prohibitive for most local elite and would have restricted the potential choice of events, no matter the preference of the benefactor.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Euergetism and Civic Finances

1.1 - *lex coloniae Genetiuae* LXX-LXXI (translation as per Crawford (1996))

LXX Whoever shall be IIviri, they, except for those who shall be first appointed after this statute, they during their magistracy are to organise a show or dramatic spectacle for Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, and the gods and goddesses, during four days, for the greater part of the day, as far as <shall be possible>, according to the decision of the decurions, and each one of them is to spend on that spectacle and on that show not less than 2,000 *sesterces* from their own money, and it is to be lawful to take and spend out of public money up to 2,000 *sesterces* for each IIvir, and it is to be lawful for them to do so without personal liability, provided that no-one take or make assignment from that sum, which sum it shall be appropriate to give or assign according to this statute for those sacrifices, which shall be publicly performed in the colony or in any other place.

LXXI Whoever shall be aediles, during their magistracy they are to organise a show or dramatic spectacle for Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, during three days, for the greater part of the day, as far as shall be possible, and during one day (games) in the circus or (gladiators) in the forum for Venus, and each one of them is to spend on that spectacle and on that show not less than 2,000 *sesterces* from his own money, and it is to be lawful to take from public funds 1,000 *sesterces* for each aedile, and a IIvir or prefect is to see that that sum is given or assigned, and it is to be lawful for them to receive it without personal liability.

1.2 – Statue costs in North Africa (Duncan-Jones (1982): 78)

HS	Examples	%
8,000	9	8.6
7,000-7,999	4	3.8
6,000-6,999	13	12.4
5,000-5,999	19	18.1
4,000-4,999	17	16.2
3,000-3,999	13	12.4
2,000-2,999	6	5.7
	Total: 81	
Median Cost	5,000	

Other known costs excepted from the table (Duncan-Jones (1982): nos. 77-212):

Multiple Statue Gifts

Duncan-Jones Reference	Identification	Price (HS)	Town	Date	Reference
77	16 statues	1,000,000 (66,666)	Lepcis Magna	-	IRT 706
78	5 statues	50,000 (10,000)	Thamugadi	196/211	AE 1941, 46
D79	4 statues	36,020 (9,005)	Lepcis Magna	(post-180)	IRT 700
80	(Some statues)	30,000	Cuicul	(c. 160)	AE 1920, 114
81	3 statues without bases	21,000+ (7,000+)	Cuicul	-	AE 1916, 12 & 16

Silver Statues

Duncan-Jones Reference	Identification	Price (HS)	Town	Date	Reference
82	Aunt of Emperor Septimius Severus	144 7/8 Roman Pounds (HS 115,000+)	Lepcis Magna	(before 170)	IRT 607
83	Deity with gold crown	HS 51,335 7/16	Hippo Regius	117/38	ILAlg 1.10
84	Imagines argent. Imp. Caes. Traiani Hadriani	17,000?	Hippo Regius	117/38	ILAlg 1.10
85	Signum [argent.?]	50,000	Theveste	-	ILAlg 1.3066
86	Statuncula Mercurii	14,000	Lambaesis	-	CIL VIII, 18233
87	Imago argentea of Septimius Severus	3 Roman pounds (HS 2,400+)	Safar	198/210	CIL VIII, 9797
88	Imago argentea Faustinae	1,593	Cillium	139/61	AE 1957, 77

Bronze Statues

Duncan-Jones Reference	Identification	Price (HS)	Town	Date	Reference
D89	Baliddir	4,000	Sigus	post-217	CIL VIII, 19121
90	Marcus non regnans	2,000 (?+)	Thurburbo Maius	139/46	ILTun 714

Marble Statues

Duncan-Jones Reference	Identification	Price (HS)	Town	Date	Reference
91	-	50,000	Vallis	(post-250)	ILTun 1282
D92	-	33,200	Abthungni	(post-250)	CIL VIII, 11207
93	Hercules cum tetrastylo	33,000	Rusicade	-	ILAlg 2.34
94	Victoria… cum tetrastylo	30,000	Rusicade	218/22 (?)	ILAlg 2.10
95-6	Fortuna	22,000	Thamugadi	(117/38)	CIL VIII, 17831
97	Marcus & Verus	(19,000)-38,000	Sabratha	169/70	IRT 22
98	Concordia & (?)	(17,500)-35,000	Thamugadi	198/211	CIL VIII, 17829
99	Victoriae Aug.	16,000+	Membressa	275/6	CIL VIII, 25836

100	Fortuna Redux	16,000	Thamugadi	(post-180)	CIL VIII, 2344
101	Marcus & Verus (colossi)	(15,000)-30,000	Thugga	173	ILAf 561 + ILTun 1406
102	Caracalla	12,000+	Cirta	213/17	CIL VIII, 7001
103	Septimius (equestrian statue without base)	12,000+	Uchi Maius	197	CIL VIII, 26255
104-5	Divus M. Antoninus	12,000	Cuicul	180/92	PBSR 30 (1962) 109, n. 114
106	Iulia Domna	10,000+	Ammaedara	198/211	ILTun 460
107	Divus Commodus	10,000+	Diana	199/200	CIL VIII, 4596
108	Septimius	10,000+	Diana	196/7	CIL VIII, 4594
109	Victoria Germanica	9,000	Verecunda	213	CIL VIII, 4202
110	-	8,000	(Hr. Bou Cha)	-	ILTun 746
111	Genius Celtianis	8,000	Celtianis	-	ILAlg 2.2086
112	Virtus divi M. Antonini	8,000	Cuicul	180/3	BAC (1911) 116
113	Genius kastell. Elefant.	8,000	Kastellum Elephantum	(post-180)	ILS 6865
114	Apollo	8,000	Giufi	-	CIL VIII, 858
115	Victoria	8,000	Guifi	-	CIL VIII, 862
116	Victoria	8,000	Guifi	-	CIL VIII, 863
117	M. Aurelius	8,000	Sutunurca	146	CIL VIII, 24003
118	Septimius	8,000	Tupusuctu	194/5	CIL VIII, 8835
119	Neptunus	7,340	Calama	-	CIL VIII, 5298
120	-	7,100 (?+)	Madauros	(post-180)	ILAlg 1.185
121	Divus M. Antoninus Pius	7,000	Cuicul	176/92	AE 1916, 14
121a	Signum Marsyae	7,000	Furnos Minus	(c. 214?)	AE 1961, 53
122	Mercurius	7,000	Theveste	-	ILAlg 1.3007
123	Q. Fl. Lappianus	6,661	Thabarbusi	-	AE 1960, 214
124	Minerva	6,140	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4198
125	Victoria	6,040	Thamugadi	160/3	CIL VIII, 2353
126	Victoria	6,000+	Cuicul	-	CIL VIII, 9310
127	Septimius & (?) (equestrian)	(6,000)-12,000	Avedda	196	CIL VIII, 14370
128	Hercules	6,000	Calama	-	ILAlg 1.181
129	Genius populi	6,000	Cirta	180/92?	ILAlg 2.479
130	Genius populo Cuiculitanor(um)	6,000	Cuicul	-	AE 1914, 44
131	Iuppiter Victor	6,000	Diana	-	CIL VIII, 4577
132	Marsyas	6,000 (?)	Lambaesis	-	AE 1914, 40
133	Antoninus Pius	6,000	Sitifis	155/6	CIL VIII, 8466
134	Sex. Lucretius Rogatus	6,000	Tupusuctu	-	CIL VIII, 8840

135	Minerva (?)	6,000	Tichilla	-	CIL VIII, 25861
136	-	6,000	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4243
137	Apollo	5,640	Calama	-	ILAlg 1.177
138	Divus Hadrianus & L. Verus	5,525	Sutunurca	146	ILAf 300
138a	Victoria(e) Parthica(e) (duae)	(5,300)-10,600	Thamugadi	116	CIL VIII, 2354
139	Pius & L. (Verus)	(5,203)-10,407	Cillium	139/61	AE 1957, 77
140	Mars	5,200	Sigus	222/35	CIL VIII, 19124
141	Victoria & Mercurius	(5,000+)-10,000+	Cuicul	-	AE 1911, 105
142	Iup(p)iter Omnipotens	5,000+	Cuicul	182	AE 1908, 242
143	Caracalla	5,000+	Lambaesis	208	CIL VIII, 2711
144	Fortuna	5,000+	Agbia	138/61	CIL VIII, 1548
145	Mercurius	5,000	Diana	-	CIL VIII, 4579
146	Victoria	5,000	Lambaesis	-	CIL VIII, 18241
147	Neptunus, cum ostiis	5,000	Pheradi Maius	138/61	ILTun 246
148	Mercurius	5,000	Sarra	-	CIL VIII, 12001
149	-	5,000	Sitifis	-	CIL VIII, 8497
150	Pius & M. Aurelius	(5,000)-10,000	Thamugadi	139/61	CIL VIII, 2362
151	Sol	5,000	Thamugadi	-	CIL VIII, 2350
151a	Genius coloniae Thamugadis	5,000	Thamugadi	-	CIL VIII, 17913 + AE 1954, 147
152	Bonus Eventus	5,000	Thibilis	-	CIL VIII, 18890
153	Mercurius	5,000	Thignica	-	CIL VIII, 1400
154	Genius municipii	5,000	Thuburbo Maius	(160/92)	ILAf 240
155	Minerva	5,000	Thubursico Numidarum	-	ILAlg 1.1236
156	Foruna Redux	5,000	Thubursico Numidarum	-	CIL VIII, 4874
157	Karthago Aug. (without base)	5,000	Uchi Maius	(post-200)	CIL VIII, 26239
158	Sanctissimus genius ordinis	5,000	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4187
159	Septimius Severus	4,800	Diana	195/6	AE 1933, 67
160	Victoria Victrix	4,800	Thamugadi	198/211	AE 1941, 49
161	[Genius] ordinis	4,500	Thamugadi	-	CIL VIII, 2341

162	Hercules	4,400+	Cuicul	-	AE 1914, 236
163	-	4,400	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4235
164	Iuno	4(?),200	Thuburnica	-	CIL VIII, 25702
165	Caracalla	4,200	(Hr. Kudiat Setieh)	201/10	ILAlg 1.951
166	Aesculapius	4,000+	Cuicul	(post-200)	BAC (1919) 97
167	Concordia Augg.	4,000+	Cuicul	166/9	CIL VIII, 8300
168	Apollo	4,000+	(Hr. Debbik)	181/2	CIL VIII, 14791
169	Victoria Parthica	4,000+	Diana	198	CIL VIII, 4583
170	Minerva	4,000+	Lambaesis	147/8	CIL VIII, 18234
171	Foruna	4,000+	Lambaesis	147/8	CIL VIII, 18214
171a	Mercurius	[4],000+	Lambaesis	(post-117)	AE 1968, 646
172	Iuppiter Conservator	4,000+	Verecunda	212	CIL VIII, 4196
173	Iuno	4,000+	Verecunda	212	CIL VIII, 4197
174	Genius curiae	4,000	Agbia	138/61	CIL VIII, 1548
175	Iuppiter Optimus Maximus	4,000	Chidibbia	-	CIL VIII, 14875
176	Genius Senatus	4,000	Cuicul	-	AE 1908, 241
177	Victoria Augg.	4,000	Diana	160/3	CIL VIII, 4582
178	(Septimus?)	4,000	Diana	193	Leschi 274
179	Fortuna Redux Auggg.	[4],000	Thamugadi	198/211	AE 1901, 191
180	Genius populi	4,000	Tiddis	214	ILAlg 2.3575
181	Genius populi	4,000	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4193
182	-	4,000	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4250
183	Victoria	3,900	Thamugadi	-	CIL VIII, 17838
184	Genius vici	3,700	Verecunda	-	CIL VIII, 4194
185	-	3,600	Madauros	-	ILAlg 1.2151
186	Baliddir cum base (v. 393)	3,600	Sigus	(post-217)	CIL VIII, 19122
187	Septimius Severus	3,400	(Hr. Kudiat Setieh)	197/8	CIL VIII, 10833
188	L. Sisenna Bassus	3,200	Abthungi	-	CIL VIII, 11201
189	Marcus & divus Verus	(3,000+)-6,000+	Cuicul	169/70	CIL VIII, 8318-19
190	Serapis	3,000+	(Hr. Debbik)	185/91	CIL VIII, 14792
191	Mercurius	3,000	Cuicul	-	AE 1914, 237
192	Fides publica	3,000	Cuicul	-	AE 1914, 43
193	(Signum)	3,000	Diana	-	CIL VIII, 4601

194	Genius leg. III Aug.	3,000	Lambaesis	198	CIL VIII, 2527
195	Iulia Domna	3,000	Medeli	198/211	CIL VIII, 885
196	L. Cornelius Saturninus	3,000	Numluli	-	CIL VIII, 15392
197	L. Verus	3,000	Sutunurca	162	ILAf 303
198	-	2,642+	Thubba	-	CIL VIII, 14296
199	Signum Marsyae	2,400+	Althiburos	-	CIL VIII, 27771
200	Caracalla	2,400	(Hr. Kudiat Setieh)	202/10	CIL VIII, 17259
201	Septimius	2,400	(Hr. Kudiat Setieh)	198	ILAlg 1.950
202	Divus Hadrianus	2,400	Vina	138/61	AE 1961, 199
202a	-	2,000+	(Hr. es-Shorr)	-	CIL VIII, 11998
203	Commodus	2,000+	(Biniana)	186	CIL VIII, 76
204	[Geta?] Caesar	2,000+	Thignica	(pre-209)	CIL VIII, 15202
205	Pluto & (?)	(2,000+)-4,000+	Zama Regia	(post-138)	CIL VIII, 12018
206	Genius coloniae Milevensis	2,000	Milev	-	CIL VIII, 19980
207	Mercurius	2,000	Thamugadi	-	AE 1954, 144
208	Signum Herculis	[1?]220	Cuicul	-	AE 1913, 154
209	Mars	1,000 (?+)	Thamugadi	-	BAC (1893) 157, n. 27
210	Minerva	900	(Hr. Bedjar)	-	CIL VIII, 14349
211	Antoninus Pius	800 (?+)	Themetra	139/61	AE 1946, 234
211a	Antoninus Pius	600+	Thugga	156/7	AE 1968, 585

Appendix 2: Gladiators

2.1 – *Edicta munerum* of Pompeii (as per Sabbatini-Tumolesi (1980))

CIL IV 9979
Venat(io) et glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX / M(arci) Tulli pugn(abunt) Pom(peis) pr(idie) non(as) novembres / VII idus nov(embres).

CIL IV 9980
Venat(io) et glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX M(arci) Tulli / pug(nabunt) Pom(peis) pr(idie) non(as), non(is), VIII, VII idu(s) / novembre.

CIL IV 9981a
Venat(io) [et] gladiat(orum) [par(ia) XX] M(arci) Tulli pug(nabunt) [Pom(peis) pr(idie) non(as), non(is),] VIII, VII eidus novembr(es).

CIL IV 3884
D(ecimi) Lucreti / Satri Valentis flamininis Neronis Caesaris Augusti fili / perpetui, gladiatorum paria XX et D(ecimi) Lucreti{o} Valentis fili / glad(iatorum) paria X pug(nabunt) Pompeis VI, V, IV, III, pr(idie) idus apr(iles), venatio legitima / et vela erunt. Scr(ipsit) / Celer sing(ulus) / ad luna(m).

CIL IV 7995
D(ecimi) Lucreti Satri / Valentis flaminis [[Neronis]] Caesaris Augusti f(ili) perpetui, glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX et / D(ecimi) Lucreti Valentis fili [glad(iatorum)] par(ia) X, / ex a(nte) d(iem) V k(alendas) apri(es), venatio et vela er[unt].

CIL IV 7992
D(ecimi) Lucreti Satri Valentis, flaminis [Neronis] Caesaris Aug(usti) f(ili) perpetui, glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX et D(ecimi) Lucreti Valentis fili - glad(iatorum) par(ia) X pugn(abunt) Pompeis ex a(nte) d(iem) nonis apr(ilibus); venatio et vela erunt. Poly[bius?] (scripsit).

CIL IV 1185
[D(ecimi) Lucreti Satri] Valentis flaminis Neronis Aug(usti) f(ili) perpetui / D(ecimi) Lucreti Valentis fili [glad(iatorum) par(ia) --- pugn(abunt) Pompeis ex a(nte) d(iem)?] / V k(alends) april(ibus); venatio et vela erunt. A destra del ptogramma leggiamo: *P(rincipi) colonia[e] (feliciter).*

CIL IV 7991
Cn(aei) Allei Nigidi / Mai quin(quennalis) sine impensa publica glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX et eorum supp(ositicii) pugn(abunt) Pompeis. A lato dell'insizione, scritto a lettere minori: *Gavellius Tigillo / et Clodio sal(utem); / Telephe summa rudis / instrumentum muneris / u(bique) va(le). / Diadumeno et Pyladioni fe(liciter).*

CIL IV 1179
[C]n(aei) Allei Nigidi / Mai quinq(unnalis) gl(adiatorum) par(ia) XXX et eor(um) supp(ositicii) pugn(abunt) Pompeis VIII, VII, VI k(alends) dec(embres). Ellios [et] ven(atio) erit. Maio quinq(iennali) feliciter. Paris [scr(ipsit)?]. / Marti[alis M]ario [salutem?].

CIL IV 1177
Dedicatione / [operis tabula]rum muneris Cn(aei) Allei Nigidi Mai / [---pompa], venatio, athletae, sparsiones, vela erunt. Inserted in the dedication letter "O" is the name of the *scriptor: Polu(bius).* To the right of the edict is the acclamation: *Maio / principi coloniae / feliciter*.

CIL IV 7993
Dedicatione / operis tabularum Cn(aei) Allei Nigidi Mai, Pompeis idibus iunis: / pompa, venatio, athletae, vela erunt. / Nigrea va(le).

CIL IV 3883
Dedication[e operis tabularum Cn(aei) Allei Nigidi Mai, Pompeis idibus iunis:] / pompa, venatio, [athletae. spars]i[o]nes, vela erunt. / Nigr(a) va(le)(?).

CIL IV 1178
Dedication[e] / o[peris tabula]rum [muneris?] Cn(aei) Allei Mai[---].

CIL IV 7989
a) *Pro salute / Neronis Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, Pompeis Ti(beri) Claudi Veri: venatio / athletae et sparsiones erint, V, IIII k(alendas) mart(ias). CCCLXXIII.* b) *Claudio Vero felic(iter).*

CIL IV 7988b
[Pro salute Neron]is / [---] Pompeis pr(idie) non(as) et non(is) iun(iis).

CIL IV 1189
A(uli) Suetti Certi / aedilis familia gladitoria pugnab(it) Pompeis / pr(idie) kalendas iunias: venatio et vela erunt.

CIL IV 1190
A(uli) Suetti Certi / aedilis familia gladiatoria pugnabit Pompeis / pr(idie) k(alendas) iunias: venatio et vela erunt. / Omnibus Nero[nianorum mun]eribus feliciter.

CIL IV 1186
N(umeri) Popidi / Rufi fam(ilia) glad(iatoria) [p]u[g]n(abit) Pompeis: venati[o], / ex XII k(alendas) mai(as), mala [e]t vela erunt. [---]o procurator[i]/ felicitas.

CIL IV 9962
[---]r[---] / glad(iatorum) pa[r(ia)----] / L(uci) Valeri Primi, augustalis, pugn(abunt) Pomp[eis IV], III, [pr(idie) -----] / februarias: venatio m(a)tutin[a et vela erunt].

CIL IV 9986
[?] Acuti Antulli / glad(iatorum) par(ia) XXXX {glad(iatorum) par(ia)} / [pugn(abunt) ---] X k(alendas) fe[bruarias].

CIL IV 1183
N(umeri) Festi Ampliati / familia gladiatoria pugna(bit) iterum [---] / pugna(bit) [XVIII?], XVII [kal(endas)] iun(ias). Venatio, vel[a erunt].

CIL IV 2508
Pri[mum] / munus M(arci) [M]eso[nii---] / [---]VI nonas maias.

CIL IV 1193
Gladi[atorum] / par(ia) XX Q(uinti) P[---] / pugn(abunt) non(is) a[prilibus?].

CIL IV 1989
Heic venatio pugnabt V k(alendas) septembres / et Felix ad ursos pugnabit.

CIL IV 1199
[--- glad(iatorum) par(ia) ---] pugn(abunt) V, IIII, III pr(idie) k(alendas) dec(embres); venat[io et vela erunt?].

CIL IV 1201
[---] ven(atio) et glad(iatorum) / par(ia) XX [n]o[n(is)] aprili(bus) [---].

CIL IV 1194
Glad(iatorum) [par(ia) --- pugn(abunt) ---] / [venatio et] vela [erunt] / [---] XIII k(alendas) [---].

CIL IV 3882
Numini / Augusti / glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX et venatio Sta(ti) (?) Pompei, flaminis / augustalis, / pugnab(unt) Constant(iae) Nucer(iae): III pr(idie) non(as), / nonis, VILLL eidus maias. / Nucerini officia mea certo index.

CIL IV 9972
GLAD.PAR.XXXVI.PVG.NVCERI / CONSTANTIA.PR.K.ET.K.VI.V.NON.NOV.

CIL IV 9973
L(uci) T[---]mi Feli[cis et --- Gro]sphi glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX pugn(abunt) [IV], III k(alendas) nove(mbres) / [---] PRISCO[---] / [Nuceria Con]stantia.

CIL IV 9974
[Glad(iatorum) par(ia) --- L(uci)] Munati [Caesernini] / [pugn(abunt) Nuceriae] VI, [V], IV, III pr(idie) id(us) maias.

CIL IV 10161
[---]ACS (vel ACR) [---] / Nuce(riae) XI k(alendas) mai(as) munere ype[t](h)ro. Habitus hic / Nuc(erinus).

CIL IV 3881
Glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX Q(uinti) Monni / Rufi pug(nabunt) Nola(e): k(alendis) mais VI /, V nonas maias et / venatio erit.

CIL IV 1187
[G]lad(iatorum) par(ia) X[X? Q. Monni] / Rufi pug(nabunt) Nola(e) [---V]I, V nonas m[aias? ---] / et venatio e[rit].

CIL IV 1204
[Illius gl]ad(iatorum [p]ar(ia) XXX et / [eorum suppositicii? No]lae pu[g(nabunt)] / [---] ex k(alendis) iuni(is).

CIL IV 7994
Par(ia) XLIX. Familia Capiniana muneri[bus] / Augustorum pug(nabit) Puteol(is): a(nte) d(iem) [IV idus maias] / pr(idie) id(us) mai(as) et XVII, XV k(alendas) iu[n(ias)]. / Vela erunt. Magus (scil. scripsit).

CIL IV 9970
Glad(iatorum) par(ia) XX A(uli) Suetti / [Par]tenionis [e]t Nigri liberti, pugna(bunt) / Puteol(is) XVI, XV, XIV, XIII kal(endas) ap(riles): venatio et / athletae; [vela] erunt.

CIL IV 9969
Puteo[lis---] V [id]us dec(embres) / pugn(abitur) Herculanei pro sal[ute Cae]sarum et Liviae Aug(ustae); vela erunt. / Iole sav(ve).

CIL IV 4299
V k(alendas) aug(ustas) Nuceriae Florus vic(it), / XIIX k(alendas) sept(embres) Herclanio vicit.

CIL IV 9983a
Cumis gl(adiatorum) p(aria) XX / [et eorum] suppos[itici pu]gn(abunt) k(alendis) oct(obribus), III, pr(idie) n[onas octobres]: / cruciarii, ven(atio) et vela er(unt).

CIL IV 9976
Glad(iatorum) pa[r(ia) --- pugn(abunt)] Cum[is] / a(nte) d(iem) XV, [XIV], XIII k(alendas) iunias / [---]XIC / D [---] / MV[---]

CIL IV 9977
Gla(diatorum) par(ia) XX pug(nabunt) / [Ca]libus non(is) et VIII / [i]dus iun(ias); [ve]la [erunt]. / Ce[ler scr(ipsit)?].

2.2 – *Aes Italicense* (English translation as per Oliver and Palmer (1955)

--- that that pestilence so great could not be cured by any medicine. And it could not. But out imperial leaders, whose entire concern is to revive the public security from any disease by which it is overwhelmed and strangled and to restore it to complete health, turned their attention to the cause which gave strength to that disease when the law permitted foul and morally offensive revenues to be derived. They asked what influence and protection made it possible to use, as it were, legitimate ways of doing things which are forbidden by all the laws of God and Man.

(I 5-11) "The Fiscus," they were told, again and again. 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 fourth portion to make the filthy plundering legitimate. And so they took the Fiscus out of the arena completely. After all, why should the Fiscus of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Commodus be supported by a connection with the arena? All the money of these emperors is clean, not stained with the splashing of human blood, not soiled with the filth of sordid gains, and it is as innocently produced as it is collected. So away with that revenue, whether twenty or even thirty million sesterces a year. Large enough for the empire is the fortune you accumulate by your thrift. "Let even a part be cut from the back debts owed by *lanistae*, which come to more than five million sesterces, as a free gift to the *lanistae*." For what deserts, I respectfully ask you. "Of Course," the emperors say, "for no deserts, but since they have been forbidden to engage in the disorderly conduct of their old life, let them have this consolation, and in the future let them be invited to serve the public at a fixed rate."

(I 12-15) Oh, great Emperors, who know that remedies which allow for the interests even of the wicked who have made themselves actually indispensable are set on deeper foundations, the harvest of your great foresight will indeed come forth. The official reading of the address in our assembly has barely finished, but when it was unofficially reported that the profits of the *lanistae* had been pruned back and that the fiscus had renounced all that money as contaminated, immediately the priests of your most loyal Gallic provinces rushed to see each other, were full of joy, and plied each other with questions and answers.

(I 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 addressed 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."

(I 19-20) And so permission to withdraw the appeal was sought not only by him but by all the others, and how much more numerous petitions to withdraw them will be! Now this class of cases will assume a new form in which those will appeal who have *not* been made priests, in fact even those who do not qualify as members of an order.

(I 21-22) Therefore, when your advice is so good and its objects so salutary, what other "first opinion" can there be for me to give than that which all individually feel and express in an acclamation of the whole group from the bottom of their hearts?

(I 23-26) I think, therefore, first that thanks should be offered to Their Majesties the Emperors, who with healthful remedies subordinating the interests of the Fiscus have stopped the decline of the states and the headlong rush of the leading men into ruin and restored the condition of the former and the fortunes of the latter. It was all the more magnificent of them, because, though the excuse was available that they were merely retaining what others had instituted and long custom had confirmed, nevertheless they thought that it was by no means consonant with their philosophical principles either to preserve bad institutions or themselves to institute what others much be dishonourable to preserve.

(I 27-29) Moreover, although many think that concerning what Their Majesties the Emperors have reported to us we should go on record with only one succinct opinion, nevertheless, with your permission, gentlemen, I shall take up each article separately, taking over from the most sacred oration the very same words to clarify the opinion, so that there be no room anywhere for misinterpretation.

(I 29-35) Accordingly, I support the proposals: –"That the spectacles which are called *munera assiforana* remain within their old limit and not exceed 30,000 HS in expenditure. 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 HS, 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 HS or any sum which 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.

(I 35-40) "That at every spectacle of all the categories into which they have been classified the *lanista* provide as half of the whole group a number of men who are not expected to perform singly, and that of these, who are known as *gregarii,* one who may be rated 'superior among *gregarii*' fight in a team under a standard for 2,000 HS, and that no one from this group fight for less than 1,000." (They explain that) the *lanistae* should also be warned against a low desire to profiteer and be warned that they no longer have a free hand in supplying the half which the group of *gregarii* constitute, in order that they may realise that an obligation has been placed upon them to make from the others whom they may rate as superior temporary transfers to fill up their quota of *gregarii.* "Accordingly, that that group which the entire establishment constitutes be divided into equal parts for individual days and that on no day less than half of those who fight on that day consist of *gregarii*."

(I 40-44) "In order that the *lanistae* may be compelled to observe this rule as carefully as possible, competence must be assigned to provincial governors and their legates, or to quaestors, or to legates in command of legions, or to senatorial *iuridici*, or to procurators of" Their Majesties "upon mandate of the provincial governor, also to praesidial procurators. Across the Po, however, and throughout all regions of Italy competence must be given to *praefecti alimentis,* who should be assigned if present, or, <if they are not present>, to a *curator viae,* or if not even he is present, to a *iuridicus*, or if he too is unavailable, then to a prefect of a praetorian fleet."

(I 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 this purpose in the past, but each slave gladiator receive a fifth."

(I 46-55) Concerning the prices of gladiators, however, I expressed a little while ago an opinion in accord with the prescription of the divine oration, but I think the rule is formulated in such a way that those prices apply to those states in which prices of gladiators have been flagrantly high. In respect to states which have a rather weak commonwealth, on the other hand, (I suggest that) these rules which are prescribed in stronger communities be not so rigidly maintained and not place burdens upon them beyond the limit of their strength but keep within that limit, so that whatever prices in public and private accounts are found to be the highest, mean and lowest may be observed for those states –, in the case of states within provinces by the governor of the province, in order cases, however, by the *iuridicus*, or by the *curator viae,* or by the prefect of a praetorian fleet, or by the procurator of Their Majesties the Emperors, or by whoever in each state will be its ranking magistrate –, and that so, upon inspection of the accounts of the last ten years, upon consideration of the spectacles which have been precedents in whatever city there will be donors, a ruling be made by him whose competence it will be concerning the three price levels, or if it shall seem to him better, the prices be divided into three levels in whatever way it be possible to do so fairly, and that this system be preserved also for the future. And (I suggest that) their Excellencies who went out as proconsuls a short while ago be informed that each of them is supposed to carry out this assignment within his year, and that also those who govern provinces where the lot is not used finish within the year.

(I 56-58) As for the Gallic provinces, (the same limits on prices for gladiators apply). But also for *trinqui,* who because of an ancient custom of sacred ritual are eagerly awaited in the states of the most glorious Gallic provinces, let the *lanistae* not charge a higher price than 2,000 sesterces apiece, since their Majesties the Emperors have announced in their oration that the policy will be for a procurator of theirs to hand over to the *lanistae* at a price of not more than six gold pieces a man who has been condemned to death.

(I 59-61) There will be provinces too where the provincial priests have no dealings with *lanistae*. They take over gladiators bought and trained by previous priests, or free fighters who had bound themselves with a contract, but after giving a spectacle they pass them on to successors at a higher price. Let no one sell anyone for gladiatorial service at a price per individual higher than that to which *lanistae* are limited.

(I 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 2,000 sesterces, (I suggest that) if this man, when he has obtained his release, will have reentered his dangerous occupation, his valuation thereafter not exceed 12,000 sesterces. In the case of him too who after growing older and less capable may again apply himself - - -

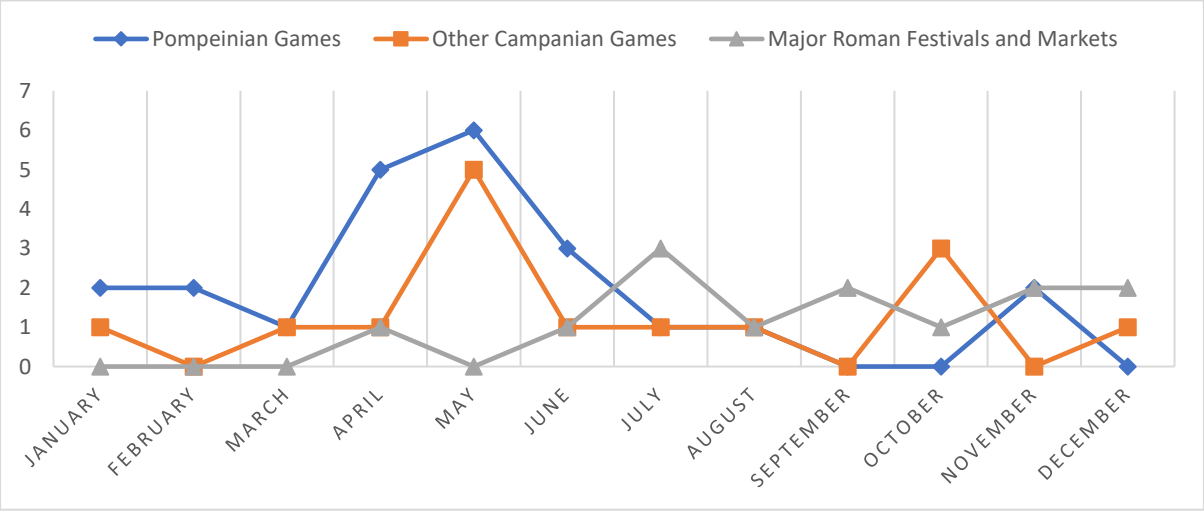
2.3 – *Edicta Munerum* from Pompeii providing dates of games as in Tuck (2008), compilation of Tables 1-3.

	Key Political Events
	Roman Festivals and Market Days
	Key Agricultural Events

Date of Games	Location	Source
5 January?	Pompeii	CIL IV 1989a
22, 23?, 24? January	Pompeii	CIL IV 9986
23, 24 January	Capua	AE 1990, 177b
11, 12?, 13? February	Pompeii	CIL IV 9962
25, 26 February	Pompeii	CIL IV 1181; 7989a
March	Pompeii	*ELECTION DAY*
17, 18, 19, 20 March	Puteoli	CIL IV 9970
28 March	Pompeii	CIL IV 1185; 7995
2 April?	Pompeii	CIL IV 1187
4-8? April	Pompeii	CIL IV 7992
5 April?	Pompeii	CIL IV 1193; 1201
8-12 April	Pompeii	CIL IV 3884
4-10 April	Rome	*LUDI MEGALENSES (ludi in Circo* on 10 April)
13 April		*PLOUGHING BEGINS*
12-19 April	Rome	*LUDI CERIALES (ludi in Circo* on 19 April)
20 April	Pompeii	CIL IV 1186
21 April	Nuceria	CIL IV 10161
27 April – 3 May	Rome	*FLORALIA (ludi in Circo* on 3 May)
[] May	Pompeii	CIL IV 1184
1, 2 May	Pompeii	CIL IV 2508
1, 2, 3 May	Nola	CIL IV 3881; 1187
5, 6, 7, 8 May	Nuceria	CIL IV 3882
11, 12, 13, 14, 15 May	Pompeii	CIL IV 2508
12, 13, 14 May	Pompeii	CIL IV 9974
12, 14, 16, 18 May	Puteoli	CIL IV 7994
15?, 16 May	Pompeii	CIL IV 1183
18, 19, 20 May	Cumae?	CIL IV 9976
20, 21, 22, 23 May	Forum Popilli	AE 1990, 177c
31 May	Pompeii	CIL IV 1189; 1190
1, 2, 3 June	Pompeii	CIL IV 1204
4, 5 June	Pompeii	CIL IV 7988
5, 6 June	Cales?	CIL IV 9977
13 June	Pompeii	CIL IV 7993; 1177; 1178; 3883?
23, 24 June		*SECOND PLOUGHING*
25-26 June	Rome	*LUDI TAUREI (quinquennales)*
July		*BREAKING FALLOW LAND*
1 July	Pompeii	*ELECTED OFFICIALS TAKE OFFICE*
4 July	Pompeii	CIL IV 1180
6-13 July	Rome	*LUDI APOLLINARES*
14-19 July	Rome	*MERCATUS APOLLINARES*

20-30 July	Rome	*LUDI VICTORIAE CAESARIS* (27-30 July *in Circo*)
26 July		*GRAIN HARVEST SHOULD BE COMPLETE*
28 July	Nuceria	CIL IV 4299
15 August	Herculaneum	CIL IV 4299
21 August	Rome	*CONSUALIA in Circo Maximo*
28 August	Pompeii	CIL IV 1989
Late August-Early September		*SOWING TURNIPS; PLOUGHING LAND*
1 September		*THIRD PLOUGHING*
September		*SOWING LEGUMES*
4-19 September	Rome	*LUDI ROMANI*
20-23 September	Rome	*MERCATUS ROMANI*
1, 5, 6 October	Cumae	CIL IV 9983a
24-25 October	Cremona	*MERCATUS*
29, 30 October	Nuceria	CIL IV 9973
31 October; 1, 8, 9 November	Nuceria	CIL IV 9972
4, 5, 6, 7 November	Pompeii	CIL IV 9979; 9980; 9981a
4-17 November	Rome	*LUDI PLEBEII* (15-17 November *in Circo*)
18-20 November	Rome	*MERCATUS PLEBEII*
24, 25, 26 November AD 55	Pompeii	CIL IV 1179; 7991
27, 28, 29, 30 November	Pompeii	CIL IV 1199
9 December	Puteoli/Herculaneum	CIL IV 9969
15 December	Rome	*CONSUALIA in Circo Maximo*
17-23 December	Rome	*SATURNALIA*

Alternative Visualisation:



Appendix 3: The Exotic Beast Trade and its Organisation

3.1 – North African Sodalités

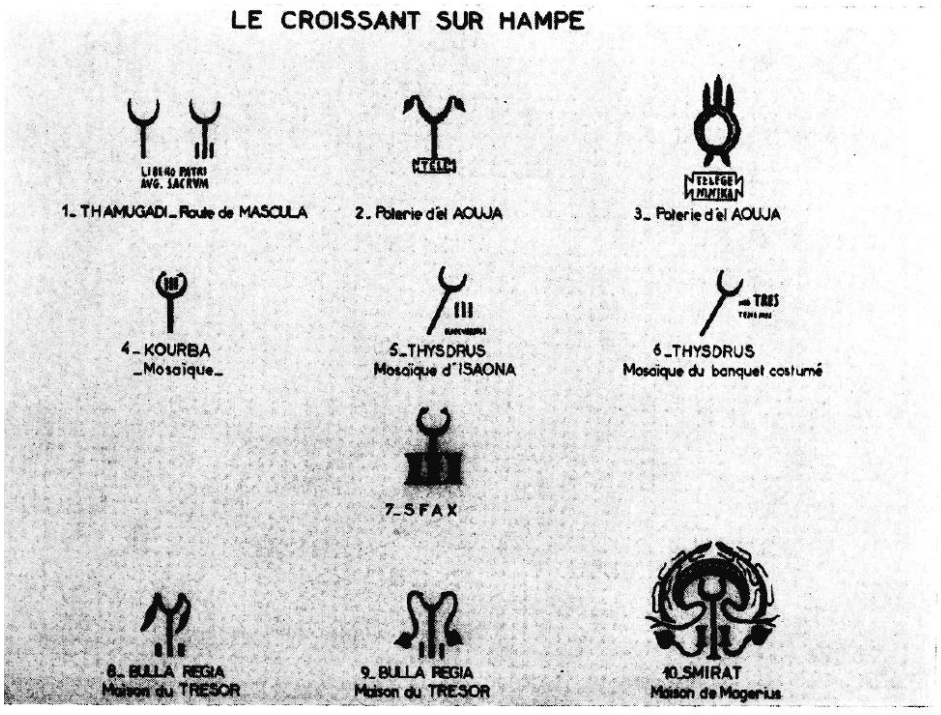
Information extrapolated from Beschaouch (1966) (1977) (1979) (1985) (2006a) and (2006b)

Cipher	Crescent Moon on Stick	Star	Leaf	Millet	Fish	"S"	Wheat	Unknown
I			*Hederii*					
II	B1 *Silvanianii*		*Taurisci*	*Fangargi*(?)				
III	*Telegenii*		*Crescatii*	*Caprasii*		*Sinematii*		
IIII			D3	*Leontii*		D6		
IIIII		E2	E3 *Aucupii*		*Pentasii*			
X				*Barasii*(?)			*Romulii*	*Decasii Deborosii*(∞?)
XIII	*Egregii*							
XV			*Mensurii*					
Unknown				*Lignii*				

Other Sodalites yet to be categorised: *Flortentii*

"Child" Sodalites: *Leontii Dardanii* (?), *Probanti Laodici, Probanti Castorii, Triturri* (*Telegenii*), *Thebanii* (*Telegenii*)

3.2 - Emblems of the *Telegenii* (as per Beschaouch (1966))



Pl. VI. — Emblèmes des Telegeniti.

3.3 – Funerary Inscription set up by the *Lignii* (*CIL* VIII, 13287)

3.4 – Funerary Inscription of Q. Julius Bucia (*CIL* VIII, 11592)

in margine superiore

BARASIX

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VIXI

INTERIM

ANNIS

LXVII

DE

BONIS

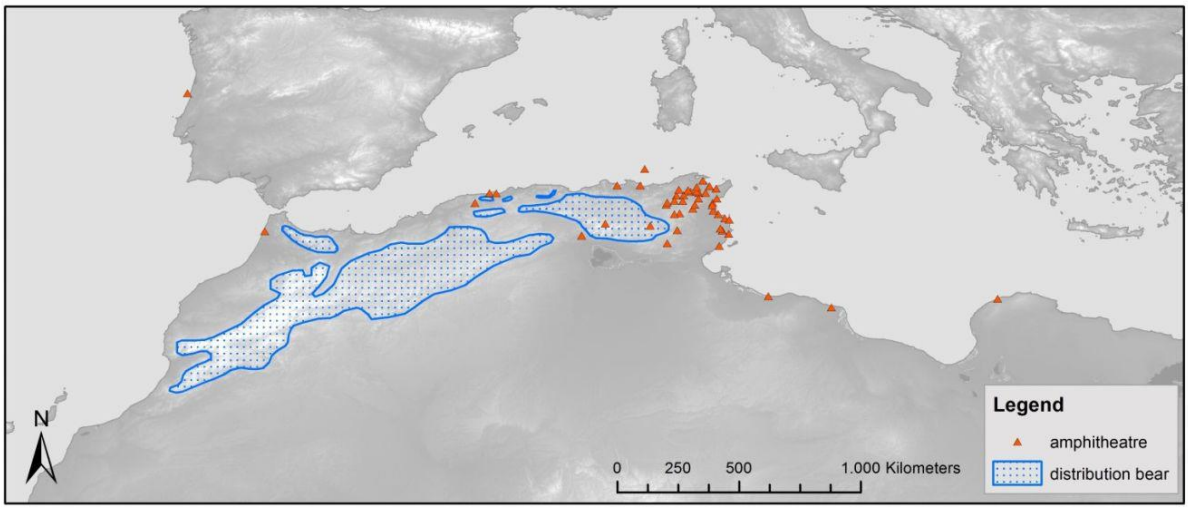
X

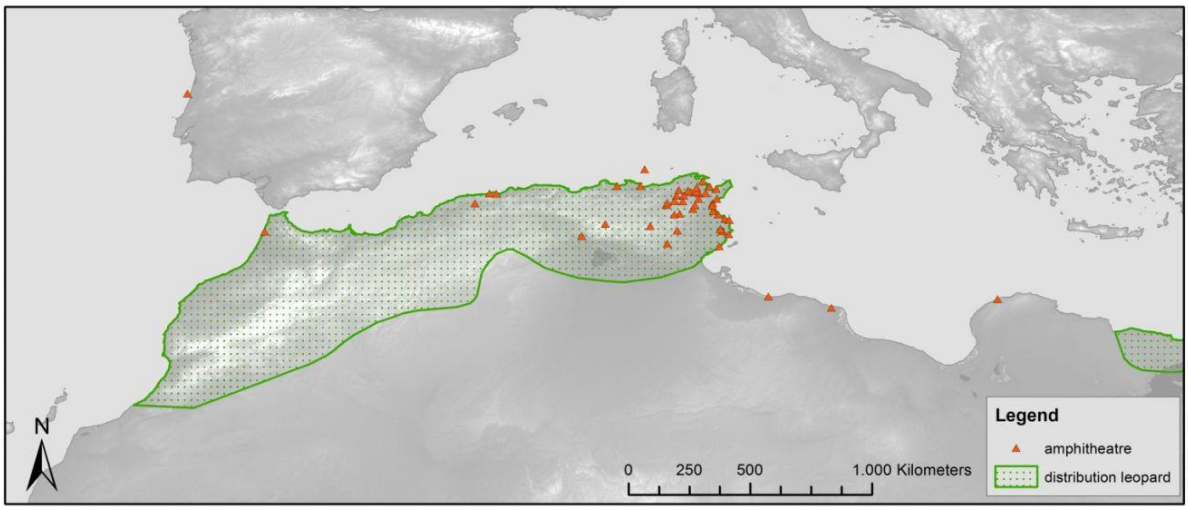
3.5 – Diocletian's Price Edict (AD 301) as per Crawford and Reynolds (1979)

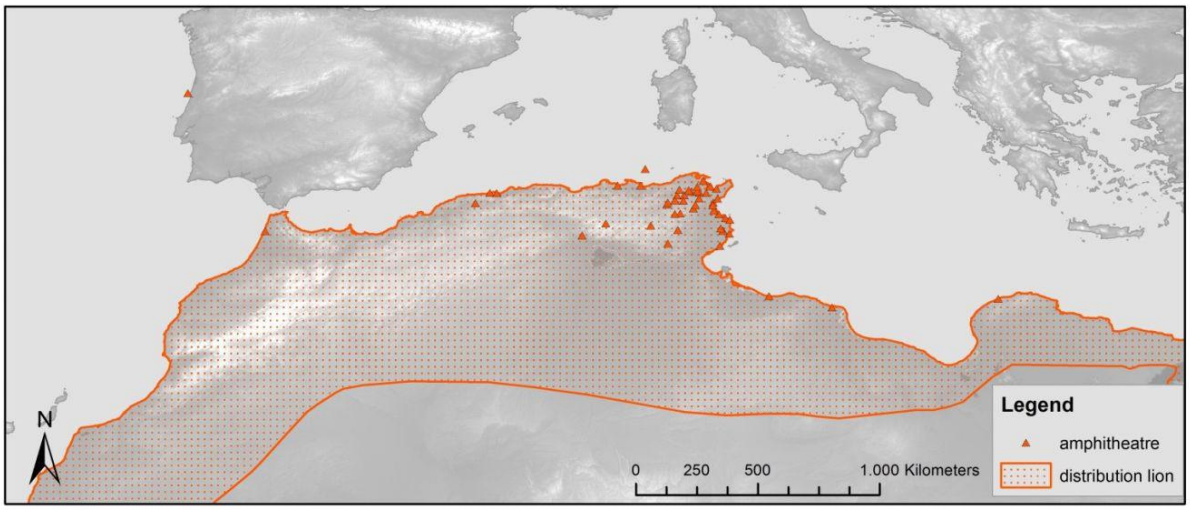
Ch. 32.1-14: Libyan beasts (*faerae Libucae*)		
Animal	*Denarii*	*Sestertii*
First class Lion	150,000	600,000
Second class Lion	125,000	500,000
First class Lioness	125,000	500,000
Second class Lioness	100,000	400,000
First class Leopard	100,000	400,000
Second class Leopard	75,000	300,000
Ostrich	5,000	20,000

Herbivores (*faerae herv[b]aticae*)		
Animal	*Denarii*	*Sestertii*
First class Bear	25,000	100,000
Second class Bear	20,000	80,000
First class Boar	6,000	24,000
Second class Boar	4,000	16,000
First class Stag	3,000	12,000
Second class Stag	2,000	8,000
Onager (wild ass)	5,000	20,000

3.6 – The Distribution of Wild Beasts in Roman North Africa (Sparreboom (2016))







Appendix 4: Chariot Racing

4.1 – *CIL* VI, 10053, Horse List (Rome)

Above

II praemisit et [vi]c[it]…..
occupavit et vicit CCCV
……. Introiugis vicit:
Column A

		[I]
		I
		I
		I
		I
	Af(ro)	I
	Af(ro)	I
	Af(ro)	I
	Gal(lo)	I
	[A]f(ro)	I
	Af(ro)	III
	Af(ro)	III
	[A]f(ro)	III
	Af(ro)	III
	[A]f(ro)	IV
	[A]f(ro)	IV
	[A]f(ro)	IV
		IV
		IV
		IV

Column B

Menippo cinis?		X
Aegypt(o)	P////	I
Pegaso	Af(ro)	I
Eutono	Af(ro)	I
Advola(nte)	Af(ro)	I
Dromo(ne)	Hisp(ano)	I
Passer(e)	Af(ro)	I
Lupo	Af(ro)	I
Lucin(o)	Af(ro)	I
Silvan(o)	Af(ro)	I
Eutono	Af(ro)	IV
Pyrall(ide)	Af(ra)	IV
Pardo	Af(ro)	IV
Romulo	Lac(one)	V
Repace	Af(ro)	V
Baetic(o)	Af(ro)	VI
Camm…	Af(ro)	VI
Daedal(o)	Af(ro)	VI

Gaetul(o)	Af(ro)	VI
Alcimo		VI

Column C

Hilaro	Af(ro)	I
Macul(oso)	Af(ro)	I
Aquilin(o)	Af(ro)	I
Pegaso	Af(ro)	I
Cotyno	Af(ro)	I
Sica	Af(ra)	I
Cirrato	Af(ro)	I
Meliss(a)	Af(ra)	I
Delicat(o)	Mau(ro)	I
Parato	Af(ro)	I
Ballist(a)	Af(ro)	VIII
Andr(a)em(one)	Af(ro)	VIII
Spiculo	Gal(lo)	VIIII
Romulo	Af(ro)	VIIII
Lupo	Af(ro)	VIIII
Palumb(e)	Af(ro)	VIIII
Romulo	Af(ro)	VIIII
Glaphy(ro)	Sph.	X
Ballist(a)	Af(ra)	XIII
Memno(ne)	Lac(one)	XIIII

Column D

Hilaro	Hisp(ano)	I
Zmaragd(o)	Af(ro)	I
Drauco	Af(ro)	I
Aranio	Af(ro)	I
Exact(o)	Mau(ro)	I
Pisto	Cyr(enaeo)	I
Pugio(ne)	Af(ro)	I
Andr(a)e(mone)	Af(ro)	I
Roman(o)	Gal(lo)	I
Candid(o)	Af(ro)	I
Abasc(anto)	The(ssalo)	XX
Arcad(e)	Aet(olo)	XVI
Lupo	Hisp(ano)	XXII
Sagitt(a)	Af(ro ad hs.) XL (milia)	XIIX
Aiace	Af(ro ad hs.) XXX (milia)	XXII
Aether(e)	Af(ro)	XXX
Ingen(uo)	Ing.	XXIIX
Argo	Aph.	XXX
Victore	Af(ro)	XXXII
Innoce	Af(ro)	XXIIX

Column E

Barb(ato)	Af(ro)	I
Callid(romo)	Cyr(enaeo)	I
Thelo	Af(ro)	I
Arione	Af(ro)	I
Helio	Af(ro)	I
Hirpin(o)	Hev.	II
Palmat(o)	Af(ro)	II
Passer(e)	Th(essalo)	II
Cutta	Af(ro)	II
Pugione	Af(ro)	II

Excell[ente….
Aracin[tho….
Callid[romo….
(ad sestertium) XL (milia)….

Aquila….
(ad hs) XXX (milia)….

Aquil(a?) M[auro
Pecul[iare….
(ad hs) XL (milia)….
Hilar[o….

Column F

Victo[re….
Helio….
Sil[vano….
…
B….
Lati[no….
Aste[re?
Oss….
Dan[ao?
Cali….

Underneath

quos equos ce[ntenarios fecit mille p]almas sibi complevit

C

Callid(romo)	Af(ro)	∞
Ballist(a)	Af(ro)	
Spi]cul(o)	…	
Hilaro	Af(ro)….	

4.2 – CIL VI, 10048 Diocles inscription (Rome)

1. C. Appu]leius Diocles agitator factionis russatae.
2. nat]ione Hispanus Lusitanus annorum XXXXII mens. VII d. XXIII.
3. pri]mum agitavit in factione abl. Acilio Aviola et Corellio Pansa cos. (AD 122).
4. primu]m vicit in factione eadem M'. Acilio Glabrione C. Bellicio Torquato cos. (AD 124).
5. p]rimum agitabit in factione prasina Torquato Asprenate II et Annio Libone cos. (AD 128) primum vicit
6. in faction]e russata Laenate Pontiano et Antonio Rufino cos. (AD 131) summa: quadriga agitavit annis XXIII. missus ostio $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ cclvii
7. vicit ∞ CCC]CLXII. a pompa CX. siugularum vicit ∞ LXIIII. inde praemia majora vicit LXXXXII $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ XXXII, ex his seiuges; $\overline{\text{XXXX}}$ XXVIII,
8. ex his seiuge]s? II; $\overline{\text{L}}$XXVIIII, inde septeiuge I; $\overline{\text{LX}}$ III binarum vicit CCCXXXXVII. trigas ad HS $\overline{\text{XV}}$ IIII. ternarum vicit LI. ad honorem venit ∞.
9. tulit s]ecundas DCCCLXI. tertias DLXXVI. quartas ad HS ∞ I. frustra exit ∞ CCCLI. ad cenetum vicit X. ad albatum vicit LXXXXI. inde ad HS XXXII ($\overline{\text{XXX}}$ II?)
10. retulit quaest]um HS $\overline{\text{CCCLVIII}}$ $\overline{\text{LXIII}}$ CXX. praeterea bigas. M. vicit III, ad albatu I, ad prasinu II. occupavit et vicit DCCCXV. successit et vicit LXVII.
11. praemisit et vici]t? XXXVI. variis generibus vic. XXXXII. eripuit et vicit DII. prasinis CCXVI. venetis CCV. albatus LXXXI. equos centenarios fecit $\overline{\text{N}}$. VIIII et ducenar. I
12. insignia eius.
13. …… to sibi, quo anno primum quadrigis victor exstitit bis, reiput bis. actis continetur, Avilium Teren factionis suae primum omnium vicisse ∞ XI, ex quibus anno uno plurimum vincendo vicit
14. …. singularum …. at Diocles qui an]no primum centum victorias consecutus est, victor CIII, singularum vicit LXXXIII. adhuc augens gloriam tituli sui praecessit Thallum factionis suae, qui primus in factione russata
15. …. at Dio]cles omnium agitatorum eminentissimus, quo anno alieno principo victor CXXXIIIII, singularum vicit CXVIII; quo titulo praecessit omnium factionum agitators, qui umquam
16. certaminibus ludorum ci]rcensium interfuerunt. omnium admiratione merito notatum est, quod uno anno alieno principio duobus introiugis Cotyno et Pompeiano, vicit LXXXXVIIII $\overline{\text{LX}}$ I $\overline{\text{L}}$ IIII $\overline{\text{XL}}$ I $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ II.
17. NN. fact]tionis praesinae, victor ∞ XXV, primus omnium urbis conditae ad HS $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicit VII. Diocles praecedens eum introiugis tribus Abigeio Lucido Parato $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicit VIII.
18. praecedens C]omnunem (*sic*) Venustum Epaphroditum, tres agitatores miliarios factionis venetae, [qui] ad HS $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicissent XI, Diocles Pompeiano et Lucido duobus introiugis $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicit
19. XII? nn.]factionis praesine, victor ∞ XXV et Flavius Scorpus, victor $\overline{\text{II}}$ XLVIII et Pompeius Musclosus victor $\overline{\text{III}}$ DLVIIIII, tres agitators victores $\overline{\text{VI}}$ DCXXXII, ad HS $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicerunt XXVIII,
20. at Diocles omnium agitatorum emi]nentissimus, victor ∞ CCCCLXII, $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicit XXVIIII. nobolissimo titulo Diocles nitet, cum Fortunatus factionis praesinae, in victore Tusco victor CCCLXXXVI. $\overline{\text{L}}$. vicit IX. Diocles
21. in Pompeiano victore victo]r CLII, $\overline{\text{L}}$ vicit X, $\overline{\text{LX}}$ I. novis coactionibus et numquam ante titulis scriptus Diocles eminet, quod una die seiuges ad HS $\overline{\text{XL}}$ missus bis, utrasque victor eminuit atque amplius
22. …. suisque septem equis in se iunctis, numquam ante hoc numero equorum spectato, certamine ad HS $\overline{\text{L}}$ in Abigeio victor eminuit, et sine flagello alis certaminibus ad HS $\overline{\text{XXX}}$
23. vicit; adque? cum prim]um visus esset his novitatibus duplici ornatus est gloria. inter miliarios agitatores primum locum obtinere videtur Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae,
24. qui temporibus imp. nostril Anto]nini Aug. Pii solus victor ∞ CCCCLXVII, singularum vicit DCCCCXI. ad Diocles praecedens eum, victor ∞ CCCCLXII inter singulars (read: inter has singularum) vicit ∞ LXIIII. isdem temporibus

25. Pontius Epaphroditus eripuit] et vicit CCCCLXVII: Diocles eripuit et vicit DII. Diocles agitator qui anno vicit CXXVII (Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introiugis tribus victor CIII) inter
26. …. inter em]inentes agitat res intoiugis Afris plurimum vicerunt Pontius Epaphroditus factionis venetae (in Bubalo vicit CXXXIIII) Pompeius Musclosus factionis prasinae
27. (in… vicit] CXV). Diocles superatis eis, in Pompeiano victor CLII, singularum vicit CXXXXIIII. ampliatis titulis suis, Cotyno Galata Abigeio Lucido Pompeiano introiugis quinque
28. victor CCCCXXXXV, singualrum vicit CCCLXXXXVII.

4.3 – *CIL* VIII, 9065 (Auzia)

Dec(ennius) Claud(ius) Iuvenal(is) Sardicus perfectis metis et ovaris itemque tribunali iudicum, quae ob memoriae Claudiorum Rufiniani fili bonae memoriae iuvenis et Rufiniani et Victorini nepotum, et Longania Primosa bonae memoriae femin[a] uxor eiius, mater eiius et mater Claudiorum, prov(inciae) CLXXXVIII

4.4 – *CIL* VI, 10046 *Familiae Quadrigiae* Inscription (Rome)
Above:

Familiae quadrigiae T. At(ei) Capitonis panni chelidoni chresto quaestore ollae divisae decurionibus heis Q If S S

Column A

M. Vipsanio	Migioni
Docimo	Vilico
Chresto	Conditori
Epaphrae	Sellario
Menandro	Agitatori
Apollonio	Agitatori
Cerdoni	Agitatori
Liccaeo	Agitatori
Helleti	Succonditori
P. Quinctio	Primo
Hyllo	Medico
Anteroti	Tentori
Antiocho	Sutori
Parnaci	Tenetori
M. Vipsanio	Calamo
M. Vipsanio	Dareo

Column B

Eroti	Tentori
M. Vipsanio	Fausto
Hilaro	Aurig
Nicandro	Aurig
Epigono	Aurig
Alexandro	Aurig
Nicephoro	Spartor
Alexioni	Moratori
	Viatori

4.5 – *P. Cair. Isid.* 57, AD 315 (Karanis)

κεφαλαιωταὶ κώμης [Καρανίδ]ος
Κάστωρ Σαβείν[ο]υ
Παπέεις Παντῆ[λ]
Δημήτριος Χαιρήμ(ονος)
Διόσκορος Τιβερ[ίνου]
Σαραπίω[ν] Ṣ̣ẹ̣ρήṿ[ου]
⟦Πτολλᾶς Ἀραβικο[ῦ]⟧
Διόσκορος Κά[σ]τορ̣ọ̣ς
Ἰσίδωρος Λεωνίδ[ου]
Πατιεῖς Ἰσιδώρου
Παῆσις Μέλανος
[. .]ṗαλας

(hand 2) παρήνεγκαν Γερμανὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων
κώμαρχοι κώμης Καρανίδος
ἐν μὲν πλοίῳ Παυσιρίου κριθῆς
χωρούσης Ἠφαιστίωνι ἀρτάβας
εἰκοσιοκτὼ μέτρα ὀκτώ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) κη μ(έτρα) η,
καὶ δι’ ἐμοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἄλλας ἀρτάβας
εἰκοσιεννέα μέτρα ἑπτά, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) κθ μ(έτρα) ζ,
ὁμοῦ (ἀρτάβαι) νη.
ἐνάτῳ καὶ ζ (ἔτει) τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Λικιννίου Σεβαστῶν, Μεσορὴ κε.
(hand 3) Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος κυβερνήτης
Αὐρηλίοις Ἀριστων καὶ Γερμανος κω-
μαχοι κώμης Καιρανίδος χαίρειν.
μεμαίτρημαι καὶ ἐνεβαλόμην τὴν κριθὴν
Ἠφαιστίωνος τοῦ ἱπποτροφος Ἀλεξανδρείας
ὑπὲρ γενήματος γ ἐνδεκτίωνος κριθῆς ἀρτά-
βας εἰκοσιμεια ἥμεισου, (ἀρτάβας) κα . [η] δὲ ἀποχὴ αυτη μοναχη ἐξεδόμην καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς
ὡμολόγησα.
ὑπατίας τῶν δεσ[π]οτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Λικιννίου
Σεβαστῶν τὸ δ, Θὼθ ιδ.
Αὐρήλιος Κολλοῦθος ἔγραψα τὰ ὅλα.

4.6 – *P. Cair. Isid.* 58, AD 315 (Karanis)

Αὐρήλιοι Ἀρίστων Σε[ρ]ήνου καὶ Γερμανὸς
δι(ὰ) τοῦ πατρὸς Σελποῦ ἀμφ(ότεροι) κώμαρχοι
κώμης Καρανείδος γ ἰνδικτίωνος
Αὐρηλίῳ Ἡρακλ[έ]ῳ υἱοῦ Πλουτίωνος
χαίρειν.
ἠρηθμήθημεν παρὰ σοῦ ἀκολούθως
τοῖς κελευσθεισης ὑπὸ τῆς ἡγεμονείας
ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ἧς παρεσχήκαμεν κριθῆς,
Κολλούθῳ μὲν κοιβερνήτῃ κριθῆς ἀρτα-
βῶν εἰκοσιμιᾶς [ἡ]μισους καὶ διὰ [σο]ῦ τοῦ
Ἡρακλέου ἀρταβῶν πεντήκοντα [ὁκ]τὼ
ἡμ[ι]σους , ὁμοῦ κριθῆς ἀρταβῶν ἀγδοή-
κ[ον]τα , χωρούσης Ἡφεστίωνι [φα]κτιωναρίῳ

Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρίας καλλιεινων, ἀπὸ τ[αλάν]των
δεκατριῶν καὶ δραχμῶν δισχειλ[ί]ων
μόνα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα δέκα πλήρης. ἡ ἀπο-
χὴ κυρία καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμολογησα
Αὐρήλιος Νειλάμμων βουλ(ευτὴς) ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τῶν ἀγραμμάτων καὶ ἐσωμάτισα τὰ ὅλα.
ὑπατίας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου
καὶ Λικιννείου Σεβ[α]στῶν τὸ δ, Θὼθ ιθ.

4.7 – Origins and Status of Charioteers (as per Horsmann (1998))

Location	Overall Number		Percentage
Apamea (Syria)	2		0.87%
Aquilea	1		0.44%
Agusta Emerita	2		0.87%
Carnutum	1		0.44%
Carthage	26		11.35%
Cologne	1		0.44%
Cologne/Trier?	10		4.37%
Constantinople	1		0.44%
England?	1		0.44%
Hadrumentum	16		6.99%
Italica	2		0.87%
Kyzikos?	1		0.44%
Lepcis Magna	1		0.44%
Rome	134 (confirmed)	12 (suspected)	63.76%
Saguntum	1		0.44%
Tarraco	2		0.87%
Thessaloniki	1		0.44%
Theveste?	1		0.44%
Thugga	1		0.44%
Trier	6 (confirmed)	3 (suspected)	3.93%
?	3		1.31%
Total outside Rome			36.24%

Status	Overall Number	Percentage
Incertus	124	54.15%
Incertus (Libertus/Ingenuus)	7	3.06%
Incertus (Servus?)	4	1.75%
Ingenuus	1	0.44%
Libertus	10	4.37%
Libertus Augusti	1	0.44%
Libertus?	3	1.31%
Servus	32	13.97%
Servus/Libertus	11	4.80%
Servus/Libertus?	2	0.87%
Servus?	34	14.85%

Outside of Rome (83 entries):

Location	Percentage
Apamea (Syria)	2.41%
Aquilea	1.20%
Agusta Emerita	2.41%
Carnutum	1.20%
Carthage	31.33%
Cologne	1.20%
Cologne/Trier?	12.05%
Constantinople	1.20%
England?	1.20%
Hadrumentum	19.28%
Italica	2.41%
Kyzikos?	1.20%
Lepcis Magna	1.20%
Saguntum	1.20%
Tarraco	2.41%
Thessaloniki	1.20%
Theveste?	1.20%
Thugga	1.20%
Trier	10.84%
?	3.61%

Status (Outside Rome)	Overall Number	Percentage
Incertus	48	57.83%
Incertus (Servus?)	4	4.82%
Libertus	1	1.20%
Libertus?	2	2.41%
Servus	3	3.61%
Servus/Libertus	1	1.20%
Servus?	24	28.92%

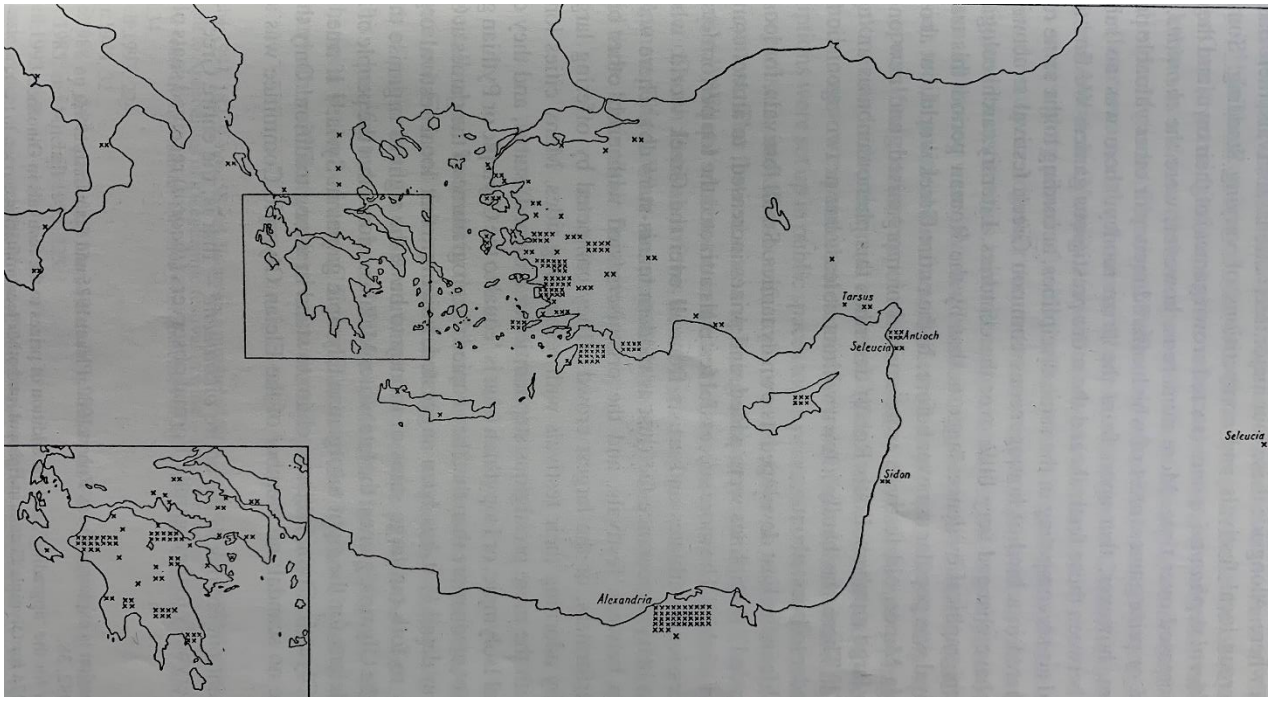
Faction affiliation:

Note: Charioteers in multiple factions count as 1 member of each faction (eg. if in all 4 factions, then = 1 White, 1 Red, 1 Green, 1 Blue)

Faction	Overall Number	Percentage
White	17	6.64%
Red	33	12.89%
Green	49	19.14%
Blue	34	13.28%
Purple	1	0.39%
?	122	47.66%

Appendix 5: Agonistic Festivals

5.1 – The Origins of Olympic Victors (300 BC – AD 400)[743]



5.2 – Hadrian's Festival Cycle (as per Potter (2010): Table 1)[744]

Year	Year of Cycle	Festival	City	Month
133	1	Olympic	Olympia	July/August
	1	Isthmia	Corinth	August/September
	1	Mysteries	Eleusis	October
	1	Hadrianeia	Athens	October/November
134	2	Eleusinia	Tarentum	January
	2	Capitolia	Rome	May/June
	2	Sebasta	Naples	August/September
	2	Actia	Nicopolis	September 23
	2	?	Patras	November
	2	Heraia	Argos	November/December
	2	Nemeia	Nemia	December
135	3	Panathenaia	Athens	March
	3	Koina Asias	Smyrna	April
	3	Koina Asias/Hadrianeia Augusteia	Pergamon	Late May
	3	Hadrianeia	Ephesus	Early July
	3	Pythia	Delphi	Late August
136	4	Isthmia	Corinth	Autumn
137	1	Koina of the Arcadians and the Achaeans	Mantinea	Spring

[743] Van Nijf (1999): 179, fig. 2.
[744] See Passage 1, letter 2 for original ancient source.

	1	Hadrianeia	Smyrna	January
	1	Olympia/Balbilleia	Ephesus	February to April
	1	Hadrianeia	Ephesus	April/May
	1	Panhellenia	Athens	Summer
	1	Olympic	Olympia	July/August

5.3 – Prize List of the Great Panathenaia (First Half of the 4th c. BC)[745]

Singers Accompanied by the Harp

First Prize	An olive crown of golf (gilded?) worth 1,000 *drachmae* and 500 *drachmae*
Second Prize	1,200 silver *drachmae*
Third Prize	600 *drachmae*
Fourth Prize	400 *drachmae*
Fifth Prize	300 *drachmae*

Adult Male Singers accompanied by the Diaulos

First Prize	A crown and 300 *drachmae* (or a crown worth 300 *drachmae*?)
Second Prize	100 *drachmae*

Adult Male Harpists

First Prize	A crown worth 300 *drachmae* and 500 *drachmae*
Second Prize	[Text not preserved, but probably 300 or 400 *drachmae*]
Third Prize	100 *drachmae*

Boys' Stadion

Placement	**Prize**	**Projected Value Min. (12 dr.)/Max. (55 dr.)**
First Prize	50 *amphorae* of olive oil	600 /2,750
Second Prize	10 *amphorae* of olive oil	120/550

Boys' Pentathlon

First Prize	30 *amphorae* of olive oil	360/1,650
Second Prize	6 *amphorae* of olive oil	72/330

Boys' Wrestling

First Prize	30 *amphorae* of olive oil	360/1,650
Second Prize	6 *amphorae* of olive oil	72/330

[745] Evjen (2018): 189-193.

Boys' Boxing

First Prize	30 *amphorae* of olive oil	360/1,650
Second Prize	6 *amphorae* of olive oil	72/330

Boys' Pankration

First Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200
Second Prize	8 *amphorae* of olive oil	96/440

Youths' Stadion

First Prize	60 *amphorae* of olive oil	720/3,330
Second Prize	12 *amphorae* of olive oil	144/660

Youths' Pentathlon

First Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200
Second Prize	8 *amphorae* of olive oil	96/440

Youths' Wrestling

First Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200
Second Prize	8 *amphorae* of olive oil	96/440

Youths' Boxing

First Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200
Second Prize	8 *amphorae* of olive oil	96/440

Youths' Pankration

First Prize	50 *amphorae* of olive oil	600/2,750
Second Prize	10 *amphorae* of olive oil	120/550

Two-Horse Chariot Race for Foals (?)

First Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200
Second Prize	8 *amphorae* of olive oil	96/440

Two-Horse Chariot Race with Mature Horses

First Prize	140 *amphorae* of olive oil	1,680/7,700
Second Prize	40 *amphorae* of olive oil	480/2,200

'For the Warriors' Section (for Athenian Citizens Only?)

Horse with Jockey (*keles*)

First Prize	16 *amphorae* of olive oil	192/880
Second Prize	4 *amphorae* of olive oil	48/220

Two-Horse Chariot

First Prize	30 *amphorae* of olive oil	360/1,650
Second Prize	6 *amphorae* of olive oil	72/330

Two-Horse Processional Chariot

First Prize	4 *amphorae* of olive oil	48/220
Second Prize	1 *amphora* of olive oil	12/55

Throwing a Javelin from Horse-Back

First Prize	5 *amphorae* of olive oil	60/275
Second Prize	1 *amphora* of olive oil	12/55

Boys' War Dance: 100 *drachmae* and a bull

Youths' War Dance: 100 *drachmae* and a bull

Men's War Dance: 100 *drachmae* and a bull

Tribal Competition in Manliness (*euandria*): 100 *drachmae* and a bull

'To the Winning Tribe': 100 *drachmae* and a bull

'To the Winning Torch-Bearer': 30 *drachmae* and a water pitcher (or possible 30 water pitchers with no money prize)

'Prizes for the Boat Race' Section

First Prize	300 *drachmae,* 3 bulls, and 200 meals
Second Prize	200 *drachmae* and 2 bulls

[Men's prizes are missing here but have been reconstructed based on the interpretation which doubles the boys' prizes for men.]

Men's Stadion

First Prize	100 *amphorae* of olive oil	1,200/5,500
Second Prize	20 *amphorae* of olive oil	240/1,100

Men's Pentathlon

First Prize	60 *amphorae* of olive oil	720/3,330
Second Prize	12 *amphorae* of olive oil	144/660

Men's Wrestling

First Prize	60 *amphorae* of olive oil	720/3,330
Second Prize	12 *amphorae* of olive oil	144/660

Men's Boxing

First Prize	60 *amphorae* of olive oil	720/3,330
Second Prize	12 *amphorae* of olive oil	144/660

Men's Pankration

First Prize	80 *amphorae* of olive oil	960/4,400
Second Prize	16 *amphorae* of olive oil	192/880

5.4 – The Evolution of the Amphiktyonic League[746]

Period	**Size**	**Composition**	**Citation**
Pre-Augustan	24	Thessalians: 2 Phokians: 2 Delphians: 2 Boiotians: 2 Perhabians: 1 Dolopians: 1 Phthiotians: 2 Magnesians: 2 Malians: 2 Dorians: Metropolis: 1 Peloponnese: 1 Ionians: Athenians: 1 Euboians: 1 Lokrians: East: 1 Ozolian: 1	Paus. 10.8.2-3.
Augustan (c. 30 BC)	24	Nikopolitans: 10 Thessalians: 2 Phokians: 2 Delphians: 2 Boiotians: 2 Dorians: Metropolis: 1 Peloponnese: 1 Ionians: Athenians: 1 Euboians: 1 Lokrians: East: 1 Ozolian: 1	Sanchez (2001): 426-428. Paus. 10.8.3.
Neronian (AD 67)	28?	Thessalians: 12? Nikopolis: 2, 4, 6? Delphians: 2 Boiotians: 2 Dorians: Metropolis: 1 Peloponnese: 1	Sanchez (2001): 428-432. *FD* III.4.302, col. I, lines 14-15. *FD* III.4.114.

[746] As per Weir (2004) Table 2.1.

		Lokrians: East: 1 Ozolian: 1	*BCH* 79 (1954): 427-428.
Hadrianic (AD 125)	?	Reduction in number of Thessalian votes accompanied by equivalent increase of votes for Athens, Sparta, and other states.	Sanchez (2001): 432-436. *FD* III.4.302, col. II, lines 3-6.
Before Pausanias (i.e pre-AD 170)	30	Thessalians: 6 Nikopolitans: 6 Macedonians: 6 Phokians: 2 Delphians: 2 Boiotians: 2 Dorians: Metropolis: 1 Peloponnese: 1 Ionians: Athens: 1 Euboians: 1 Lokrians: East: 1 Ozolian: 1	Paus. 10.8.4-5.

5.5 – Letter of Hadrian to the Travelling Association of Artisans of Dionysus[747]

<Letter 1>

Imperator Caesar, son of the Divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, in the eighteenth year of tribunician power, consul for the third time, Father of the Country, to the Travelling Theatrical Association of Artisans of Dionysus, who are crowned international victors. Greetings.

<*The Necessity of Holding Festivals and Paying Prizes (lines 8-19)*>

I order that all the games shall be held and that a city is not to divert the funds established for games according to law, decree, or testamental foundation for some other expenditure; nor do I permit some building project to be constructed with the money that ought to pay for prizes for the contestants or travel expenses to victors. When, however, a city is in distress and must find revenue (not for luxury or feasting, but to purchase grain during a famine), then write to me, for without my permission, it is in no way permissible to spend for any such purpose the funds that are set aside for the games. That it is not only unjust but has a certain twisting and dishonesty to announce games, invite contestants, and then, when they have arrived, either to cancel the event immediately or after the opening event or, after some part of the contest, to break off the festival in the middle. Where this happens, the contestants shall divide the prizes without competing. I order this not only because it is such but, rather, because, as it is deemed necessary to celebrate festivals, so, too, is it necessary for this festival to be celebrated. I order that whosoever made a proposal, moved a decree, or actually did the work will give an accounting for having disturbed the established order and pay the appropriate penalty. I have written the people of Miletus and Chios to restore to you the game that they omitted.

<*Payment of Prize Money (lines 19-28)*>

You are making a just request in connection with the prizes and financial contributions. In truth, I know that if the people who manage these matters in the cites are depriving the athletes of their

[747] Translation as per Potter (2010): 354-363.

due even if the might not themselves be actually taking anything. Now, in the matter of the prize money, let it be as follows. In general, one of our officials is present for every contest. The agonothete of each contest will count out the money for the cash prize, on the day before each contest will count out of the province or to the proconsul, or quaestor, or legate, or whosoever shall be present. He will place it in a leather bag and, sealing it, place it together with the crown, when everyone is watching. Financial contributions are to be paid to the sacred victors according to the fixed dates. The official or treasurer who does not pay will give one and a half times the financial contribution to the sacred victor. The financial contribution will be in silver, for it is not grain or wine that the cities promise the contestants, and it is not right that they (the contestants) have to act as salesman as well as taking a loss.

<*Discipline (lines 28-32)*>

If it should be necessary to beat a contestant, let the whip bearers for this purpose be chosen by lot, they should come in pairs, in whatever order they were chosen, first, second, and, if needed, thirds. It is necessary for the contestants to be given a reason to fear and recognise that the disorderly will be punished, but they should not be beaten by many at one time, and only on the legs, so that no one will be mutilated or sufferer any other grief from which he should be worse for his craft.

<*Financial Problems at Corinth (lines 32-34)*>

I have sent the accounts of the Corinthians to the proconsul and have written that he should, as fast as possible, examine their contents and make a declaration about the strength of their public revenues as to whether the sacred victors should receive two-thirds or a half. Until the Corinthians give information concerning their reasons, they shall pay two-thirds.

<*Musical Entertainers and Xystarchs (lines 34-40)*>

That musical entertainers will contribute 1 percent to what is given to the xystarchs [Xystarchs were former athletes appointed by the emperor to oversee the discipline of other athletes, these appointments were for life] – what reasonable argument does this have and what is there in common between the musical entertainers and the xystarchs? How would there not be equal idiocy if the officials in charge of the musical entertainers [literally 'the archons of the musical entertainers'] should receive a 1 percent because they have their own relationship with the xystarchs, because they share in their profession and compere under their direction. It is, however, appropriate that the shortfall in the money assigned to the xystarchs be made up either by the cities that put on the games (which will not be heavy, since the cost occurs in a four-year period) or by the crowned agonothetes who wear purple. I have instructed the council of the Assembly of Asia to discuss this matter and to establish revenues from which the shortfall caused by the removal of the 1 percent tax on musical entertainers will be made up to the xystarchs.

<*Statues of Trumpeters and Heralds at Ephesus Ilines 40-43)*>

I have written to the Ephesians concerning the trumpeters and the heralds so that they will not be compelled to erect statues out of their own funds, if they can pay for these, too, from the lands that Nysios left; certain people with local examination say that when the estate has proper care and careful examination of the accounts, there will be surplus money.

<*Withholding of Prize Money at Apamea (lines 43-45)*>

I have written to Publius Marcellus, my honoured friend and the governor of Syria, that he should make sure that the prize money for the contest held at Apamea be given to the victors, which you say that Alexianos the agonthete has withheld.

<*Rights of Winners at the Hadrianeia at Ephesus (lines 45-48)*>

I have written to the assemblies of the provinces, making it clear that the Ephesians have divided the contests in the Balbilleia into two games and that those winning in the Hadrianeia there should receive the travel expenses, just as they receive them when winning at the Balbilleia. I have written this to Petronius Mamertinus, my friend and the prefect of Egypt, so that payment shall be made there, too, for the victors at the Hadrianeia at Ephesus.

<*Freedom from Liturgies (lines 48-50)*>

Let your existing freedom from liturgies and taxes be confirmed. It is humane to remit the tax on burials for dead athletes and musicians, who have spent all their lives travelling.

<*Start Date for Pensions for Victors (lines 49-51)*>

The payments for victors will be owed not on the day that one should make his victorious entry (into his homeland) but, rather, from the day on which the letters concerning the victory were delivered to their home cities. It will be permitted to those going on to other contests to send the documentation.

<*Regulations for Members of the Synod (lines 51-52)*>

Those who make a contract according to the regulations of the synod remain subject to the regulations according to which they joined, even after they require or have become Roman citizens.

<*Posting of the Rule for Contest (lines 52-53)*>

I order that the rules for the games at every festival be inscribed <in public>, so that no one might, through ignorance, do anything that has been forbidden.

<*Examination of Athletes (lines 53-55)*>

In the matter of the examination of athletes for admission to the games, a local citizen may not act as his (an athlete's) advocate, since it is believed that that admissions process is corrupted through the influence of the locals. The established courts will decree penalties according to the established laws of each <city>.

<*Publication Provisions (lines 55-56)*>

Those governing provinces will ensure that everything happens as I have ordered; I allow you to inscribe this on *stelai*, wherever you wish, so that they will be known to all. Farewell.

<Letter 2>

Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, in the eighteenth year of tribunician power, consul three times, Father of the Country, to the Travelling Theatrical Association of Artisans of Dionysus, who are crowned international victors. Greetings.

<*Introduction (lines 60-61)*>

It seems to me that I should make clear to you the organisation of the games, concerning which speeches and requests were made, in my presence, at Naples, and write to the provinces and cities, from which embassies came to me on this topic.

<*Games in Year 1 (lines 61-63)*>

I will begin with the Olympic Games, which is the oldest contest and the most famous of the Greek games. The Isthmian will be after the Olympics; the contests in honour of Hadrian will be after the Isthmian Games, so that these games begin on the day after the end of the Eleusian festival. This is

the first day of the new month Mamakterion among the Athenians. The contest in honour of Hadrian shall last forty days.

<*Games in Year 2 (lines 63-65)*>

The contest at Tarentum after the contest in honour of Hadrian will begin in January; the games in Naples will be held, as is currently the case, after the Capitoline Games; then the Actian Games will be held nine days before the calends of October [September 23] and last for forty days. According to the passage of ships, the contest of Patras then the Heraia and the Nemea, will be held between November 1 and January 1.

<*Games in Year 3 (lines 66-71)*>

The Panathenaia will be held after the Nemea so that they will be completed on the same day they are currently completed according to Attic reckoning. The people of Smyrna will hold their contest after the Panathenaia, with the contests having fifteen days to sail after the race in armour at the Panathenaia. The games will begin immediately after the fifteenth day and finish in forty days. Leaving two days after the race in armour at Smyrna, the Pergamenes will begin their games immediately, and they shall be completed in forty days. The Ephesians will leave four days after the race in armour in Pergamon; the contest will end on the fortieth day from the beginning.

From there, the contests will go to the Pythian Games and then the Isthmian Games, which occur after the Pythian Games.

<*Year 4 (line 71)*>

and then to the joint games of the Achaeans and Arcadians at Mantineia, [and then the Olympics].

<*The Beginning of the New Cycle (lines 71-74)*>

The Panhellenic Games are celebrated in this year. The Smyrneans will begin their Hadrianeia one day before the nones of January and hold the festival for forty days. The Ephesians, leaving two days after the race in armour in Smyrna, will begin their Olympic Games, having fifty-two days for the Olympics and Balbillea following them; following the Balbillea, the Panhellenic Games; the Olympic Games following the Panhellenic Games.

<*Nicomedia (lines 74-75)*>

I have given the people of Nicomedia the right to [postpone] the time of their games, but they say that they wish to hold them at the accustomed time. Let them hold the games whensoever they wish.

<*Other Cities (lines 75-78)*>

Embassies from the people of Thessalonike [and Ainos?] and Perinthos and Laodicea and Hieropolis and Philadelphia and Tralles and Thyateira and other embassies that have come from other places concerning this […] Let them understand that it is necessary that the games established by the illustrious senate to be assigned greater importance in the sequence of events, but it is up to them to hold them whenever they want. For the Chians not to hold their contests at the announced time will not hurt because they do not have a fixed time […]

<*Conclusion (lines 78-83)*>

The contestants should come to all the festivals now set in order by me [and in a timely fashion], because no one thinks that most <people> [will object] in regard to them, if, first of all, all festivals, everywhere, are contested for forty days (and let this be so) and then if the competitors do not have to waste time seeking their prizes after the games. Thus what I have established elsewhere is necessary, that the silver shall be placed by the crowns in the theatre and stadium and taken

immediately by the victor before the eyes of the spectators; an agonothete who does not do this will owe double the amount, so that the contestant takes half and then the city where the contestwas held takes half.

<*Publication (lines 83-84)*>

Cities in which the games established here are held shall inscribe my letters on *stelai*, and the synods shall inscribe them in their temples. Farewell.

<Letter 3>

Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Trajan Hadrian Augustus, pontifex maximus, in the eighteenth year of tribunician power, consul for the third time, Farther of the Country, to the Theatrical Synod of the Artisans of Dionysus and associated performers. Greetings.

I, preserving my own custom, give to you (the right to) a feast: I am, on the other hand, not accustomed to impose expenses upon cities that have not previously borne them. I confirm the established fests, so that it will not be in the power of the agonothetes to ignore this benefaction. Farewell.

5.6 – The Foundation of the *Demostheneia* (AD 117)[748]

I. The Emperor Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the god Trajan Parthicus and grandson of the god Nerva Germanicus, pontifex maximus, with tribunician power for the eighth time, consul for the third time, greets the magistrates council and people of the Termessians. I praise Iulius Demosthenes for the patriotic zeal (*philotimia*) he has shown you, and I confirm the musical competition which he has promised you. He himself will contribute the cost from his own treasuries. Let the penalties which he has fixed against those who contravene what he has fixed concerning his gifts be enforced. The ambassadors were Artemon son of Diogenes Tobolasios, Simonides, son, grandson, and great grandson of Simonides, and Mettius Apelles. Fare well. 29 August, from Ephesus.

II. When Claudius Capito was high priest of the emperors, on 24 Artemeisios [25 July], I, C. Iulius Demosthenes, son of Apollonius, of the Fabian tribe, prytanis and secretary of the council of the Oenoandians, as I have loved my dearest home land since earliest youth, and have not only maintained but thoroughly surpassed the generosity of my ancestors towards it, in the annual subsidies which I made to ensure fair prices in the market and in provisioning a boundless supply of… to the magistrates, and as I have constructed a food market with three stoas facing it, two with one and one with two storeys, and have spent more than 15,000 *denarii* on this and the purchase of the houses which were removed to make way for this building, and as I wish additionally to leave behind for my home land, in like manner with these buildings, a permanent capital fund, publicly promise (the foundation of) a *thymelic* [theatrical] festival to be called the Demostheneia, which will be celebrated after three year intervals just as the other pentetric festivals are celebrated, so that in the fourth year it commences on the Augustus day [1st] of Artemeisios [1 July]; and for this festival I or my heirs will contribute 1000 *denarii* every year in the month of Dios [January] from the coming year until we designate property which is capable of maintaining an income of this size, which one of the *eikosaprotoi* [twenty leading men who underwrite public expenditure], selected by the city, will rent out for 1000 *denarii* during each triennium at his own risk, or shall occupy it himself, if he wishes, securely fixing the interest at the accustomed local levels – however, in accordance with my

[748] Translation as per Mitchell (1990).

patriotic zeal in this matter also, on condition that 100 *denarii* yields (monthly) interest of ten asses [-72 per cent per annum]. And in this way it is not burdensome for the person who undertakes this service both on my and on the home country's behalf, so that my nephew Simonides, son and grandson of Simonides, great grandson of Moles, has promised publicly to pay the rent for the first triennium. I offer all my thanks not only for this alone but also because he has undertaken the *agonothesia* [presidency of the games] of the first festival for me, so that having performed his duties he leaves behind a model for the agonothete [president] who will be elected after him.

Since, together with the interest of the three-year period, without compound interest, 3,450 *denarii* are collected along with the 1,000 *denarii* of the year in which the festival is held, 4,450 *denarii* in all, as large a sum shall be provided for the prizes of the competition to each of the victors as is given by the province in the civic festivals held in the cities, apart from the penteteric games, that is 1,900 *denarii* in all; and 600 *denarii* shall be given for hired shows and for theatrical displays; and for gymnastic competitions in which only the citizens will compete, a total of 150 *denarii* shall be divided among the individual contestants; and the remaining 1,800 *denarii*, and anything else that is remaining from the prizes of competitors who by chance do not appear, will be given as a judges' fee to the members of the council and to the *sitometroumenoi* [recipients of free corn], since the councillors should serve as judges and *sitometroumenoi* who are not members of the council should be picked by lot until a total of 500 is reached, so that each receives three denarii; and the remaining 300 *denarii* and anything left over from the prizes shall be divided between the citizens who are not among the *sitometroumenoi* and the freedmen and the country dwellers (*paroikoi*).

When I or my heirs designate the estates, then Simonides, the *eikosaprotos* of the first triennium, or in other triennia whoever the city shall choose from time to time, will collect and lend out the income from them, as has been written above, and will take care that the lands do not deteriorate, and that the income from them is not diminished. It will be necessary in the elections held in the year before the festival to choose an agonothete from the members of the council, who pays nothing from his own funds but who will square the income and the expenditure and render accounts in the month of *Audnaios* [March] of the year following the festival to three of the *eikosaprotoi*, whoever the city appoints, who will adjudicate in the sanctuary of the ancestral god Apollo, so that religious respect for the god may be added to natural fair dealing. The agonothete will use the title, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, agonothete of the first (second, third) festival of the Demostheneia, as the year indicates. But if anyone transgresses any of these provisions, or diminishes, or directs for any other purpose the income, or the estates, or their price if they have been sold, or commits some fraud, or proposes or passes a decree or petitions a governor with a view to preventing any of my instructions being carried out, whether he be a magistrate or a private citizen, he shall pay a fine of 2,500 *denarii* to the ancestral god Apollo, to be the property of the temple, and 5,000 *denarii* to the most sacred treasury of the emperor, and the person who provides information about this matter and assists my project will receive an eighth of this sum; and my estates and those of my descendants will not be diminished.

On the Augustus day of Artemeisios [1 July], a competition for trumpeters and heralds, in which the victors will be given a prize of fifty denarii; then, after the meetings of council and the assembly on the 5th, a competition for writers of encomia in prose, in which the victors will be given seventy five denarii; the 6th day to be left clear because of the market which takes place then; the 7th, a competition for poets, in which the victors will be given seventy five denarii; the 8th and 9th, a competition for playing the shawm with a chorus (*chorauloi*), the first prize winner will be given 125 *denarii* and the second seventy five denarii; the 10th and 11th, a competition for comic poets, the first prize winner will be given 200 and the second 100 *denarii*; the 12th, a sacrifice for ancestral Apollo;

the 13th and 14th, a competition for tragic poets, the first prize winner will be given 250 and the second 125 *denarii*; the 15th, the second sacrifice for ancestral Apollo; and the 16th and 17th, a competition for *citharodes* [singers accompanied with the cithara], who shall receive as first prize 300 *denarii* and as second prize 150 *denarii*; the 18th, an open competition for all, for which will be given a first prize of 150 *denarii*, a second prize of 100 *denarii*, and a third prize of fifty *denarii*; and twenty five *denarii* will also be given to the person who provides the scenery; the 19th, 20th and 21st, hired performances among which will be mime artists, acts and displays, for which prizes are not provided; and the other acts which are for the benefit of the city are hired for these days, for which 600 *denarii* will be paid; the 22nd, gymnastic competitions for citizens, on which 150 *denarii* will be spent.

III. When Licinianus Lyson was high priest of the emperors, on 4 Artemeisios [5 July], the preliminary proposal of Comon son of Croesos, Veranius son of Comon, and Simonides, son and grandson of Simonides, great grandson of Diogenes, was written down concerning the measures taken with a view to realizing the festival of the Demostheneia in our community, and concerning the arrangement of all the measures relevant to it, and Iulius Demosthenes, our most excellent citizen who also founded the festival, a man of the greatest distinction, outstanding in reputation, ancestry, and character not only in his home city but also in the province, has come forward and, in addition to all the other good things which he has provided for the city, in founding public buildings and making benefactions unceasingly, and for the musical festival to be held every four years which he himself has established at his own expense, has promised that he will in addition at his own expense make ready and dedicate to the city a golden crown carrying relief portraits of the emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus and our leader the ancestral god Apollo, which the agonothete will wear, and an altar decorated with silver which has an inscription of the dedicator- the council has praised the ... man for his continuous good will to-the city and for his present patriotic zeal and his unsurpassed great-heartedness and for his devotion to the emperors and honoured him with every honour, and has passed the following decree so that the festival should be adorned in every way and that devotion towards the emperor who has supported it should be completely fulfilled:

The agonothete should wear the previously mentioned gold crown and a purple robe, and at the beginning of the New Year should make the ceremonial entrance, performing the pious rituals for the emperor and the gods of the home land on the Augustus day of the month Dios [i January] and processing in company with the other magistrates, and he should take a front seat at meetings of the council and the assembly and at shows, wearing the previously mentioned attire. In the year in which he acts as agonothete three *panegyriarchs* should be chosen by him from the councillors in order to take charge of the market and the supply of provisions at the festival, with the power to write up the prices for the purchase of provisions and to inspect and organize the things which are offered for sale, and to punish those who disobey; likewise ten *sebastophoroi* should also be chosen by him who, wearing white clothing and a crown of celery leaves, will handle and bring forward and escort the images of the emperors and the image of our ancestral god Apollo, and the previously mentioned holy altar; likewise twenty *mastigophoroi* should also be chosen by him, who will lead the way dressed in white clothing without undergarments, also carrying shields and whips, and they will be in charge of good order in the theatre as they have been instructed by the agonothete; and all the previously mentioned officials shall be chosen from the citizens; likewise two *agelarchs* should be chosen by him from boys of the noblest families, who will additionally select around twenty children, whom they themselves will inspect, who will organize a race run with torches, and the victor should be crowned and honoured by the city with a decree and, if he wishes, with a statue, the cost of which is to be borne by the *agelarch* himself, or, if not, should be content with the

honour of a decree; but a sum can be assigned for this by the agonothete, as much as the agonothete chooses.

The following will process through the theatre and will sacrifice together during the days of the festival, according to the way the agonothete gives written instructions for each communal sacrifice:

The agonothete himself, one bull; the civic priest of the emperors and the priestess of the emperors, one bull; the priest of Zeus, one bull; the three panegyriarchs, one bull; the secretary of the council and the five prytaneis, two bulls; the two market supervisors of the city, one bull; the two gymnasiarchs, one bull; the four treasurers (*tamiai*), one bull; the two *paraphylakes* [rural police-officers], one bull; the ephebarch, one bull; the paidonomos, one bull; the supervisor of the public buildings, one bull; of the villages, Thersenos with Armadu, Arissos, Merlakanda, Mega Oros, ... lai, Kirbu, Euporoi, Oroata, ... rake, Valo, and Yskapha, with their associated farmsteads (*monagriai*), two bulls; Orpenna Sielia with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Ogarsan ... ake with Lakistaunda and Kakasboi Killu and their associated farmsteads, ... bull(s); .yrnea with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Elbessos with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Nigyrassos with its associated farmsteads, one bull; Vauta Marakanda with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Milgeipotamos Vedasa with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Prinolithos Kolabe ... with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Kerdebota Palangeimanake with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Minaunda Pan..syera with their associated farmsteads, one bull; Ornessos, Aetu nossia, Korapsa with their associated farmsteads, one bull; ... a Sapondoanda with their associated farmsteads, one bull; and no one has the authority to exact a tax for these sacrifices.

The *demarchs* and the *archidecanoi*, in villages where there are *archidecanoi*, should assume supervision of the village sacrifices, with the agonothete making provision in the year before the festival that *demarchs* and *archidecanoi* are chosen for the year of the *agonothesia*, and indicating one man from each village from those who take part in the common sacrifice who must make provision for the sacrifice. If any of those previously mentioned does not take part in the common sacrifice he will pay a fine to the city of 300 drachmas as though he had received a judicial sentence, with the agonothete making public the names of those who participate in the common sacrifice and join the procession, and of those who do not participate in the sacrifice, so that those who ought to have payment extracted from them by the city are conspicuous.

The sacrifices which are sent by other cities, these too should also be escorted in procession through the theatre and announced at the time that they are sent, and the decrees which are sent by the cities should be lodged in the archives by the incumbent magistrates, and the agonothete should write a reply to the cities concerning their participation in the sacrifice. And those who have already served as agonothetes should sit in the front row in the festival with the agonothete.

There should be no taxes imposed on any of the purchases sold, sacrificed, imported, introduced or exported during all the days of the festival.

On the first day of the elections of the year before his own *agonothesia* the agonothete should propose the most suitable of the councillors as (next) agonothete, there being a proposal, a counterproposal, and a five year period of exemption from official duties (*skepe*), covering two years before the festival and three years after the festival, and all the other regulations being observed as also exist for the priest of the emperors according to the laws concerning the elections; and on 30 *Hyperberetaios* [31 December] of the year of his *agonothesia* the agonothete should hand over the crown with its weight checked, and the altar unweighed but in sound condition, just as he had received it, to the agonothete who succeeds him, and this should be recorded in the archives. All the

other arrangements should be just as laid down by the public promise of the most distinguished Iulius Demosthenes and the decrees concerning these matters, which have been confirmed by the most divine emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus.

A stone *stele* should be set up by the agonothete C. Iulius Simonides, and this should be placed in the *stoa* in front of the food market next to the standing statue of the most distinguished Iulius Demosthenes, and on it should be inscribed the public promises, and the most sacred letter of the emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus, and the decrees of the council and the assembly concerning the festival; and Iulius Demosthenes has indicated that he will also undertake the expense to be incurred for this stele from his own funds.

Concerning the festival's tax-free status and the agonothete's exemption from official duties it was decided that the most distinguished governor Flavius Aper should be petitioned and that ambassadors should be chosen in the assembly to approach him, and that a proposal concerning all the matters which had been decreed should be put to the assembly, so that it might be confirmed by it. And there should be a written approach by the people to the governor through its decree concerning the festival's tax-free status and the agonothete's exemption from office, and ambassadors should be chosen.

IV. The council and people of the Termessians at Genoanda decided: C. Iulius Demosthenes, of the Fabian tribe, our citizen, a most distinguished man and first in the province, a friend of all the governors, and personally known to the emperors for the most excellent reasons, in addition to all the other ways in which he has benefited the home land, as he has dedicated a food market and *stoas* at his own expense and at every opportunity made abundant provisions available, has founded in addition from his own finances a penteteric musical festival, equal in prize money to the civic festivals which are held in the province, which the most divine emperor Nerva Trajan Hadrian Caesar Augustus has also recognized and confirmed; and furthermore, during the meeting of the council which has just now taken place in the month of Iulius, he has come forward and made a public declaration that he will dedicate to the city a gold crown and an altar decorated with silver for the reverence of the emperors and for the adornment of the city. Wherefore a testimonial should be sent on his behalf to the most distinguished governor Flavius Aper, and this man should be asked to confirm exemption from office for the agonothete and tax-free status for items which are imported, introduced, sold, exported, and put up for sale during the days of the festival, which we have decreed, since already other governors have given us permission by edicts to grant exemption from duties to new magistracies which have been created after the codification of our laws just as obtains for the previously existing magistracies, and to hold festivals in the cities under their control, so that we, as a consequence of his philanthropy, may share the benefits which he provides and in this way the city may be enhanced.

C. Licinnius Thoas, C. Licinnius Fronto, Tlepolemos son of Croesos, Diogenes, son and grandson of Diogenes, great grandson of Moles, and Croesos son of Tlepolemos were chosen as ambassadors from the first men of our community to present him with this decree.

V. The person who is to be established as agonothete for this competition shall have five-year exemption from duties ... and there shall be tax-free status during the days of the competition, if you take care that the city's revenues are in no way diminished. The ambassadors were C. Licinnius Thoas, C. Licinnius Fronto, Tlepolemos son of Croesos, Diogenes, son and grandson of Diogenes, great grandson of Moles, and Croesos son of Tlepolemos.

5.7 – Membership of the boxer Herminus of Hermopolis (AD 194, Egypt) *P Lond* III 1178[749]

The sacred Hadrian-Antoninus-Septimius itinerant xystic guild to members of the same guild – Greetings.

Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Sarmaticus, pontifex maximus, holding the tribucian power the sixth time, consul-elect the fourth time, imperator the twelfth time, father of his country, to the itinerant xystic guild, Greetings.

I was happy to receive the gold wreath which you sent me on the occasion of my victory over the Britons, furnishing proof as it does of your good-will toward me.

Given through you representatives Tiberius Claudius Hermas, Tiberius Claudius Cyrus, Dion son of Mikkalus of Antioch. Farewell.

[Lines 16-30 contain Claudius' letter which thank the club for cooperating in games held in his honour (AD 47) by his friends the King of Commagene and the King of Pontus.]

The Imperator Caesar Vespasian Augustus to the sacred itinerant xystic guild of worshippers of Heracles, Greetings. Since I am aware of the sound reputation of you athletes and of your liking for honours I, too, propose to continue all the privileges which Claudius granted you upon request. Farewell.

Know ye that Herminus also called Morus, a boxer from Hermopolis, aged – is a fellow member and that he has paid in full the complete registration fee required by law, one hundred *denarii.* I have put this in writing for your information. Farewell.

Done at Naples at the 49th celebration of the great four-year Sebasta-Italica-Romaia Games, in the second consulships of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus and of Clodius Septimius Albinus Caesar, 10 days before the Kalends of October [i.e. September 22, AD 194]; the following men being high priests of the Portico Complete, presidents for life and managers of the imperial bath: Marcus Aurelius Demostratus…

[749] Translation as per Robinson (1955): 201-202.

5.8 – Attendance Rates of Agonistic Festivals (data from Connected Contests)

Hellenistic:

Total Mentions	381
Average mentions	5.86
Greece	32
Asia Minor	9
Egypt	4
Macedon	1

Festival	Place	Frequency
Asklepia	Epidauros	4
Lykaia	Arkadia	21
Nemea	Nemea	31
Pythia	Delphi	47
Epidauria (?)	Epidauros	2
Olympia	Olympia	159
Hemerasia	Lousoi	2
Hermaia?	Pheneos	1
Isthmia	Isthmia	30
Eleusinia		3
Soteria		3
Sulleia	Aigion	1
Amphiaraia	Oropos	1
Eleutheria	Larisa	1
Ptolemeia	Ephesos	2
Eumeneia	Ephesos	1
Delia	Delos	1
Eleusinia	Eleusis	1
Eleutheria	Plataiai	1
Heraia	Argos	2
Naa	Dodona	2
Nymphaia	Apollonia	1
Nymphaia		1
Panathenaia	Athens	7
Rhomaia	Chalkis	1
Soteria	Delphi	3
Trophoneia	Lebadeia	1
Argeia?	Argos	1
Ptolemaia	Alexandria	1
Basileia		6
Rhieia		1
Asklepia		1
Basileia	Macedonia	1
Basileia	Alexandria	1
Hekatomboia	Argos	1
Helieia		1
Lenaia	Athens	1
Epheseia	Ephesos	2

Eleutheria		2
Sykionia	Sikyon	1
Amphiaraia		1
Antigoneia		1
Herakleia		2
Ptolemaia	Athens	1
Pythia	Sikyon	1
Thermika		1
Basileia	Memphis	1
__	Bithynia	1
Didymeia		1
Isthmia	Sikyon?	3
Alexandreia	Smyrna	1
Herakleia	Pergamon	1
Panathenaia	Ilium	1
Smintheia	Alexandria	1
Theia Panapolonieia	Ephesos	1
Asklepia	Kos	1
Dioskouria		1
Doreia	Knidos	1
Halieia		2
Poseidania		1
Tlapolemeia		1
Leukophryneia	Magnesia?	1
Aleaia		1
Hekotonboia		1
Great Amphiaraia	Oropos	3

First Century AD (30 BC – AD 99):

Total Mentions	226
Average Mentions	3.22
Italy	2
Greece	26
Asia Minor	29
Egypt	3

Festival	**Place**	**Frequency**
Capitolia	Rome	10
___	Epidauros	8
Aktia	Nikopolis	11
Pythia	Delphi	19
Olympia	Olympia	61
___	Larisa	1
Asklepia	Epidauros	1
Isthmia	Corinth	17
Nemea	Argos	14
___	Smyrna	3
___	Miletos	1

___	Rhodes	1
Eleusinia	Athens	1
Ex Argous Aspis	Argos	3
Kaisarea	Sparta	1
Koinas Asias	Ephesos	1
Koinas Asias	Pergamon	3
Koinas Asias	Sardis	2
Olympia	Ephesos	1
Panathenaia	Athens	1
Heraia	Argos	4
Koinon Asias kai ton Eukratous		1
___	Neapolis	4
___	Ephesos	1
___	Kaisareia Tralleis	1
___	Sardis	1
___	Laodikeia	1
Babillea	Ephesos	3
Koinas Asias	Smyrna	2
Koinon Syrias, Kilikias, Phoineikes	Antiochia	2
Pentaeterikos	Alexandria	1
Apollonieia	Myndos	1
Archegesia	Halikarnassos	1
Eleusinia	Eleusis	2
Eleusinia ta kai Kaisarea	Kos	1
Hekatesia	Stratonikeia	1
Kaisarea	Metropolis	1
Kaisarea	Kos	1
Klaria	Kolophon	1
Rhomala	Kos	1
Theogamia	Nysa	1
___	Alexandria	2
Aktia ta Megala Kaisarea	Nikopolis	1
Eleutheria	Plataiai	2
Haleia	Rhodes	2
Ho tithemenos agon hupo ton apo tes oikoumenes hieronikon kai stefaniton		1
Sebasta Rhomaia ta tithemena hupo tou koinoi tes Asias	Pergamon	1
___	Aphrodisias	1
Aphrodisia	Knidos	1
Aphrodisia	Aphrodisias	1
Apollonia	Sidon	1
Kaisarea	Antiochia	1
Koinas Asias		3
Letoia Kaisareia	Kaunos	1
Tiberia		1
___	Antiochia	1
Koinas Asias	Laodikeia	1

Koinon Beithynias	Nikaia	1
Koinon Galatias		1
___	Sikyon	1
Sebasteia	Athens	1
___	Argos	1
___	Pergamon	1
Koinon Kappadokias		1
Koinon Lykias		1
Koinon Syrias		1
Leukophryenea		1
Unknown festival	Oxyrhynchos	1
Kaisareia Isthmia	Corinth	1
___	Hermopolis	1

Second Century:

Total Mentions	334
Average Mentions	4.07
Italy	5
Greece	22
Asia Minor	38
Egypt	1

Festival	**Place**	**Frequency**
Aktia	Nikopolis	15
Nemea	Nemea	26
Capitolia	Rome	17
Aphrodeisieia Philomonea	Aphrodisias	3
Pythia	Delphi	35
___	Epidauros	2
Antipatreia	Xanthos	1
Letoia Traianeia Hadrianeia Antoneia		1
Italika Romaia Sebasta	Neapolis	8
___	Neapolis	5
Olympia	Olympia	47
Ephesea	Ephesos	3
Hadrianeia		3
Olympia	Ephesos	5
Hadrianeia	Ephesos	3
Olympia	Kyzikos	1
Asklepia	Epidauros	1
Isthmia	Isthmia	34
Olympia Asklepeia Komodeia Sebasta koina Asias	Pergamon	1
___	Pergamon	6
Adriana Olympia	Ephesos	1
Balbillea	Ephesos	4
ex Argous aspis	Argos	5

Koinon Kilikias	Tarsos	1
Koinon Syrias	Antiocha	1
Kyzikon Olympia		1
Epinkia	Rome	1
Hadrianeia	Athens	5
Koinon Asias	Kyzikos	1
Olympia	Kaisareia Tralleis	1
Eusebeia	Puteoli	3
Isthmia		2
Leukophyrenea		1
Pythia		1
Olympia		3
Olympia	Athens	4
Panathenaia	Athens	9
Panhellenia	Athens	5
Augousteia	Pergamon	1
Halieia	Rhodes	3
Koinon Asias	Smyrna	4
Olympia	Smyrna	2
Traianeia	Pergamon	1
___	Ephesos	3
___	Kaisareia Tralleis	3
___	Smyrna	4
___	Sardis	1
___	Hierapolis	2
Artemisia	Ephesos	1
Hadrianeia Olympia		1
Kaisareia	Chios	1
Koinon Asias		2
Koinon Bithynias		2
Rhomaia		1
___	Alexandria	1
___	Sparta	3
___	Thebes	1
___	Tarsos	1
Epheseia ta megala	Ephesos	1
Eukratia	Antiocha	1
Kaisareia	Isthmia	1
___	Nikomedeia	2
___	Antiocha	2
___	Ephesos	1
Hadrianeia	Smyrna	1
Asklepia	Pergamon	1
Tyrimneia	Thyateira	1
Ourania	Sparta	4
___	Philadelphia	1
___	Laodikeia	1
___	Thyateira	1
___	Mytilene	1
___	Nikaia	1

Koina Asias	Sardis	1
Koinon Galatias		1
Koinon Kappadokias		1
Koinon Makedonias		1
Koinon Pontou		1
Pythia	Antiocha	1
Panhellenia		1
Eurykleia	Sparta	2
Olympia Komodeia	Sparta	1

Third Century:

Total Mentions	233
Average Mentions	2.26
Italy	6
Greece	30
Asia Minor	56
Egypt	7

Festival	**Place**	**Frequency**
Capitolia	Rome	7
Chrysantheia		1
Aktia	Nikopolis	6
Naia	Dodona	1
Aphrodisiea Philemonea	Aphrodisias	5
___	Aphrodisias	1
Aphrodisiea Adonea	Aphrodisias	1
Olympia		2
Pythia		2
Lysimachea Tatianea	Aphrodisias	1
Pythia	Delphi	20
Asklepia and Olympia	Epidauros	1
Lykaia	Arkadia	1
Olympia	Olympia	26
Megala Kroneia	Tlos	2
___	Chalkedon	1
Asklepia	Ankyra	1
Augousteia	Nikaia	1
Augousteia Severeia	Nikomedeia	1
Hadrianeion Antonoeion	Bithynia-Klaudiopolis	1
Hadrianeion Herakleion	Heraklea Pontica	1
Kionon Asias	Philadelphia	2
Augousteia		1
Pythia	Side	2
Olympia	Ephesos	3
Mariana Isthmia	Ephesos	4
Megala Pythia Marianeia	Ephesos	2
Artemisia	Hypaipa	1
Megala Pythia	Ephesos	1

Eleusinia	Athens	1
Hadrianeia	Athens	2
Artemisia	Ephesos	1
Unknown	Hermopolis	3
Isthmia	Isthmia	12
Nemea	Argos	11
Megala Sebasteia Mouseia	Thespiai	1
Augousteia Pythaia	Nikaia	1
Megala Asklepeia	Pergamon	1
Adriana Olympia	Smyrna	1
Aionia	Rome	1
Aktia	Tyre	1
Athenas Promachou	Rome	2
Attalea Capitolia	Aphrodisias	1
Augousteia	Pergamon	3
Balbillea	Ephesos	3
Chilietes	Rome	1
Chrysanthina	Sardis	2
Didymeia	Miletos	3
Eusebeia	Puteoli	2
ex Argous aspis	Argos	2
Hadrianeia	Ephesos	2
Herakleia	Thebes	2
Kentreiseia	Philippopolis	1
Koina Asias	Smyrna	1
Koinon Asias	Sardis	2
Koinon Bithynias	Nikomedeia	1
Olympia	Epidauros	2
Olympia	Beroia	1
Olympia	Smyrna	1
Olympia	Kyzikos	1
Panathenaia	Athens	2
Panhellenia	Athens	3
Periporphyros	Sidon	1
Pythia	Philippopolis	1
Pythia	Kaisareia Tralleis	1
Pythia	Hierapolis	1
Sebasmeia	Demascus	1
Sebasta	Neapolis	3
Sebasta	Byzantion	1
Severeia	Nikomedeia	1
Severeia	Nikaia	2
Trophoneia	Lebadeia	2
Asklepia	Epidauros	2
Eleusinia	Eleusis	1
Eleutheria	Plataiai	1
Olympia	Athens	2
Pythia	Miletos	1
Pythia	Magnesia on the Sipylos	1
Pythia	Pergamon	1

Pythia	Thessalonike	1
Aktia	Perinthos	1
Aktia	Antiocha	1
Alexandreia Pythia	Ankyra	1
Asklepeia Sotereia	Ankyra	1
___	Kyrene	1
___	Anazarbos	1
Asklepia	Pergamon	1
Ephesea	Ephesos	2
Koinon Asias	Kyzikos	1
Olympia	Kaisareia Tralleis	1
Olympia	Tarsos	1
Apollonia Pythia	Hierapolis	2
Deia Sebasta	Laodikeia on the Lykos	1
Halieia	Rhodes	1
Korea	Sardis	1
Traianeia	Pergamon	2
Olympia Komodeia	Sparta	1
Antinoeios Hadrianeios Philadelphios Agon	Antinooupolis	1
Antoninianos Heleios Leontios Isantonianos Agon	Leontopolis	8
hieros ephebikos isantonineios phil […] agon	Oxyrhynchos	1
Capitolia	Oxyrhynchos	2
___	Thebai	1
___	Hermopolis	3

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