

# Timeline of Roman History

753 BCE	Legendary foundation of Rome by Romulus, its first king. Story of Rape of Sabine women located at site of Circus Maximus.
616 to 510 BCE	Succeeded by series of kings of doubtful historicity. So-called "Etruscan" monarchy in Rome, including the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, remembered in Rome as major developer of urban infrastructure, and Tarquinius Superbus, much-maligned tyrant and last of Rome's kings. First formal structure for Circus Maximus.
509 BCE	Alleged introduction of some kind of gladiatorial combat. Establishment of Republican form of government, with policy-shaping capacity distributed between the Senate and a number of executive magistrates elected from among them. Popular will is registered through elections and up or down votes on legislation and major issues, but the senatorial wealthy maintain the institutionalized power to dominate voting.
390 BCE	Celtic tribes sack Rome.
366 BCE	<i>Ludi Romani</i> become first set of "ordinary" games.
343 to 290 BCE	Rome fights three wars against the Samnites. Expansion of Roman influence outside Latium in central Italy.
280 to 275 BCE	War against Tarentum and Pyrrhus, mercenary/adventurer king of Epirus. With victory, Rome dominates Italian peninsula.
264 to 241 BCE	First Punic war against Carthage. Sicily comes under Roman influence.
264 BCE	First <i>munera</i> in Rome presented by D. Junius Brutus.
252 BCE	Elephants appear in triumph of L. Caecilius Metellus.
218 to 201 BCE	Second Punic war (Hannibalic war). Rome becomes pre-eminent power in western Mediterranean.

- 216 BCE Second *munera* in Rome held for M. Aemilius Lepidus.
- 213 BCE Scipio Africanus presents impressive *Ludi Romani*.
- 206 BCE Scipio Africanus holds *munera* and chariot races in Spain; funeral games for family members thus serve to commemorate his own success in returning area to Roman control.
- 211 to 133 BCE Major Roman military involvement in Greek East. Spread of Roman political control through much of the Mediterranean.  
Expansion of opportunities for power afforded by this expansionism leads to heightened competition among the ruling class; presentation of elaborate games becomes a tool for persuading a broader constituency.
- 194 BCE Segregation of senatorial class to “best” seats at *Ludi Romani*.
- 168 BCE Aemilius Paullus defeats Perseus, King of Macedonia, at Battle of Pydna. Triumphal monuments and celebrations service the building of Rome’s (and Paullus’) image in the east.
- 166 BCE Celebration of victory by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of Syria, takes on Roman cast with incorporation of gladiatorial events.
- 146 BCE Destruction of Corinth and of Carthage by Rome.
- 133 to 50s BCE Increasing political interest among different groups in the larger Roman state spurs tension over broader distribution of power; resistance by conservative Senators generates periodic political violence and outbreaks of civil war. Spectacle is normalized as a political tool and standard feature of competing for and holding public office.
- 91 to 88 BCE Italian War, fueled by discontent among Italian allies over differential access to power and benefits of empire.
- 81 to 79 BCE Dictatorship of Sulla, established by military coup.
- 73 to 71 BCE Spartacus spearheads revolt of slaves and others, catalyzed by grievances of gladiators but drawing on sociopolitical tensions of late Republic.
- 70 BCE Stone amphitheater built at Pompeii by veterans of Italian war.
- 65 BCE Julius Caesar organizes lavish games as aedile; the Senate places legal limits on how many gladiators can be kept within city limits.
- 63 BCE M. Tullius Cicero sponsors Lex Tullia to prohibit presentation of *munera* during campaign for public office.
- 57 BCE P. Clodius Pulcher uses troupe of gladiators as “muscle” in inciting riot over specific legislation, expanding the political usefulness of *munera* beyond the venue of spectacles.

- 55 BCE Pompey the Great celebrates the dedication of his theater with huge spectacle; the exuberant suffering of elephants provokes disapproval of audience.
- 52 BCE G. Scribonius Curio gives elaborate funeral games for his father, some of which are housed in a mechanized double theater or “amphitheater.”
- 49–44 BCE Dictatorship of Julius Caesar, which ends with his assassination. Caesar’s consolidation of influence provides an instructive model for political successors, as the Senate never regains dominant authority over Roman state. Caesar’s popular building program and spectacle organization also set a standard for emperors. Monumentalization of Circus Maximus, provision of more elaborate venues for *munera*, *naumachia*, and other events.
- 43 to 31 BCE Rule of the Second Triumvirate: M. Antonius, G. Julius Caesar Octavianus, and M. Aemilius Lepidus are formally granted extraordinary powers for the duration of civil strife.
- 42 BCE Rome’s aediles substitute gladiatorial combats for the usual chariot races at the *Cerealia* festival: this is the first appearance of *munera* in the “ordinary” games.
- 31 BCE Antony and Cleopatra defeated at the Battle of Actium. Octavian is the sole remaining political competitor; consolidation of his peacetime authority begins, with an official conferral of powers along with the title of “Augustus” in 29 BCE.

### **Julio-Claudian Dynasty: 29 BCE to 68 CE**

- 29 BCE to 14 CE Reign of Augustus.  
Augustus establishes the *munus legitimum*, the pattern for presentation of gladiatorial combats, *venationes* and executions. Institutionalizes emperor’s control of extraordinary spectacle, as part of his elimination of competition for political power among the elite. The Lex Julia Theatralis reasserts the legal mandate for hierarchical seating at spectacle, with sections reserved for the elite placed closer to the action.  
Imperial cult in the west to incorporate spectacle as ritual of loyalty.
- 27 BCE First stone amphitheater in the city of Rome built by Statilius Taurus.
- 14 to 37 CE Reign of Tiberius.
- 19 CE Senatorial decree is passed to renew limits placed on appearance of elites as performers in the arena.

27 CE	Disastrous collapse of temporary arena at Fidenae.
Circa 30 CE	Death of Jesus of Nazareth.
37 to 41 CE	Reign of Gaius (Caligula).
41 to 54 CE	Reign of Claudius. Quaestors are designated the magistrates responsible for presenting the December <i>munera</i> . Naval battles staged on the Fucine Lake celebrate the emperor's organizational skills, in putting together huge spectacle and in sponsoring the planned drainage project.
54 to 68 CE	Reign of Nero.
59 CE	Riot involving fights among spectators in stands of Pompeii's amphitheater provokes the passage of a ten-year senatorial ban on local <i>munera</i> .
64 CE	Great Fire of Rome; search for targets to blame for conflagration focuses on the Christian cult, leading to the first state-sponsored persecution and the criminalization of Christianity.
69 CE	"Year of Four Emperors": Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian.

### **Flavian Dynasty: 69 to 96 CE**

67 to 74 CE	Judean war; effort to suppress rebellion commanded first by Vespasian and then by Titus. Titus' series of victory celebrations in area feature prisoners of war as targets of spectacle ferocity and demonstrations of imperial retribution.
79 CE	Eruption at Vesuvius preserves broad range of evidence about life in Roman town, including particulars of spectacle presentation.
80 CE	Flavian Amphitheater (Colosseum) dedicated by the emperor Titus with extremely elaborate games; construction of this largest of amphitheaters is a signature piece for the dynasty.

### **"The Good Emperors": 96 to 180 CE**

107 CE	Emperor Trajan gives greatest set of imperial games: 123 days of spectacle to celebrate victory over the Dacians.
Circa 110 CE	Rescript of Trajan establishes formal procedure for dealing with accused Christians.
150s	Martyrdom of Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, around this time. Martyrdom of Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.

- 177 CE Emperor Marcus Aurelius sponsors legislation to control prices of gladiators, designed to ensure that spectacle can continue throughout the empire.
- Persecution and death of the Martyrs of Lyons.
- 180 to 192 CE Reign of Commodus.
- 192 CE Provocative imperial games held by Commodus feature the emperor himself as a performer.

### **Severan Emperors: 193 to 235 ce**

- 193 to 211 CE Reign of Septimius Severus.  
Competing claims to imperial power until 197 inspire unrest among crowds at the Circus Maximus.
- 202 CE Martyrdom of Perpetua.
- 211 to 217 CE Reign of Caracalla.
- 213 CE Caracalla extends citizenship to all free residents of the empire.
- 218 to 222 CE Reign of Elagabalus.

### **The Third-century Mess**

- 235 to 284 CE Serious economic and political instability of the empire, marked by external pressure and repeated episodes of civil war. Series of usurpers, regional and militarized claimants hold imperial power on brief and insecure basis.
- 249 to 251 CE Emperor Decius authorizes first empire-wide persecution of Christians as part of an effort to enlist Graeco-Roman pantheon to heal devastation of the third century.
- 259 CE Martyrdom of Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona.

### **The Late Empire**

- 284 to 305 CE Reign of Diocletian, sharing imperial power with colleague Maximian (286 to 305) and junior colleagues Galerius and Constantius Chlorus (293 to 305). Administrative division of empire paves the way for later permanent separation between east and west. Extraordinary efforts to extend imperial oversight into especially the economic life of the Roman world, to regain order and control after the chaos of much of the third century. Diocletian's planned retirement, undertaken to ensure orderly transfer of imperial powers, fails to ward off renewed civil war over succession.
- 303 to 311 CE "Great Persecution" of Christians.

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- 312 CE Constantine defeats rival Maxentius at Battle of Milvian Bridge, thus becoming major holder of western imperial power during period of contested rule following retirement of Diocletian.
- 313 CE Edict of Milan legalizes Christianity.
- 323 to 337 CE Reign of Constantine alone over entire empire.
- 330 CE Capital of imperial administration transferred to Constantinople; continuing deterioration in status and resources for city of Rome and western empire in general will make it impossible to resist the later invasions, leading eventually to western separation into tribal kingdoms. Eastern empire sees ongoing elaboration of imperial bureaucracy, which will include the consolidation of all spectacle production and performance under the umbrella organization of the factions of circus professionals.
- 378 CE Defeat of Emperor Valens at Adrianople by Ostrogoths and Visigoths opens floodgates for invasions of western empire by increasing multitudes of tribal groups.
- 378 to 395 CE Reign of Theodosius.
- 391 CE Theodosius fatally undermines polytheistic practices by cutting off public financing and official recognition.
- 395 CE Empire permanently divided east and west when Theodosius' will splits realm between his juvenile heirs, Honorius (west) and Arcadius (east).
- 410 CE Visigoths sack Rome, the first time that the city has been ravished by foreign invaders since 390 BCE.
- 455 CE Vandals sack Rome.
- 476 CE Romulus Augustulus, last western claimant to title of "emperor," is ousted by Odoacer; Italy will become an Ostrogothic kingdom.
- 493 CE Theoderic establishes himself as King of Italy; having been educated in Constantinople, he deploys symbols and ceremony of imperial Rome, including circus races observed by court official Cassiodorus.
- Circa 500 CE Clovis, King of the Franks, converts to Catholic Christianity and uses this connection to imperial norms in his consolidation of an expanded realm.
- 527 to 565 CE Reign of Justinian in eastern empire.
- 529–533 CE Publication of the *Code*, the *Institutes* and the *Digest*, compilations of Roman law and commentary done under the auspices of Justinian.
- 532 CE Circus fans catalyze Nika revolt, an outburst against alleged corruption and favoritism in Justinian's administration. The destruction caused by the rebellion provides an

opportunity for Justinian to sponsor a large-scale building program in Constantinople. Justinian's efforts to reclaim the entire Mediterranean basin as the seat of the Roman Empire also begin within a year of recovery after the Nika revolt.

# Glossary of Terms and Names

**aedile** Lower magistracy. Responsible for infrastructures, such as public buildings, utilities, streets, and eventually ordinary festivals of religious calendar.

**amphitheatrum** Latin word derived from the Greek for “theater on both sides.” Used for a building type developed by Rome: an elliptical arena with seating (typically) on all sides of the performance area; lower seats separated from arena by podium wall.

**biga** Two-horse chariot.

**censor** High honor during Republic. Took census of citizens every five years and supervised ceremonial purification. Responsible for building and other public contracts. Duties eventually absorbed by emperor.

**circus** Area for chariot racing, roughly the shape of an elongated horseshoe, with starting gates at short, straight end. Similar in outline to the Greek stadium, but much larger. Also refers to the event itself.

**comitia** Name given to popular voting assemblies in Rome, organized by wealth or neighborhood.

**consul** Two chief executive magistrates of Roman government. Commanded armies of Rome. Initiated agenda for senate, summoned popular assemblies for voting.

**contio** Informal political meetings, best known from the late Republic.

**damnatus** Someone condemned on capital charges.

**dictator** Originally an appointed official that took charge of Rome in time of emergency, with overriding powers especially in military matters. Eventually pushed beyond traditional limits of six months by Sulla and Caesar. Outlawed by Second Triumvirate.

**doctor** Trainer at gladiatorial school, often an ex-gladiator specializing in certain combat technique.

**editor** Producer of a spectacle, typically a member of the sociopolitical elite using this public service as a means of securing status.

**eques** A type of armature for gladiators.

- equestrian** Top class in Roman society, determined by wealth and “morals.” Marked by narrow purple stripe on the toga. Status of “equestrian” necessary to be elected to the Senate.
- essedarius** A type of armature for gladiators.
- euripus** Ancient name for central barrier in circus.
- factio** Originally refers to professional organization for chariot racing, by late Antiquity this term refers to fan organizations as well.
- familia** Professional organization of gladiators, trainers, and owner-investors.
- flamen** Member of one of the Roman state’s major priestly colleges.
- gladius** Short sword. Root of the word “gladiator.”
- hoplomachus** A type of armature for gladiators.
- imperator** Title given to a successful general in the Republic, later absorbed by Augustus and successors as basis of term “emperor.”
- lanista** Manager-owner of a gladiatorial training school, responsible for acquisition of new combatants and their training. Negotiates terms of performance with editor.
- ludus** Two important meanings: (1) games presented in association with religious festivals or thanksgiving celebrations, and (2) training school for gladiators and *bestiarii*.
- maeniana** Section of seating in amphitheater.
- meridianus** Noon events at *munus legitimum*, when executions took place.
- munus, munera** Literally “duty,” came to be term for gladiatorial games in reference to the pious duty the heir owed the deceased, to be served by the presentation of proper funeral rites that might include gladiatorial combats. Used in Roman towns to refer to magistrates’ civic duties that might include the arrangement of gladiatorial spectacle.
- murmillio** A type of armature for gladiators.
- ordo** Row of seating at an amphitheater.
- podium** Wall surrounding performance area at arena; protects spectators from potential danger of blood events.
- pompa** Parade at Roman festival; involves political and religious personnel as well as performers at spectacle.
- praetor** Second highest magistracy. Primary responsibility for judicial procedure, but also could serve as military commander if necessary. During the empire, presented ordinary gladiatorial games.
- princeps** Literally “chief.” Leader of the Senate was Princeps Senatus. Became important title for emperor.
- quadriga** Four-horse chariot, typical vehicle for circus races.
- quaestor** Lowest magistracy. During the Republic, quaestors were in charge of Rome’s finances and also served as aides to consuls in wartime and proconsular governors in the provinces. During the empire, alternated with praetor in presenting ordinary *munera*.
- retiarius** A type of armature for gladiators, using net and trident.
- samnite** A type of armature for gladiators.
- secutor** A type of armature for gladiators.
- senate** Deliberative and advisory body in Roman constitution. During Republic, debated legislation, oversaw expenditure, considered policy.

Ex-magistrates took up lifetime post as Senators. Policy-making capacity superseded by that of emperor.

**spina** Literally “backbone,” modern term for *euripus*, the central barrier in the circus.

**theatrum** Building type originally developed in Greek world for dramatic presentations, modified under Roman influence to house range of spectacles. Included *scaenae* or stage proper with backdrop rising behind it, orchestra, roughly semi-circular flat area between stage and seating, and rows of seating rising up in semi-circle around the orchestra.

**thraex** A type of armature for gladiators.

**tyro** Novice gladiator.

**venatio** A show purporting to be a wild animal hunt combined with display of exotic creatures. Combats between animals or between men and animals.

**venator** Roughly synonymous with *bestiarius*; performer specializing in animal combat.

# Notes

## Chapter 1: The Politics of the Arena

- 1 Loeb translation by L. H. G. Greenwood.
- 2 Loeb translation by E. T. Sage.
- 3 Loeb translation by B. O. Foster.
- 4 Loeb translation by J. D. Duff.
- 5 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).
- 6 This is the father of P. Licinius Crassus, who would be consul in 171 BCE.
- 7 Unpublished translation by Matt Roller.
- 8 The dead father here is T. Quinctius Flamininus, the “Liberator of Greece”; the son, producer of this event, would be consul in 150 BCE.
- 9 Penguin translation by J. Healy.
- 10 Loeb translation by F. G. Moore.
- 11 Penguin translation by H. Bettenson.
- 12 Loeb translation by E. T. Sage and A. C. Schlesinger.
- 13 Loeb translation by C. B. Gulick.
- 14 The *triclinium* is the Roman banqueting couch; the choice of this Latin word within Athenaeus’ Greek text has been interpreted to indicate Antiochus’ specific use of the Roman version of the couch, and not the Greek.
- 15 Translation by D. H. Berry, ed., *Cicero Defence Speeches* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- 16 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 17 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 18 Penguin translation by R. Warner.
- 19 Loeb translation by W. H. S. Jones.
- 20 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 21 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 22 Penguin translation by I. Scott-Kilvert.
- 23 L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus was the natural father of both Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who had been adopted

- by childless friends of his but honored their birth family by retaining the cognomen “Aemilianus.” Aemilius Paullus died in 160; his other two, non-adopted, sons had predeceased him.
- 24 Thirty talents is about 750,000 sesterces; compare to the 80,000 sesterces Nobilior maxed out on below.
- 25 Penguin translation by M. Grant.
- 26 Translation by E. Shuckburgh, ed., *The Letters of Cicero: The Whole Extant Correspondence in Chronological Order* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1909–15).
- 27 Loeb translation by N. H. Watts.
- 28 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 29 Here, Cicero is drawing on the meaning of “*munus*” as gift or obligation, as well as gladiatorial show.
- 30 Translation by H. G. Edinger, ed., *Cicero de Officiis/On Duties* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1974).
- 31 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Penguin translation by H. Bettenson.
- 36 This is the priestly college of the pontiffs, one of the more politically prominent of Rome’s priesthoods.
- 37 Loeb translation by E. T. Safe and A. C. Schlesinger.
- 38 The *ius imaginum* was the right to display images of family ancestors who were acknowledged for their high level of service to Rome.
- 39 Translation by D. H. Berry.
- 40 Adapted from Loeb translation by C. D. Yonge.
- 41 Samnite and *provocator* were gladiatorial armatures. See chapter 3 for more details.
- 42 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 43 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 44 Loeb translation by R. Gardner.
- 45 Cicero here refers to Clodius’ brother, Appius Claudius Pulcher, praetor that year and still a patrician.
- 46 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 47 Adapted from Penguin translation by J. Carter.
- 48 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 49 Loeb translation by R. Gardner.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 Translation by E. Shuckburgh, *Letters*.
- 52 I.e. the “First Triumvirate” of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus.
- 53 Loeb translation by R. Gardner.
- 54 P. Lentulus Spinther was the consul.
- 55 Adapted from Loeb translation by R. Gardner.
- 56 P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica, adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, consul in 80, and thus becoming Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, tribune in 59, praetor in 55, games given in 57, exactly within the window permitted by law.
- 57 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 58 Penguin translation by J. Healy.

- 59 Adapted from C. D. Yonge, trans., *The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1891). L. Calpurnius Piso had supported Cicero's exile.
- 60 Adapted from Loeb translation by H. White.
- 61 Penguin translation by M. Grant.
- 62 The calendar of Furius Dionysius Filocalus, dating to 354 CE, has ten days (December 2, 4–6, 8, 19–21, 23 and 24) for the *munera* out of a total of 177 days devoted to various *ludi*.
- 63 Actual competition for offices was controlled as well under the *princeps*; Augustus regularly submitted lists of names of appropriate candidates for the annual magistracies, who were routinely approved by the Senate. It soon reached the point that popular elections were no longer held.
- 64 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 By becoming poorer, they would give Caligula less reason for jealousy and thus less reason to target them for particular abuse.
- 68 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 69 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, in M. Hadas, ed., *Complete Works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942).
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Ibid.
- 72 Penguin translation by P. Green.
- 73 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Loeb translation by E. Cary. This section of Dio only exists in fragmentary quotations in later authors, such as Xiphilinus.
- 76 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 77 Loeb translation by C. R. Haines.
- 78 Loeb translation by B. Radice.
- 79 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. C. Rolfe.
- 80 An undignified gesture. He should have kept his left hand inside his toga.
- 81 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *Tacitus*.
- 82 Ibid.
- 83 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 84 Loeb translation by B. Radice.
- 85 Adapted from Penguin translation by M. Grant.
- 86 Loeb translation by C. R. Haines.
- 87 The extreme nature of these descriptions reflects the tradition of criticism that had developed around notoriously bad emperors.
- 88 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 89 Adapted from W. Whiston, trans., *The Works of Flavius Josephus* (Auburn and Buffalo: John E. Beardsley, 1895).
- 90 Penguin translation by A. Birley.
- 91 Translation by M. H. Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes* (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 1996).
- 92 Local-born citizens of Pompeii were enrolled in the Menenia voting tribe.
- 93 This would be April 8 through 12.
- 94 This is a different date: March 28 here.

- 95 Ellius is identified as a famous contemporary gladiator.
- 96 Such panels were recovered in eighteenth-century excavations at Pompeii, but exist today only in artists' renderings of the originals.
- 97 It has been argued, however, that a visit to Pompeii by Nero in 64, hinted at by references to Poppaea and acclamations for the "judgments" of the emperor, may have been an opportunity for a lifting of the ban by imperial fiat.
- 98 Penguin translation by B. Radice.
- 99 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 100 Translation by J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 320–349.
- 101 *Ibid.*
- 102 HS is the standard abbreviation for "sesterces."
- 103 The Telegenii are apparently the *familia* of *bestiarii* hired for Magerius' games. See chapter 4.

## Chapter 2: The Venue

- 1 Compared to around twenty such structures in the Greek eastern Mediterranean.
- 2 Adapted from Penguin translation by I. Scott Kilvert.
- 3 Loeb translation by A. W. Mair.
- 4 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, in M. Hadas, ed., *The Complete Works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942).
- 5 This is the theater built by Pompey the Great in 55 BCE.
- 6 Penguin translation by J. Healy.
- 7 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 8 The word "amphitheater" is derived from Greek: "amphi" means "on both sides" and "theatron" is the architectural term for the seating area in the standard Greek theater complex. "Hunting theater" is often used by Greek authors to refer to amphitheaters.
- 9 "This" refers to the dedication of the Temple of Venus Victrix.
- 10 Penguin translation by R. E. Latham.
- 11 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff.
- 12 Although the word "theater" is used here, the description matches the amphitheater building type, with elliptical arena and special provisions for blood games.
- 13 *Balteus* literally means "belt"; here Calpurnius may be referring to a sparkling decorative stripe spanning the arena.
- 14 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *Tacitus*.
- 15 27 CE.
- 16 400,000 sesterces (HS) was the minimum property requirement for equestrian status.
- 17 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 18 This structure was not known as the Colosseum in antiquity. The name came to be used for the Flavian Amphitheater in the medieval period; scholars believe this refers not to the "colossal" size of the spectacle structure but rather the surviving colossal statue of the sun-god that stood next to it. The statue was part of Nero's Domus Aurea that was re-incorporated into the Flavian reworking of the area.

- 19 It did not, however, have the largest performance space; its arena was about two-thirds the size of that at Caesarea in Mauretania. Tarraco and Luca also had arenas somewhat larger than the Flavian Amphitheater.
- 20 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 21 The “colossus” here is the 120-foot tall statue built by Nero and originally given the facial features of that emperor. It was apparently recast as a generic representation of the sun god, Sol or Helios. This is the Colossus that in medieval times would inspire the “Colosseum” nickname for the structure.
- 22 Translation by S. J. B. Barnish, ed., *The Variae of Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1992).
- 23 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff.
- 24 Adapted from Penguin translation by Aubrey de Sélincourt.
- 25 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 26 *Curiae* were one of the older means of categorizing the Roman populace for voting purposes. Each *curia* was a specific neighborhood, granted one bloc vote in the curial assembly.
- 27 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 28 This moat at the edge of the track in the Circus Maximus was a means of keeping animals inside the performance space, done in response to Pompey’s elephant debacle of 55 BCE (see chapter 1), in which uncontrolled animals spoiled the spectacle.
- 29 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 30 The *plethron* and *stadion* are Greek measurements: a *plethron* is approximately 100 feet in length, while a *stade* is 6 *plethra*: the length of a stadium.
- 31 103 CE.
- 32 The surviving Circus Maximus, mostly from the Trajanic reconstruction, has an arena about 580 meters by 80 meters.
- 33 The modern usage depends on Cassiodorus’ description, part of which appears below, in which he describes the victory monuments, presumably statues of war captives with backs (*spinae*) bent in submission. The term *euripus* is a bit confusing, as its first connection with the Circus Maximus is in reference to Julius Caesar’s water barrier around the perimeter of the track. After this was removed by Nero, the use of the watery *euripus* term probably acknowledges the presence of fountains in the barrier.
- 34 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 35 There was also a link to Augustan image-building, as Apollo, one of the Graeco-Roman sun gods, had long been the patron of Augustus.
- 36 This god is the deified Julius Caesar, adopted father of Augustus.
- 37 Penguin translation by J. Healy.
- 38 Possibly a conflation of the two pharaonic names Psamtik (or Psammetichus) and Neferibre. Neferibre Psammetichus II was a pharaoh of the Twenty-sixth (Saite) dynasty and ruled 595–589 BCE. Pythagoras was thought to have been born in the mid-sixth century.
- 39 This is the obelisk Augustus set up as part of his enormous sundial.
- 40 Translation by S. J. B. Barnish, *Variae*.
- 41 The translation of the piece is disputed. Some suggest it should be rendered as “Farewell Hierax . . . Olympus . . . Antiochus,” the “*va*” inscribed to be understood as “*vale*” rather than “*vade*,” as I have taken it.

- 42 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).
- 43 Translation by S. J. B. Barnish, *Variae*.
- 44 Loeb translation by H. White.
- 45 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 46 The Greater and Lesser Codetae were low-lying areas in the Campus Martius, named after the marshy plants that grew there and resembled the *codae* or tails of horses. The *Naumachia* of Augustus was located at the Greater Codeta.
- 47 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 48 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 51 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 52 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 53 Loeb translation by E. T. Sage.
- 54 Loeb translation by J. Bostock and H. T. Riley.
- 55 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 56 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 57 Lesser and greatest here are the equestrians and the senatorials.
- 58 Adapted from Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 59 *Leitus* is identified as the attendant who removes pretenders from the elite seats.
- 60 Adapted from Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 61 This is *Attis*, youthful paramour in myth of *Cybele*, the Great Goddess. To ensure the continuity of the vegetation cycle, *Attis* dies to signal the coming growing season.

### Chapter 3: A Day at the Games

- 1 Translation by J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, “Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate,” *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 320–349.
- 2 The order in which the information appeared varied, as seen above, in accordance with the emphasis determined by the *editor*.
- 3 Adapted from Loeb translation by B. Einarson and P. H. de Lacy.
- 4 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).
- 5 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 6 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. W. Duff and A. M. Duff.
- 7 The unsophisticated rustic may be here describing buffalo, dugongs, polar bears and hippopotamus.
- 8 Penguin translation by R. Campbell.
- 9 Loeb translation by H. L. Jones.
- 10 Adapted from Loeb translation by B. Einarson and P. H. de Lacy.
- 11 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Loeb translation by M. D. MacLeod.
- 14 Whether the fish-man regularly fought the net-man is disputed. This is the claim made by a number of ancient authors, including Valerius Maximus and Quintilian, and the heavy armature would balance the light weapons of the

- retiarius* well. But visual representations set the *murmillo* against the *Thraex* and the *provocator*.
- 15 The armature of the *retiarius* derives from the tools of the fisherman, not from military gear of foreign nationals. This is unusual. Some have suggested that the *retiarius* first appeared in water pageants before being embraced by the *ludus*.
  - 16 Adapted from Penguin translation by J. P. Sullivan.
  - 17 This is probably a reference to a public banquet also offered by the *editor* as part of the games package; see chapter 1.
  - 18 Adapted from translation by J. Lindsay.
  - 19 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
  - 20 Translation by R. Humphries, ed., *The Loves, The Art of Beauty, The Remedies for Love, and the Art of Love* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957).
  - 21 The reference here is to “*Hoc habet!*” or “He’s had it!,” the shout given by the spectators when one of the gladiators receives a final blow.
  - 22 Penguin translation by R. Warner.
  - 23 Translation by P. Halsall, online (see note 4).
  - 24 Translation by A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2 (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1899–1900).
  - 25 Adapted from Penguin translation by J. P. Sullivan.
  - 26 Adapted from Penguin translation by M. Grant.
  - 27 Adapted from translation by A. Watson in T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, and A. Watson, eds., *The Digest of Justinian* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
  - 28 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, in M. Hadas, ed., *Complete Works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942).
  - 29 *Ibid.*
  - 30 Loeb translation by H. Rackham and W. S. Jones.
  - 31 Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul of 78 BCE.
  - 32 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, consul of 57 BCE and a supporter of Cicero’s return from exile. See chapter 1.
  - 33 Adapted from Loeb translation of J. H. Mozley.
  - 34 Pontus and Idume produced famous dates, Damascus grew plums on the boughs, Caunus had renowned figs and Ameria, a region of Gaul, grew apples and pears.
  - 35 *Annona* is the personification of the grain dole (*annona*) in which Rome’s neediest male citizens were eligible for distributions of rations of grain, oil and wine, not, however, in sufficient quantities to support a family.
  - 36 Penguin translation by R. Campbell.
  - 37 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
  - 38 Adapted from Loeb translation by R. M. Grummere.
  - 39 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
  - 40 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
  - 41 *Ibid.*
  - 42 *Ibid.*
  - 43 *Ibid.*
  - 44 The “law” referred to here is the custom that combat continues until one of the gladiators has been made to yield and asks for *missio* with a raised finger.
  - 45 Loeb translation by E. Cary.

- 46 The club was the favorite weapon of the hero Hercules, to whom Commodus frequently compared himself. Indeed, his many displays of animal slaughter are probably a reference to his Herculean qualities.
- 47 Commodus and his opponent both use wooden weapons; this may have been a demonstration match, then, with blunted weapons, held prior to the “real” combats.
- 48 Literally, “servant of the bedchamber” or valet. Here, the intimation of shared bed is present, as Commodus’ sexual liberality was a source of criticism.
- 49 If Commodus were using the *secutor’s* helmet, with its complete enclosure from forehead to shoulder, these “kisses” were more head-bumps than smooches.
- 50 This is a reference to a standard depiction of the gigantomachy, the mythic war between the Olympian gods and an earlier generation of gods. Giants, as monstrous sons of the earth, were depicted as anguipeds, i.e. with legs like snakes, to show their connection to the earth and the underground.
- 51 Adapted from Penguin translation by R. Campbell.
- 52 Adapted from Loeb translation by W. C. F. Wright.

#### Chapter 4: The Life of the Gladiator

- 1 Loeb translation by F. R. Walton.
- 2 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 3 After Augustus, only members of the imperial family were allowed to celebrate triumphs per se. Others could be awarded the lesser honor of the ovation, which is formal thanks and recognition without the glamorous parade and spectacle.
- 4 Adapted from Loeb translation by H. St. J. Thackeray.
- 5 Loeb translation by H. St. J. Thackeray.
- 6 The “brother” referred to here is of course the future emperor Domitian.
- 7 Adapted from translation by A. Watson, in T. Mommsen, P. Krueger, and A. Watson, eds., *The Digest of Justinian* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).
- 8 M. Hyamson, ed., *Mosaicarum et Romanarum legum Collatio* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913).
- 9 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 10 Loeb translation by E. Cary.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Loeb translation by H. White.
- 13 Penguin translation by R. Warner.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Loeb translation by H. White.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Penguin translation by R. Warner.
- 18 Although Appian does seem to contradict himself about Spartacus’ openness to formerly Roman soldiers.
- 19 Loeb translation by H. White.
- 20 Penguin translation by R. Warner.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Loeb translation by H. White.
- 23 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.

- 24 Translation by A. Watson, *Digest*.
- 25 Adapted from translation by A. Watson, *ibid*.
- 26 Ulpian notes that the difference between being condemned to the mines and to the mine-works (*opus metelli*) is in the weight of the chains: those in the mines have heavier chains and, presumably, have committed more serious offenses.
- 27 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 28 Adapted from Penguin translation by A. Birley.
- 29 Translation by A. Watson, *Digest*.
- 30 Loeb translation by R. M. Gummere.
- 31 Translation by J. H. Oliver and R. E. A. Palmer, "Minutes of an Act of the Roman Senate," *Hesperia* 24 (1955): 320–349.
- 32 Adapted from translation by J. E. Ryland, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899–1900).
- 33 Loeb translation by A. M. Harmon.
- 34 Translation by J. P. Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
- 35 Adapted from translation by C. Dodgson, trans., *Tertullian: Apologetic and Practical Treatises* (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1842).
- 36 Penguin translation by J. Healy.
- 37 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 38 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).
- 39 Adapted from translation by A. Watson, *Digest*.
- 40 Loeb translation by H. E. Butler.
- 41 Translation by T. W. Higginson, ed., *The Works of Epictetus* (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1890).
- 42 Translation by J. P. Toner in Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome*.
- 43 Loeb translation by J. E. King.
- 44 Translation by J. Walsh, "Galen's *Exhortatio ad Artes Addiscendas*," *Medical Life* 37 (1930): 507–529.
- 45 Translation by E. Wallis in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 5 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899–1900).
- 46 Loeb translation by H. Rackham and W. S. Jones.
- 47 Penguin translation by P. Green.
- 48 Hadrian's legislation cited above suggests that even a gladiator condemned to the school as a criminal penalty did not necessarily expect to die.
- 49 Penguin translation by R. Graves.
- 50 *Ibid*.
- 51 *Ibid*.
- 52 Unpublished translation by Martha Jenks.
- 53 Adapted from translation by R. J. White, ed., *Artemidorus: The Interpretation of Dreams* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975).
- 54 Penguin translation by A. Birley.
- 55 A graffito from the *ludus* at Pompeii claims that Seneca was opposed to spectacle as a whole: "The philosopher Annaeus Seneca is the only Roman writer to condemn the bloody games." (*CIL* 4.4418) Some modern scholars have made much of Seneca's Letter 7 on the noon executions, finding here a more universal denunciation than is warranted by the text. See chapter 3.

- 56 Adapted from Loeb translation by R. M. Gummere.  
 57 Romans did not have toilet paper.  
 58 This epitaph from Thessalonika is topped by a relief sculpture with a horseman above a bust of a beardless youth on the left and a left-advancing image of a gladiator on the right, with a sword in the left hand and a large rectangular shield in the right, helmet covering his head.  
 59 Adapted from translation by C. Roueché.  
 60 Ibid.  
 61 Adapted from Penguin translation by R. Graves.  
 62 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.  
 63 Ibid.  
 64 Penguin translation by R. Graves.  
 65 Adapted from Loeb translation of J. H. Mozley.  
 66 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, in M. Hadas, ed., *Complete Works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942).  
 67 Penguin translation by P. Green.  
 68 Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
 69 Ibid.  
 70 Translation by B. Levick, “The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983): 97–115.  
 71 Penguin translation by P. Green.  
 72 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, *Tacitus*.  
 73 Loeb translation by E. Cary.

### Chapter 5: Christians and the Arena

- 1 Translation by A. J. Church and W. J. Brodribb, in M. Hadas, ed., *Complete Works of Tacitus* (New York: Modern Library, 1942).  
 2 Loeb translation by K. Lake.  
 3 Eusebius quotes Tertullian *Apology* 5 here.  
 4 Penguin translation by B. Radice.  
 5 But see the situation in Lyons below for an instance where the “other” crimes become part of the dispute.  
 6 Those holding the Roman citizenship were sent to Rome; one of the benefits of citizenship was the right to appeal against summary action taken by Rome’s magistrates. In Rome, the emperor, as holder of tribunician power, would be responsible for securing their rights to lawful judicial procedure.  
 7 Loeb translation by K. Lake.  
 8 Translation by R. Arbesmann, E. J. Daly, and E. A. Quain, trans., *Tertullian: Apologetical Works and Minucius Felix* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1950).  
 9 Ibid.  
 10 Ibid.  
 11 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).  
 12 Translation by B. P. Pratten, in A. Roberts, and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2 (New York: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1899–1900).  
 13 Translation by P. Halsall, online (see note 11).  
 14 Ibid.

- 15 Adapted from translation by J. E. Ryland, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 2 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899–1900).
- 16 Quoted by Eusebius *Ecclesiastical History* 4.8. Loeb translation by K. Lake.
- 17 Translation by Arbesmann, Daly, and Quain, *Tertullian*.
- 18 Translation by P. Halsall, online (see note 11).
- 19 Adapted from translation by E. Wallis, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 5 (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1899–1900).
- 20 Loeb translation by K. Lake.
- 21 Translation adapted from H. Musurillo, ed., *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- 22 Note that the trial is placed in the spectacle building here.
- 23 Paraphrase of Joshua 1: 6, 7; biblical references are frequently scattered through the Martyr Acts.
- 24 L. Staius Quadratus is identified later in the text as the governor in question.
- 25 The Asiarch is a Roman official associated with the cult of the divine emperor in the province of Asia. This is probably to be identified with G. Julius Philippus, whom an inscription of 149 mentions as an Asiarch.
- 26 Translation adapted from Musurillo, *The Acts*.
- 27 A paraphrase for incest and cannibalism from the common vocabulary of Greek mythology. Oedipus, in his efforts to confound prophecy, unknowingly married his mother Jocasta, and Thyestes unknowingly was made to eat his own children, cooked into a meaty stew, as part of an extended series of atrocities and counter-atrocities that resulted from his accursed feud with his brother Atreus.
- 28 John 16: 2.
- 29 That is, of being incestuous cannibals.
- 30 This is the celebration held annually on August 1 at Lyons, as a major celebration of the cult of the emperor not just in Lyons but in “the Three Gauls.” This served as a regular demonstration of loyalty to the emperor and the empire.
- 31 Adapted from Musurillo, *The Acts*. A catechumen is in the process of undergoing conversion to Christianity, engaged in the preparation and study needed before the final step of baptism.
- 32 Who may have been the Christian author Tertullian.
- 33 One of the rituals of the early Christian church, a commemoration of Jesus' last meal with his followers. Here it is a reinterpretation of the gladiators' banquet (see chapter 4), at which the expected resignation and anticipation of the games to come is replaced by joyous anticipation of martyrdom fulfilled.
- 34 Perhaps a variation on the standard practice of offering female animals in sacrifice to female divinities.
- 35 Emotion-driven mood swings of the crowd, here from outrage at the unrepentant condemned to outraged modesty on behalf of the condemned, are noted for other contexts as well.
- 36 Translation by H. Musurillo, *The Acts*.
- 37 Acts 4:24.
- 38 Acts 9:15.
- 39 2 Timothy 1:11
- 40 1 Peter 1:4.
- 41 Loeb translation by H. J. Thomson.
- 42 Translation by M. S. Muldowney, ed., *Saint Augustine: Sermons of the Liturgical Seasons* (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959).

- 43 Loeb translation by H. J. Thomson.
- 44 Adapted from Loeb translation by H. J. Thomson.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Translation by R. Warner, ed., *The Confessions of St. Augustine* (New York and Scarborough, Ontario: New American Library, 1963).

### Chapter 6: Chariot Races and Water Shows

- 1 Penguin translation by A. de Sélincourt.
- 2 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. H. Mozley.
- 3 Penguin translation by P. Green.
- 4 This refers to the tradition demanding a slave ride in the general's chariot in the triumphal parade, whispering "Remember, you are only a man."
- 5 Loeb translation by E. Cary
- 6 Translation by P. Halsall, online at [www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian\\_spectacles.htm](http://www.hagiographa.com/LostBooks/tertullian_spectacles.htm).
- 7 Adapted from Loeb translation by J. D. Duff.
- 8 Adapted from Loeb translation by W. B. Anderson.
- 9 Penguin translation by H. Bettenson.
- 10 Penguin translation by A. de Sélincourt.
- 11 Loeb translation by W. R. Paton.
- 12 Translation by J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XXXIV (1968): 91–92.
- 13 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.
- 14 Adapted from new Penguin translation by P. Green.
- 15 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton-Bailey.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Adapted from translation by N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, eds., *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings: The Empire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990).
- 18 Loeb translation by W. R. Paton.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid.
- 21 Adapted from Loeb translation by W. R. Paton.
- 22 Translation by S. J. B. Barnish, *Variae*.
- 23 Loeb translation by J. C. Rolfe.
- 24 Penguin translation by A. Birley.
- 25 Translation by J. G. Gager, "Curse and Competition in the Ancient Circus," in H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin, eds., *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (Maryland: University Press of America, 1990), pp. 215–228.
- 26 This is a reference to the signs or "characters" written on the tablet and the supernatural beings whose symbols these were.
- 27 Porphyrius, the famous charioteer of late fifth-/early sixth-century Constantinople, may be the driver meant here.
- 28 Translation by J. G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), #9.
- 29 Loeb translation by J. C. Rolfe.
- 30 Penguin translation by M. Grant.
- 31 Adapted from Penguin translation by A. Birley.
- 32 Loeb translation by H. Rackham.
- 33 Adapted from new Penguin translation by P. Green.

- 34 Loeb translation by H. Rackham.  
35 Translation by P. Halsall, online (see note 6).  
36 Loeb translation by H. Rackham.  
37 This is likely the *Acta Diurna*, a gazette published in Rome from the mid-first century BCE with news of official events, ceremonies and so forth.  
38 Penguin translation by M. Graves.  
39 Ibid.  
40 Penguin translation by B. Radice.  
41 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.  
42 Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
43 Translation by M. and M. Whitby, eds., *The History of Theophylact Simocatta* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).  
44 Loeb translation by J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby.  
45 Loeb translation by F. C. Conybeare.  
46 Ibid.  
47 Penguin translation by M. Grant.  
48 Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
49 Adapted from Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
50 Loeb translation by J. C. Rolfe.  
51 Adapted from translation by R. Atwater, ed., *Procopius Secret History* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961).  
52 Ibid.  
53 Translation by R. Atwater, *Procopius*.  
54 Adapted from Loeb translation by H. P. Dewing.  
55 Adapted from Loeb translation by H. White.  
56 Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
57 Loeb translation by J. Jackson.  
58 Loeb translation by E. Cary.  
59 The “victory” here is Caligula’s conquest of the sea, by means of the bridge.  
60 Penguin translation by M. Grant.  
61 This is the ornamental pool or Stagnum constructed by Agrippa as part of his bath complex on the Campus Martius, first in a series of increasingly elaborate imperial bath facilities.  
62 Loeb translation by D. R. Shackleton Bailey.  
63 Ibid.

# Suggestions for Further Reading

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