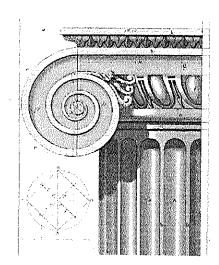
Roman Sports and Spectacles

A Sourcebook

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A large purse for a chariot race was 30,000 sesterces; to hire a gladiator from his *lanista* for a fight might cost 5,000 to 15,000 sesterces. For comparison, at the beginning of the Empire, under the reign of Augustus, an ordinary soldier in the Roman army earned 900 sesterces a year. An unskilled laborer in Rome at the same period might earn 3 sesterces a day. It is always misleading to try to convert ancient money into modern terms, since the relative prices of different goods have changed; I have therefore left the money figures in the sources in terms of sesterces.

The sources collected here focus on Rome from the second century BC to the second century AD, although a few earlier and later texts are included. Greek athletics and the Greek festivals are generally ignored except where they are directly relevant to Roman practice or Roman politics. I have also ignored the later development of Roman circus ludi in the Byzantine empire. To make the translations more accessible and more readable, I have often interpreted allusions or inserted glosses. Technical terms have been retained in Latin and those that have not become English words are italicized: thus ludus, but not gladiator. Selections are grouped into chapters by themes; within each chapter, the selections are ordered chronologically. Connoisseurs of source-books will observe that these selections are fuller than is the practice in many such texts. For example, I have included some complete letters of Cicero rather than extracting only the paragraphs that pertain directly to sports and spectacles. This is deliberate; the context in which the Romans discussed their sports tells us something about the importance of sport relative to other facets of Roman life.

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Chapter 1

Origins and Foundations

These selections describe the origins of the major *ludi* and the gradual evolution of the rules and customs associated with *ludi* and *munera*. Some of the information is historical and some is conjectural. We do know that all the major festivals were founded during the early Republic, most of them during the third century BC. Most of the information in this chapter comes from Livy, a historian spanning the first century BC and first century AD who had access to sources that are now lost to us. He wrote a history of Rome in 142 volumes, 35 of which still exist; the rest have been lost, but we have summaries of what they said.

Note how many of the early *ludi* are held in honor of the gods, usually in fulfillment of a vow. Roman sports were never pure entertainment done for their own sake but always part of a religious observance. Tertullian therefore disapproves of them: he is a Christian and finds Roman religion offensive. His book *On Spectacles* describes the Roman spectacles of his day (the second century AD) and why Christians should not watch them. He appears to be making an honest effort to discover the origins of these festivals, since he quotes various sources who give competing accounts, but his disapproval of "pagan idolatry" comes through clearly in almost every sentence.

Livy, 1.35

This excerpt describes the origins of the ludi Romani in the sixth century BC.

First Tarquinius⁶ waged war on the Latins and captured the town of Apiolae. Because he brought back more plunder than expected from what had seemed like a small war, he put on more extravagant *ludi* than previous kings had done. It was then that the place now called the Circus Maximus was marked out. There were separate sections of seats for senators and knights to watch from, with benches on supports as much as twelve feet off the ground. There were horse races and boxers brought in from Etruria. These games are still held annually, and called the *ludi Romani* or the Great *ludi*.

⁶ Tarquinius Priscus was the fifth king of Rome, in the sixth century BC.

5.19, 5.31, 5.49-50

The next major festival to be founded was the Capitoline *ludi*. Marcus Furius Camillus led the Romans during their conflict with the Gauls in the 390s BC. When the Gauls attacked the city, the Romans considered moving to Veii, a nearby city they had only recently conquered. Camillus insisted that Romans belonged at Rome.

5.19 (396 BC): As the dictator Camillus was giving thanks before the Senate, and everything was all ready for the coming war, he vowed that he would put on great *ludi* if he captured Veii and would restore and rededicate the temple of Mater Matuta⁷ originally built by Servius Tullius about 250 years earlier.

5.31 (392 BC): Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, later called "Capitolinus," were made consuls. These consuls held the great *ludi* that Camillus had vowed for the Veian war when he was dictator. In the same year the temple to Queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator for the same war, was dedicated, and the women celebrated its dedication with great excitement.

5.49-50 (390 BC): Camillus had saved his country in war, then saved it again in peace by forbidding the migration to Veii, though the tributes strongly recommended this after the fire in the city and the people were inclined to agree. This was why he did not step down as dictator after his triumph: the Senate asked him not to leave the state in an unsettled condition.

First of all, since he was very dutiful and precise in religious matters, Camillus restored everything to do with the gods. He had the Senate resolve, first, that all the holy places that the enemy had occupied should be restored, re-surveyed, and purified according to rules the *duoviri* would look up in the Sibylline books. Next, the Senate resolved friendship with the people of Caere, because they had taken in the holy artifacts and priests of the Roman people, so that by their good will the Romans did not stop paying honor to the immortal gods. Finally, the Senate resolved to hold Capitoline *ludi* for Jupiter Best and Greatest because he had kept his temple and the citadel of the Roman people safe at a difficult time. Camillus the dictator was to establish a college to hold these *ludi*, chosen from those who lived in the citadel on the Capitoline hill.

7.2

Livy tells us the first theatrical ludi took place in 363 BC. He then goes on to

discuss the early history of the Roman theater—with a dig at its later expense and degeneracy. The Etruscan word "ister" which came into Latin as histriones is the ancestor of English "histrionic," meaning "theatrical."

In this year and the following (364-363 BC), when Gaius Sulpicius Peticus and Gaius Licinius Stolo were consuls, there was a plague. Nothing was done about it worthy of recollection except that for the third time since the founding of the city a divine banquet was held. When neither human plans nor divine assistance lessened the force of the disease, and the Romans were deeply discouraged from fear of the gods, among all their other attempts at calming the ire of the heavens they even instituted theatrical *ludi*. This was a new thing for a warlike people, whose spectacles up to now had been only in the circus. It was a small *ludus*, as beginnings almost always are, but it was a foreign institution.

Actors brought in from Etruria danced to a *tibicen*,¹¹ with no singing or imitating the motions of singing, but quite decorously in the Etruscan way. Then the young men began to imitate them, at the same time tossing off jokes in rough verses, and they matched their dancing to their voices. Once the idea was accepted, such *ludi* became frequent. Because "ister" is the Etruscan word for an actor, these performers were called "histriones." They would not improvise rough, irregular lines like the earlier Fescennine verses, but performed complete satires, with even the *tibicen*'s part written out in advance, and dancing to match.

Some years later, Livius Andronicus was the first to turn from these satires to writing plays with plots. He was also an actor in his own plays, as everyone was then. It is said that when he strained his voice from too many performances, he asked the audience's pardon and put a boy next to the *tibicen* to do the singing. He himself could then dance more vigorously since he was not also using his voice. From then on actors began to have someone else do the singing, leaving only the spoken dialogue for their own verses.

Later, plays turned away from this type of unrestricted joking and little by little the *ludi scaenici* became artistic. Young people left acting in plays to the *histriones* and began to make up amusing verses among themselves in the old way. From this practice came what were later called "exodia" or "after-pieces," especially in conjunction with Atellan farces. The latter are a type of play taken over from the Oscans, and the young people would not allow them to be contaminated by *histriones*. As a result it is still the rule that actors in Atellan farces are not removed from their tribes; ¹² even though they are involved in *ludi* they still serve as soldiers.

Mater Matuta was a goddess of growth.

⁸ Juno was one of the most important goddesses in Rome. As Queen Juno, she was part of the Capitoline Triad, whose other members were Jupiter and Minerva; these three divinities were considered the protectors of the Roman state.

⁹ A duovir (pl. duoviri) is one of a committee of two. See the glossary for more information.

The Sibylline books were ancient books of prophecy, kept by a special college of priests. The books were only opened and read when the Senate requested a consultation.

¹¹ A tibicen is a musician who plays the tibia, a woodwind instrument like a recorder.

¹² To be "removed from one's tribe" originally meant to have one's Roman citizenship taken away, but long before Livy's time it came to mean only being transferred to a larger voting-group where one's vote would not count as much.

The origins of *ludi scaenici* should be explained along with the origins of other things, it seems to me, so that we may see how from a healthy and normal beginning they have grown into an insanity that even a wealthy kingdom could hardly tolerate.

9.40

Lucius Papirius was dictator in 308 BC. This incident shows how "Samnite" became a type of gladiator.

By decree of the Senate, the dictator had a triumph,¹³ in which captured arms were the greatest part of the display. There was such a magnificent abundance of booty that golden shields were given to the bankers to adorn the forum, and this is said to be the origin of the custom of the aediles' decorating the forum as the images of the gods are brought in. To honor the gods, Romans used the characteristic arms of their enemies. The Campanians, from pride and hatred of the Samnites, armed the gladiators for the spectacle between the banquets in their style; the gladiators were called "Samnites."

10.47

This incident took place at the end of 292 BC. It became customary to put pictures of victory palms on gladiators' tombstones.

At the end of the year the new tribunes of the plebs¹⁴ took office, but they were replaced by suffects after five days because of a flaw in the election. The censors Publius Cornelius Arvina and Gaius Marcius Rutulus performed a *lustrum;*¹⁵ they counted 262,321 citizens. They were the twenty-sixth censors since the first ones, and this was the nineteenth *lustrum*. In the same year those who won crowns for valor in battle wore them at the *ludi Romani* for the first time, and for the first time palms were given to the victors in adaptation of the Greek custom. That same year, the curule aediles who gave the *ludi* also paved a road from the rock of Mars to Bavilla. Lucius Papirius held the consular elections; Quintus Fabius Gurgites, son of Maximus, and Decimus Junius Brutus Scaeva were elected, and Papirius himself was elected praetor.

Summary 16

The 16th book of Livy's history is one of the lost ones, so this summary is our main record of its contents. It is striking that the first gladiatorial munus was so important that not only did Livy write it into the history, but the writer of the summary retained it. The year under discussion is 264 BC.

13 A triumph was an official celebration of a victory.

It is said that the city of Carthage and the nation of Carthaginians were founded in this year. The Senate considered whether help should be sent to the Mamertines against the Carthaginians and Hieron king of Syracuse, and there was much debate between partisans of both sides. At last, Roman cavalry, fighting overseas for the first time, acquitted themselves very well. The enemy sued for peace and it was granted. The censors held a *lustrum*; the census registered 382,234 citizens. Decimus Junius Brutus gave the first gladiator *munus* in honor of his deceased father. The colony of Aesernia was founded. The affairs against the Carthaginians and the Vulsians went well.

24.43

These *ludi* took place in 214 BC; later, it became a standard part of the aediles' job to put on *ludi*.

Quintus Fabius Maximus the consul¹ held the consular elections. His son Quintus Fabius Maximus and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus¹ were both elected even though they were away from Rome, Gracchus for the second time. The two curule aediles, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, became praetors, and along with them Marcus Atilius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. That year for the first time it is recorded that the curule aediles put on *ludi scaenici* for four days.

25.12

The Apollinarian games were founded in 212 BC. The prophecy quoted here was given by a seer called Marcius. Because one of his other prophecies had come true (about the battle of Cannae in 216, in which Hannibal defeated the Romans rather badly), the Senate were inclined to believe this one as well.

The prophecy said: "If you want to drive the enemy out of your land, Romans, and expel this curse that has come from a foreign people, I advise you vow games for Apollo,18 to be celebrated every year for his good will. The people will give part at public expense and private citizens will supply additional money on their own. Let the praetor, who administers the law for the people and the plebs, be in charge of putting on these *ludi*. Let a board of ten make sacrifices in the Greek way against our enemies. If you do this correctly, you will always rejoice and your affairs will always improve, for the god who gently nurtures your fields will annihilate your enemies."

They spent one day on interpreting this prophecy. The next day, the Senate decreed that a board of ten men should look into the Sibylline books about *ludi* for Apollo and other divine matters. When the board

¹⁴ Tribunes of the plebs were magistrates charged with protecting the plebeians, the citizens who were not nobles.

 $^{^{\}rm 15}\,{\rm A}\,{\rm lustrum}$ was a ritual purification performed every five years by the Roman censors, including a census of citizens.

¹⁶ This is the "Delayer" (cunctator) who held off Hannibal for many years.

¹⁷ This Gracchus is an uncle of the more famous Gracchus brothers who served as tribunes of the plebs in the 130s BC.

¹⁸ Apollo was a Greek god, imported into Roman religion as a god of healing.

made their report to the Senate, the senators decided that *ludi* should be vowed and held for Apollo, and that when the games were to be given, 4,800 sesterces and two large sacrificial victims should be given to the praetor. The Senate also decided that the board of ten should make a sacrifice in the Greek way against the enemies, with a bull and two white goats, their horns gilded, for Apollo, and a cow for Latona, its horns also gilded.

When the praetor was about to start the *ludi* in the Circus Maximus, he decreed that the people should bring small coins for Apollo, as many as they could afford. This is the origin of the *ludi Apollinares*, vowed and celebrated for victory, not for well-being as many people think. The people wore wreaths to watch, and the women prayed; there was a banquet for everyone in a public place and the day was filled with all sorts of sacred ceremonies.

29.14.10-14

This selection concerns the introduction of the Great Mother Goddess to Rome in 204 BC and the establishment of the Megalensia or Ludi Megalenses in her honor. The goddess was carried to Rome in the form of a statue or effigy.

Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica was ordered to go with all the married women to Ostia to meet the goddess; he was to take her from her ship and hand her to the women who would carry her. When her ship reached the mouth of the river Tiber, he was rowed out to it in a boat by priests and, as he had been ordered, he received the goddess and brought her to shore. The leading woman of the state received her. Claudia Quinta was the most distinguished among them; her reputation had been questionable, they say, but as a result of this religious service she has come down to posterity as an example of virtue. The women passed the goddess from hand to hand all the way back to the city. Braziers of incense stood in front of the gates they passed through, carrying prayers that she would enter Rome willingly and favorably. They brought her to the temple of Victory on the Palatine on the fourth of April, and that day was a holiday. Crowds of people brought gifts to the goddess on the Palatine and there was a divine banquet and *ludi*, called Megalenses.

39.22

This selection indicates that the *ludi Taurii* are older than 186 BC. The "present day" for Livy is the first century AD.

The news came from Spain during the two days when the *ludi Taurii* were being held to honor the gods. After this, Marcus Fulvius held ten days of splendid *ludi*, which he had vowed for the Aetolian war.¹⁹ Many

actors came from Greece in his honor. This was also the first time athletes had been exhibited in a spectacle at Rome, and there was a *venatio*²⁰ with lions and panthers. The whole festival had nearly the amount and variety of spectacles of the present day.

Tertullian, On Spectacles

Tertullian, a Christian writer of the second century AD, is concerned with what attitude Christians should take to Roman sports and spectacles. His book On Spectacles includes a description of what the spectacles were and where they came from. Tertullian had obviously researched the origins of spectacles and records information from all the authorities available to him.

Sec. 5: origins of ludi

Concerning the origins of spectacles, which are rather obscure and unknown to most of us, there is no other place to investigate than in pagan literature. There are many authors who have published notes on this matter. Here is what they say of the origin of *ludi*. Timaeus says Lydians came from Asia into Etruria under Tyrrhenus's leadership. He had yielded his kingdom to his brother. In Etruria, among the other rituals of their superstition, they also instituted spectacles and called them religion. From them the Romans adopted the performers, the time, and the appellation, for "*ludi*" comes from "Lydia."

But Varro interprets "ludi" as from "ludus," meaning "playing games," just as they used to call the Luperci playful (ludius) for the way they would run and play. He nonetheless considers this youthful play to belong to festival days, temples, and religion. Yet vocabulary is a side issue; the important issue is idolatry. When the ludi were generally called Liberalia, they sounded like they were in honor of Father Liber [Bacchus]. And indeed the country folk first held them in honor of Liber, to demonstrate their gratitude to him for wine, a benefaction they thought came from him.

After that were the so-called Consualia *ludi*, which were first in honor of Neptune, who is called Consus. Then Romulus held the Ecurria for equestrian Mars. The Consualia may also go back to Romulus, because he is said to have instituted them for the god of counsel, specifically the counsel of taking virgins from the Sabines to marry his soldiers. Obviously an excellent and virtuous counsel, even now considered right and just by the Romans, if not by God. This also makes a blot on the *ludi* from their origin—you should consider nothing good which had its beginning in evil. The origin of the games is in shamelessness, in violence, in hate, in a fratricidal founder, in the son of the god of war. Now there is an altar of Consus in the circus, buried underground at the first turning-post

¹⁹ The Aetolians, in Greece, had been allies of Rome, but had gone over to Antiochus the Great, king of the Seleucid Empire in the Middle East. Rome conquered the Aetolians in 189.

²⁰ A venatio is a staged hunt.

and inscribed: "Consus mighty in counsel, Mars in war, Lares²¹ in the harvest." Public priests offer a sacrifice there on the nones of July [the 7th], and 12 days before the calends of September [21 August] the priest of Quirinus and the Vestal Virgins do the same. Romulus also instituted *ludi* for Jupiter Feretrius on the Tarpeian Rock, called the Tarpeian or Capitoline games according to Piso. After this Numa Pompilius made *ludi* for Mars and Robigo (their goddess of the blight or mildew on plants); and Tullus Hostilius, Ancus Martius, and the rest also had *ludi*. And in which order they came and to what idols they instituted *ludi* is all found in Suetonius Tranquillus and his sources.

Sec. 8: description of the circus

The circus is principally sacred to the Sun. There is a temple to the Sun in the center of the space and its image shines from the top of the temple, because they did not think he whom they had out in the open could be properly served under a roof. Some people say the first circus spectacle was produced by the Sun for Circe, his daughter, and they say the name "circus" comes from her name. It is clear that the sorceress did this business in the name of those whose priestess she was, that is the demons and the fallen angels. What idolatries do you recognize, then, in the nature of this place? Every ornament in the circus is a temple on its own. They attribute the eggs that mark the laps to Castor and Pollux, and they do not blush to believe that those brothers came from Jupiter as a swan. The dolphins spout for Neptune; the columns bear Sessia from sowing [sementis], Messia from harvesting [messis], and Tutulina from guarding the grain [tutela]. In front of them appear three altars for the triple god, Great, Powerful, and Strong. They believe these are Samothracian. As Hermateles says, the immensity of the obelisk prostitutes itself to the Sun. The writing on it comes from the same place and is an Egyptian superstition. The assembly of demons was dull without its Great Mother, so she presides from the moat. Consus, as we said [in sec. 5], has an underground altar near the turning-post. An idol also made the turningposts, called Murcian, for they say Murcia is a goddess of love and have consecrated a temple to her there.

Sec. 9: origins of chariot racing

Now, about the skills exhibited in the circus. Once equestrianism was simple: just get on the horse's back and go. In this common usage there was no problem. But when the equestrian art was brought into the *games*, it changed from a service to God to the work of the devil. This kind of spectacle belongs to Castor and Pollux, who according to Stesichorus

²¹ The Lares are domestic gods, in origin probably gods of the farm.

received horses from Mercury. But Neptune, whom the Greeks call Hippios, is also equestrian. The ridden horse is sacred to Jupiter, the four-horse chariot to the Sun, and the two-horse chariot to the Moon. But:

Erichthonius first dared to yoke four horses to his cart, Conqueror he stood and swift with his wheels. [Virgil, Georgics 3.113]

Erichthonius was the son of Minerva and Vulcan, and also of lust fallen to the ground. He is a demonic monster, not a serpent but the devil himself. If in fact Trochilus of Argos is the inventor of the chariot, he dedicated his work to Juno first of all. If Romulus showed the first four-horse chariot at Rome, I think he too is listed among the idols, if he is also Quirinus. Chariots produced by such creators, along with their drivers, are deservedly dressed in the colors²³ of idolatry. For at first there were only two, white and red. White is for winter, because of the white snow, and red was vowed to summer for the redness of the sun. Afterwards, driven as much by pleasure as by superstition, some consecrated the red to Mars, some the white to the Zephyrs, the green to Mother Earth or spring, the blue to the Sky and the Sea or to autumn. Because God condemns every form of idolatry, this form is also condemned which desecrates the elements of the world.

Sec. 12: origins of the munus

It remains to discuss the most famous and most popular of all spectacles. It is called a munus because it is a duty, which is what "munus" means. The ancients believed to put on this spectacle was a duty to the dead, after they had seasoned it with a more civilized cruelty. For once, because it was believed that the souls of the dead have to be appeared with human blood, at funerals they would sacrifice prisoners or slaves bought cheap for the purpose. Afterwards they preferred to cover their impiety with pleasure. So they trained the people they procured with whatever arms were available, so they would know how to be killed, and then expended them at the tomb on the day appointed for the funeral. Thus they were consoled for death by murder. This is the origin of the munus. But little by little they came to have as much charm as cruelty, because the festival was not good enough unless human bodies were also taken apart by wild beasts. Because it was once a sacrifice for the dead, the munus can be considered a funeral rite, but then it is idolatry, because worshipping the dead is a kind of idolatry. And devils live in the statues and images of the dead.

Suetonius, Life of Julius Caesar, sec. 26

Caesar's munus for his daughter Julia, who had died some years earlier, was apparently the first time anyone held a gladiatorial munus not immediately

²² The text of the inscription on the altar of Consus is unclear; what is in the text of Tertullian does not make sense.

²³ See chapter 3 and the glossary for more on the "colors" or factions of chariot drivers.

connected with a funeral. It took place after Caesar's return from Gaul, around 50 BC.

Caesar announced a *munus* in memory of his daughter, something no one had ever done before. To heighten anticipation, he provided a banquet using his own household cooks as well as hired caterers. He ordered that well-known gladiators whose fighting did not please the spectators should be removed from the amphitheater, but not put to death. He had new gladiators trained, not by *lanistae*²⁴ in the gladiator school, but by Roman knights who were skilled fighters and even by senators in their own homes; he wrote letters asking these knights and senators to give individual attention to their trainees.

Ovid, Fasti 3.809-8130

Ovid's Fasti is a long poem about the calendar, with sections for each important festival day or anniversary. It is unfinished; he only wrote the first six books, January through June. This section of the Fasti covers 19 March, the Quinquatria.

There is one day in the middle on which the rites of Minerva take place, and it takes its name from five days joined together. The first day is empty of bloodshed, and one must not contend with swords, because it is Minerva's birthday. The second and third are celebrated on the smooth sand, and the warlike goddess delights in sword-thrusts.

Chapter 2

Gladiators

These selections characterize gladiators, real or stereotyped. In the selections from Lucilius, Horace, Juvenal, and Petronius, we see gladiators from a satirist's point of view. The inscriptions, on the other hand, are the tombstones and monuments of real gladiators or of the wealthy citizens who put on *munera*. From them we can see how many kinds of gladiators there were. We can also see how many other kinds of people had jobs related to gladiator *munera*: trainers, musicians, amphitheater guards and doormen. Finally, the selections from Livy and Plutarch tell the story of Spartacus, perhaps the most famous gladiator of all. Like most gladiators, he was a slave, but he became the master of his group of rebels and managed to hold off the Roman army for two years (73-71 BC). The idea that a group of runaway slaves could fight so well was threatening to the Romans, but Spartacus's courage and tenacity were also considered exemplary Roman virtues.

Lucilius, Satires 172-181 ROL = 149-158 Marx

This passage consists of two fragments, which were probably not consecutive in the original poem. It indicates that there were star gladiators as early as the middle of the second century BC.

There was a certain Alsernianus, a Samnite, at a *munus* given by the Flaccus family, a filthy fellow, ideally suited to such a life. He was matched with Pacideianus, far and away the best gladiator in all of history.

"Then I will kill him and I'll win, if that's what you're asking for," says Pacideianus, "and here's how I think it will be. First I'll get it in the mouth, before I get my sword into the dumbbell's stomach and his lungs. I hate the man. I'm all riled up to fight. It won't go on any longer between us than the time it takes to get a sword in our hands. That's how carried away I am by zeal, hatred, and anger against him."

Livy, Summaries 95-97.

In 73 BC, a gladiator called Spartacus led a revolt of gladiators from a *ludus* (gladiator school) in Capua. It took two years for the Roman army to put down the revolt. These selections come from summaries of lost books of Livy's history.

95. 74 gladiators escaped from the school of Lentulus in Capua. Crixus

²⁴ Lanistae (sg. lanista) are the owners and managers of gladiator troupes.