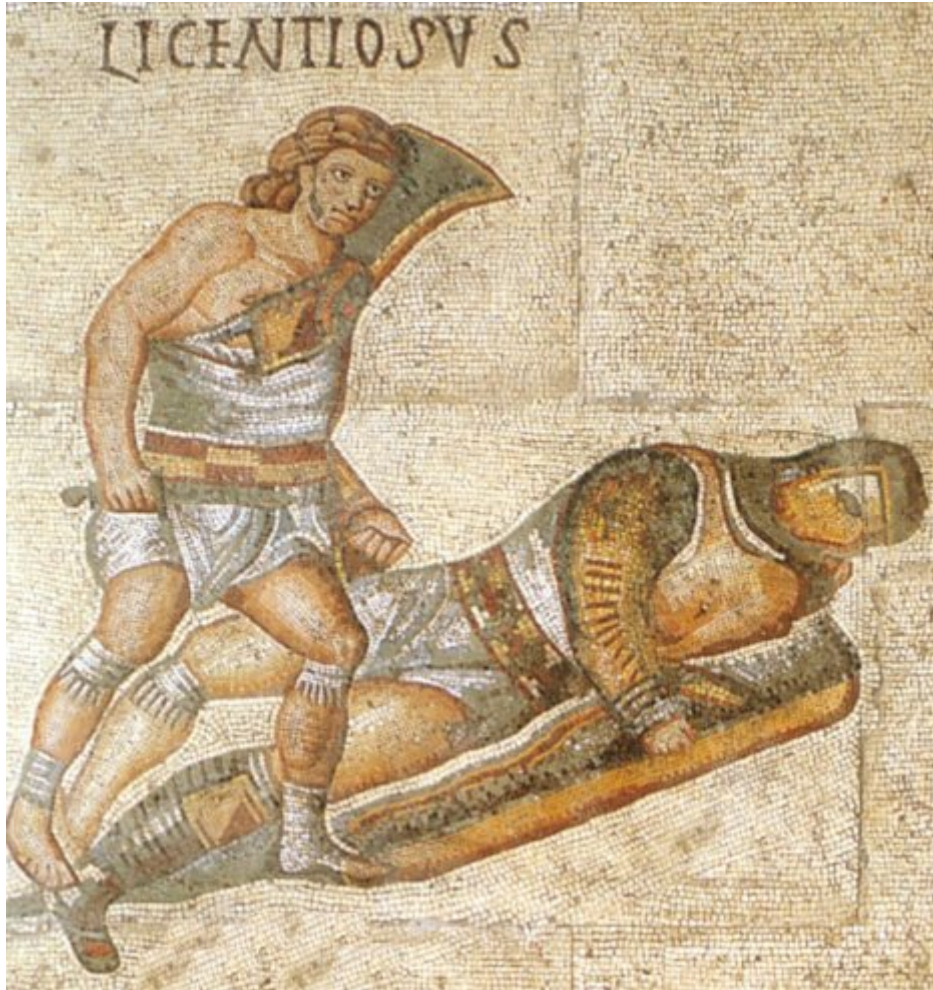


## Gladiators in Rome and the western provinces of the Roman Empire



**Advanced Seminar 600.**

**Spring semester 2010.**

In Rome women dipped a spear into the blood of a killed gladiator and used it to part their hair in preparation for the marriage ceremony. The ritual was supposed to bestow magic and charismatic powers. At least one senatorial woman left her husband and children, and her very elegant life-style, in order to elope to Egypt with her gladiator-lover. According to the writer who reports on this famous scandal, the gladiator had a series of unsightly lesions on his face and in the middle of his nose a massive wart. It was not beauty that women fell in love with but the cold steel. In legal terms, however, gladiators in Roman society were regarded as the lowest of the lowest. They were usually slaves, and when they were not

slaves when they became gladiators they had to swear an oath that technically made them the equivalent of slaves. Gladiators were excluded from the most prestigious positions in society.

This paradox will be the key theme of this seminar, but we will also look into a number of other topics, such as recruitment, training, different types of gladiators, fan clubs, family life, emperors as gladiators.

**Lecture room:** Greek and Latin Reading Room (Memorial Library, 4<sup>th</sup> floor). In order to access the room you need a key. You need to pay a deposit of \$10.00 on the third floor of Memorial Library.

**Time:** Tuesday 1:00 PM-3:00 PM.

**Instructor:** Prof. M. Kleijwegt, Humanities 5219; tel.: 263 2528; email: mkleijwegt@wisc.edu

**Required books:**

Luciana Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, Los Angeles 2003. ISBN 0892367318. \$35.00.

Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, Routledge, New York 1995. ISBN 0415121647. \$41.95.

## Course Aims

This course is designed as an intensive reading, discussion, research, and writing experience for advanced undergraduates. You are expected to read and comment on the secondary literature for each meeting (starting with week 5), and you should be prepared to discuss in class what you have read in preparation for each meeting.

**Reading:** More important than anything else that you are going to encounter in this course is the correct way of reading scholarly articles, chapters, and books. Most of the reading that you have done for other courses focuses on summarizing and understanding new information. This course will take the process one step further and teach you how to read for argument. Every historical article, chapter, or book has a message, an argument, an opinion and that is commonly based on a personal interpretation of the evidence found in the sources. In the ideal reading strategy the reader will familiarize him/herself first with the basic facts and then try to identify what the argument is that the author is trying to make. The first thing you need to do is to read the article for information and check what you do not know. The second step is to evaluate the primary evidence, come to a conclusion and compare that conclusion with the one reached by the author. It is therefore recommended that you go through the assigned readings several times. You do not have to agree with the opinion of the author of the article that you are reading. At this point you may think that you do not have enough experience and knowledge to question the opinion or argument made by a professional scholar, but in fact all you need is diligence, common sense and critical skills. You have to train these skills and practice them for some time before you can apply them with success, but that is what this course aims to do. Therefore, it is important to start with this procedure as soon as you can.

**Research:** If you have never done research in Ancient History, don't be apprehensive. Ancient History is not that different from other types of historical research. You do not need to know Greek or Latin in order to do undergraduate research in Roman History. I will try to familiarize you as quickly as possible with the types of evidence for gladiators and the games and train you in reading strategies dealing with bias and misrepresentation. The most important thing for any kind of research in the historical sciences is to make a distinction between things that you do not know and a historical problem. Researching something that you do not know may sound like an interesting adventure, but after you have satisfied your curiosity it is not that stimulating. You will soon discover that something that YOU do not know may be quite familiar to someone who has studied gladiators for decades. For example, you may be interested in learning more about what gladiators ate to prepare them for the fights. What was their diet like? Alison Futrell's sourcebook on the games will quickly tell you that gladiators were given the nickname barley-men and therefore must have eaten a lot of barley. In the Roman world barley is usually regarded as a kind of food for animals (in Greece people ate barley, but not in Rome), and therefore only suitable for human beings in unusual circumstances. Soldiers would be forced to eat barley if their commanding officers wanted to punish them or when the stored wheat had been fully consumed. The connection between barley and gladiators is not a suitable topic for a paper unless you can come up with a truly interesting question that goes beyond the rather superficial question what gladiators were eating. For your paper you should rather choose to work on a historical problem. A historical problem is something about which generations of scholars have disagreed without reaching a permanent solution. Such a problem is the

discussion around the origins of the gladiatorial games. There are many different theories based on the relatively small number of pieces of evidence that speak to this matter, but even now nobody is really certain as to what the best answer is. You can question whether the question is relevant, but every general book on the history of the gladiatorial games HAS to discuss this issue and therefore has to address the widely divergent pool of answers. It is my intention to coach you to address this kind of problem rather than the kind of problems discussed above.

**Writing:** Some of you may have written essays of between 15 and 20 pages before, while others may not have written anything beyond 10 pages. I will incorporate discussion of certain important aspects of the writing process in the third part of the course (weeks 11 to 15) and I will give feedback on your research proposal and the draft that you submit.

**Please note that your research should be based on primary sources (in translation) and secondary printed works only. Internet sources such as Wikipedia etc. cannot be deemed scholarly resources and are therefore unacceptable for this paper. Of course, you may use the internet as a search tool, but in your essay you should always refer to the printed primary sources and secondary literature.**

### **Class Participation**

Class discussions are a central part of this course. Students are expected to attend every seminar. Not attending meetings will only be allowed for serious medical, personal or other circumstances and should be reported to the instructor by email, preferably before the seminar is meeting. Students should complete all of the assigned reading before each seminar meeting, and arrive prepared for a detailed and critical discussion. Seminars are designed to exchange opinions on the reading, analyze important historical questions, and compare various viewpoints. The quality of each student's class participation during the semester will comprise 10 % of his/her grade.

### **Assignments**

Students will do three assignments for this course. These assignments aim to improve students' critical and analytical skills. The assignments will be done at home and they are based on material that has already been discussed in class (usually in the week prior to the submission date for the assignment). For the dates for submitting these assignments see the teaching program below. Each assignment will count for 10% and therefore the assignments will count for 30% towards the final grade for the course. The reading material for the assignments will be distributed to students ahead of time. Your answer should be no more than 2 pages (1.5 spacing). I prefer to receive your answers electronically and I will supply feedback by email. The question that you need to answer in your written assignment can be found in the teaching program below.

### **Research Paper Proposal**

On **March 9** students should electronically submit a 2 page research paper proposal and an outline of topics. The research paper proposal should include the following:

A statement of the main research question; a statement of the hypotheses and arguments that the student will make in the paper; an explanation of how these hypotheses and arguments revise existing interpretations; an explanation of the strengths and shortcomings in the available sources.

The research paper proposals should reflect careful and polished writing. Proofread your proposals before submission! Check your grammar carefully. Make sure that each paragraph has a topic sentence. Each sentence should contribute to the point of the paragraph where it is situated.

Students should also include a general outline of the topics they plan to cover in their papers. The topic outline should provide a sense of how the paper will be organized, and how the student will employ his/her sources. The research paper proposal will count for 10% of each student's grade.

### **Draft of the Research Paper**

On **April 20** each student should submit a completed 5-10 page draft of his/her research paper. These drafts may be submitted electronically. These drafts should not be "rough." They should include polished prose, careful argumentation, clear organization, a creative introduction, a thoughtful conclusion, completed footnotes, and a full bibliography.

I will read the draft papers carefully for style and substance. I will offer extensive written and oral comments for students to use in the final version of their papers. The draft research paper will account for 10% of each student's grade.

### **Final Version of the Research Paper**

The required length of the research paper is between 15 and 20 pages. Students must submit the final version of their research papers to the instructor's office by **4:00 PM on Friday, May 7**. Late papers will not be accepted. Students should try to implement as many of the revisions suggested on the draft paper as possible. The final papers should also reflect additional proofreading for clarity, style, and overall presentation. The final paper will account for 40% of each student's grade.

Grading

Assignments	30%
Class Participation	10%
Research Paper Proposal	10%
Draft of the Research Paper	10%
Final Version of the Research Paper	40%

**IMPORTANT DATES:**

**SUBMISSION OF FIRST ASSIGNMENT: 2/23**

**SUBMISSION OF SECOND ASSIGNMENT: 3/2**

**SUBMISSION OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL: 3/9**

**SUBMISSION OF THIRD ASSIGNMENT: 3/23**

**SUBMISSION OF DRAFT: 4/20**

**FINAL SUBMISSION OF PAPER: 5/7**

## Teaching Program

Week 1: 1/19/2010

**Gladiators and Roman Society**

Week 2: 1/26/2010

**Research Theme: Gladiators in Literature**

Week 3: 2/2/2010

**Research Theme: Gladiators in Other Types of Evidence**

Week 4: 2/9/2010

**Research theme: Historical Problems**

Week 5: 2/16/2010

**Discussion theme: The Origins of the Gladiatorial Games**

Question: What is the evidence for the origins of the gladiatorial games and how should that evidence be evaluated? How important is it to know the origins of the games?

Readings:

John Mouratidis, 'On the origin of the gladiatorial games', *Nikephoros* 9 (1996), 111-134.

Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, New York and Cambridge 2007, 11-18.

Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, New York 1992, 30-34.

**Assignment 1:** Summarize the argument in defense of the theory that the Romans received the concept of gladiatorial fighting from the Etruscans. You should proceed as follows. Find all the ancient evidence that refers to the games as Etruscan. Alison Futrell's sourcebook is a great resource for this, but you should also check all the scholarly literature on the reserve shelf – use the key words tabulated in the index for each book. Next, find the modern author's argument, i. e. what he or she believes in on the basis of the facts.

**Submission date:** 2/23

Week 6: 2/23/2010

**Discussion theme: Constructing the First Amphitheater**

Readings:

Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, New York 1992, 18-23.

Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, New York and Cambridge 2007, 30-72.

**Assignment 2:** Pompeii's amphitheatre was built in the time of Sulla's dictatorship (from 82-78 BC), but it took until 29 BC before the city of Rome completed the building of her first permanent amphitheatre and it would take even longer before the city had a venue for gladiatorial games that reflected the status of the capitol of an empire. Read Kathleen M. Coleman, 'Euergetism in its place: where was the amphitheatre in Augustan Rome?', Kathryn Lomas and Tim Cornell (eds.), *Bread and Circuses: Euergetism and municipal patronage in Roman Italy*, London and New York 2003, 61-89, and comment on her explanation for the relatively late introduction of the permanent stone amphitheatre in Rome. Do you find her explanation convincing?

**Submission date:** 3/2

Week 7: 3/2/2010

**During this week one-on-one meetings with instructor to discuss research paper.**





### Discussion theme: Types of Gladiators

Question: What types of gladiators did the Romans know? How would you be able to recognize them?

Readings:

Luciana Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, Los Angeles 2003, 7-17.

Fik Meijer, *The Gladiators: History's Most Deadly Sport*, New York 2005, 86-96.

Week 8: 3/9/2010

**No meeting; work on research paper proposal.**



Week 9: 3/16/2010



**Discussion theme: Gladiators at Pompeii**

Question: What information do we have on the staging of gladiatorial games in Pompeii? Do you think that the games staged in Pompeii are representative of the kind of games that a Roman would see in a mid-sized town in Italy?

Readings:

Luciana Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, Los Angeles 2003, 39-107.

**Assignment 3:** Study the following passage from the *Annals* of the historian Tacitus. The events that he is describing take place in AD 59. Jacobelli discusses the events on p. 106. The riot is also represented in a fresco found on the walls of the house of Anicetus (an illustration can be found in Jacobelli on p. 72).

“About the same date, a trivial incident led to a serious affray between the inhabitants of the colonies of Nuceria and Pompeii, at a gladiatorial show presented by Livineius Regulus, whose removal from the senate has been noticed. During an exchange of raillery, typical of the petulance of country towns, they resorted to abuse, then to stones, and finally to steel; the superiority lying with the populace of Pompeii, where the show was being exhibited. As a result, many of the Nucerians were carried maimed and wounded to the capital, while a very large number mourned the deaths of children or of parents. The trial of the affair was delegated by the emperor to the senate; by the senate to the consuls. On the case being again laid before the members, the Pompeians as a community were debarred from holding any similar assembly for ten years, and the associations which they had formed illegally were dissolved. Livineius and the other fomenters of the outbreak were punished with exile.” (Tacitus, *The Annals of imperial Rome*, 14.17).

Assess the relevance of these events for the history of the gladiatorial games. Why would someone commission a painting of such an event to decorate his home?

**Submission date:** 3/23

Week 10: 3/23/2010

**Discussion theme: Gladiators between Dishonor and Appeal**

Question: What were the reasons that gladiators were considered to be social outcasts, and by whom were they regarded as such? What are the reasons for their popularity?

Readings:

Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, 20-27.

Donald Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, New York and London 1998, 79-91.

Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, New York 1992, 28-30; 102-127.

Week 11: 4/6/2010



**Discussion theme: Gladiators and Identity**

Question: What relevant information is provided on gladiators by funerary tombs? What possible weaknesses do you detect in the use of this type of evidence in order to reconstruct the status of gladiators?

Readings:

Valerie M. Hope, 'Negotiating Identity and Status: The Gladiators of Roman Nimes', Joan Berry and Ray Laurence (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, London and New York 1998, 179-195.

Valerie M. Hope, 'Fighting for identity: the funerary commemoration of Italian gladiators', Alison Cooley (ed.), *The Epigraphic Landscape*, London 2000, 93-113.

Week 12: 4/13/2010

**Discussion theme: Spectators**

Question: What is the effect of the spectacles in the arena on the spectators, and how do the spectators use the opportunity of being in a large enclosed room? How did that change Roman society?

Readings:

Alex Scobie, 'Spectator security and comfort at gladiatorial games', *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 191-243.

Magnus Wistrand, 'Violence and Entertainment in Seneca the Younger', *Erano* 88 (1990), 31-46.

Thomas W. Africa, 'Urban Violence in Ancient Rome', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971), 3-21.



*Pollice Verso* (1872) by Jean-Léon Gérôme, now in the Phoenix Art Gallery.

Week 13: 4/20/2010

**Submission of draft of research paper. Please submit electronically.**

**Discussion theme: The End of the Gladiatorial Games**

Question: What type of evidence do we have for the abolition of the gladiatorial games?

What were the reasons for ending them?

Reading:

Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, New York 1992, 128-165.

Week 14: 4/27/2010

Work on final essay.

Week 15: 5/4/2010

Work on final essay.

**5/7: Submission of research paper. Please submit both electronically and in hard copy.**

## Gladiators: bibliography

\* = on reserve in Greek and Latin reading Room

\*\* = can be downloaded through JSTOR.

\*\*\* = available as Xerox copy.

\*\* Thomas W. Africa, 'Urban Violence in Ancient Rome', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971), 3-21.

\* Roland Auguet, *Cruelty and civilization: the Roman games*, London 1994.

\* Carlin A. Barton, *The sorrows of the ancient Romans: the gladiator and the monster*, Princeton 1993.

\*\* N. C. W. Bateman, 'The London amphitheatre: excavations 1987-1996', *Britannia* 28 (1997), 51-85.

Sandra Jean Bingham, 'Security at the games in the early imperial period', *Echos du monde classique* 18 (1999), 369-379.

David L. Bomgardner, 'A new era for amphitheatre studies', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 375-390.

David Lee Bomgardner, *The story of the Roman amphitheatre*, London 2000.

K. R. Bradley, 'The significance of the *spectacula* in Suetonius' *Caesares*', *Rivista Storica dell'Antichità* 11 (1981), 129-137.

\* Shelby Brown 'Death as decoration: scenes from the arena on Roman domestic mosaics', Amy Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*, Oxford 1991, 180-211.

Stephen Brunet, 'Female and dwarf gladiators', *Museion* 4 (2004), 145-70

\*\* Pierre F. Cagniard, 'The philosopher and the gladiator', *Classical World* 93 (1999-2000), 607-618.

\*\* Michael Carter, 'Gladiatorial ranking and the SC de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis: (CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163)', *Phoenix* 57 (2003), 83-114.

\*\* Michael Carter, 'Gladiatorial Combat with 'Sharp' Weapons', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 155 (2006), 161-175.

\*\* M. J. Carter, 'Gladiatorial Combat: The Rules of Engagement', *Classical Journal* 102 (2007), 97-114.

Michael Carter, 'Accepi ramum': Gladiatorial Palms and the Chavagnes Gladiator Cup', *Latomus* 68 (2009), 438-441.

Michael Carter, 'Gladiators and *Monomachoi*: Greek Attitudes to a Roman Cultural Performance', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 29 (2009), 298-322.

Guy Chamberland, 'A Gladiatorial Show produced *in sordidam mercedem* (Tacitus *Ann.* 4.62)', *Phoenix* 61 (2007), 136-149.

\* Filippo Coarelli, (ed.), *The Colosseum*, Malibu 2001.

\*\* K. M. Coleman 'Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments', *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990), 44-73.

\*\* Kathleen M. Coleman, 'Launching into history: aquatic displays in the Early Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993), 48-74.

\*\* Kathleen M. Coleman, 'Missio at Halicarnassus', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100 (2000), 487-500.

\* Kathleen M. Coleman, 'Euergetism in its place: where was the amphitheatre in Augustan Rome?', Kathryn Lomas and Tim Cornell (eds.), *Bread and Circuses: Euergetism and municipal patronage in Roman Italy*, London and New York 2003, 61-89.

\*\* Anthony Corbeil, 'Thumbs in Ancient Rome: Pollex as Index', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997), 1-21.

\*\*\* J. C. N. Coulston, 'Gladiators and soldiers: personnel and equipment in *ludus* and *castra*', *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 9 (1998), 1-17.

\* J. C. Edmondson, 'Dynamic arenas: gladiatorial presentations in the city of Rome and the construction of Roman society during the early empire', W. J. Slater (ed.), *Roman Theater and Society*, Ann Arbor 1996, 69-113.

\* Catharine Edwards, 'Unspeakable professions: public performance and prostitution in ancient Rome', Judith Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner (eds.), *Roman Sexualities*, Princeton 1997, 66-95.

\*\* James L. Franklin, 'Cn. Alleius Nigidius Maius and the amphitheatre: *munera* and a distinguished career at ancient Pompeii', *Historia* 46 (1997), 434-447.

\* Alison Futrell, *Blood in the arena: the spectacle of Roman power*, Austin 1997.

\* Alison Futrell, *The Roman Games: A Sourcebook*, Malden 2004.

\* Michael Grant, *Gladiators*, London 1967.

\*\* Eric T. Gunderson, 'The ideology of the arena', *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996), 113-151.



\* Valerie M. Hope, 'Negotiating Identity and Status: The Gladiators of Roman Nimes', Joan Berry and Ray Laurence (eds.), *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire*, London and New York 1998, 179-195.

\* Valerie Hope, 'Fighting for identity: the funerary commemoration of Italian gladiators', Alison Cooley (ed.), *The Epigraphic Landscape*, London 2000, 93-113.

\* Keith Hopkins, 'Murderous Games', Keith Hopkins, *Death and Renewal*, Cambridge 1983, 1-31.

\* Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum*, Cambridge, Mass. 2005.

\* Michael B. Hornum, *Nemesis, the Roman State and the games*, Leiden 1993.

\* Eckart Köhne and Cornelia Ewigleben (eds.), *Gladiators and Caesars: the power of spectacle in ancient Rome*, translation by Ralph P. J. Jackson, Berkeley 2000.

\* Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*, London and New York 1998.

\*\* Barbara Levick, 'The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum', *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983), 97-115.

Gottfried Mader, 'Blocked eyes and ears: the eloquent gestures at Augustine, Conf. VI, 8, 13', *Antiquité Classique* 69 (2000), 217-220.

\*\* Anna McCullough, 'Female Gladiators in Imperial Rome: Literary Context and Historical Fact', *Classical Journal* 101 (2008), 197-209 (Project Muse).

\* Fik Meijer, *The Gladiators: History's Most Deadly Sport*, New York 2005.

\*\*\* John Mouratidis, 'On the origin of the gladiatorial games', *Nikephoros* 9 (1996), 111-134.

J. Pearson, *Arena: The story of the Colosseum*, New York 1973.

\* Paul C. Plass, *The game of death in ancient Rome: arena sport and political suicide*, Madison 1995.

\*\*\* Alex Scobie, 'Spectator security and comfort at gladiatorial games', *Nikephoros* 1 (1988), 191-243.

\* Barry Strauss, *The Spartacus War*, New York 2009.

J. P. Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 1995.

Steven Tuck, 'Spectacle and ideology in the relief decorations of the Anfiteatro Campano at Capua', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20 (2007), 255-272.

\* Theresa Urbainczyk, *Spartacus*, London 2004.

Mark Vesley, 'Gladiatorial Training for Girls in the *collegia iuvenum* of the Roman Empire', *Echos du monde classique/Classical Views* 17 (1998), 85-93.

G. Ville, *La gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*, Paris and Rome 1981.

\*\* Jonathan Walters, 'Making a spectacle: deviant men, invective, and pleasure', *Arethusa* 31 (1998), 355-367.

Katherine Welch, 'The Roman arena in late-Republican Italy: a new interpretation', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994), 59-80.

Katherine Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, New York and Cambridge 2007.

Martin Winkler, (ed.), *Gladiator: Film and History*, Malden, MA, 2004.

\*\*\* Magnus Wistrand, 'Violence and Entertainment in Seneca the Younger', *Eranos* 88 (1990), 31-46.

\* Magnus Wistrand, *Entertainment and violence in ancient Rome: the attitudes of Roman writers of the first century A. D.*, Göteborg 1992.