

SUBVERSIVE SPECTACLES

The Struggles and Deaths of Paul and Seneca

James R. Unwin

BA Hons (Ancient History), BMin (Biblical Literature, Theology)

This thesis is presented for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Macquarie University
Department of Ancient History
April, 2017

Abstract

Subversive Spectacles explores the way the apostle Paul, in his Corinthian correspondence, and Seneca, the Stoic philosopher and tutor to emperor Nero, appropriated imagery from gladiatorial spectacles to confront their own sufferings and deaths under the power structures of Roman imperialism. While the last three decades have produced an overwhelming amount of Roman scholarship on every feature of the gladiatorial institution, critiquing and overturning many outdated biases, New Testament scholars have remained reluctant to engage with gladiatorial spectacles, which have been taken to cast a cruel shadow over life in the early empire. However, this is to miss the social and ideological importance of gladiatorial spectacles in the time of Paul and Seneca. The amphitheatre became a site for the display of power and the replication of social relations in a ‘society of the spectacle.’ The vivid images that emerged in the arena spilled out of these sites to shape the landscape; and, amongst these images, Paul and Seneca contribute their own exhibitions.

The first part of this thesis explores the spectacle landscapes of Rome and Corinth, attempting to recover and reconstruct the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres. After recovering these sites of spectacle, both dated to the time of Paul and Seneca, I linger inside these amphitheatres and examine the social, political, and cultic elements on display in the stands and on the sand. I attempt to observe the ideological forces structuring spectators and spectacle alike. In the second part, I turn to a closer reading of Paul and Seneca and their deployment of vivid, yet familiar, images from the arena. All of these representations, which permeated community life—be it in mosaics, on oil lamps, inscribed on walls, or part of large monuments, among other media—worked toward a variety of ends. In the disparate figures of Paul and Seneca, however, we observe imagined performances that seemingly subvert the ideology of the arena. A differential comparison of Paul and Seneca with respect to gladiatorial spectacles reveals that Seneca was attempting to ‘perform’ a version of Stoic virtue to a

significantly disempowered Neronian elite, while Paul uses similar imagery to take up a position amongst the lowest members of society.

Statement of Candidate

I certify that the work in this thesis, *Subversive Spectacles: The Struggles and Deaths of Paul and Seneca*, has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of the requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University.

I also certify that the thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help and assistance that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself have been appropriately acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.



James R. Unwin (41974921)

April 2017

Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
Illustrations	xi
List of Abbreviations	xv
<i>Introduction</i>	
Images of Friendship	1
<i>Part One Rome, Corinth, and their Spectacles of Death</i>	17
1 Sites, Sponsors, and Spectators: The Popularity of Roman and Corinthian Arenas	23
2 The Stands and the Sand: Ideology and Representation of Arenas Empire-Wide	75
<i>Part Two Paul, Seneca, and their Spectacles of Death</i>	121
3 “Thrown down but not Destroyed”: Arenas of Suffering and Struggle	127
4 “In Honour and Dishonour”: Confronting Death and Criticising Performances	151
<i>Conclusion</i>	
Images of Life	179
Appendix	183
Bibliography	187

Acknowledgements

As many that have gone before me can attest, there is a certain *agony* that accompanies the writing of a thesis. In my own struggles, I have received the gracious support of a significant number; all of whom, in their own ways, have helped alleviate heavy burdens and opened up new spaces to explore when I have felt cornered or crushed. I would especially like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Larry Welborn and Dr. Cavan Concannon. I am very fortunate to be one of Larry's students. My debts to him are too many to name. We have spent countless hours discussing the ideas that animate my research on Paul. He has treated me like family and his scholarship, insight, and unwavering support have always inspired and motivated me. I am also grateful that the earliest stage of my research coincided with Cavan's time at Macquarie University. Always generous with his time, Cavan encouraged and challenged me to wrestle with the figure of Paul and to situate him, as one among many, within a much broader landscape.

My old friend and conversation partner Dr. Scott Kirkland has been a constant source of help and encouragement, reading papers, draft chapters, and offering many helpful insights. My new friends and colleagues at Macquarie University graciously read and commented on draft chapters, especially Drs. Brad Bitner and Louise Gosbell. I would also like to acknowledge several others, who provided invaluable criticism and comments: Drs. Jim Harrison, Brent Nongbri, Paul McKecknie, Alan Cadwallader, and Prof. Edwin Judge. The Macquarie University Department of Ancient History and the Society for the Study of Early Christianity provided travel and research grants enabling me to complete a month of research at Tyndale House, Cambridge, travel through Hierapolis, Aphrodisias, and Ephesus in Turkey, and spend a week in Corinth and Athens, Greece. I would especially like to thank Prof. Guy Sanders, Dr. Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, and Socrates Koursoumis for their permission to research and photograph

monuments and oil lamps in Corinth. I would particularly like to thank Ioulia and her team for their generous assistance in the storerooms at Corinth.

I would also like to thank Dr. Jerry Toner for his kind hospitality in Cambridge, and for the great night of drinking and discussion of popular culture in Ancient Rome; Dr. Michael Carter for his insights on gladiators in the Greek East and his assistance with gladiatorial imagery on Corinthian oil lamps; and Dr. Charlotte Roueché for her help with the *familia* inscriptions in Aphrodisias.

Finally, this thesis would never have been written without the enduring love of all my family. Special thanks to my brother, David, who helped me prepare and at times redeem photos in this thesis from my amateur attempts. Mum and Dad have been a constant source of strength, encouragement, and unconditional love. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Illustrations

All photos were taken by the author, except where noted otherwise.

List of Figures

1	Portrait of Nero (S-1088), from the Julian Basilica; on display in the museum at Corinth	20
2	Reconstruction of Curio's rotating theatres; from Golvin, 1998, pl.IV.b	36
3	Plan of the Campus Martius; from Coarelli, 1997, 552, fig.140	39
4	Funerary Relief, depicting a wooden amphitheatre; from Coarelli, 2001, 46	42
5	Corinth and the Amphitheatre, from Acrocorinth	53
6	Plan of city area, Corinth; from Walbank, 1997, 108, fig.4	58
7	Corinthian Amphitheatre, from the south	61
8	Corinthian Amphitheatre seating, from the west	61
9	Augustales Monument, from the west	70
10	Privileged seating in the Theatre of Dionysus, Athens	85
11	Fragment of a 1 st –2 nd century CE terracotta relief depicting a <i>venatio</i> (inv.1866,0412.13); on display in the British Museum	87
12	Gladiatorial mosaic, from Cos (inv.1606 T); on display in the archaeological museum in Istanbul	91
13	Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, from the east	97
14	The <i>familia</i> inscription of high priest Ti. Claudius Pauleinus, from Aphrodisias; <i>I Aph2007</i> 4.104; photo courtesy of Charlotte Roueché	99
15	Temple of Apollo, from the southeast	101

16	Colossal statue of <i>Divus Iulius</i> (S-1098), from the Julian Basilica; on display in the museum at Corinth	108
17	The <i>familia</i> inscription of high priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius, from Hierapolis; <i>SEG</i> 46.1657; on display in the museum at Hierapolis	115
18	The <i>venatio</i> and <i>taurokathapsia</i> presented by high priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius; on display in the museum at Hierapolis	116
19	Relief from Miletus, <i>damnati</i> being led to the arena; from Robert, 1949, pl.XXII.2	133
20	Oil Lamp, Corinth; in the museum at Corinth (T3539); Broneer Type XXVII	141
21	Herakles and the abduction of Cerberus, from the theatre in Corinth; on display in the museum at Corinth (T 31); photo and drawing from <i>Corinth</i> IX.2, pl.79-80	148
22	Oil Lamps, Corinth; left T3438 (see pl.14f), right L1061; Broneer Type XXVII; photo of L1061 from <i>Corinth</i> IV.2, pl.XXVII	162
23	Left, Roman legionnaire, Metope XVII, the Tropaeum Traiani, Civitas Tropaensium (Adamclisi), photo by CristianChirita, via Wikimedia Commons; Right, Euplous, <i>I Aph2007</i> 14.8, Aphrodisias Museum	175

List of Colour Plates (between pages 120-121)

1	Reliefs of Claudius and Britannia / Nero and Armenia; on display in the museum at Aphrodisias
2	Corinthian Amphitheatre and Forum
3	Corinthian Theatre and Odeion
4	Corinthian Imperial Statuary; Augustus (S-1116); Gaius (S-1065); Lucius (S-1080); on display in the museum at Corinth
5	Pompeian amphitheatre dedicatory inscription, photo by Jebulon, via Wikimedia Commons; wall painting of Pompeian amphitheatre, Museo archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv.112222), from Coarelli, 2002, 22
6	A relief from Smyrna, featuring condemned <i>noxii</i> and a <i>venatio</i> (ANMichaelis 137); photo courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
7	The Colchester Vase; on display in the Colchester Castle Museum

- 8 a. Funerary relief of a gladiator from Tralles (inv.762 T); b. Funerary relief of the gladiator, Βίκτηωρ (Victor), also from Tralles (inv.761 T), both on display in the archaeological museum in Istanbul
- 9 a. The *familia* inscription of high priest, M. Antonius Apellas Severinus from Aphrodisias, *I Aph2007* 12.1211; b. Patroclus, *I Aph2007* 12.13; Fortis, *I Aph2007* 12.1621; Secundus, *I Aph2007* 11.501, all in the museum at Aphrodisias
- 10 Aphrodisian Stadium and Theatre
- 11 Theatre of Dionysus, Athens and Ephesian Theatre
- 12 Set of reliefs presenting a fight between Principinus and Pinnas, gladiators in the troupe of high priest, Cn. Arrius Apuleius; on display in the museum at Hierapolis
- 13 Set of reliefs presenting a fight between Kalydon and Odysseus, gladiators in the troupe of high priest, Cn. Arrius Apuleius; on display in the museum at Hierapolis
- 14 Corinthian Oil Lamps, in the museum at Corinth; a. L 1661; b. L 2420; c. L 1849; d. L 1836; e. L 1839; f. T 3438; g. T 3539

List of Abbreviations

Note: abbreviations of ancient literary sources follow the conventions in *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (eds. S. Hornblower and A. J. S. Spawforth; 4th ed.; Oxford, 2012) and *The SBL Handbook of Style* (eds. P. H. Alexander, et al.; Peabody, Mass., 1999). Unless noted otherwise, translations of Greek and Latin authors are from the Loeb Classical Library. Several other abbreviations have been used, appearing as follows:

<i>Corinth I</i>	H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, <i>Introduction, Topography and Architecture</i> , Cambridge, 1932.
<i>Corinth II</i>	R. Stillwell, <i>The Theatre</i> , Princeton, 1952.
<i>Corinth IV.2</i>	O. Broneer, <i>Terracotta Lamps</i> , Harvard, 1930.
<i>Corinth VI</i>	K. M. Edwards, <i>Coins: 1896–1929</i> , Cambridge, 1933.
<i>Corinth VIII.1</i>	B. D. Meritt, <i>Greek Inscriptions: 1896–1927</i> , Cambridge, 1931.
<i>Corinth VIII.2</i>	A. B. West, <i>Latin Inscriptions: 1896–1926</i> , Cambridge, 1931.
<i>Corinth VIII.3</i>	J. H. Kent, <i>The Inscriptions: 1926–1950</i> , Princeton, 1966.
<i>Corinth IX.2</i>	M. C. Sturgeon, <i>Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater</i> , Princeton, 1977.
<i>Corinth X</i>	O. Broneer, <i>The Odeum</i> , Cambridge, 1932.
<i>IAPH2007</i>	J. Reynolds, C. Roueché, G. Bodard, <i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i> (2007), available: http://insaph.kcl.ac.uk/iaph2007
<i>RP I</i>	A. D. Rizakis, S. B. Zoumbaki, and M. Kantiréa (eds.), <i>Roman Peloponnese I. Roman Personal Names in their Social Context (Achaia, Arcadia, Argolis, Corinthia and Eleia)</i> , Athens, 2001.
<i>RPC I</i>	M. Amandry, A. Burnett, and P. P. Ripollès (eds.), <i>Roman Provincial Coinage, 1.1. From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)</i> , London, 1998.
<i>RS I</i>	M.C. Crawford (ed.), <i>Roman Statutes I</i> , Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies suppl. 64, London, 1996.

INTRODUCTION

Images of Friendship

Since, therefore, you are the peak and crest of all the most lofty mountains, do you not, then, wish me to rejoice if I am so close to you as to be considered a second self of yours?

Anonymous, *The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca*, 12¹

Sometime in the middle of the fourth-century CE there appeared a forged correspondence between the apostle Paul and the famous philosopher, politician, and playwright, Seneca.² Bringing these disparate figures into dialogue, however, was not so easy. Even to a fourth-century Christian audience, the gulf between the two was significant. The anonymous author works hard to bridge the gap. He has Seneca in the opening letter wax lyrical about Paul's own letters:

...when we had read your book, that is to say one of the many letters of admirable exhortation to an upright life which you have sent to some city or to the capital of the province, we were completely refreshed. These thoughts, I believe, were expressed not by you, but through you; though sometimes they were expressed both by you and through you; for they are so lofty and so brilliant with noble sentiments that in my opinion

¹ Translation of the forged correspondence is taken from J. K. Elliott ed, *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

² Latin text from *PLSup.* 1, cols. 673-678. For an introduction to the correspondence, see Wilhelm Schneemelcher ed, *New Testament Apocrypha II: Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), 46-47; Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, 547-549. For slightly longer discussions, see, J. B. Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1953), 270-333; Jan N. Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), 11-15; and more recently, Bart D. Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 520-527.

generations of men could hardly be enough to be established and perfected in them.
(*Ep.*1)

Though, it is not long before Seneca, while continuing to praise the apostle, acknowledged his unsophisticated style:

I admit that I enjoyed reading your letters to the Galatians, to the Corinthians, and to the Achaeans, and may our relation be like that religious awe which you manifest in these letters. For the holy spirit that is in you and high above you expresses with lofty speech thoughts worthy of reverence. Therefore since you have such excellent matters to propose I wish that refinement of language might not be lacking to the majesty of your theme.
(*Ep.*7)

In the same letter, Seneca confesses that Paul's letters had been read to Augustus (that is, Nero), who also marveled at the ideas expressed by "one whose education had not been normal." The gap between the two emerged in these and similar sentiments. The work of the forger lifts Paul up to the apparent level of Seneca, with some qualification. Paul's ideas were transcendent, but his articulation base. In the next letter, we learn that Seneca, to help, has sent Paul a book on "elegance of expression."³ Notwithstanding Paul's inabilities, Seneca, throughout the correspondence, intimately greets and farewells the apostle: "Greetings, my dearly beloved Paul...Farewell, dearest Paul." By letter 12 in the correspondence, Seneca suggests that he has become so intimate with Paul, "as to be considered a second self of yours" (*ut alter similis tui deputer*). This expression draws on the historical Seneca and his friendship with Lucilius. As they spent time together, through their correspondence, Seneca shaped Lucilius to become his "second and belated self."⁴ In the forged correspondence, it is Seneca who is shaped into the second self of Paul.

There is a consensus among scholars that these letters worked to elevate Paul in the minds of a Christian audience from the upper classes.⁵ What better way to do this than associate him with his most famous contemporary of the first-century CE, Seneca. The correspondence, in turn, continued and completed the work of "Christianising" Seneca.⁶ And, with the surviving responses of Jerome and Augustine, the anonymous author

³ *Ep.* 9. Cf. also *Ep.* 13

⁴ Erik Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca: Ethics, Literature, Metaphysics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 78., reading Sen. *Ep.* 7.

⁵ See especially Ehrman, *Forgery and Counterforgery*, 523-526.

⁶ Prior to the correspondence, as is well known, Tertullian referred to Seneca as "*Seneca saepe noster*" (*De anim.* 20.1) and Lactantius frequently cited Seneca, believing that the philosopher "could have been a true worshipper of God if anyone had shown him how" (Lactant. *Div. inst.* 6.24.14). Translation taken from A. Bowen and P. Garnsey, *Lactantius Divine Institutes* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003).

seems to have been successful.⁷ While this tradition of a close, personal relationship between Paul and Seneca persisted through the middle-ages, modern scholars not only recognise the correspondence as a forgery, but deny any personal relationship, certainly an intimate friendship, between the two figures. They were worlds apart.

Seneca was a “virtuoso of Roman culture.”⁸ Born into a prominent provincial family and educated in rhetoric and philosophy in Rome, Seneca was known for his wit and oratorical brilliance. According to his contemporary Pliny, Seneca was “the most learned person of the day.”⁹ These abilities not only helped him progress through the *cursus honorum*, but they also put his position and life in danger.¹⁰ Only just surviving the jealous “madman,” Caligula, Seneca was exiled to Corsica by Claudius on (false) charges of adultery with the emperor’s younger sister, Julia Livilla. After eight long years, Seneca was recalled to Rome by Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus and new wife of Claudius, to tutor her young son, the future emperor Nero.¹¹ Upon Nero’s accession and the years following, Seneca arrived at the summit of the Roman political power structures. Along with the praetorian prefect, Sextus Afranius Burrus, Seneca effectively ruled the empire in the first five years of Nero’s reign (the so-called *quinquennium Neronis*).

During this period, Seneca became extraordinarily wealthy. Besides his friendship with Nero that resulted in him being lavished with gifts, a certain Publius Suillius attacked Seneca for accumulating three hundred million sesterces through the charging of high interest loans in Italy and the provinces.¹² His elevated social-political status, as noted by James Ker, was accompanied with the accusation from some of his critics that he was in fact the “pseudo-princeps,” as well as the hope from others (the conspirators

⁷ See Jer. *De vir. ill.* 12; August. *Ep.* 153.14. Jerome mentions that the correspondence was widely read.

⁸ See Thomas Habinek, “Seneca’s Renown: *Gloria*, *Claritudo*, and the Replication of the Roman Elite,” *CLAnt* 19 (2000): 284-292.

⁹ Plin. *HN* 14.51.

¹⁰ Dio relates the tradition that Seneca, “who was superior in wisdom to all the Romans of his day and to many others as well,” came close to being executed by Caligula for his eloquence in pleading a case in the senate (Dio Cass. 59.19.7-8; cf. Caligula’s description of Seneca’s style in Suet. *Calig.* 53).

¹¹ Tacitus in *Ann.* 12.8.2, says: “Yet Agrippina, lest she should become known only for evil acts, successfully requested remission of exile on behalf of Annaeus Seneca, and a praetorship too, deeming it would be publicly welcome owing to the brilliancy of his studies.” Translation of Tacitus, here and throughout, taken from A. J. Woodman, *Tacitus The Annals* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004), 218.

¹² Tac. *Ann.* 13.42; Dio Cass. 61.10.3. On Seneca’s financial dealings, Paul Veyne notes, “Lending at interest was not considered a trade, but a private, individual action... The Romans said that Seneca was a shameless usurer; we would say that he created one of the most important investment banks of his time.” See Paul Veyne, *Seneca: The Life of a Stoic* (trans. David Sullivan; New York: Routledge, 2003), 11. Also see Thomas Habinek, “*Imago suae vitae*: Seneca’s Life and Career,” in *Brill’s Companion to Seneca* (eds. Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 12.

of 65 CE) that he may even become the next *princeps*.¹³ Juvenal, reflecting on this period from a distance, claimed, “if the people were given a free vote, who would be so depraved as to hesitate about choosing Seneca over Nero?”¹⁴

Paul, on the other hand, is much harder to place in the social-political structures. Reliable details about Paul are few and far between. He probably came from a family with some means, indicated by the level of education revealed in his letters.¹⁵ However, from the perspective of Rome, Paul would have come across as a marginal Judean from among the subjected nations.¹⁶ His work as a manual labourer places him with people living just above, at, or even below subsistence levels. But, as we shall see, it is his own ironic “boasting of beatings” that truly marginalised and alienated Paul.¹⁷ Here, the gap between Paul and Seneca is most apparent. To put it bluntly, there was an enormous distinction in class.

While the author of Acts attempts to supply details of Paul’s “biography” that work to mitigate the more uncomfortable aspects of Paul’s self-presentation—in Acts, Paul hails from a famous city, Tarsus, was educated at the feet of the famous rabbi, Gamaliel, and was also a Roman citizen—not too dissimilar from the work being accomplished in the forged correspondence written two centuries later, most scholars now acknowledge the unbridgeable gap between the two figures, who so often in the past have been imagined as close friends.

Paul, Seneca, and Spectacles

There are three *histories of scholarship* that have inspired, motivated, and shaped this thesis.¹⁸ To briefly touch on each; the first of these seeks to locate Paul among popular philosophical discourse. Despite the classification of the correspondence above as a forgery, what has captured the imagination of NT scholars is the fascinating invitation

¹³ James Ker, “Outside and Inside: Senecan Strategies,” in *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome* (eds. W. J. Dominik, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 252.

¹⁴ Juv. 8.211-212.

¹⁵ On Paul’s education level and social status, see Edwin A. Judge, “St Paul and Classical Society,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 15 (1972): 87; Calvin J. Roetzel, *Paul: The Man and the Myth* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999), 22-24. Even in the most modest accounts of Paul’s education, and in-turn his location in society under imperial rule, there is still a lot of speculation.

¹⁶ See Davina C. Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008).

¹⁷ See Jennifer A. Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings (2 Corinthians 11:23-25),” *JBL* 123 (2004): 99-135.

¹⁸ These brief reviews of the histories of scholarship will in no way attempt to be comprehensive, but only highlight some of the key works in order to situate our current discussion.

of the forgery to explore the apparent similarities of Paul and Seneca, and by extension Stoicism, and even more generally Paul and the philosophers. The trajectory of this type of work was set by Johannes Weiss and Rudolf Bultmann who focused on reading Paul's rhetoric in the context of the Cynic-Stoic diatribe, finding especially striking "parallels" in the philosophers' so-called "*Peristasen*kataloge" or "*peristasis* catalogues" (catalogues of circumstances) and Paul's letters.¹⁹ After Bultmann, Hans Windisch further explored the diatribe and *peristasis* catalogues in connection to key passages in his commentary on 2 Corinthians.²⁰

Glancing past other contributions, we arrive at the Yale school and Abraham Malherbe, in particular, with his highly influential work on Paul and the popular philosophers.²¹ Malherbe rightly highlights the problems and limitations with parallels, combing through "pagan" materials with "an agenda set by NT interest."²² Instead, Malherbe seeks "to think in terms of the ecology of ancient Christianity and its world," where "Paul and the philosophers inhabited the same space to such a degree that one can conceive of a relationship between them."²³ Two of his students, Stanley Stowers and John Fitzgerald, continued this research also focussing on the diatribe and *peristasis* catalogues respectively; the catalogues found especially in 1 Cor 4:7-13; 2 Cor 4:7-12;

¹⁹ Johannes Weiss first called attention to Paul's rhetorical style in his article in the 1897 *Festschrift* for his father and noted the close parallels with the Cynic-Stoic diatribe. See Johannes Weiss, "Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik," in *Theologische Studien. B. Weiss* (ed. C. R. Gregory; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897), 165-247; idem, *Der erste Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910); following Weiss, Rudolf Bultmann, *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910), esp. 64-109; idem, *The Second Letter to the Corinthians* (ed. Erich Dinkler; trans. Roy A. Harrisville; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985). In the intervening period, there has been fierce debate about the legitimacy of the category "diatribe" as a defined type of philosophical discourse. See Judge, "St Paul and Classical Society," 19-36; H. D. Jocelyn, "Diatribes and Sermons," *LCM* 7.1 (1982): 3-7; idem, "'Diatribes' and the Greek book-title Διατριβαί," *LCM* 8.6 (1983): 89-91. Jocelyn provocatively opens his first article by noting in an earlier issue of *LCM* the rejection of this notion of diatribe, noting: "In *LCM* 4.7 (Jul. 1979), 145-6, the notion that in some registers of ancient Greek the word διατριβαί could denote a type of philosophical discourse or writing with definable characteristics was summarily rejected. Not for the first time." Jocelyn then goes on to remark: "Most Hellenists now either avoid the word or apologize for using it. Theologians and Latinists are less careful."

²⁰ Hans Windisch, *Der zweite Korintherbrief* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924).

²¹ See, among others, Abraham J. Malherbe, "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War," *HTR* 76 (1983): 143-173; idem, *Paul and the Popular Philosophers* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989); idem, "Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (eds. Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992), 2.26.1, 267-333; and now see the volumes of Abraham Malherbe's collected essays, *Light from the Gentiles: Hellenistic Philosophy and Early Christianity, Collected Essays, 1959-2012 by Abraham J. Malherbe vol. 1 & 2* (eds. Carl R. Holladay, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2014).

²² Malherbe, "Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament," 277.

²³ Malherbe, *Light from the Gentiles*, 1.4.

6:3-10.²⁴ Finally, arriving at a moment closer to our own, this exploration of the philosophers and their relation to Paul culminates in the work of Troels Engberg-Pedersen on Paul and Stoicism.²⁵ Engberg-Pederson develops an abstract model ($I \rightarrow X \rightarrow S$) that he believes underlies both Pauline and Stoic anthropology and ethics.²⁶ The model functions to bring all of Paul's seemingly erratic or even developing thoughts into a coherent system intelligible in a Stoic ethical tradition. One other work must be mentioned, and sits alongside this trajectory. Jan Sevenster and his book on *Paul and Seneca* emerges within a similar framework, comparing the ideas of the apostle and the philosopher—primarily their ideas of God, man, social relations, and eschatology—but ultimately highlights their profound differences rather than similarities.²⁷

The second history of scholarship sees the re-emergence in recent decades of Seneca and Senecan studies. In a long and complex reception history that has at various times embraced and dismissed both the person and his writings, “Seneca has returned to center stage in classical scholarship” as an important source of Roman thought, literature, and culture in the early empire.²⁸ As Shadi Bartsch and David Wray note:

To a growing number of scholars in diverse areas, Seneca now looks surprisingly good to think with, and surprisingly different from the composite picture traced by the long modern history of his reception, ranging from early modern enthusiasts (Christian

²⁴ See Stanley K. Stowers, *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans* (Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1981); John T. Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence* (SBLDS 99; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988).

²⁵ Troels Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000); idem, *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁶ In Engberg-Pedersen's model, the “I” stands for the stage that the individual perceives themselves as an embodied individual, “merely concerned about fulfilling the desires of that individual.” The “S” stands for the stage where a shift has taken place in the individual to bring them to a place of perceiving themselves as one among others, including themselves “in a social ‘We.’” The “X” marks this transition from the “I” to the “S” stage, which in “Paul X stands for God and Christ, in Stoicism for reason.” See Engberg-Pedersen, *Paul and the Stoics*, 33-44, quotes from 34-35.

²⁷ Sevenster, *Paul and Seneca*. Also see the earlier discussion of Paul and Seneca by Lightfoot, *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, 270-333. As a continuation of this trajectory, see the collection of essays only just published in Joey Dodson and David Briones eds, *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue* (Leiden: Brill, 2017). Given the late date of publication, I have not had a chance to review this work for my own research.

²⁸ Shadi Bartsch and David Wray, “Introduction: the self in Senecan scholarship,” in *Seneca and the Self* (eds. Shadi Bartsch and David Wray; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3. On Seneca's reception history also see Katharina Volk and Gareth D. Williams, “Introduction,” in *Seeing Seneca Whole: Perspectives on Philosophy, Poetry, and Politics* (eds. Katharina Volk and Gareth D. Williams; Leiden: Brill, 2006), xiii-xviii; John G. Fitch, “Introduction,” in *Seneca* (ed. John G. Fitch; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 1-22; Part One Life and Legacy of Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil eds, *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist* (Leiden: Brill, 2014); and Part IV The Senecan Tradition of Shadi Bartsch and Alessandro Schiesaro eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

neostoics for the most part) to enlightenment freethinking detractors and their romantic and late modern inheritors.²⁹

Of the various streams of exploration, the one that is most significant for this thesis is the work exploring Senecan thought in light of Seneca's lived experiences in the various public arenas of Neronian Rome.³⁰ This work emphasises the effect of Seneca's social, political, and cultural moment on his conceptions of Stoic thought in both his philosophical work and tragedies. This has led to debate among Senecan scholars on the so-called "eclecticism" of Seneca's Stoicism. Here, the sites and images of spectacle loom large. It would be impossible for Seneca, and—perhaps more controversially for some—Paul, to avoid exposure to spectacles. As we shall see in this thesis and as Eric Gunderson has recently written, "[s]pectacle is an omnipresent theme that saturates ancient life."³¹ Gunderson continues:

If we are willing to grant that ancient society was spectacular and that, moreover, this very fact was something of which people in antiquity were fully aware, then of course we can find a great deal of play with visual metaphors and their possibilities. We can focus our own energies less on looking for spectacle itself and instead concentrate on exploring the variations upon the theme. What does it mean "to adopt an ethical perspective" within a world saturated by spectacles?³²

²⁹ Bartsch and Wray, "Introduction: the self in Senecan scholarship," 3. On the diverse areas of scholarship exploring and appropriating the thoughts of Seneca, the same could be said for Paul. For the surprising preoccupation of contemporary political philosophy and psychoanalysis with Paul and his letters, see Jacob Taubes, *The Political Theology of Paul* (trans. Dana Hollander; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Alain Badiou, *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism* (trans. Ray Brassier; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (London: Verso, 1999); Giorgio Agamben, *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (trans. Patricia Dailey; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Slavoj Žižek, Eric L. Santner and Kenneth Reinhard, *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

³⁰ See among others, Miriam T. Griffin, *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976); Veyne, *Seneca*; Thomas Habinek, *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); idem, "Seneca's Renown," 264-303; Matthew B. Roller, *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Catharine Edwards, "Self-Scrutiny and Self-Transformation in Seneca's Letters," in *Seneca* (ed. John G. Fitch; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 84-101; eadem, "Free Yourself! Slavery, Freedom, and the Self in Seneca's Letters," in *Seneca and the Self* (eds. Shadi Bartsch and David Wray; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 139-159; James Ker, *The Deaths of Seneca* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); idem, "Outside and Inside," 249-272; idem, "Seneca on Self-Examination: Rereading *On Anger* 3.36," in *Seneca and the Self* (eds. Shadi Bartsch and David Wray; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 160-187; Elizabeth Asmis, "Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God," in *Seneca and the Self* (eds. Shadi Bartsch and David Wray; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 115-138; Shadi Bartsch, "Senecan Metaphor and Stoic Self-Instruction," in *Seneca and the Self* (eds. Shadi Bartsch and David Wray; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 188-217; Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca*; Victoria Rimell, *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics: Empire's Inward Turn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

³¹ Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca*, 74.

³² Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca*, 74.

While this conception of ancient society as spectacular might be granted among historians, NT scholars have been much more reluctant to acknowledge not just the extent to which the Roman world was shaped and formed by spectacles, but also Paul as an inhabitant of the same ancient society.

On this note on spectacle, we arrive, finally, at the third history of scholarship and the one that offers the most important developments for this thesis.³³ Gunderson's articulation of the spectacle's saturation of ancient life has long been appreciated. Scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries investigating gladiatorial spectacles recognised the significant role they, and all forms of spectacle, played in Roman life. As noted in the opening remarks by Ludwig Friedländer in his work on *Roman Life and Manners*:

Every attempted delineation of the manners and customs of Imperial Rome must necessarily include a survey, as exhaustive as may be, of the spectacles, as the best measure of her grandeur, and as indicative in many ways of her moral and intellectual condition.³⁴

Following these sentiments, Friedländer and other scholars of the same period undertook the important task of exhaustively collecting and collating as much literary and material evidence as possible on gladiatorial spectacles.³⁵ However, lurking in these opening remarks and explicitly stated elsewhere in his work and in others, Friedländer assumed a moralising tone that emphasised the cruelty of the spectacles, reflecting modern, western, Christian assumptions, and attributed their popularity to racist, sexist, and classist interpretations of ancient texts.³⁶

³³ A survey of the history of scholarship and a review of key references regarding the origins and interpretations of gladiatorial spectacles is also well-trodden ground. A full rehearsal of these materials is superfluous, though, for the purposes of this study, several key details need to be highlighted, especially for a NT audience who may not be so familiar with some of the key developments in our understanding of gladiatorial spectacles empire-wide. See, in particular, Michael J. Carter, "The Presentation of Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East: Roman Culture and Greek Identity" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1999), 14-20; Katherine E. Welch, *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-8.

³⁴ Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (trans. J. H. Freese and L. A. Magnus; 4 vols.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 2.1; cited in Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 14.

³⁵ See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*; Georges Lefaye, "Gladiator," in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* (eds. C. Daremberg and E. Saglio; Paris: Hachette, 1896), 2.2, 1563-1599; K. Schneider, "Gladiatores," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Sup. III* (ed. G. Wissowa; Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Buchhandlung, 1918), cols. 760-784. Also see, Louis Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940); Georges Ville, *La Gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981).

³⁶ Though, often, these biases were already reflected in the ancient texts themselves. On the racist and sexist interpretations of the popularity of gladiatorial spectacles across the empire, see Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, 16-17, 84-85. On the cruelty of the spectacles, see especially Roland Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972). Michael Grant, *Gladiators* (London:

Two scholars, Louis Robert and Georges Ville, continued the important collection of material on gladiatorial spectacles; especially, Louis Robert's ground-breaking work on gladiators in the Greek East.³⁷ In this work, Robert upended the traditional biases held by philhellenic scholars on Greek involvement (or lack thereof) in gladiatorial spectacles in the early empire, revealing their popularity at every class level in the east. Robert's work as well as the significantly expanded and updated work on gladiators in the Greek East by Michael Carter are of crucial importance to a NT audience trying to locate Paul in various landscapes throughout the eastern part of the empire.³⁸

In recent decades, beginning in the early 1980's, scholarship on gladiatorial spectacles has, significantly, moved away from modern judgments on the brutal events that took place in the arena and instead sought to understand their symbolic and cultural significance in each context across the empire. This has resulted in a proliferation of work in the last three decades on the whole institution of gladiators, endeavouring, with increased nuance and complexity, to understand ancient spectacles from varying perspectives.³⁹ These developments in all three histories prompt, even demand, a new

Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967), 8., infamously associated the institution of gladiatorial spectacles with Nazism. See the introduction of Thomas Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators* (London: Routledge, 1992), for a response.

³⁷ Robert, *Gladiateurs*; Ville, *La Gladiature*.

³⁸ See Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East." Since his doctoral thesis, Carter has published many substantial articles on gladiators, a number of which have been cited throughout this thesis.

³⁹ For a glimpse of the extent of this proliferation, and for some of the most important contributions, besides works already cited, see Keith Hopkins, "Murderous Games," in *Death and Renewal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-30; Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); Jean-Claude Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain: Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions* (2vols.; Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1988); Jean-Claude Golvin and Christian Landes, *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs* (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1990); Katherine E. Welch, "Roman Amphitheatres Revived," *JRA* 4 (1991); Kathleen M. Coleman, "Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments," *JRS* 80 (1990): 44-73; Shelby Brown, "Death as Decoration: Scenes from the Arena on Roman Domestic Mosaics," in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (ed. Amy Richlin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 180-211; Carlin A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993); Paul Plass, *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995); Jerry P. Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); idem, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge: Polity, 2009); Jonathan C. Edmondson, "Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire," in *Roman Theater and Society* (ed. William J. Slater; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 69-112; idem, "Public Spectacles and Roman Social Relations," in *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana* (eds. T. Nogales Basarrate and A. Castellanos; Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2002), 41-63; Erik Gunderson, "The Ideology of the Arena," *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996): 113-151; Alison Futrell, *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997); Donald G. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome* (London: Routledge, 1998); David S. Potter, "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (eds. D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999); Richard C. Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon, *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Marcus Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria: The Heroes of the Amphitheatre," in *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (eds. Eckart Köhne, et

examination of Paul, in particular, and Seneca and their appropriation of *a*, maybe even *the*, key aspect of Roman culture that was adopted by colonies and cities across the empire. In thinking with Malherbe about the ecology of ancient Christianity and its world, or, as I prefer to say, the spaces in the landscape inhabited by Paul, Seneca, and everyone in-between, we might be better served exploring the crowded sites and the ubiquitous images of the spectacles.

Spectacle and Representation

Circling back to the correspondence between Paul and Seneca, letter 11, the only letter with any substantial content, features all the aspects that will preoccupy this thesis. The letter opens with Seneca offering his sympathy to Paul for the persecuted “Christians and Jews” in Rome:

Greetings, my dearly beloved Paul. Do you think I am not saddened and grieved because you innocent people are repeatedly punished? Or because the whole populace believes you so implacable and so liable to guilt, thinking that every misfortune in the city is due to you?

The event in Rome, the fire of 64 CE, that led to these persecutions is explicitly stated a few lines down, and the allusions to Nero as the real perpetrator of the destructive fire—which consumed houses, temples, and whole regions of Rome—reproduced the tradition of the first Neronian persecution.

The source of the frequent fires which the city of Rome suffers is plain. But if lowly people had been allowed to tell the reason, and if it were permitted to speak safely in these times of ill-fortune, everyone would now understand everything. Christians and Jews, charged with responsibility for the fire—alas!—are being put to death, as is usually the case. That ruffian, whoever he is, whose pleasure is murdering and whose refuge is lying, is destined for his time of reckoning, and just as the best is sacrificed as one life for many, so he shall be sacrificed for all and burned by fire.

The deaths alluded to in the letter were, according to Tacitus, exhibited publicly as a great spectacle:

And, as they perished, mockeries were added, so that, covered in the hides of wild beasts, they expired from mutilation by dogs or, fixed to crosses and made flammable, on the dwindling of daylight they were burned for use as nocturnal illumination. Nero had offered his gardens for the spectacle (*spectaculo*) and he produced circus games,

al.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Catharine Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Garrett G. Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

mingling with the plebs in the dress of a charioteer or standing in his racer. (*Ann.* 15.44.4-5)

In this version of condemnation to the beasts (*damnatio ad bestias*), the victims were themselves transformed into beasts and ripped apart by dogs. If they were not condemned in this way, they were crucified and burnt. As Edward Champlin makes clear, these executions were exhibited as “fatal charades,” re-enacting famous myths in theatricalised killing.⁴⁰ While the executions were carried out, Nero, as the sponsor, also performed in the spectacle as a charioteer, wandering among the spectators. But on the topic of Nero’s participation in various spectacles, we are getting ahead of ourselves.

The Greek word for “spectacle” (θέα) simply means “seeing, looking at,” “that which is seen, sight” as in a spectacle performance, or even refers to a “place for seeing from, seat in the theatre.”⁴¹ In Latin, *spectaculum* expressed the same set of meanings.⁴² The plural, *spectacula*, used as the original name for the amphitheatre (lit. the seats of the spectators, see plate 5a), refers to the various public events produced in the theatre, amphitheatre, circus, and could even refer to various processions. Such a diversity of sites and spectacles conveyed by these words gestures to the extent of spectacle architecture and the events they contained to blur, at least in their textual and material representations, into a “meta-spectacle.”⁴³

While NT scholars may be hesitant to read/view Paul as appropriating spectacle imagery, despite his clear references to them in the Corinthian correspondence, in light of the cruelty represented by the account of the Neronian persecution, not to mention other accounts of suffering that shaped Christian discourse in the following centuries, we might just as easily select a different anecdote to make sense of the landscape.

Seneca, in a letter we will come back to at the beginning of chapter 1, describes to Lucilius his walk past a crowded theatre in Naples on his way to an empty lecture-hall to hear the philosopher, Metronax:

⁴⁰ On the term “fatal charades,” see Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 44-73. Edward Champlin, *Nero* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 123., suggests the spectacle of “Christians as beasts to be torn by the dogs must have reminded spectators of Actaeon transformed into a stag and torn to pieces by hunting dogs. His sacrilegious crime had been to gaze upon the goddess Diana while she bathed. Diana was not only goddess of the hunt, she was also goddess of the moon, and it would be appropriate to propitiate her with the lives of the criminals who had supposedly attacked her temple.”

⁴¹ LSJ s.v. θέα. See Bettina Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (eds. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 11. Bergmann also mentions θέαμα, referring to “an object or event being displayed,” and to θέατρον as a “seeing place.” See here 1 Cor 4:9.

⁴² OLD s.v. *spectaculum*.

⁴³ See Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 15.

As you know, I have to pass right by the theater of Naples on my way to the house of Metronax. The theater is packed. A cheering crowd decides who is a good flutist; the trumpeter has a following, and so does the announcer. But in the place where the question is who is a good man, where one learns what a good man is, the seats are almost empty, and the general opinion is that those who are there have nothing better to do. People call them useless drones. (*Ep.* 76.4)⁴⁴

This short account, whether actual or imagined, offers us a different way of thinking about approaching Paul and Seneca in their *lived*-landscapes. As Melanie Johnson-Debaufre reminds us, “*what we see depends on where we stand*.”⁴⁵ Certainly, Seneca’s view was vastly different from standing outside the theatre to the lecture-hall.

This thesis, intended first for a NT audience, explores alternate viewings of Paul in particular by examining the crowded sites of spectacle. These were sites popular enough to encompass figures like Paul and Seneca, from such different positions in the structures of power, in the one location. Rather than restricting ourselves to the philosophical school of the Stoics, I attempt to locate both figures in the amphitheatre, even beyond the stands to feature on the sand. This will raise questions around the production and consumption of such vivid images, exploring varied reactions from both Roman and Corinthian spectators. In this thesis, I attempt to go beyond the comparison of literary texts by also becoming immersed in the ubiquitous spectacle images that filled the landscape. In this sense, the images reproduced in the figures and plates become essential to a reading of Paul’s and Seneca’s letters.⁴⁶

Not just Paul, but also for a Corinthian *ekklēsia* mostly made up from the lower classes, spectacles make a more suitable study of popular first-century social experiences than the elite materials of Stoicism. Shifting NT scholarship away from this particular context, we will find in the arena and its production of images a “common currency” of ideas and a shared “visual language” that was “endlessly inflected” in Rome, Corinth, and beyond.⁴⁷ To (re)view Paul in the landscape of “the society of the spectacle,” to borrow a loaded phrase from Guy Debord,⁴⁸ is to take in the sights of

⁴⁴ Translation of Seneca’s *Letters*, here and throughout, taken from Margaret Graver and A. A. Long, *Seneca: Letters on Ethics to Lucilius* (eds. Elizabeth Asmis, et al.; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ Melanie Johnson-Debaufre, “Historical Approaches: Which Past? Whose Past?,” in *Studying Paul’s Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods* (ed. Joseph A. Marchal; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 16.

⁴⁶ On the importance of images in approaches to antiquity, see Kathleen M. Coleman ed, *Images for Classicists* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015).

⁴⁷ See Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 9-27.

⁴⁸ As Guy Debord observed, “the spectacle appears at once as society itself, as a part of society, and as a means of unification...The spectacle is not a collection of images; rather it is a social relationship between

wealthy sponsors (*editores*) attempting to surpass their colleagues through the construction of increasingly elaborate entertainment facilities and the production of spectacles within them; of victims, who saw their worlds quickly disappeared as the power exerted over their bodies completely overwhelmed them; and of Gladiators, the star performers, who fought to show off their expertise and courage, as well as to find a means of living for themselves and their families in an excessively unequal society, and to understand all of these varied sights as replicating the strict, hierarchical social relations structured by Roman power.⁴⁹

A final, brief comment must be made about *representation*. Rowan Williams, in his recent excursions on the topic, employed “a working distinction between two ways of speaking about what we encounter. There is a cluster of activities whose focus can be called *description*...a mapping exercise in which we assume that the task is to produce a certain traceable structural parallel between what we say and what we perceive. And then there is...*representation*—a way of speaking that may variously be said to seek to embody, translate, make present or re-form what is perceived.”⁵⁰ Leaning into the work of Max Black, Williams helps us to see that *representation* cannot be reducible to or “perceived as mere substitutes for bundles of statements of facts.”⁵¹ Therefore, beyond the production of arena images, the use of representational speech, like what we discover in both Paul and Seneca, allows one “to deploy verbal symbols in ways that enlarge the repertoire of communication that can be both purposive and more playful or (to use a loaded word) contemplative.”⁵² These verbal signs then are both recognisable as “what is seen” and yet are not wholly reducible to simple *descriptions* of “what is seen.”

people that is mediated by images.” See Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith; New York: Zone Books, 1995), 12 (theses 3 and 4).

⁴⁹ In examining and exploring gladiatorial arenas, the sites of imperialism, we come much closer to the work being done on Paul and empire. See, among others, the three volumes by Richard A. Horsley ed, *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997); idem, *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation, Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000); idem, *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2004). Also see, Neil Elliott, *Liberating Paul: The Justice of God and the Politics of the Apostle* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006); idem, *The Arrogance of the Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008); idem, “Ideological Closure in the Christ-Event: A Marxist Response to Alain Badiou’s Paul,” in *Paul, Philosophy, and the Theopolitical Vision: Critical Engagements with Agamben, Badiou, Žižek and Others* (ed. Douglas Harink; Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010); Lopez, *Apostle to the Conquered*.

⁵⁰ Rowan Williams, *The Edge of Words: God and the Habits of Language* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 22. Also see Williams’ sketch of the subject, “On Representation,” in the appendix, 186-197.

⁵¹ Max Black, “More About Metaphor,” in *Metaphor and Thought* 2nd ed. (ed. Andrew Ortony; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 39; cited in, Williams, *The Edge of Words*, 23.

⁵² Williams, *The Edge of Words*, 24.

Therefore, in this thesis, I will be careful not to assume that Paul's and Seneca's use of arena imagery, especially in the clear metaphorisation of combat, the gladiator, and the arena, maps directly onto the actual experiences of first-century performers and partisans of the amphitheatre. But, instead, the vivid and complex deployments of arena imagery by our two authors reveals a more contemplative response to the circumstances in which they both find themselves.

Plan of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into two parts. The first part, through imaginative reconstructions, attempts to recover two amphitheatres dated to the time of Paul and Seneca and long since disappeared: the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres (chapter 1). Nero's amphitheatre was a large temporary structure built in the Campus Martius and destroyed in the fire of 64 CE. The Corinthian amphitheatre, just outside the city limits of Roman Corinth, was carved into the rock of a natural depression, with a wooden superstructure providing the uppermost tier of seating. An oval shaped hole with signs of collapsed seating and a tunnel at one end are the only traces of its former glory (see plate 2a; figures 7-8). In the attempt to recover these two amphitheatres, we trace some of the developments in the evolving landscapes (of Rome and Corinth) that were directly tied to militarism, imperialism, and the political-social structures in each locale.

These components, produced and reproduced by the state and the ideological state apparatuses (to borrow the language of Louis Althusser), were on display in the boisterous and bustling sites of gladiatorial spectacles across the empire.⁵³ The arena, itself an ideological state apparatus, becomes one ideological functionary among others interpellating Roman subjects, supporting and generating the structures of imperial power. In chapter two, I linger inside these sites and examine the social, political, and cultic elements on display in the stands and on the sand. I move from the most glorified seat in the stands—i.e. the seat of the emperor/*editor* of the spectacles—to the dishonourable, dissolving world of the victim forced to perform on the sand. The vivid imagery that these spectacles produced in every form of media spilled out of the arena

⁵³ See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)," in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971); Gunderson, "Ideology of the Arena," 113-151., and chapter 2 below.

into the wider landscape, creating a “common currency” or “visual language” that emerged across vast distances and in every class of society. In some sense, the landscape itself was formed by the ubiquity of these images, and it is this landscape that Paul and Seneca wandered through and contributed to in their texts.

In part two, I explore the way Paul in the Corinthian correspondence and Seneca in his *Letters* each appropriated imagery from gladiatorial spectacles to confront their own struggles and (looming) deaths. These were much more than simple descriptions of combat, but representations that *adopted* and *adapted* the spectacles for their own ends. It is in a close examination of these representations that we find in Paul and Seneca very different conceptions of their own lived experiences, identities, and visions of an alternate life. Chapter 3 and 4 follow the structure of one of the most important and searching letters in the Corinthian correspondence, the “Conciliatory Apology” located in 2 Cor 2:14-7:4.⁵⁴ In the crucial moments of the letter, Paul imagines himself exhibited as a gladiator; first, in a procession, then as a fighter in a cosmic spectacle. Seneca too appears in each chapter as a virtuous fighter against fortune. The production and consumption of these imaginings, like the actual spectacles themselves, were intended to communicate certain values/virtues according to the well understood logic of the arena. But it’s in a familiarity with this logic that we begin to see how both Paul and Seneca perform in different ways for different reasons, but under the same power.

Rather than collapsing Paul and Seneca into each other, through the double movement of elevating and “Stoicising” Paul and “Christianising” Seneca—à la forged correspondence—this thesis explores the differing visions of life cast by each of our figures for their respective audiences, appropriating, among many others, the shared visual language of spectacle. Paul’s and Seneca’s gladiatorial spectacles, in this sense, function as counterideologies to the dominant Roman social-political structures. Their performances became *Subversive Spectacles*.

⁵⁴ On the “Conciliatory Apology,” see the Introduction to part two.

PART ONE

Rome, Corinth, and their Spectacles of Death

...the spectacle proclaims the predominance of appearances and asserts that all human life, which is to say all social life, is mere appearance.

Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*⁵⁵

Almost two years after the great fire in Rome, Nero travelled to Greece to compete in various civic contests and the four great Panhellenic festivals in 66-67 CE: the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games.⁵⁶ Nero had made his public debut on stage in Naples two years earlier in 64 CE and his debut in Rome in the second *Neronia* in 65 CE.⁵⁷ His planned Greek tour would be the ultimate “stage” on which Nero could pursue his ambitions as an actor-emperor (*sceanici imperatoris*)⁵⁸ and *citharoedus* and present himself to the spectators as “the first of all Romans from the beginning of the world.”⁵⁹ Dio, the most disparaging source of Nero’s tour, frames the visit in militaristic

⁵⁵ Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, 14 (thesis 10).

⁵⁶ For a proposed reconstruction of Nero’s tour of Greece and the major festivals attended, see K. R. Bradley, “The Chronology of Nero’s Visit to Greece A.D. 66/67,” *Latomus* 37 (1978): 61-72. On this tour of Greece, also see, Miriam T. Griffin, *Nero: The End of a Dynasty* (London: Batsford, 1984), 160-163; Susan E. Alcock, “Nero at Play? The Emperor’s Grecian Odyssey,” in *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, & Representation* (eds. Jas Elsner and Jamie Masters; Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 98-111; Shadi Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994), 36-62; Champlin, *Nero*, 53-61.

⁵⁷ For his debut in Naples, see Suet. *Ner.* 20; Tac. *Ann.* 15.33-34. For the second *Neronia*, see Suet. *Ner.* 21; Tac. *Ann.* 16.4-5.

⁵⁸ Plin. *Pan.* 46.4

⁵⁹ Dio 63.20.2-3.

and imperialistic language, comparing Nero's exploits in the games to earlier Roman conquests of Greece:

But he crossed over into Greece, not at all as Flamininus or Mummius or as Agrippa and Augustus, his ancestors, had done, but for the purpose of driving chariots, playing the lyre, making proclamations, and acting in tragedies. Rome, it seems, was not enough for him, nor Pompey's theatre, nor the great Circus, but he desired also a foreign campaign, in order to become, as he said, victor in the Grand Tour. (63.8.2-3)

During Nero's "foreign campaign" in Greece, he "performed" on and offstage. Onstage, he played the roles of Oedipus, Thyestes, Heracles, Alcmaeon and Orestes.⁶⁰ Offstage, Nero had already performed these roles in his life: matricide, incest, seizing power from a female usurper, and, in an act of insanity, the killing of his family members.⁶¹ However, as Shadi Bartsch has noted, "Nero did not merely bring his life to the stage: the direction of travel from life to theatre proved entirely reversible." In a discussion of Nero's marriage celebration to a young boy, Sporus, Dio was reminded of various accounts of Nero's sexual proclivities that resembled spectacle performances:

After that Nero had two bedfellows at once, Pythagoras to play the role of husband to him, and Sporus that of wife. The latter, in addition to other forms of address, was termed "lady," "queen," and "mistress." Yet why should one wonder at this, seeing that Nero would fasten naked boys and girls to stakes, and then putting on the hide of a wild beast would attack them and satisfy his brutal lust under the appearance of devouring parts of their bodies? Such were the indecencies of Nero. (63.13.2-3)

These traditions, including this representation of a *damnatio ad bestias*, reveal a moment in the early empire when appearance and reality blur, when the barrier between the stage and the seats, or the stands and the sand, to a certain extent crumbled. And it is in this same moment that we find various writers, including Paul and Seneca, blurring the distinctions between reality and representation.⁶²

Beyond Nero's various spectacle "performances," there were other episodes and sites included in the tour, as well as some glaring omissions. It has not gone unnoticed that Nero travelled to Greece and yet "never set foot in Athens or, for that matter, in Sparta."⁶³ To ignore these old centres of Greek culture was intentional. The reason: Nero travelled to Greece to perform and compete. Nero's procession back into Rome

⁶⁰ Dio Cass. 63.9.4. See Champlin, *Nero*, 77-80.

⁶¹ Suet. *Ner.* 39.2 reports the various graffiti written about Nero after he killed his mother in 59 ce, including: "Nero, Orestes, Alcmaeon their mothers slew." On Nero's performances in these roles see, Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience*, 36-62; Champlin, *Nero*, 84-111.

⁶² See especially, Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience*.

⁶³ Champlin, *Nero*, 54.

after the tour proudly displayed his victory crowns won from the various contests.⁶⁴ But of the places he did visit, we know that Nero based himself in Corinth. While in Corinth, Nero famously began work on cutting a canal through the Isthmus. Suetonius reports that Nero “was first to break ground with a mattock and to carry off a basketful of earth upon his shoulders.”⁶⁵ However, with Nero’s death a year or so later, the project was abandoned. The other major episode of the tour also took place in Corinth. Nero pronounced at the Isthmian games, probably held for the second time during his tour in 67 CE, freedom to the whole province.⁶⁶

Nero’s emphasis on the various Greek festivals and on Corinth, a Roman colony, as Susan Alcock notes, suggests the emperor was celebrating “not the ‘traditional’ Greece, but an imperial Achaia.”⁶⁷ Nero’s foreign policy then, on this tour, was not a militaristic conquest like earlier eras, nor was it purely a descent into imperial excess, as the sources would have us believe, but an attempt “to link east and west, to promote and integrate Greek culture within the empire.”⁶⁸ And the response to Nero’s stay in Corinth would have been substantial. Top of the list to welcome Nero to Corinth would have been the *duoviri quinquennales* at the time, L. Rutilius Piso and P. Memmius Cleander, who would have spent large sums of money on various festivities, including gladiatorial spectacles, during their terms in office in 67/68 CE.⁶⁹

A surviving dedicatory inscription to Nero, found in three fragments of a marble slab in and near the Julian Basilica, also names Cleander as benefactor:

To [the son of the deified Claudius and] grandson [of Germanicus Caesar and great-grandson] of Tiberius Caesar [Augustus] and great-great-grandson of [the deified] Augustus, [Nero] Claudius [Caesar Augustus Germanicus,] pontifex maximus, holder of the tribunician [power for the — — — time, Imperator for the — — — time, consul for the — — — time. (This monument) was erected under the supervision of the duoviri P(ublius) Memmius] Cleander [and — — — — —].⁷⁰

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3, “*Thrown down but not Destroyed*,” 134-135, below.

⁶⁵ Suet. *Ner.* 19; also see Dio Cass. 63.16.

⁶⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 24.2.

⁶⁷ Alcock, “Nero at Play?,” 106.

⁶⁸ Alcock, “Nero at Play?,” 106.

⁶⁹ On the coins minted by *duoviri quinquennales*, L. Rutilius Piso and P. Memmius Cleander, see *Corinth* VI. 23, nos. 63-64. For the importance of this office in sponsoring spectacles in Corinth, see Chapter 1, *Sites, Sponsors, and Spectators*, 65-69, below.

⁷⁰ *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 81: [NERONI • C]LA[VDIO | DIVI • CLAVDII • F • GERMANICI • | CAES •] N • TI • CAE[S • AVG • PRO • NEPOTI • | DIVI] • AVG • AB • N[EPOTI • CAESARI • AVG • | GERM • PO]NT • MAX • TRIB • [POT • — — — | IMP • — — • COS • — — • | CVRAM • AGENTIBVS • II • VIRIS • P • MEMMIO • | C]LEANDR • | — — — — — VALER • P • P • | — — — — — P •

FIGURE 1. Portrait of Nero, Corinth

Part of an imperial collection at Corinth that included a colossal statue of Julius Caesar (figure 16), the founder of the colony; a statue of Augustus; and Augustus' two adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius (plate 4)



The location of the inscription in the Julian Basilica, where many statues of the imperial family were discovered, offers a provocative possibility for its original function and display. Along with statues of Julius Caesar, Augustus, and his adopted sons Gaius and Lucius, a portrait of Nero was found (see figure 1).⁷¹ This portrait, originally part of a full statue, would have had a base inscription. It is tempting, as Paul Scotton says, “to consider this inscription to have been that of an inscribed base which was cut for the statue of Nero.”⁷² As we shall see throughout this thesis, the sponsorship of Roman style spectacles and the production of imperial iconography were both key aspects in the negotiation of Roman power by local and provincial elites.

⁷¹ The identity of the portrait of Nero (S-1088) is far from certain. For Nero, see Catherine de Grazia, “Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973), 108-127; Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture: The Many Faces of Corinth,” in *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896-1996* (eds. C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis; Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 372n.21; Paul D. Scotton, “The Julian Basilica at Corinth: An Architectural Investigation” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997), 258-259. The portrait has also been identified as Tiberius, Nero the son of Germanicus, or Germanicus. See E. H. Swift, “A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth. II. Tiberius,” *AJA* 25 (1921): 248-265; Corinth IX.1, 76-77; Charles B. Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 64-65. For the statue of Julius Caesar, see figure 16, in Chapter 2, *The Stands and the Sand*, 108, below; and for the statues of Augustus, Gaius, and Lucius, see plate 4.

⁷² Scotton, “Julian Basilica,” 250.

These details from the tour of Greece: the performances of an emperor-actor, the blurring of representation and reality, the emphasis on a Roman Achaia in the middle of the first-century, and the type of imperialism that this tour implied, including the response by the elite in Corinth themselves, are all significant features of this thesis and the way we will approach the texts of Paul and Seneca. Just like in the forged correspondence in the introduction, Nero looms in the background of any discussion on Paul and Seneca. Beyond the traditions that see both figures killed at the whim of the emperor, Nero's travel to Greece in a way bridges a gulf between the two. Seneca, as far as we know, never visited Greece. The tradition that tells the story of Paul coming before Seneca's brother Gallio, the proconsul, in Corinth is not necessarily historically reliable either. Certainly, the social-political class distinction, as I mentioned in the introduction, between Paul and Seneca was large. However, both were subjects of imperial power structures—one in Rome the other in Corinth—both inhabited this moment that emerged in this Neronian period, and, as we will explore, both wandered through spectacle landscapes that formed and shaped their experiences.

Part one of this thesis aims to do two things. First, I explore the development of the spectacle landscapes in Rome and Corinth to the middle of the first-century. Second, we will linger in these sites of spectacle, to become familiar with the power on display and the ideology operative in places that contained the rich and poor alike. Reading the texts of Paul and Seneca in these spaces of spectacle, we will get a better sense of both their *adoption* and, even more important, their *adaptation* of gladiatorial spectacles.

CHAPTER 1

Sites, Sponsors, and Spectators

The Popularity of Roman and Corinthian Arenas

And it was that kind of show which is attended by crowds of all classes in great numbers, and which has a special charm for the masses.

Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 124

... their magnificence was a gauge of the popularity of the sovereign.

Ludwig Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*⁷³

Sometime during his final few years, Seneca journeyed from Rome through the Campanian landscape. This was not his first visit.⁷⁴ Wandering around the Bay of Naples, Seneca explored various sites, prompting him to reflect on leisure (*otium*) in the land of leisure. On a previous trip, Seneca had observed the ruins of a villa that belonged to the famous praetorian millionaire, P. Servilius Vatia, near Cumae. As he passed-by the façade of Vatia's villa, Seneca recalled the cries of the crowd: "O Vatia, you alone know how to live!" (*Ep.* 55.3). Seneca's hurried glances at the vestiges of luxurious grottoes led him to the opposite conclusion. Vatia, in fact, only knew "how to hide, not how to live" (§4). On this trip, however, Seneca made his way to the villa of the Roman general, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus, in Liternum. At Scipio's villa, rather than passing glances, Seneca decided to linger and inspect the property. It presented him

⁷³ Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, 2.1.

⁷⁴ Ker, *The Deaths of Seneca*, 344., notes Seneca's presence in Campania beyond his letters. Seneca's name appears in Pompeian graffiti in the so-called 'House of the Gladiators.' Among the etchings of the gladiators themselves, including their names, gladiator types, and fights won and lost, appears: LVCIVS | ANNAEVS | SENECA (sic) *CIL* IV.4418, ANNAEVS initially spelt ANNUS, but was corrected with AE inscribed above the name. Ker also notes that, following Miriam Griffin, Seneca likely owned estates in Pompeii. See Griffin, *Seneca*, 291-292n.5.

with a contrasting representation of leisure.⁷⁵ The military style villa, with a tiny bathhouse “dimly lit, as the old ones generally were” (*Ep.* 86.4), struck Seneca as a response to the popular confusion of leisure with luxury, living with idleness. The villa embodied the character of the famous general, the “terror of Carthage” (§5): traditional, austere, and rustic. It was a place of exile, away from Rome and away from the crowds.

Seneca presents both the problematic Vatia and the exemplary Scipio in their villas as opposing examples of withdrawal from public life and political power, while he wrestled with finding his own space to withdraw to in an all-encompassing empire. Seneca’s desire for places of solitude and study permeate his letters, especially the letters from Campania. Despite overhearing or walking-by bustling crowds packed into various public spaces, Seneca emphasised his own retreat from people, public life, and political power.⁷⁶ In Baiae, he is forced to contend with the various noises coming from the bathing establishment below his study (*Ep.* 56); while the distant roar of the crowd at the stadium, possibly in Naples, can be heard from Seneca’s house (*Ep.* 80 and 83). Also in Naples, the contrast between places for entertainment and serious study is most apparent in Seneca’s account, briefly mentioned in the introduction, of attending the lectures of the philosopher, Metronax:

I am taking philosophy lessons! Today is the fifth day I have gone to school to hear the philosopher lecturing from two o’clock onward...But every time I enter the school, I am ashamed for the human race. As you know, I have to pass right by the theater of Naples on my way to the house of Metronax. The theater is packed. A cheering crowd decides who is a good flutist; the trumpeter has a following, and so does the announcer. But in the place where the question is who is a good man, where one learns what a good man is, the seats are almost empty, and the general opinion is that those who are there have nothing better to do. People call them useless drones. (*Ep.* 76.1, 4)⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See Sen. *Ep.* 55 for the villa of Servilius Vatia; *Ep.* 86 for the villa of Scipio Africanus. For important discussions on villas in Seneca, see John Henderson, *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Ker, *The Deaths of Seneca*, 325-358.

⁷⁶ On the philosophical complexity of Senecan retreat from Nero, Rome, and empire, see the excellent new work of Rimell, *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics*, 113-156.

⁷⁷ Translation taken from Graver and Long, *Seneca: Letters on Ethics to Lucilius*. In his commentary on the Letter 76, Brad Inwood, *Seneca: Selected Philosophical Letters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 202., notes that the contrast between the popularity of the theatre and the empty philosophers’ hall visually represents, and confirms for Seneca, the incorrect judgments of ‘the good’ made by the majority of people: “The incentives for studying philosophy are handled with a matter-of-factness that might appeal to a serious non-philosopher. The effort required is considerable but the rewards are even greater—hence the project is worthwhile even if viewed from the outside, as it were. The difference between a philosopher’s view of what is good and the view of other people is underlined by the contrast between the theatre and the school in 76.4. The claim that only the honourable is good sets up the contrast between ordinary and philosophical values, described Platonically as a contrast between false and counterfeit values and genuine values.” Having persuaded his audience to shift from the theatre to the hall in the opening sections, the rest of letter 76 pursues the discussion on the true nature of ‘the good.’

Putting to one side Seneca's assertion of popular responses to those attending philosophy lectures, the contrast between the attendance at spectacle venues and philosophical schools is stark. Entertainment structures were not only problematic because they were crowded, but also because they were sites of empire, the spaces from which Seneca was withdrawing. Miriam Griffin cites this anecdote of Seneca's daily snub of the theatre in Naples as a concealed criticism of Nero, who was making his public debut on that very stage;⁷⁸ presumably there were other routes to the philosopher's house. If this anti-Neronian sentiment is present in Seneca's letters, then his continuing comparison between those (or the one) who seek wisdom with those who seek approval through birth, wealth, and popular performance may be doing more work than first thought:

No one attains wisdom merely by chance. Money will come of its own accord; public office will be conferred on you; popularity and influence will perhaps be accorded you without any action on your part; virtue, though, will not just happen to you. The work it takes to recognize it is neither easy nor short; but the effort is worth making, for by it one will take possession of every good at once. For there is but one—the honourable. You will feel nothing real, nothing sure, in those things that reputation favors. (§6)

However, before we pronounce Seneca a recluse and follow him into an enclosed retreat to take possession of the good, we should note that he was deeply embedded in the social and political life of the empire; and, as he attempted to withdraw, these aspects of the city appeared more vividly in his philosophical meditations. A quick glance at his letters, as Victoria Rimell notes, reveals the extent to which “we get plunged, at decent and teasing intervals, into the quintessential social arenas that are the baths, the games, the urban crowds, only to come up battered but refreshed, all the more open to reconfiguring urban experience from within our (actual or imaginary) philosophical retreats.”⁷⁹

Given the significance of these social arenas, it is surprising that comparative work on Paul and Seneca often reflects the confined spaces of serious study, withdrawn from the crowds. The popularity of various sites of spectacle, as noted by Cicero above, should cause us to consider the way we might situate Paul and Seneca within their lived landscapes. The sites for theatrical, musical, athletic, and gladiatorial performances

⁷⁸ Griffin, *Seneca*, 360. On Nero's public debut on the stage in Naples, Suet. *Ner.* 20.2, says, “he made his debut at Naples, where he did not cease singing until he had finished the number which he had begun, even though the theatre was shaken by a sudden earthquake shock. In the same city he sang frequently and for several successive days.” Also see Tac. *Ann.* 15.33.1-3.

⁷⁹ Rimell, *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics*, 115.

loomed large in the architecture of the expansive cityscape, and were significant arenas for the community. They bustled with large numbers of the population, providing the opportunity for crowds to participate in, or respond to, imperial power structures.

The aim of this chapter is to shift the focus, especially among NT scholars, back to these sites of spectacle. Exploring the social arenas that dominated the landscapes of Rome and Corinth, we will attempt to recover and reconstruct two obscure amphitheatres in particular—the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres—both dated to the time of Paul and Seneca, and long since vanished. I begin by examining the evolution and development of spectacles and the sites of spectacle in Rome from the middle of the Republic to the early empire. By tracking these developments, Nero's amphitheatre will emerge as one more step in the evolution of amphitheatrical architecture in the capital of the empire. In the second half of this chapter, I turn to Corinth to rediscover another amphitheatre often overlooked. In our exploration, we will discover various individuals that funded these types of constructions and sponsored the elaborate events they contained. Weaving in and out of the lives of these prominent figures, we will observe the lengths they went and the vast fortunes spent to attain and maintain the political power that accompanied such displays of extravagant munificence. Stories will emerge from these lives that are as much about Roman militarism and imperialism as they are about the production and consumption of gladiatorial spectacles.

Spectators: Ancient and Modern

Before our exploration of the Roman and Corinthian landscapes, I want to briefly consider the ambiguity surrounding gladiators and the effect this has had on modern perspectives. Gladiatorial spectacles, in Rome and the provinces, had a 'box office' appeal.⁸⁰ Some gladiators had fan clubs and were worshipped as heroes. Gladiatorial spectacles, as Cicero makes clear in the epigram at the start of the chapter, were popularly attended, and they permeated everyday conversation.⁸¹ However, amid the discussions, some ancient spectators articulated a more ambiguous response to the

⁸⁰ For gladiatorial spectacles, among other entertainments, in popular culture, see Toner, *Leisure and Ancient Rome*, 34-52; idem, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome*, 123-161.

⁸¹ See Tac. *Dial.* 29.3-4; Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.44.

nature of gladiatorial spectacles. Cicero, among others,⁸² also offered this more varied response:

A gladiatorial show is apt to seem cruel and brutal to some eyes, and I incline to think that it is so, as now conducted. But in the days when it was criminals who crossed swords in the death struggle [*depugnabant*], there could be no better training against pain and death for the eye. (*Tusc.* 2.41)⁸³

Despite their popularity, the ambiguity voiced by Cicero seems to have always existed for spectators and commentators of gladiatorial spectacles; and these sentiments continue to intrigue and plague scholarship through to today. Questions posed inevitably centre on how events that not only sanction but also celebrate cruelty and brutality could be lavishly sponsored and popularly attended. As archaeological work continues to excavate material that reveals the popularity of spectacles from city to city throughout the empire, the picture of gladiatorial spectacles has both enlarged and sharpened. We will see in this chapter and the next that, due to the ubiquity of spectacles, scholars in recent decades have been forced to revise earlier judgments on the nature and scope of these performances in the mid-late Republic and early empire.

Gladiatorial spectacles have long been seen as an integral part of examining Roman social life.⁸⁴ Alongside the important work of collating the known literary and material ‘texts’ on gladiatorial spectacles, the scholarship in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought ways to explain their origins and popularity. Many of the explanations tended to reflect the racist, sexist, and class biases of that period.⁸⁵ This is seen in early advocates of the Etruscan hypothesis. Thomas Wiedemann noted that these advocates “were affronted by gladiatorial contests” and were of the belief that the “Romans’ reputation for civilised behaviour could be saved if these games were shown to have originated elsewhere.”⁸⁶ The Etruscans, with their oriental origins, proved too enticing.

Similar biases also led to the denial of the popularity of gladiatorial spectacles in the Greek East. Deploying several elite Greek texts that articulated contempt for Roman style spectacles, Ludwig Friedländer concluded that the Greeks, with their “superior

⁸² See, Plin. *Pan.* 33.1; Tert. *De spect.* 22.

⁸³ For *depugno* as a *terminus technicus* for gladiatorial combat, see OLD s.v. *depugno* (2). Also see *RGDA*, 22.1; Sen. *Ep.* 76.2, *Dial.* 10.13.6.

⁸⁴ See Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, 2.1.

⁸⁵ See Introduction, *Images of Friendship*, 8n.33-36.

⁸⁶ Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 31. This is not to say all arguments for Etruscan origins are illegitimate, but simply to expose the tendency to explain away “uncivilised” behaviour to a foreign source.

civilisation,” mostly resisted the exhibition of gladiators.⁸⁷ For the spectacles that were produced in the east, racial elements were again seen to be the cause by these earlier scholars. However, through the ground-breaking work of Louis Robert, the discovery of hundreds of gladiatorial inscriptions and reliefs in the east attested to their widespread popularity.⁸⁸ Since Robert’s work, more material evidence of gladiators in the east continues to be discovered, and their popularity empire-wide can no longer be denied.

Seneca, Rome, and Spectacles of Death

Seneca, in arguably his most famous letter, describes the time he happened to visit the amphitheatre, finding himself a spectator of the midday spectacles (*meridianum spectaculum* [Ep.7.3]). The venue was likely the extravagant wooden amphitheatre of Nero in the *Campus Martius*, built in 57 CE. As a senator and *amicus principis*, Seneca would have sat prominently in a front row seat amongst the senatorial order, and probably near the seat of the emperor.⁸⁹ While “expecting some amusement or wit, something relaxing” (*lusus expectans et sales et aliquid laxamenti* [§3]), Seneca and the crowd instead witnessed a bloodbath:

The fights that preceded turned out to have been downright merciful. The trifling was over: now it was unmitigated slaughter. They are not provided with any protective armor: their bodies are completely exposed, so that the hand never strikes in vain. This is

⁸⁷ Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners*, 2.84. Friedländer wrongly thought Roman colonies and cities in Asia Minor were exceptions to the resistance of gladiators in the Greek east because of their “non-Greek” character and “half-Asiatic population.” Corinth is cited as an example. Friedländer also wrongly believed that Palestine resisted gladiatorial spectacles. In fact, Herod the Great staged spectacles in Jerusalem and Caesarea (Joseph. *AJ* 15.267-276, 16.136-141) and Agrippa sponsored gladiatorial spectacles in Berytus (Joseph. *AJ* 19.335-337). For spectacles, entertainment facilities, and the response to them in Palestine, see Zeev Weiss, “Adopting a Novelty: The Jews and the Roman Games in Palestine,” in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East 2* (ed. J. H. Humphrey; JRASup. 31; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999), 23-49.

⁸⁸ Robert, *Gladiateurs*. Christian Mann, “Gladiators in the Greek East: A Case Study in Romanization,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009): 272., notes: “Regarding the regional distribution, gladiatorial games were popular in every part of the Greek world. Gladiators fought in Athens, Corinth, Thessaloniki, Mytilene, Cos, Beroia, Ancyra, Side, Jerusalem, Dura-Europos and many other places.”

⁸⁹ For Seneca as *amicus principis*, see Tac. *Ann.* 14.53-54; John A. Crook, *Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 45-47, 119-122; Griffin, *Seneca*, 76-103. On the attendance and prominent position of Seneca at spectacles in Rome, Dio Cass. 61.19-21 describes one instance at the private games of the Juvenalia in 59 CE, celebrating the first shaving of Nero’s beard. At the climax of these games produced by the emperor, after many performances by members of the elite, Nero took the stage. During his performance, dressed as a *citharode*, Seneca and Burrus stood next to him prompting him and leading the audience, together with five thousand ‘Augustiani,’ in applause and cheers of the performance. In this instance, and at spectacles in general, a person’s social and political status was reflected in their proximity to the stage/arena and to the seat of the *editor*. See Jerzy Kolendo, “La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l’Empire Romain: A propos des inscriptions sur les gradins des amphithéâtres et théâtres,” *Ktema* 6 (1981): 302.

generally liked better than the usual matches between even the most popular gladiators. And why not? There is no helmet, no shield to stop the blade. Why bother with defenses? Why bother with technique? All that stuff just delays the kill...The only way out of the ring is to die. Steel and flames are the business of the hour. (§§3-4)

The performers were armourless criminals condemned to death (§5); and, despite it being lunchtime, some (or many) spectators remained and even vociferously participated in the deaths of these criminals. Bearing witness to these events, Seneca concluded that “in the morning, humans are thrown to the lions or to the bears; at noon, they are thrown to their own spectators!” (§4). Unhappy with the performances, the spectators around Seneca screamed:

“Kill him! Whip him! Burn him! Why is he so timid about running onto the sword? Why does he not succumb more bravely? Why is he not more willing to die? Let him be driven with lashes into the fray! Let them receive each other’s blows with their chests naked and exposed!” (§5)

From this representation of spectacle, as James Ker observes, “Seneca *turns away* from precisely these images, replacing them, and their attendant roles, with the discourse of the letter and the secluded timescape of the rational self.”⁹⁰ As I outlined in the introduction, we will resist this shift of withdrawal and attempt to lounge, like Seneca the spectator, in the amphitheatre. In order to do this, we will first need to track the imperialist, militarist, and monumental traditions that emerge out of the middle and late Republic. These traditions will help establish the spectacle landscape in Rome and aid our attempts to construct and contextualise Nero’s elusive amphitheatre. Before arriving at the Neronian amphitheatre ourselves, we will first go back to an empty *Campus Martius*, prior to its considerable development and the bustling crowds attending the various spectacles.

A Showcase for Spectacles

Diane Favro notes that the *Campus Martius* in Augustan Rome “became a showcase.”⁹¹ The large open space located to the north of the *pomerium*—“the line demarcating the augurally constituted city”⁹²—had been a site, during the republican period, for military and athletic training and the assembly point for returning soldiers

⁹⁰ James Ker, “Nocturnal Letters: Roman Temporal Practices and Seneca’s *Epistulae Morales*” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 74.

⁹¹ Diane G. Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 207.

⁹² OCD s.v. *pomerium*. Also see New Pauly, s.v. *pomerium*; Richardson, *Topo. Dict.* s.v. *pomerium*.

and their victorious generals, in anticipation of triumphal processions and celebrations that would lead back into the city.⁹³ The wide open space in the *Campus Martius* offered possibilities for the development of elaborate structures (*monimenta*) that permanently memorialised military accomplishments.⁹⁴ In the middle and late Republic, various temples and porticoes were built, particularly in the vicinity of the *Circus Flaminius*, financed by the spoils of war (*manubiae*) accumulated from successful military campaigns.⁹⁵ These developments in the *Campus Martius* peaked in the middle of the first-century BCE with the construction of Pompey's theatre-complex, the first permanent stone built theatre in Rome. Prior to this development, all the (amphi)theatres were temporary wooden structures assembled and dismantled either in the *forum Romanum* or the *Campus Martius*. The *fora*, notably, were the traditional sites for the earliest gladiatorial spectacles held in Rome.⁹⁶

According to the oft-noted traditions, the sons of D. Junius Brutus Scaeva, Decimus and Marcus, were the first to produce gladiatorial combats in Rome during the funeral of their father in 264 BCE.⁹⁷ These events, it is suggested, were held in the *forum Boarium* and included three pairs of gladiators, all of which were prisoners of war.⁹⁸ We

⁹³ The victorious general would stay in the Villa Publica, located in the centre of the *Campus Martius* (south of the *Saepta* and north of the *Circus Flaminius*), in preparation for his triumphal procession and associated festivities.

⁹⁴ Many of the monuments were constructed (more than half built between the end of the sixth century and the middle of the first-century BCE) as a result of vows made by generals during battle—especially in the third and second-centuries BCE during the Punic and Macedonian Wars—and were often built near the route of the triumphal procession. See Paul W. Jacobs and Diane A. Conlin, *Campus Martius: The Field of Mars in the Life of Ancient Rome* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 43-63.

⁹⁵ Filippo Coarelli, *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide* (trans. James J. Clauss and Daniel P. Harmon; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 266-267. helpfully lists the temples constructed around the *Circus Flaminius* (with the year and founders name) during this period: "Apollo (431 BC, Cn. Iulius); Bellona (296, Appius Claudius Caecus); Vulcan (date uncertain, though not later than the third century); Pietas (181, M. Acilius Glabrio); Hercules and the Muses (179, M. Fulvius Nobilior); Juno Regina (179, M. Aemilius Lepidus); Diana (179, M. Aemilius Lepidus); Jupiter Stator (146, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus); Mars (132, Brutus Callaicus); Neptune (ca. 125, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus); Hercules Custos (Sulla); Castors (ca. 70 BC). To this should be added the reconstruction of the Temple of Apollo that was probably undertaken by M. Fulvius Nobilior in 179. Among the secular constructions are the *Porticus Octavia* (168 BC, Cn. Octavius); the *Porticus Metelli* (146, Metellus Macedonicus), and the *Porticus Philippi* (29 BC, L. Marcius Philippus)."

⁹⁶ See Vitr. *De arch.* 5.1.1-2. The earliest gladiatorial spectacles in Rome, according to tradition, were held in the *forum Boarium* and then in the *forum Romanum*. See Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 30-71.

⁹⁷ Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 20-22., discusses the slight discrepancy in the identification of the honouree of these early spectacles. The *cognomina* Brutus and Pera—supplied by Valerius Maximus—"do not otherwise appear together, these two branches of the family having diverged at some early date." Given Livy, *Per.* 16 and Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.67 omit Pera, the honouree can plausibly be identified with D. Junius Brutus Scaeva, consul in 292 BCE. Also see Edmondson, "Dynamic Arenas," 70; Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 46.

⁹⁸ See Livy, *Per.* 16; Val. Max. 2.4.7, supplies the names of both sons as sponsors of the funerary spectacle, Marcus and Decimus, and the location in the *forum Boarium*; Auson. *Griphus*, 36-37, adds that the gladiators fought in the 'Thracian' style, and, against Valerius Maximus, locates the combats at the tomb of Junius; and Serv. *Ad Aen.* 3.67, claims the gladiators were prisoners of war. On the origins of gladiatorial

might question the reliability of these traditions,⁹⁹ but these particular funerary spectacles were noteworthy because of their proximity to the First Punic War; and, therefore, were established as such in Roman eyes.¹⁰⁰ Scholars have noted that these key details in the tradition securely connected gladiatorial spectacles, from the outset, with both Roman militarism and the funerals of notable men.¹⁰¹

Later in the third century, in 216 BCE, twenty-two pairs of gladiators fought in the funeral games of M. Aemilius Lepidus in the *forum Romanum*, sponsored by his three sons: Lucius, Marcus, and Quintus.¹⁰² The dating of these events, almost half a century later, also associated them with the battle at Cannae, during the Second Punic War. As Alison Futrell notes, “[t]he chronology of the *munera* is surely no coincidence; these ritual combats, as they appear in the sources, should be understood as part of the morale boosting social and religious innovations and reforms made to deal with the threat from Carthage.”¹⁰³

combat, both Nicolaus of Damascus (preserved in Ath. 4.153f) and Suetonius (*De Regibus*), cited in Ville, *La Gladiature*, 8n.32., regarded gladiatorial spectacles as an Etruscan custom; though, as Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 11-18. notes, the Romans themselves debated their origins and had no clear answer. Given the lack of substantial material evidence for Etruscan origins, Ville, *La Gladiature*, 1-42. proposed that gladiators originated in the Osco-Samnite cultures of southern Italy, subsequently appearing in Etruria then Rome. Scholarship has debated these origin stories, more recently accepting the Osco-Samnite hypothesis; although, see Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 9-19. However, even these competing origin stories, as we saw above, were influenced by nineteenth-century ideological agendas concerning constructs of ‘civilisation.’ The recent shift to abandon, given a historical-critical analysis, a single source theory for the origins of gladiatorial spectacles in Rome is probably the best way forward, turning our attention instead to Rome’s development of the institution. See, particularly, Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 43-49; Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East,” 22-23; Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 11-18.

⁹⁹ The obvious “ideological slant” of these early traditions is noted by Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 119.

¹⁰⁰ The summary in Livy, *Per.* 16 tells us the context was the beginning of the First Punic War. On the possibility of earlier gladiatorial spectacles in Rome, see Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 19-20. Futrell notes several indications that suggest gladiatorial combats were produced in Rome prior to 264 BCE. The first is the tradition preserved in the fragment of Suetonius (*De Regibus*) stating that the Etruscan King, Tarquinius Priscus (616-579 BCE), introduced gladiatorial combat to Rome. The second takes into consideration the development of Roman *ludi* with the appearance of *munera* in the third century BCE, and asks whether these developments question the absolute date of 264 BCE. The third indication traces one origin story (of several) for the name given to the tiers of seating in the amphitheatre (*maeniana*) back to C. Maenius, consul in 338 BCE and censor in 318 BCE. According to the encyclopaedic authors Festus, Isidore, and Nonius, Maenius constructed a column (*Columna Maenia*) and, through the extension of wooden beams, enlarged the viewing capacity of spectacles in the *forum Romanum*, suggesting gladiatorial combats were produced in the fourth century. On this discussion, also see Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 32-34. Finally, Futrell notes the emergence of the Samnite type of gladiator (*samnis*), probably originating from prisoners taken captive during the Samnite Wars (343-290 BCE). While this category of gladiator disappears in the imperial period, the origins of this type of gladiator are suggestive for gladiatorial spectacles in Rome prior to 264 BCE. On the *samnis*, see Junkelmann, “*Familia Gladiatoria*,” 36-37, 48.

¹⁰¹ On the role of Roman militarism in the early exhibitions of gladiators, see particularly Hopkins, “Murderous Games,” 1-7. Also see Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 5-8; Katherine E. Welch, “The Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy: A New Interpretation,” *JRA* 7 (1994): 59-80; eadem, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 18-22; Edmondson, “Dynamic Arenas,” 69-75.

¹⁰² Livy 23.30.

¹⁰³ Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 23.

The selective and symbolic use of these early spectacles by the sources, therefore, tended to be contingent on both the individuals being honoured (that is, prominent Roman citizens involved in great military exploits) and the scale of the events, rather than a comprehensive account of the earliest spectacles in Rome. Livy says as much in his gloss for the year, 174 BCE: “Many gladiatorial games were given that year, some of them unimportant; one was noteworthy beyond the rest, that of Titus Flamininus, which he gave to commemorate the death of his father, lasted four days, and was accompanied by a public distribution of meats, a banquet and scenic performances. The climax of a show which was big for that time was that in three days seventy-four gladiators fought.”¹⁰⁴ The selectivity of the sources articulated here reveals the limitations we face in trying to account for the frequency of gladiatorial spectacles in the republican period. Scholars have not always reflected this selectivity, assuming frequency equaled historical citations. Katherine Welch, in her work on Roman amphitheatres, pushes back on these assumptions and clarifies the limitations of the sources for gladiatorial spectacles in the third and second-centuries BCE.¹⁰⁵

By the first-century BCE, political rivals, established by their personal wealth and military exploits, sought to exhibit magnificent and innovative spectacles as a form of self-presentation and a method for gaining popularity, alongside the funding of major constructions in the *fora* of Rome and in the *Campus Martius*. While maintaining the traditionally ‘private’ funerary context, events that would come to be associated with gladiatorial spectacles—wild beast hunts (*venationes*), executions, and gladiatorial combats—often blurred with traditionally ‘public’ spectacles sponsored by magistrates. The so-called private funerals were functionally public events deployed within a system of benefaction that ensured the control of power among republican dynasts. Developments in the architecture of temporary and permanent structures saw a shift towards the *Campus Martius* as the premier site for both traditional festivals and gladiatorial spectacles.

¹⁰⁴ Livy 41.28. Other noteworthy spectacles include: Scipio’s gladiatorial spectacles in honour of his deceased father and uncle in 206 BCE, however these funeral games were held in new Carthage (Livy 28.21); twenty-five pairs of gladiators were exhibited by Publius and Marcus in the *forum Romanum*, during funeral games in honour of their father M. Valerius Laevinus, in 200 BCE (Livy 31.50); and the elaborate funeral games of P. Licinius Crassus in 183 BCE, an incredible (for the time) one hundred-twenty gladiators fought, followed by a large public banquet in the forum (Livy 39.46).

¹⁰⁵ Welch, “Roman Amphitheatres Revived,” 279-280; eadem, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 18-22. Edmondson, “Dynamic Arenas,” 69-112., does the same for gladiatorial spectacles in the early imperial period.

In 65 BCE, C. Julius Caesar, as aedile, co-sponsored with M. Calpurnius Bibulus—his colleague in the aedileship—extraordinarily expensive, ‘multi-dimensional’ spectacles, which included processions, banquets, theatrical performances, and *venationes*.¹⁰⁶ In addition, Caesar attempted to exhibit three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators in funeral games for his father, who had died twenty years earlier; yet, Caesar was forced to settle for a limited number after his political rivals successfully restricted his liberality.¹⁰⁷ In one noteworthy aspect of these elaborate spectacles, Pliny cites Caesar’s innovative equipping of criminals (*noxii*) condemned to fight wild beasts with silver weapons; an innovation that later caught on in municipal towns (*municipia*).¹⁰⁸ Caesar’s excessive display of gladiators and criminals, only tenuously tied to his long dead father, was orchestrated to enhance his popularity, revealing his political ambitions at this early stage in his career. It worked. Plutarch notes that Caesar, through such liberal displays, “washed away all memory of the ambitious efforts of his predecessors in the office;”¹⁰⁹ while Suetonius and Dio relate the total eclipse of Caesar’s co-sponsor Bibulus, who bitterly complained that the people had attributed the entire exhibition of spectacles to Caesar alone.¹¹⁰

As Caesar advanced through the *cursus honorum*,¹¹¹ Cn. Pompeius Magnus returned to Rome to celebrate his third triumph in 61 BCE. Pompey was a military prodigy, who cut his teeth under the generalships of his father and L. Cornelius Sulla Felix. One adversary dubbed him the teenage butcher (*adulescentulus carnifex*) after leading several legions to victory in Italy.¹¹² Over a decade later, after celebrating two triumphs

¹⁰⁶ See Suet. *Iul.* 10; Plut. *Caes.* 5; Dio Cass. 37.8. Dio cites, specifically, that Caesar had exhibited both the *Ludi Romani* and the *Megalenses* in addition to the gladiatorial contests honouring his long-dead father. On the multi-dimensional nature of the events in this period, see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 50-51.

¹⁰⁷ Suetonius (*Iul.* 10) claims that Caesar’s political rivals restricted the number of gladiators one could exhibit from fear of having such a vast number of armed fighters in the city. Also see Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 33. It is possible that the recent memory (73-71 BCE) of the slave rebellion led by Spartacus and the gladiators that escaped the *ludus* of L. Batiatus in Capua motivated the Senate to pass this law restricting such large numbers of gladiators in Rome. On Spartacus and the slave rebellion, see Plut. *Crass.* 8-11; App. *B Civ.* 1.116-121; Flor. 2.8. On the use of gladiators in late republican politics, see Roger Dunkle, *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008), 159-167.

¹⁰⁸ Plin. *HN* 33.53.

¹⁰⁹ Plut. *Caes.* 5.5. Plutarch suggests that in response to Caesar’s lavish spectacles during his aedileship, many were offering him new offices and honours.

¹¹⁰ Suet. *Iul.* 10.1; Dio Cass. 37.8.2.

¹¹¹ Caesar was co-opted as a *pontifex* in 73; military tribune in 72; *quaestor* in 69; *proquaestor* in Hispania Ulterior in 68; *curule aedile* in 65; *pontifex maximus* in 63; *praetor* in 62; *propraetorian governor* of Hispania Ulterior in 61; consul in 59, 48, 46, 45 and 44; and dictator in 49, 48, 46 (for ten years), and 44 (in perpetuity). See Tom Stevenson, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic* (London: Routledge, 2015), 181-186.

¹¹² Val. Max. 6.2.8. See Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 15; Stevenson, *Julius Caesar*, 54.

for military victories in Africa and Spain—dated to 81/80 and 71 BCE—and being elected consul in 70 BCE despite having held no previous office, Pompey was tasked with defeating the pirates throughout the Mediterranean and, subsequently, Mithradates VI, king of Pontus. Following these victories in the east, Pompey orchestrated the most magnificent triumphal procession seen in Rome (61 BCE), parading the plundered treasures and his defeated foes. However, these fleeting spectacles were, ultimately, an inadequate commemoration of Rome's largest military expansion east, and Pompey initiated plans to construct the first permanent theatre-complex in the *Campus Martius*, mentioned above.¹¹³

Inaugurated in 55 BCE, Pompey's large complex included a temple to Venus Victrix—among other shrines dedicated to military virtues personified—looking down on the theatre from atop the *cavea*. Below the temple, rows of seats descended the multi-story structure to the orchestra, stage, and *scaenae frons*. Behind the theatre itself, a quadriportico extended a few hundred metres to a new senate house (*curia*). Throughout the complex were gardens, statues, and paintings, including many pieces from or commemorating Pompey's victories. Mary Beard notes, “any walk through Pompey's porticoes must also have entailed a re-viewing of the spoils first seen on September 28 and 29, 61—the procession being re-enacted in the movement of each and every visitor, as they passed the objects on display.”¹¹⁴ To further impress upon the spectators, statues of fourteen nations (*quattuordecim nationes*) were commissioned as representations of Pompey's conquests and placed in the complex, possibly around Pompey's own statue.¹¹⁵

The inaugural spectacles of the theatre had to match the magnificence and innovation of the structure itself. Cicero, following the elaborate spectacles, penned a letter to his absent friend M. Marius describing the events:

As for the Greek and Oscan shows, I don't imagine you were sorry to miss them—especially as you can see an Oscan turn on your town council, and you care so little for Greeks that you don't even take Greek Street to get to your house! Or perhaps, having scorned gladiators, you are sorry not to have seen the athletes! Pompey himself admits

¹¹³ For a discussion of Pompey's theatre including artistic and 3D renderings of the complex, see Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments*, 61-74 (Figs. 9-14); also see, Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 22-31 (Fig. 5).

¹¹⁴ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 25.

¹¹⁵ For the statues representing fourteen nations, see Plin. *HN* 36.41. Mary Beard discusses the location of the statues and notes the possible corruption in the text, which leaves the exact location ambiguous. Either the statues were placed around Pompey or were placed around the theatre of Pompey: “The manuscripts read simply “circa Pompeium”; editors have suggested “circa Pompei/Pompei theatrum”; the precise arrangement of the statues must remain unclear” (Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 342n.53). According to Suet. *Ner.* 46, these were also the same statues that featured in Nero's dream.

that they were a waste of time and midday oil! That leaves the hunts, two every day for five days, magnificent—nobody says otherwise. But what pleasure can a cultivated man get out of seeing a weak human being torn to pieces by a powerful animal or a splendid animal transfixed by a hunting spear? Anyhow, if these sights are worth seeing, you have seen them often; and we spectators saw nothing new. (*Fam.* 7.3)

Cicero's description plays down the magnificence of Pompey's spectacles in an attempt to placate his friend. Yet, even Cicero cannot fully hide the precedent set by the site and spectacles in Rome. In particular, they were remembered for the extraordinary display of wild animals, including the infamous elephants on the final day (§3).¹¹⁶

The architectural developments on display in Pompey's theatre-complex were not only limited, at this time, to permanent buildings. Temporary entertainment structures were also evolving in complexity and innovation. Pliny cites two structures; the first, in 58 BCE, three years prior to the inauguration of Pompey's theatre, was the extraordinarily extravagant temporary theatre in the *Campus Martius* funded by the well-connected M. Aemilius Scaurus for his aedilician games.¹¹⁷ The *scaenae frons* included three levels with three hundred and sixty columns made out of marble, glass, and gilded wood. The theatre is also said to have displayed a staggering three thousand bronze statues, placed between the columns. The second structure, built five years later in 52 BCE, was C. Scribonius Curio's twin theatres (see figure 2).¹¹⁸ Positioned back-to-back for standard theatrical performances, the wooden theatres swiveled round face-to-face on pivots to form an amphitheatre for gladiatorial spectacles. Beyond the stands that were erected in the forum, this was ostensibly the first amphitheatre constructed in Rome. Pliny is quick to add that Curio's theatres were not on the scale of Scaurus's theatre in "the matter of costly embellishments," remarking that, unlike Scaurus, Curio did not have parents who had pillaged the provinces of vast riches to fund and adorn his theatres.¹¹⁹ However, what the theatres lacked aesthetically, they made up for in astonishing ingenuity. While the pivoting structures were built for the funeral games of

¹¹⁶ There are various amounts given for Pompey's exhibition of lions and elephants in our sources. Plin. *HN* 8.53, states that six hundred lions were displayed, three hundred and fifteen with manes; while Plut. *Pomp.* 52.4, claims that five hundred lions were killed. Plin. *HN* 8.20 notes the various records for elephants: some say "twenty, or, as others record, seventeen." Sen. *Dial.* 10.13.6 claims Pompey exhibited the slaughter of eighteen elephants. Dio Cass. 39.38.2, follows the tradition of five hundred lions and eighteen elephants. Finally, Plin. *HN* 8.64, 70, 71, also mentions the display of other wild animals, including four hundred and ten leopards, baboons, a lynx, and a rhinoceros.

¹¹⁷ See Plin. *HN* 36.113-115. Aemilius Scaurus' stepfather was Sulla, and he served as *quaestor* under Pompey.

¹¹⁸ See Plin. *HN* 36.116-120.

¹¹⁹ Plin. *HN* 36.116.

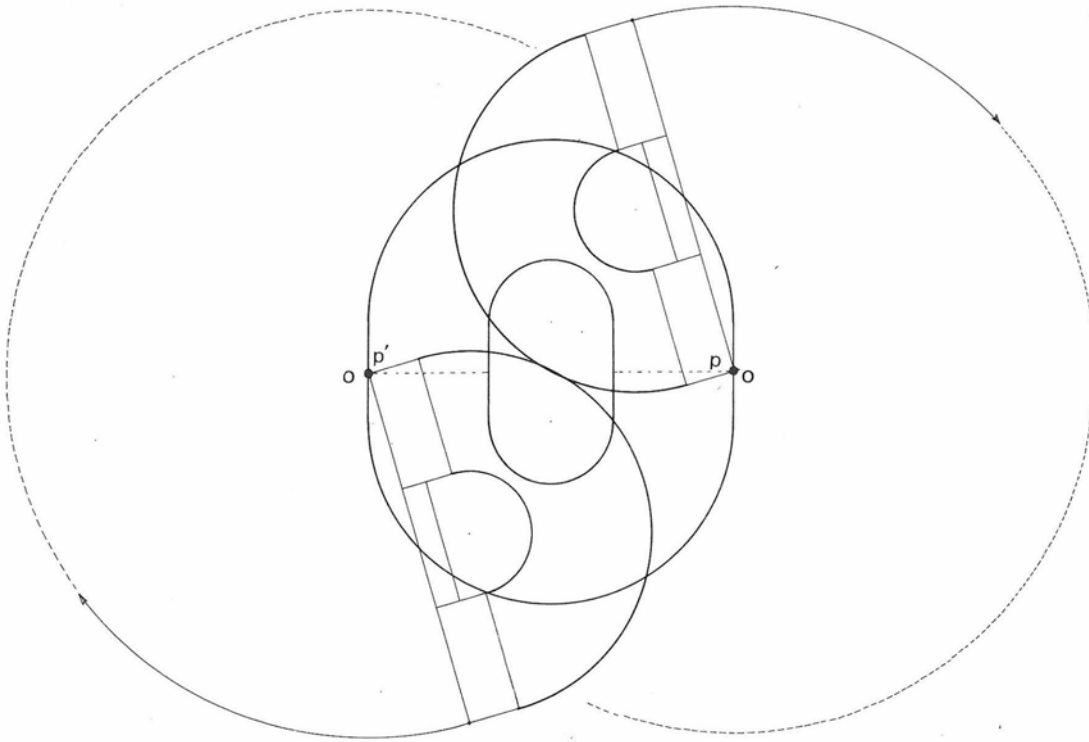


FIGURE 2. Reconstruction of Curio's rotating theatres (Golvin, 1988)

his father—plays in the morning, gladiatorial combat in the afternoon—Curio had an eye on future elections, gaining his tribuneship two years later.

Almost a decade after Pompey's inaugural spectacles, Caesar returned to Rome to celebrate a quadruple triumph (over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa).¹²⁰ Caesar had declined previous offers to celebrate triumphs for political reasons; yet, with the defeat of Pompey in the civil war, Caesar was now able to return to Rome to celebrate his military accomplishments. In preparation for creative and innovative celebrations, Caesar funded the construction of several entertainment structures: an amphitheatre, described by Dio as “a hunting-theatre out of wood, which was also called an amphitheatre because it had seats all the way round without a stage” (θέατρον τι κυνηγετικὸν ἰκριώσας, ὃ καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ περίξ πανταχόθεν ἔδρας ἄνευ σκηνῆς ἔχειν προσεργήθη [43.22.3]), a stadium, and a *stagnum*; all temporary and all possibly sited in the *Campus Martius*.¹²¹

¹²⁰ See Suet. *Iul.* 37; Dio Cass. 43.19.1-2.

¹²¹ The site of the amphitheatre is debated. Both Suetonius and Dio mention gladiatorial spectacles held in the forum, the traditional place for such a structure and spectacle. But, Dio is the only one who mentions the construction of a wooden amphitheatre. As Kathleen Coleman (2003) outlines, Dio conflates several different celebrations leaving the site of the amphitheatre ambiguous. The newly built *forum Iulium* or the

The magnitude of Caesar's spectacles were intended to outdo all his predecessors, particularly his rival Pompey, and promote him as the leading man of Rome.¹²² Caesar exhibited gladiatorial combats in the forum and in his temporary amphitheatre. Pliny adds that elaborate awnings (*vela*)—possibly made of silk—were stretched across the forum, “a display recorded to have been thought more wonderful even than the show of gladiators.”¹²³ During the celebrations, Caesar sponsored five days of *venationes* in the *Circus Maximus*, which included the first exhibition of a giraffe.¹²⁴ On the final day of hunts, Caesar staged a mock battle on an extraordinary scale. Over a thousand captives, criminals, and slaves were forced to perform as soldiers and horsemen, with forty elephants, in a spectacle of mass executions.¹²⁵ Back in the Campus, three days of athletic competitions were held in the newly constructed wooden stadium. Finally, Caesar orchestrated his most ambitious and innovative spectacle yet. A custom built basin (*stagnum*) provided the venue for the first ever sea-battle (*naumachia*) in Rome. Four thousand oarsmen and two thousand soldiers fought in a fictitious battle between ‘Tyrians’ and ‘Egyptians.’¹²⁶ Reflecting on the enormous popularity of these diverse events, Suetonius pictured “a vast number of people flooded into Rome from every region, so that many of the visitors had to lodge in tents put up in the streets or along the

Campus Martius remain possible locations. Suetonius clearly states that Caesar's stadium was located in the *Campus Martius*. The *stagnum* is a little less certain because of a textual corruption in Suet. *Iul.* 39.4, though Dio Cass. 43.23 places it in the *Campus Martius*. See, Kathleen M. Coleman, “Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire,” *JRS* 83 (1993): 50; eadem, “Euergetism in Its Place: Where Was the Amphitheatre in Augustan Rome?,” in *‘Bread and Circuses’: Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy* (eds. K. Lomas and T. Cornell; London: Routledge, 2003), 63-64.

¹²² Suet. *Iul.* 39.1 notes the various performances displayed throughout the city: “a combat of gladiators and also stage-plays in every ward all over the city, performed too by actors of all languages, as well as races in the circus, athletic contests, and a sham seafight.” On Caesar's use of the spectacles for self-promotion, Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments*, 80, “The panoply of diversions staged by Caesar following his triumphs combined spectacular shows with personal propaganda, by reminding the audience at every occasion of his role as Rome's mightiest warrior. Military success, thus “packaged,” appealed to patriotic and imperialist impulses in the public, while providing a potent form of entertainment and winning admiration and gratitude for Caesar's achievements as both soldier and showman.”

¹²³ Plin. *HN* 19.23-24. On the accounts suggesting the awnings were of silk, see Dio Cass. 43.24.2.

¹²⁴ For the description of Caesar's exhibition of a giraffe, see Dio Cass. 43.23.1-3. Suet. *Iul.* 39.2-3 mentions the modifications made to the *Circus Maximus* to accommodate the races, beast hunts, and the large-scale battle. These included extending both ends of the circus, digging a canal around the circuit, and removing the central barriers.

¹²⁵ For the participants involved in Caesar's spectacles, see Dio Cass. 43.23.4-6.

¹²⁶ Dio Cass. 43.24.1-2, mentions the concern caused by the level of bloodshed and extravagance, though it was primarily with the costs involved and the sources for funding, rather than the morality of mass executions: “He was blamed, indeed, for the great number of those slain, on the ground that he himself had not become satiated with bloodshed and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; but much more fault was found because he had expended countless sums on all that array. In consequence a clamour was raised against him for two reasons—first, that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and, again, that he had squandered them for such purposes.” For these events, also see Coleman, “Launching into History,” 48-74.

roads. And the crowds were so great on a number of occasions that many people were crushed to death, even including two senators.”¹²⁷

Following his triumphal celebrations, Caesar, now Dictator in perpetuity (*dictator perpetuo*), turned his attention to reorganizing the city with various building projects. However, as Favro suggests, Caesar’s plans to develop Rome continued in the “mentality of a triumphator,” with a traditional programme for new constructions that memorialised his military achievements, rather than improving “the overall urban image.”¹²⁸ According to Suetonius, among other projected constructions, Caesar was planning his own elaborate theatre in the southern *Campus Martius*.¹²⁹ These plans never materialised, due to Caesar’s assassination in the senate house of Pompey’s theatre-complex—possibly occurring at the base of Pompey’s statue itself—leaving Rome “disjointed, episodic, and incomplete.”¹³⁰

The city remained in this disjointed state throughout the tumultuous triumviral years.¹³¹ But, following his eventual victory at Actium, Octavian (later Augustus), and those associated with his house, began to transform Rome to the point where Suetonius could famously attribute to Augustus the boast “that he had found [the city] built of brick and left it in marble.”¹³² Among his projects, Augustus built a temple to his patron deity, Apollo, on the Palatine hill—vowed in 36 BCE during his battle with Sextus Pompey, son of Pompey the great, but not completed and dedicated until after Actium in 28 BCE—right next to his own residence.¹³³ He also built a temple to the deified Julius at the east end of the *forum Romanum*, his own forum, which included a temple to Mars Ultor (the avenger), and restored eighty-two temples to the gods throughout the city.¹³⁴

However, the most radical developments occurred in the *Campus Martius*. Significantly for our purposes, several new entertainment venues were constructed in the Augustan *Campus Martius* (see figure 3), transforming the area. The first permanent amphitheatre in Rome was built by T. Statilius Taurus, a general of Augustus, and

¹²⁷ Suet. *Iul.* 39.4. Translation taken from Catharine Edwards, *Suetonius Lives of the Caesars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

¹²⁸ Favro, *Augustan Rome*, 60.

¹²⁹ Suet. *Iul.* 44.

¹³⁰ Favro, *Augustan Rome*, 78. For Caesar’s assassination, see Suet. *Iul.* 82; Plut. *Caes.* 66.

¹³¹ On the projects of this period lacking formal unity, see Favro, *Augustan Rome*, 94–95.

¹³² Suet. *Aug.* 28.3.

¹³³ See *RGDA* 19.1; Dio Cass. 53.1. Also see Richardson, *Topo. Dict.* s.v. Apollo Palatinus, Aedes; Favro, *Augustan Rome*, 204.

¹³⁴ *RDGA* 19–21.

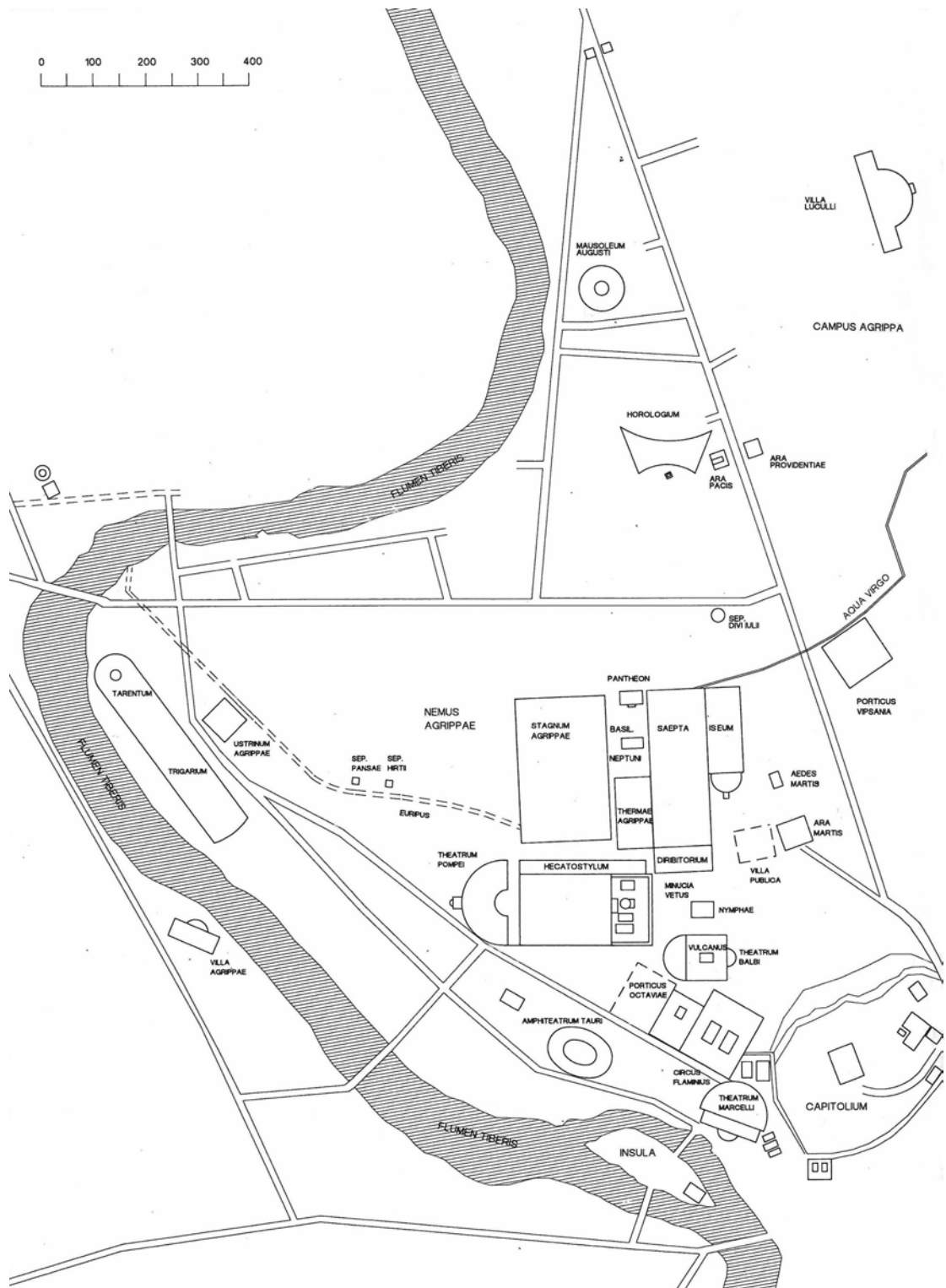


FIGURE 3. Plan of the Campus Martius (from Coarelli, 1997)

dedicated in 29 BCE.¹³⁵ It was the first of its kind in Rome and, therefore, important in the evolution of the Roman landscape. The permanent structure probably contained a wooden interior because it was destroyed in the fire of 64 CE.¹³⁶ In the period following the amphitheatre (29-2 BCE), two new theatres—the theatre of Marcellus and theatre of Balbus—the *Saepta Julia*, also used for gladiatorial spectacles, the *stagnum* of Agrippa, and the *stagnum* of Augustus across the Tiber, were all constructed. With these new additions, the *Campus Martius*, for residents and visitors alike, became the premier entertainment district of Rome:

In fact, Pompey, the Deified Caesar, Augustus, his sons and friends, and wife and sister, have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The *Campus Martius* contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot-races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the *Campus Martius*, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting—all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus is still another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre, and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory. (Strabo 5.3.8)¹³⁷

While various spectacles were still held in the *fora* and throughout the city, it is clear from Strabo that the *Campus Martius*, a captivating spectacle itself, had become *the* site for the most extravagant entertainments. In this newly built spectacle landscape, Augustus embraced the military, political, and cultic traditions of the Republican era and drastically expanded them. Suetonius claims that “[Augustus] surpassed all his predecessors in the frequency, variety, and magnificence of his public shows.”¹³⁸ In his own words, Augustus boasted that he had sponsored gladiatorial spectacles eight times—three times in his own name and five in the name of his sons and grandsons—exhibiting an overwhelming ten thousand gladiators in the arena. Among the other spectacles inscribed into his account of accomplishments, including theatrical and athletic spectacles, Augustus detailed his sponsorship of twenty-six *venationes*.

¹³⁵ For an excellent discussion of Taurus’ amphitheatre in the development of amphitheatre architecture, see Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 108-127.

¹³⁶ Dio Cass. 62.18.2. Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 116. notes that this combination of stone and wood was common in amphitheatres built in the late republic and early empire.

¹³⁷ Also see Suet. *Aug.* 29.

¹³⁸ Suet. *Aug.* 43.1.

Throughout these hunts, three thousand five hundred “African wild beasts” (*bestiarum Africanarum*) were killed in the circus, forum, and (Taurus’) amphitheatre.¹³⁹

These statistics are staggeringly large; especially in comparison to Caesar’s attempted display of three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators.¹⁴⁰ At the same time, Augustus transferred the organisation of state festivals, now including the sponsorship of gladiatorial spectacles, from *aediles* to *praetores*, and restricted specifically the display of gladiators to no more than twice a year, with a maximum of sixty pairs of gladiators a time.¹⁴¹ This change in policy officially shifted the spectacles from the private sphere of funerals, even if they had just been in name only, to the public sphere, state sanctioned and partially state funded. While these restrictions are a clear indication that sponsorship of gladiators in imperial Rome was not limited to the emperor alone, they also reveal, given such an obvious disparity in scale, one way that Augustus was able to concentrate “political power in his own hands” and those of his successors.¹⁴²

After Augustus, Tiberius famously was less than enthusiastic about gladiatorial spectacles. Suetonius mentions that during his adolescence the emperor displayed gladiators in the forum and in the amphitheatre (of Statilius Taurus) in memory of his father and grandfather.¹⁴³ However, as emperor, he sponsored no spectacles himself and completed no building projects.¹⁴⁴ Caligula and Claudius, in a return to the patterns we have observed, eagerly sponsored gladiatorial spectacles. According to Suetonius, Caligula held them in Taurus’ amphitheatre and in the *Saepta*; but Dio notes that Caligula despised Taurus’ amphitheatre and began work on a new venue.¹⁴⁵ Suetonius located this new wooden structure in the *Campus Martius* next to the *Saepta*.¹⁴⁶ Unfinished at the time of Caligula’s assassination, Claudius abandoned the project. Similarly ignoring Taurus’ amphitheatre, Claudius preferred to hold his spectacles

¹³⁹ *RGDA* 22.1-3.

¹⁴⁰ Alison E. Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 203. in her commentary also draws this comparison, stating: “On the basis of even a very crude calculation, the participation of about 10,000 gladiators in eight sets of games, this would have made these games utterly unprecedented in scale. Assuming the unlikely situation of an even distribution of gladiators over all eight sets of games, this would result in 1,250 individuals, or 625 pairs per show. Even the unprecedentedly lavish games planned by Julius Caesar on his election to aedile, and which attracted restrictions imposed by the senate, included only 320 pairs of fighters.” In addition to the various sites named in *RGDA* 22, Suet. *Aug.* 43.1 also mentions the *Saepta* as a venue for gladiatorial spectacles.

¹⁴¹ Dio Cass. 54.2.4. See Hopkins, “Murderous Games,” 7-8; Edmondson, “Dynamic Arenas,” 79-81.

¹⁴² Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 8.

¹⁴³ Suet. *Tib.* 7.1.

¹⁴⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 47.

¹⁴⁵ Suet. *Calig.* 18.1; Dio Cass. 59.10.5.

¹⁴⁶ Suet. *Calig.* 21.

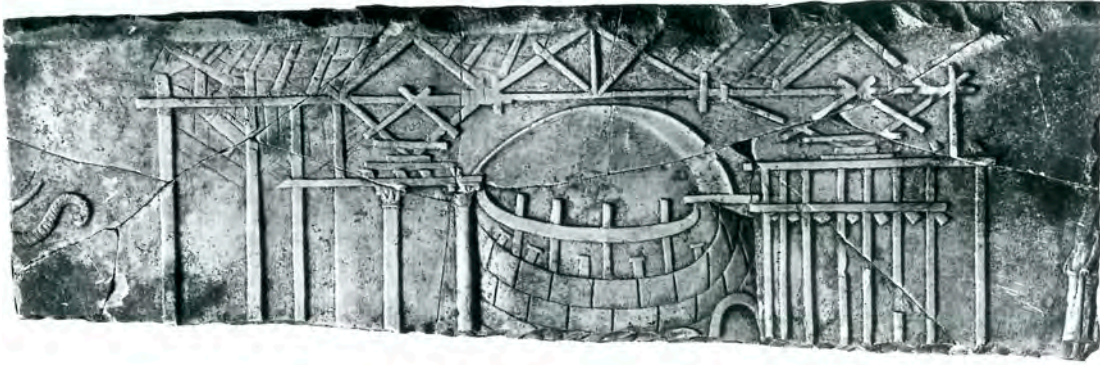


FIGURE 4. Funerary Relief, depicting a wooden amphitheatre (from Coarelli, 2001)

mostly in the *Saepta*. But on one occasion, in an extension of his triumphal celebrations over *Britannia*, Claudius staged re-enactments of his campaigns in the *Campus Martius* (see plate 1a).¹⁴⁷ In a mass spectacle, the performers were British prisoners of war forced to re-enact their own defeat and, this time, they were executed, while Claudius presided in his military cloak.¹⁴⁸

A few years into his reign, Nero built a wooden amphitheatre in the *Campus Martius*. Of the wooden amphitheatres in Rome we have surveyed so far—Caesar’s hunting-theatre, the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, and Caligula’s abandoned structure—there is no surviving material evidence. Despite the literary citations, it is difficult to get an impression of what these structures might have looked like. One fragment of a funerary relief seems to depict a wooden amphitheatre in Rome, offering a tantalising representation (see figure 4).¹⁴⁹

For the young emperor to select the *Campus Martius* as the site for his amphitheatre, as we have seen, was in keeping with the building programmes of his predecessors. However, Nero would have desired to surpass their accomplishments. Precedents for its

¹⁴⁷ Suet. *Claud.* 21.6. Beyond this re-enactment in Rome, plate 1a contains a representation of this military victory as part of the *Sebasteion* in Aphrodisias. In Corinth, a member of the elite, Ti. Claudius Dinippus, held an imperial cult priesthood of the newly established cult, *Victoria Britannica*. Potentially, in this role, Dinippus also sponsored gladiatorial spectacles celebrating Claudius’ military accomplishments, see below and chapter 2.

¹⁴⁸ See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 71–72.

¹⁴⁹ The amphitheatre depicted in the funerary relief has been speculatively identified with various wooden structures in Rome. Filippo Coarelli, “Gli anfiteatri a Roma prima del Colosseo,” in *Sangue e arena* (ed. Adriano La Regina; Milan: Electa, 2001), 46–47., suggested Caesar’s hunting-theatre; Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 70., the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus; and Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida, “Marziale in Marmo,” *MEFRA* 106 (1994): 215–217., identified the relief with a building project connected to the site of the Colosseum. Adding one more possibility to the list. It is also not out of the question that the relief depicts (an artistic interpretation of) Nero’s amphitheatre. The inclusion of interwoven wooden beams of the structure and the ivory tusks of an elephant (on the left-side of the relief) are both suggestive in comparison with the descriptions of Nero’s amphitheatre in the literary sources, see below.

architectural style and ingenuity can be found in the temporary structures built by Scaurus and Curio, and in the permanent structures of Pompey and Taurus. But, as we have observed, Taurus' amphitheatre had become dated and regularly ignored as a site for the most spectacular entertainments sponsored by the emperors. We should assume, therefore, Nero's amphitheatre would have been much more impressive than this structure in particular.

The Golden Amphitheatre

There were traditions that promoted Nero as the most prolific imperial builder.¹⁵⁰ The pinnacle of Nero's extensive building programme was without doubt his ostentatious Golden House (*Domus Aurea*).¹⁵¹ The construction of the Golden House in the centre of Rome was a major part of rebuilding the devastated city after the fire of 64 CE, which had left ten of the fourteen city regions damaged or destroyed. However, prior to the emergence of the Golden House, and the fire of 64 CE, Nero had constructed an amphitheatre in 57 CE.¹⁵² According to both Tacitus and Suetonius, the amphitheatre was an enormous wooden structure built on stone foundations, and completed in less than a year. Beyond these snippets of information, the sources are frustratingly silent. Tacitus obstinately declares that further comment is beneath the purposes of annalistic writing:

With Nero (for the second time) and L. Piso as consuls, there were few events worth recalling—unless anyone finds it pleasant to fill volumes with praising the foundations and beams with which Caesar had set up a massive amphitheatre on the Plain of Mars, despite the finding that what accords with the worthiness of the Roman people is that illustrious matters should be entrusted to annals but things such as these to the daily record of the City. (*Ann.* 13.31.1)¹⁵³

Pliny—possibly an eyewitness of the structure—offers us a touch more in passing amid a discussion on amber (*succinum*). Pliny mentions a Roman knight commissioned

¹⁵⁰ See Suet. Ner. 31.1. S. Aurelius Victor, a fourth century historian, in Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 5, mentioned the tradition that Nero “was so outstanding for five years *especially in enhancing the city*, that Trajan quite often justifiably asserted that all emperors fell far short of Nero in his (first) five years” (italics mine). Translation taken from H. W. Bird, *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994). On Nero as a traditional and innovative builder in the context of imperial building programmes, see Jas Elsner, “Constructing Decadence: The Representation of Nero as Imperial Builder,” in *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, & Representation* (eds. Jas Elsner and Jamie Masters; Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 112-127.

¹⁵¹ For discussions on the Golden House and its assumed size, see Griffin, *Nero*, 133-142; Champlin, *Nero*, 200-209.

¹⁵² For references to Nero's amphitheatre, see Suet. Ner. 12.1; Tac. *Ann.* 13.31; Plin. *HN* 16.200, 19.24; Calp. *Ecl.* 7.

¹⁵³ This translation is taken from Woodman, *Tacitus The Annals*.

by Nero to procure amber for an exhibition of gladiatorial spectacles.¹⁵⁴ The knight obtained such a large quantity that Nero was able to sponsor elaborate spectacles shimmering with amber.¹⁵⁵ All the armament and equipment on display were coated in amber, down to the hooks used to drag dead bodies out of the arena. Even the nets affixed to the podium wall encircling the arena were knotted with it. Notwithstanding these tantalisingly brief accounts, we catch glimpses of a vast, ornamental structure located in the entertainment district of the city, the showcase of Rome.

However, we have one additional, yet complicated, source in the *Eclogues* of T. Calpurnius Siculus. In a poetical representation of possibly this very same structure, we gaze through the eyes of fictional character Corydon and marvel at Nero's amphitheatre; a sight unmatched by any of the previous references to wooden amphitheatres in Rome.¹⁵⁶ Corydon, a pitiable peasant from the country, travels to Rome to attend spectacles produced by the emperor. In a report back to his acquaintance Lycotas, Corydon describes his astonishing experience of the Neronian amphitheatre, offering impressions that in certain ways mirror the sight we gained from the other sources.

Corydon begins by relating the size and form of the structure. According to the sightseer, the amphitheatre (*spectacula*) rose skyward, almost overlooking the summit of the Capitoline (*Tarpeium prope despectantia culmen* [7.24]), the most sacred hill of

¹⁵⁴ Plin. *HN*, 37.45-46.

¹⁵⁵ Nero's fascination with amber was tied into his appropriation of Phaethon in his self-presentation as the new *Sun*. For an excellent discussion on Nero's appropriation of Apollo, Sol, Phaethon, and Hercules, see Champlin, *Nero*, 112-144, esp. 134-135.

¹⁵⁶ On the identification of the amphitheatre featured in Calp. *Ecl.* 7 with Nero's amphitheatre, see Charles H. Keene, *The Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus and M. Aurélius Olympus Nemesianus* (London: George Bell & Sons, 1887), 144-155, 197-203. Also see G. B. Townend, "Calpurnius Siculus and the Munus Neronis," *JRS* 70 (1980): 166-174. This identification, however, has been vociferously debated, with a preference for the Colosseum rather than Nero's amphitheatre. This re-identification with the Colosseum is one part of a larger debate on dating Calpurnius to a post-Neronian period, probably in the third century, see Edward Champlin, "The Life and Times of Calpurnius Siculus," *JRS* 68 (1978): 95-110; idem, "History and the Date of Calpurnius Siculus," *Philologus* 130.1 (1986): 104-112; David Armstrong, "Stylistics and the Date of Calpurnius Siculus," *Philologus* 130.1 (1986): 113-136; Barry Baldwin, "Better Late than Early: Reflections on the Date of Calpurnius Siculus," *ICS* 20 (1995): 157-167. Champlin and Baldwin, responding to Townend's argument, make too much of the apparent inconsistencies between Calpurnius' description of the amphitheatre and *venatio* and Suetonius' description of gladiatorial spectacles in Suet. *Ner.* 12.1. This seems to follow, mistakenly, Townend in assuming Calpurnius was reproducing the same gladiatorial spectacles that Suetonius (or for Champlin's argument, Martial) describes, and further, that neither were recreating the events for their own purposes, historically or poetically. Nicholas Horsfall, "Cleaning Up Calpurnius," *CR* 43.2 (1993): 267-270; idem, "Criteria for the Dating of Calpurnius Siculus," *RFIC* 125 (1997): 166-196, offers the best way forward. Horsfall, following Armstrong on stylistic grounds, dates Calpurnius Siculus to after Nero, but suggests the dramatic date of the *Eclogues* was Neronian. In Horsfall's (1993) words: Calpurnius "has actually worked hard on his Neronian background," 270. Calpurnius' knowledge of the Neronian amphitheatre, as Horsfall (1997) notes, likely comes from access to literary descriptions "with touches of personal observation (and why not?) of the Amphitheatrum Flavianum itself," 166n.2.

Rome.¹⁵⁷ The framework of the structure was made of interwoven wooden beams, a detail corroborated by Tacitus and Suetonius. In addition, Pliny notes the exhibition of the largest larch tree ever seen in Rome, surviving until to the construction of Nero's amphitheatre.¹⁵⁸ Perhaps Nero intentionally sourced this spectacular tree for its wood. The structure itself created the usual elliptical shape of the arena floor, described by Corydon as an oval bound by twin buildings (*geminis medium se molibus alligat ovum* [7.34]). This description recalls Curio's rotating twin theatres.¹⁵⁹

Inside the amphitheatre, Corydon reveals various ornamental features. The podium wall, normally between two and four metres high, encircling the arena and separating the sand from the stands was made of solid marble. Further up from the podium wall, the low wall (*balteus*), demarcating different tiers (*gradus*) of seating, sparkled with jewels (*gemmae*). At the top of the structure a covered gallery that ran around the upper tier had a gold veneer (*illita porticus auro*). Several other decorative features are detailed in Corydon's account; architectural details that were both aesthetical and practical. The first was an awning (*velum*) fastened to the top of the amphitheatre. Corydon does not explicitly refer to an awning, but does mention the innermost seats (*ima cavea*), reserved for equestrians and tribunes, were situated under the open sky (7.28). An elaborate awning presumably covered the other seats. Pliny, again, supplies additional detail for the awnings on display during the Neronian spectacles: "Recently awnings actually of sky blue and spangled with stars have been stretched with ropes even in the emperor Nero's amphitheatres."¹⁶⁰

Second, the amphitheatre combined two innovative mechanisms to form a protective apparatus for spectators seated closest to the arena. Corydon describes cylindrical devices designed to prevent wild beasts from climbing into the *cavea*. The cylinders were made of connected wooden beams inlaid with ivory and placed in front of the marble podium wall. Erected behind these cylinders was a system of nets made of gold wire and suspended from ivory tusks—"longer than our plough"—fixed to the podium wall (7.54-56). Corydon's description of these nets echoes Pliny's account mentioned above of amber knotted nets used during important Neronian celebrations. The

¹⁵⁷ This detail accords well with Tacitus and Suetonius, together supplying the detail of its enormous size and its location in the *Campus Martius*. See Tac. *Ann.* 13.31; Suet. *Ner.* 12.1.

¹⁵⁸ Plin. *HN* 16.200.

¹⁵⁹ Plin. *HN* 36.116-120. Keene, *Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus*, 199.

¹⁶⁰ Plin. *HN* 19.24. Amphitheatres, plural, probably refers to the Neronian amphitheatre, Taurus' amphitheatre, and even possibly the other theatres in Rome.

combination of cylinders and nets included in the protective facilities of the amphitheatre complete Corydon's description of the decor featured throughout the structure.

The brilliant effects of the gold, marble, ivory, and bejewelled elements of the amphitheatre, left the rural traveller overwhelmed, struggling to recreate everything he had seen:

Why should I now relate to you things which I myself could scarcely see in their several details? So dazzling was the glitter everywhere. Rooted to the spot, I stood with mouth agape and marvelled at all, nor yet had I grasped every single attraction, when a man advanced in years, next me as it chanced on my left, said to me: "Why wonder, country-cousin, that you are spellbound in face of such magnificence? you are a stranger to gold and only know the cottages and huts which are your humble homes. Look, even I, now palsied with age, now hoary-headed, grown old in the city there, nevertheless am amazed at it all. Certes, we rate all cheap we saw in former years, and shabby every show we one day watched. (7.35-46)¹⁶¹

The impression left on Corydon and even the old city dweller is suggestive for a structure that preceded both the Golden House and the Flavian amphitheatre.¹⁶² Following the formula, the amphitheatre and the shows presented within were said to have surpassed all that had gone before.

The Emperor and His Spectacles

The executions that had disturbed Seneca, and riled the crowd, were likely exhibited in Nero's amphitheatre; the same building we have attempted to reconstruct.¹⁶³ As we discussed earlier, Seneca provides us with a glimpse of the crowd dynamics at these spectacles. While Seneca would have sat in the first few rows, the *ima cavea*, and heard the violent acclamations of those sat near him, Corydon's visit saw him sat at the back

¹⁶¹ Nero's preoccupation with gold, beyond that on display in the amphitheatre, intensified from 64 CE onwards. It featured in his Golden Day spectacles (Dio Cass. 63.1-6) and in the construction of his Golden House (Suet. *Ner.* 31.1-2).

¹⁶² It is Calpurnius/Corydon's description of the gold, marble, ivory, and bejewelled features of this structure that Edward Champlin believes casts doubt on the identification with Nero's amphitheatre as described by Tacitus and Suetonius; Champlin prefers the Colosseum as a more suitable candidate. See Champlin, "The Life and Times of Calpurnius Siculus," 107, n.51. However, as Champlin, *Nero*, 126., notes elsewhere, "Gold indeed glitters everywhere in Nero's reign, from the emperor's poems written in letters of gold to the gold casket containing his first beard; from his golden fishing net to the gold chains he wore on stage as Hercules to his golden box of poisons; from Poppaea's gold-shod mules to Nero's golden chamber pot." Other than Tacitus and Suetonius' neglected descriptions—Tacitus openly admits this is his intention—the level of ornamentation described in the amphitheatre is not unique in Nero's reign.

¹⁶³ Prior to the construction of the amphitheatre, Dio Cass. 61.9.1 mentions spectacles sponsored by Nero in 55 CE that included men on horses attacking bulls, the killing of four hundred bears and three hundred lions, and thirty members of the equestrian order fighting as gladiators. For a depiction of the event that consisted of men on horses attacking bulls, known as *taurokathapsia*, see figure 18 in Chapter two, *The Stands and the Sand*, 116, below.

in the nosebleed section. Even from such a distance, however, Corydon became increasingly attentive to one spectator in particular:

O would that I had not been clad in peasant garb! Else should I have gained a nearer sight of my deity: but humble dress and dingy poverty and brooch with but a crooked clasp prevented me; still, in a way, I looked upon his very self some distance off, and, unless my sight played me a trick, I thought in that one face the looks of Mars and of Apollo were combined. (7.79-84)

Amid the spectacular events of the arena, the riches on display throughout the complex, and the vast crowd, a youthful god (*iuvenis deus* [7.6])—the combination of Mars and Apollo—captured the gaze of Corydon. According to Suetonius, Nero reclined in a private box (*cubiculum*) closed off with curtains during the early spectacles exhibited in his newly built amphitheatre. Sometime later, Nero uncovered the *cubiculum* and lounged on a couch.¹⁶⁴ The emperor's couch would have been on one of the raised platforms (*tribunalia*) located on the *podium* either side of the minor axis of the amphitheatre, offering the best view of the action in the arena.

Beyond the emperor, Corydon also describes seeing various wild beasts exhibited, including snow-white hares, boars with horns, an elk, and various bulls (*tauri*). The exhibition, as the captivated peasant makes clear, was not limited to “monsters of the forest.”¹⁶⁵ He also witnessed the arena flooded and a spectacle of various aquatic animals: seals, (polar?) bears, and hippopotamuses.¹⁶⁶ After the aquatic display, Corydon mentions the emergence from substructures (*hypogea*) beneath the arena of more wild beasts and trees, “amid a sudden fountain spray (of saffron).”¹⁶⁷ If we try to connect Corydon's observations with the specific details of Neronian spectacles from other sources, we run into trouble. In this instance, as Frederick Williams suggests, it is better to see Calpurnius' “eclogue as an artful blending of the actual (e.g. the detailed description of the amphitheatre and its apparatus) and the fictional (the vaguely described beast-show).”¹⁶⁸ What is preserved from Corydon's observations (Calpurnius'

¹⁶⁴ Suet. *Ner.* 12.1. See Edmondson, “Public Spectacles,” 53.

¹⁶⁵ Calp. *Ecl.* 7.64. For the entire wild beast show, see 7.57-72.

¹⁶⁶ Keene, *Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus*, 153., believed the bears were polar bears, but this seems unlikely for a dramatic date in the time of Nero. For the likelihood that they were ordinary bears taught to swim and perform, see Townend, “Calpurnius Siculus and the Munus Neronis,” 171; Baldwin, “Better Late than Early,” 162. However, for the attractive possibility that the reference is to polar bears, but Calpurnius is mixing his description of the amphitheatre with a *fictional* beast show, see Frederick Williams, “Polar Bears and Neronian Propaganda,” *LCM* 19 (1994): 2-5.

¹⁶⁷ Calp. *Ecl.* 7.69-72.

¹⁶⁸ Williams, “Polar Bears and Neronian Propaganda,” 4.

source and imagination), however, is the tradition that Nero's amphitheatre was, for its time, architecturally sophisticated.

Nero, as both a sponsor and spectator, enjoyed gladiatorial spectacles.¹⁶⁹ During the various events performed in the amphitheatre, theatres, and the circus, Nero, as the focal point, is portrayed as the *editor* par excellence. As well as producing extravagant and innovative spectacles, Nero also distributed gifts to the large crowds: "a thousand birds each day of every kind, different sorts of food, tokens to be exchanged for grain, clothes, gold, silver, jewels, pearls, pictures, slaves, working animals and even tame wild ones and finally ships, blocks of apartments, and farmland."¹⁷⁰ Of the various recorded spectacles, we will focus on the inauguration of the amphitheatre in 57 CE.

In a series of events first performed in the new venue, we glimpse the extraordinary capacity of this building, alluded to in Calpurnius' eclogue, in the established entertainment district of Rome. Suetonius lists in this inaugural programme: gladiatorial combats, a *venatio*, a *naumachia*, and a series of pyrrhic dances that morphed into re-enactments of Greek mythology. There were no unusual requirements for the gladiatorial displays.¹⁷¹ The *venatio* required the installation of nets, already a well-established protective apparatus in the evolution of arenas. But, the staging of a *naumachia* and mythological re-enactments in the same venue required a more sophisticated structure. Suetonius mentions in passing the *naumachia* and the display of "sea monsters," while Dio offers more details. Dio relates the flooding of the arena; the sham battle as a performance between "Persians" and "Athenians" (both sides probably made up of criminals); and, afterwards, the draining and drying of the arena, before individual and mass gladiatorial combats resumed. It is unusual, besides Caligula's flooding of the *Saepta* to display a single ship, for *naumachiae* to be held outside of the purpose built *stagnum*.¹⁷²

Suetonius mentions, during these spectacles, the re-enactment of myths, including "Pasiphae" and a bull and the failed flight of "Icarus." These myths were presented to

¹⁶⁹ This is a claim made rightly by Edward Champlin, who sketches the various spectacles sponsored by Nero, including his personal sponsorship of gladiators in 55, 57, 63, and 64 CE (assuming the sources are comprehensive). See, Champlin, *Nero*, 68-77, 80. But scholars have not always noted Nero's enthusiasm for gladiatorial spectacles. See K. R. Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary* (Brussels: Latomus, 1978), 85; Griffin, *Nero*, 44.

¹⁷⁰ Suet. *Ner.* 11.2. Translation from Edwards, *Suetonius Lives of the Caesars*.

¹⁷¹ Suetonius, in *Ner.* 12.1, notes the participation of four hundred senators and six hundred *equites* during these gladiatorial combats. These figures are impossibly high. Either they are embellished, or they are representative of the amount of members from the elite *ordines* that performed in the arena throughout the entire Neronian period. See Champlin, *Nero*, 68-69.

¹⁷² See Coleman, "Launching into History," 48-74.

the audience with as much realism as possible. The amphitheatre was equipped with an apparatus that enabled Icarus to fly over the arena. On his first flight, however, Icarus “fell immediately to the ground right next to the emperor’s couch, splashing him with blood.”¹⁷³ These re-enactments, emerging during the reign of Nero, often required new forms of technology to recreate the myths in realistic ways. This form of entertainment develops into the theatrical executions so popular in the Flavian amphitheatre.¹⁷⁴

Despite having to remain content with a speculative approach to a structure long since vanished, the collection of small fragments from the literary sources, together with a touch of poetic licence, allows us to reconstruct a venue that at one time featured among the entertainment sites of the Roman spectacle landscape. The extravagant and diverse events exhibited in this venue also hint at its size and architectural sophistication, a forerunner of the perfected structure—the Flavian amphitheatre built two decades later.¹⁷⁵ Next, we must shift our gaze beyond Rome, to the provinces, to Corinth. There we will explore a more modest landscape, both in the scale of venues constructed and in the spectacles produced.¹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, we will encounter dynamics that both reflect those at Rome and others that are particular to the Corinthian context.

Paul, Corinth, and Spectacles of Death

Paul, on multiple occasions in the Corinthian correspondence, appropriates imagery taken directly from gladiatorial spectacles.¹⁷⁷ At his most provocative, Paul imagines

¹⁷³ Suet. *Ner.* 12.2.

¹⁷⁴ See Mart. *Spect.* 6, 9, 17-19, 24-25, 28-29, 32. Also see Kathleen M. Coleman ed, *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), lxxiv-lxxv.

¹⁷⁵ On the size of the Neronian and Flavian amphitheatres in comparison to early structures, Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 21., notes: “Earlier amphitheatres, such as that at Pompeii, had been comparatively shallow buildings, constructed as much by the digging into the soil as by building upwards; and the ratio of height above ground to cross-section at Pompeii is about 1:12, while the ratio for the Colosseum is 1:3.26 (in other words, the Colosseum is much higher in comparison with its breadth). Once the Colosseum had been built, it became the prototype for all later amphitheatres. It is possible that Nero’s amphitheatre had already had similar proportions.”

¹⁷⁶ This is to take account, as David Potter warned, of the extraordinary nature of the spectacles produced by the emperor in Rome. We should endeavour to interpret the provincial spectacles on their own localised terms, and then look for the similarities and differences. See David S. Potter, “Review of T. E. J. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*,” *JRS* 84 (1994): 230.

¹⁷⁷ For Paul’s imagery appropriated from *munera*, cf. 1 Cor 15:32 (*venator/bestiarius* or *damnatus/noxius*), 1 Cor 4:9-13 (*damnatus/noxius*), 2 Cor 4:8-9 (*gladiator/retiarius*), 2 Cor 6:7 (*gladiator/secutor*). These texts should also be understood within Paul’s prolific and polyvalent allusions to spectacles in general throughout the Corinthian correspondence. For allusions to military/gladiatorial imagery, see 2 Cor 10:4, 2 Cor 6:7; athletic/gladiatorial imagery, 1 Cor 9:24-27, 2 Cor 4:7-9; theatrical/gladiatorial imagery, 1 Cor

himself almost naked (γυμνιτεύω [1 Cor 4:11]), emerging onto the sand to be exhibited in a spectacle of death (δοκῶ γάρ, ὁ θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἐσχάτους ἀπέδειξεν ὡς ἐπιθανατίους [4:9]).¹⁷⁸ From the sand, Paul looks around to see the whole cosmos in attendance, both divine and human beings (ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις).¹⁷⁹ Paul could not help but recognise that he, and others in the same predicament, had become like the refuse of the world, the scum of all things (ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων περίψημα ἕως ἄρτι [4:13]), epithets that conveyed the pollution attributed to condemned criminals, among others.¹⁸⁰ Paul's imagery of a crowded Corinthian amphitheatre, like Seneca's Neronian amphitheatre during the *meridianum spectaculum*,¹⁸¹ points to the popularity that these events garnered in Roman Corinth, and presumes a familiarity amongst the Corinthians to whom Paul wrote.

However, Paul's representation of a spectacle, despite its popularity and familiarity, has been obscured in modern scholarship. As we discussed at the beginning of the chapter, there are several, intertwined reasons for this obscurity. On a cursory reading,

4:9-13 (including echoes throughout 1 Cor 1-4), 2 Cor 11:16-29; and processional/gladiatorial imagery, 1 Cor 4:9, 2 Cor 2:14-16, 2 Cor 4:7-10, 2 Cor 6:13-7:2.

¹⁷⁸ I am using 'spectacle of death' here as a reference specifically to executions that often accompanied both hunting and gladiator events. These executions were by far the most bloodthirsty of the events, and are referred to in many of the texts that are cited in this chapter. For a study exploring the aspects of death and disposal of arena victims, see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*. Also see Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 44-73., for these executions presented as mythological re-enactments. On Paul's imagery in 1 Cor 4:9-13, see L. L. Welborn, *Paul, the Fool of Christ: A Study of 1 Corinthians 1-4 in the Comic-Philosophic Tradition* (JSNTSup. 293; London: T & T Clark International, 2005), 50-86; V. Henry T. Nguyen, "The Identification of Paul's Spectacle of Death Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 4.9," *NTS* 53 (2007): 489-501.

¹⁷⁹ See the discussion on Paul's language of divine and human spectators in Welborn, *Paul, the Fool of Christ*, 52-53. Paul's language describing the spectators should be understood in light of the prominence of divine images carried in processions (*pompae*) and placed in theatres and amphitheatres as part of the audience. Famously at Ephesus, a prominent citizen and equestrian, C. Vibius Salutaris, dedicated gold and silver statues and images of the gods, the reigning emperor Trajan and his wife Plotina, and a series of representations of Roman and Ephesian society to the city for his procession. The images were carried through Ephesus before being placed in the *orchestra* and *cavea* of the theatre alongside the people in attendance. See Guy M. Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesus: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (London: Routledge, 1991), 80-126. For the descriptions of elaborate political and religious features of processions, see Polyb. 30.25.1-7 (Ath. 5.194, 10.439); Diod. Sic. 31.16; Tert. *De spect.* 7; Ps.-Quint. *Decl.* 9.5-9; also see the famous Pompeian relief depicting a *pompa* entering the arena, now in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv.6704), in Junkelmann, "*Familia Gladiatoria*," 48; Luciana Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003), 94-95.

¹⁸⁰ Regarding the language of pollution associated with pitiful victims exhibited in spectacles of death, re-emerging in later texts including Apul. *Met.* 10 and Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121, see below. Also see the list of victims described in Philostr. *VA* 4.22 for mass execution. Although, we should remember, as Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 55n.1. notes, the use of 'victim' here is modern and should not be confused with how the ancient spectator perceived the participants involved in these violent spectacles. For Paul's language in 1 Cor 4:13 being grammatically connected back to 4:9 forming an *inclusio* and a coherent image, see Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 131. For the identification of the entire *inclusio* with the execution of criminals in the arena and the association of the epithets "refuse" and "scum" in 4:13 with the unburied victims of the arena, see Nguyen, "Paul's Spectacle of Death," 500-501.

¹⁸¹ Sen. *Ep.* 7. See above.

some elite provincial Greeks seem to reject gladiatorial spectacles as a threat to traditional Greek culture. This type of elite bias either condemned gladiatorial spectacles as a bloodthirsty foreign intrusion, especially when exhibited in sacred spaces across the Greek landscape, or simply overlooked them, unworthy of acknowledgment.¹⁸² These biases were reproduced in early modern scholarship under the illusion of an idealised Greek culture that inevitably rejected such ‘barbaric’ entertainment. Following in the footsteps of these early modern scholars, NT scholars also adopted similar biases as a way of idealising the early Christian communities and their interactions, or lack thereof, with the wider *polis*.

Out of Sight, Out of Mind

A well-known example of this elite Greek bias is found in Pausanias’ description of Corinth in his *Periegesis*.¹⁸³ The city that the famous tour guide visited in the second-century CE was the Roman colony founded a century after the sack of the Greek city of Corinth by the general L. Mummius in 146 BCE, during the period of Rome’s military expansion throughout the middle and late Republic.¹⁸⁴ Pausanias, as William Hutton notes, seems palpably disappointed at the city he toured.¹⁸⁵ In his description, Pausanias states that he will selectively describe only those monuments “worthy of mention in the city” (Λόγου δὲ ἄξια ἐν τῇ πόλει [2.2.6]), monuments that recall Corinth’s lost Greek past.¹⁸⁶

After a brief account of the west side of the forum, Pausanias proceeds to describe monuments on the main roads leaving the forum: first the road to Lechaion, then the

¹⁸² Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121, objects to gladiatorial combat in Athens based on the sanctity of the Theatre of Dionysus, the site of the spectacles. Cf. Philostr. *VA* 4.22; Lucian, *Demon.* 57. Also see, Katherine E. Welch, “Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World: Athens and Corinth,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (ed. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 127-133.

¹⁸³ Paus. 2.1.1-5.5.

¹⁸⁴ Mummius celebrated a triumph over Achaia, which included the sponsorship of various spectacles, in Rome in 145 BCE, displaying the most precious booty looted from Corinth. See Livy, *Per.* 52; Tac. *Ann.* 14.21.1.

¹⁸⁵ William Hutton, *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 147. Hutton, 166, argues that “Pausanias’ handling of Corinth betrays a desire on his part to deconstruct the Roman colony and find beneath it something that reflects Corinth’s classical identity.”

¹⁸⁶ For Pausanias’ perception that Corinth’s Greek history ends in 146 BCE, see Christian Habicht, *Pausanias’ Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 123. On Pausanias challenging Corinth’s identity by privileging the Greek history of the city over its Roman present and by emphasising the discontinuity between the old Corinthians and the new colonists, see Cavan W. Concannon, “*When You Were Gentiles*”: *Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul’s Corinthian Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 128-130.

road to Sikyon, and finally the road to Acrocorinth.¹⁸⁷ But of course, Corinth was a Roman colony and much of its architecture in and around the forum “presented a Roman face to the world.”¹⁸⁸ In line with his stated strategy, however, Pausanias overlooked many of these monuments. Amongst his many omissions, Pausanias failed to mention the amphitheatre—the icon of Romanness—in his noticeably sparse description of Corinth.¹⁸⁹ Potentially, Pausanias never made the one kilometre walk east of the forum to the site of the amphitheatre; more plausibly, however, this omission coincides with his strategies to privilege Corinth’s Greek past over its Roman present, providing us with an early case of “cultural censorship.”¹⁹⁰

This Pausanian censorship is perpetuated in recent NT scholarship as Jerome Murphy-O’Connor imagines “Paul” following in the footsteps of Pausanias around Corinth.¹⁹¹ Despite including details of certain buildings and monuments that Pausanias ignored, Murphy-O’Connor’s Paul walks the same direction through the forum; glances down the same road to Lechaion; and exits down the same road to Sikyon. In addition to this Pausanian trek, Paul is made to observe the synagogue and its inscription,¹⁹² the *rostra* (*bema*) in the middle of the forum, and the inscription honouring Erastus the aedile, identified with Erastus of the Corinthian *ekklēsia* (Rom 16:23).¹⁹³ This tour and

¹⁸⁷ On Pausanias’ description, see Hutton, *Describing Greece*, 145–174.

¹⁸⁸ Benjamin W. Millis, “The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early Roman Corinth,” in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; NovTSup. 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 32. Millis concludes in his important chapter that Corinth was a hybrid, presenting a Roman face most obviously in its public displays, while maintaining strong Greek roots in private contexts. Corinth was “a nexus of old and new, conquered and conquerors, Greek and Roman,” 35. For an exploration of this hybridity in Corinth, including Paul among various voices negotiating and deploying multiple ethnicities, see Concannon, “*When You Were Gentiles*,” esp. 16–17, 27–74.

¹⁸⁹ Pausanias’ sparse description of Corinth is noted by Hutton, *Describing Greece*, 148.: “One significant effect of Pausanias’ attitude is that he expends far fewer words on his description of Corinth than he does on any major city.” Hutton continues in a footnote, “The description of things within the city of Corinth (including historical and mythical *logoi*) occupies approximately nine pages in Spiro’s Teubner edition. In contrast, the description of Argos consumes nearly nineteen (2.18.4–24.4); that of Sparta nearly twenty-four (3.11.2–18.5)” 148n.51.

¹⁹⁰ Hazel Dodge, “Amphitheatres in the Roman East,” in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st - Century Perspective* (ed. Tony Wilmott; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 38. Also see, Concannon, “*When You Were Gentiles*,” 128–130. I say ‘more plausibly’ because even if Pausanias did not venture one km east of the forum, he would have seen the amphitheatre from atop the Acrocorinth (2.4.6–5.4), the only building sited outside the city limits. See figure 5 for the imprint in the ground (middle right of the photo) still visible today from the Acrocorinth.

¹⁹¹ Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, “The Corinth that Saint Paul Saw,” *BA* 47.3 (1984): 147–159; idem, *St. Paul’s Corinth: Texts and Archaeology* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002).

¹⁹² Despite the citation of the synagogue inscription in his tour, Murphy-O’Connor resists the temptation to associate it with Paul’s time. See Murphy-O’Connor, “The Corinth that Saint Paul Saw,” 153.

¹⁹³ On the misidentification of these two Erasti, see Steven J. Friesen, “The Wrong Erastus: Ideology, Archaeology, and Exegesis,” in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; NovTSup. 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 231–256. For an overview and discussion of this longstanding debate, with an inclination towards identification of these two Erasti, see L. L. Welborn,

these particular sites offer a certain reconstruction of “the Corinth that Saint Paul saw” for subsequent NT scholars and Christian tourists alike.

Given this reception, it is unsurprising that when Christian tourists arrive at the archaeological site of ancient Corinth, they tend to gravitate towards the sites listed above, believed to be connected to biblical texts.¹⁹⁴ While buses are parked up at the entrance, tourists wander in to explore the forum and theatre area. As they move from one place to the next, the tour guide—or the imagination, or both—work vigorously to recreate the ancient landscape from the unearthed fragments. At the tour highlights—the *rostra*, the Erastus inscription, and the synagogue inscription—groups tend to linger a bit longer; they are captured by the possibility that these places or objects laid out before their shuffling feet also caught the eye of the apostle, a colleague of his, or a member of the Corinthian *ekklēsia*. All of these attractions are contained in the fenced off area of the archaeological site. If time permits, some will venture up the Acrocorinth, before arriving back at the entrance where the buses depart for the next site.



FIGURE 5. Corinth (bottom left) and the amphitheatre (middle right, see white arrow), from Acrocorinth

An End to Enmity: Paul and the “Wrongdoer” of Second Corinthians (BZBW 185; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 260-282.

¹⁹⁴ See Concannon, “When You Were Gentiles,” 142-170. As Concannon notes, “It is not uncommon to see some of these same tourists singing hymns, listening to short homilies, or even baptizing one another in the presence of these biblical ghosts” 169.

Unfortunately, given these tours of Corinth, from Pausanias, to an imagined Paul, to modern day tourists eager to inspect places of special significance, the amphitheatre, well outside the archaeological site (see figure 5), has suffered a kind of *damnatio memoriae*. Perpetuating the spirit of Pausanias, the amphitheatre and its associated images of *venationes*, executions, and gladiatorial combats have become virtually invisible as our modern gaze remains on ‘proper’ sites of inquiry. This *lacuna* is exacerbated by the fact that the amphitheatre has never been excavated. Unlike other buildings in Corinth, the key site for gladiatorial spectacles remains largely ignored and obscured in both the landscape and the scholarship. What we must do is shift our gaze beyond the city limits to recover what has been overlooked.

Therefore, for our purposes, we will linger at this site and attempt to reconstruct and repopulate the amphitheatre, to resurrect these ‘spectacles of death’ in Corinth. Like the temporary and permanent amphitheatres in Julio-Claudian Rome, the Corinthian amphitheatre remains hidden from the modern viewer, except for the odd wanderer who stumbles across an abandoned elliptical imprint in a field on the outskirts of town; the only remnant of former glory. Such little evidence is mostly passed over and only recently has been reconsidered by Katherine Welch.¹⁹⁵ In this section, we will explore the literary and material evidence for gladiatorial spectacles on the ground in Corinth, attempting to rediscover Corinth’s amphitheatre and the crowds that flocked to it.

The Threshold of the Underworld

Despite its distance from the forum, the amphitheatre was connected to the city via a major road that arrived at the arena’s southern entrance (*porta triumphalis*).¹⁹⁶ Other roads arriving at the site from the surrounding areas, Lechaion and Kenchreai in particular, also provided access to the amphitheatre. This, Walbank suggests, “must have been an important consideration in selecting the site. Since the population of

¹⁹⁵ Welch, “Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World,” 125-145; eadem, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 163-185, 255-259. For earlier (brief) assessments, see S. P. Lampros, “Über das korinthische Amphitheater,” *MDAI (A)* 2 (1877): 282-288; Ferdinand J. De Waele, *Theater en Amphitheater te oud Korinthe* (Utrecht: Dekker, 1928), 25-31. *Corinth* I, 89-91; Golvin, *L’ampithéâtre romain*, 1.138; Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, “The Foundation and Planning of Early Roman Corinth,” *JRA* 10 (1997): 124-125.

¹⁹⁶ On the road system to the east of the forum, see Walbank, “Foundation and Planning,” 111-116, 124-130; David G. Romano, “City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth: *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* and *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*,” in *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896–1996* (eds. Charles K. Williams II and Nancy Bookidis; Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003), 279-301; idem, “Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth,” in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (eds. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen; HTS 53; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 25-59. On the *porta triumphalis*, see Welch, “Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World,” 134.

Roman Corinth would have been settled over the whole *territorium* from the beginning, many of the spectators would have come into the city from the country.”¹⁹⁷ Beyond the spectators, officials, arena participants, and attendants moving in a procession (*pompa*) from the forum to the arena would have walked these same roads. The images of a *pompa* making its way out to the amphitheatre are preserved in Apuleius’ entertaining novel, *Metamorphoses*, dated to the second half of the second-century.¹⁹⁸ The protagonist of the novel, Lucius (turned into an ass), has landed in Corinth where his current master, the *duovir quinquennalis* Thiasus, plans to exhibit him in spectacles lasting three days:

And now the day appointed for the show [*muneri*] had come. I was led to the outside wall of the theatre [*consaeptum caveae*], escorted by crowds in an enthusiastic parade [*pompatico favore*]. (*Met.* 10.29)

The events in which Lucius-ass finds himself a performer are the very same spectacles of death that Paul imagines in 1 Cor 4 and Seneca depicts in *Letter 7*, the midday executions. Here, however, the executions are staged as well-known mythological stories; a development in the theatricality of executions that emerged in the principate of Nero.¹⁹⁹ In a programme of varied events, Lucius-ass first describes a pantomime performance of the mythic story of the judgment of Paris, which featured the gods and goddesses in whose honour the spectacles were produced.²⁰⁰ Following the performance, fragrances were dispersed throughout the arena, while spectators demanded the scheduled execution. As they began to chant, arena attendants prepared a bed for the performance of the myth of Pasiphae, like we saw in the Neronian amphitheatre. On this occasion, Lucius-ass would be forced into the role of the bull to

¹⁹⁷ Walbank, “Foundation and Planning,” 125.

¹⁹⁸ These images reflect aspects of the Roman social world that aid our rediscovery of gladiatorial spectacles in Corinth. On the complex portraits of provincial society in Apuleius’ world of the *Metamorphoses*, see Fergus Millar, “The World of The Golden Ass,” *JRS* 71 (1981): 63-75. On the use of different genres for reconstructing the world of the poor, see L. L. Welborn, “The Polis and the Poor: Reconstructing Social Relations from Different Genres of Evidence,” in *The First Urban Churches 1: Methodological Foundations* (eds. James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn; Atlanta: SBL Press), 189-244.

¹⁹⁹ See Coleman, “Fatal Charades,” 70. Coleman points to the elaborate *naumachiae*—first staged by Julius Caesar and presented throughout the Julio-Claudians—and the large battle re-enactment of the surrender of British kings on the *Campus Martius* by Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 21.6) as precedents for these “fatal charades.” This suggests that the emergence of fatal charades in the time of Nero did not appear spontaneously, but were part of the evolution of Rome’s exhibition of prisoners of war and criminals.

²⁰⁰ The details of the story reflect the colonial charter of Urso, Baetica, *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, ch. 70-71, which state that *duoviri* and *aediles* are to organise, during their magistracy, a show or dramatic spectacle (*munus ludosue scaenicos*) for the Capitoline Triad: Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, among other gods and goddesses. See Crawford, *RSI* 25, 423-424.

engage in intercourse with a condemned woman, characterised on multiple occasions as depraved, polluted, contagious, and infectious (*Met.* 10.23, 29, 34).

In Apuleius' world, these descriptors of the condemned woman, similarly evoked in Paul's imagery above, reflect the contempt of real spectators toward criminals, and function to legitimise the violence inflicted upon them in the spectacles. The elements of staged mythological performances in the executions, as Kathleen Coleman observes, created a "cultural consciousness that interpreted the amphitheatre as the threshold of the underworld."²⁰¹ Spectators observed masked arena attendants (as the chthonic gods Mercury and Pluto/Dis Pater) drag the corpses of criminals out of the arena through the gate of death (*porta libitinensis*; see figure 7), using hooks to avoid contact with the polluted bodies; and even in spectacles that did not exhibit the deaths of criminals in mythological re-enactments, the display of ritualised killing conjured scenes of transition to the underworld for the audience.

In Corinth, there were multiple venues capable of hosting gladiatorial spectacles, including the renovated theatre and odeion (see plate 3).²⁰² Prior to these renovations, and possibly before the construction of the amphitheatre, the Corinthian forum offered a large space for the exhibition of gladiators (see plate 2b).²⁰³ Following the traditions in Rome, the earliest spectacles in Corinth may have been held in an area in the forum surrounded by temporary seating (*spectacula*). However, the most likely site for spectacles like those imagined by Apuleius would have been the amphitheatre (see plate 2a).²⁰⁴ A natural depression, one kilometre east of the forum, traces the customary elliptical shape of an amphitheatre. This is the location of Dio Chrysostom's ravine (χαράδρα), cited in his criticism of Athenian production of gladiatorial spectacles in the Theatre of Dionysus:

But as matters now stand, there is no practice current in Athens which would not cause any man to feel ashamed. For instance, in regard to the gladiatorial shows [περὶ τοὺς

²⁰¹ Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 67.

²⁰² Both the theatre (*Corinth* II) and the odeion (*Corinth* X) in Corinth were modified in the third century CE to be able to accommodate gladiatorial spectacles. A third site, if the identification is correct, was the Circus. See David G. Romano, "A Roman Circus in Corinth," *Hesperia* 74.4 (2005): 585-611.

²⁰³ On the unusually large forum in Corinth, see Charles K. Williams, "Roman Corinth as a Commercial Center," in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. Timothy E. Gregory; JRSup. 8; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993), 33. On the multipurpose use of the Corinthian forum, Betsey A. Robinson, "Playing in the Sun: Hydraulic Architecture and Water Displays in Imperial Corinth," *Hesperia* 82.2 (2013): 357., notes: "The city's large forum was well suited to the needs of different competitions, and we might imagine at least some played out between the Fountain of Neptune and the Julian Basilica, a centre of imperial administration and honours to the imperial family."

²⁰⁴ Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 52n.72., notes that "Apuleius seems to imagine a hybrid venue: the *aulaeus* and *siparius* argue for a theatre, the *munus*, *venatio*, and *hypogeum* for an amphitheatre."

μονομάχους] the Athenians have so zealously emulated the Corinthians, or rather, have so surpassed both them and all others in their mad infatuation, that whereas the Corinthians watch these combats outside the city in a ravine [χαράδρα], a place that is able to hold a crowd but otherwise is dirty [ρύπαρῳ] and such that no one would even bury there any freeborn citizen, the Athenians look on at this fine spectacle in their theatre [ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ θεῶνται τὴν καλὴν ταύτην θέαν] under the very walls of the Acropolis, in the place where they bring their Dionysus into the orchestra and stand him up, so that often a fighter is slaughtered [σφάττεσθαι] among the very seats in which the Hierophant and the other priests must sit. (*Or.* 31.121)

Dio's description of the site of gladiatorial spectacles has caused problems for scholars of Roman Corinth. He claims, "the Corinthians watch these [combats] outside the city in a ravine" (οἱ Κορίνθιοι μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως θεωροῦσιν ἐν χαράδρᾳ τινί), while the surviving amphitheatre sits comfortably inside the classical city walls. Therefore, some early scholars assumed that Dio's ravine must be in another location.²⁰⁵ Welch, on the other hand, suggests that Dio "rather contemptuously" locates the amphitheatre outside of the city as a rhetorical move to dismiss the Roman style structure and the entertainments exhibited within.²⁰⁶

However, Dio's description of the amphitheatre outside of the city may not be just a rhetorical flourish. Walbank, drawing on material and literary evidence, has argued convincingly that natural boundaries and cemeteries in the surrounding area marked the formal city limits of Roman Corinth.²⁰⁷ These limits take into consideration the Roman

²⁰⁵ For doubts that the Corinthian amphitheatre is the same location as Dio's ravine, see *Corinth* I, 91; for identification with Dio's ravine, see Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, 138; Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 124-125; Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 133-140; eadem, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 174-181.

²⁰⁶ Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 136-137.

²⁰⁷ Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 107-111; eadem, "What's in a Name? Corinth under the Flavians," *ZPE* 139 (2002): 251-264. Walbank, "What's in a Name?," 257n.29., outlines the major boundaries as: "To the north the edge of the lower plateau forms a natural boundary, as, to the west, does the large ravine running north/south just beyond Agia Paraskevi; *the eastern limit must exclude the cemetery and the amphitheatre beyond*; although there is no definite evidence of burial sites to the south, the city limit is likely to have been where the ground starts rising steeply on a line with the water source of Hadji Mustafa, well below the Demeter sanctuary. The area will be smaller if the *pomerium* ran east of Agia Paraskevi, which I now think is likely" (italics mine). Walbank's article is a critical response to David Romano's hypothesis regarding the creation of a new colony at Corinth in the Flavian period and, importantly, his reconstructed colonial grid, in David G. Romano, "A Tale of Two Cities: Roman Colonies at Corinth," in *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures* (ed. Elizabeth Fentress; JRASup. 38; Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), 83-104. Walbank's key criticism of Romano's hypothesis concerns his system of land division and demarcation lines (*limites*) of the city. For Romano's views on land division and his "drawing-board" plan of the colony, also see David G. Romano, "Post-146 B.C. Land Use in Corinth, and Planning of the Roman Colony of 44 B.C.," in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. Timothy E. Gregory; JRASup. 8; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993), 9-30; idem, "City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth," 279-301. See Romano, "Urban and Rural Planning," 50n.56., for his response to Walbank's criticism; though, he does not mention the problems raised regarding the cemetery located *inside* his colonial grid.

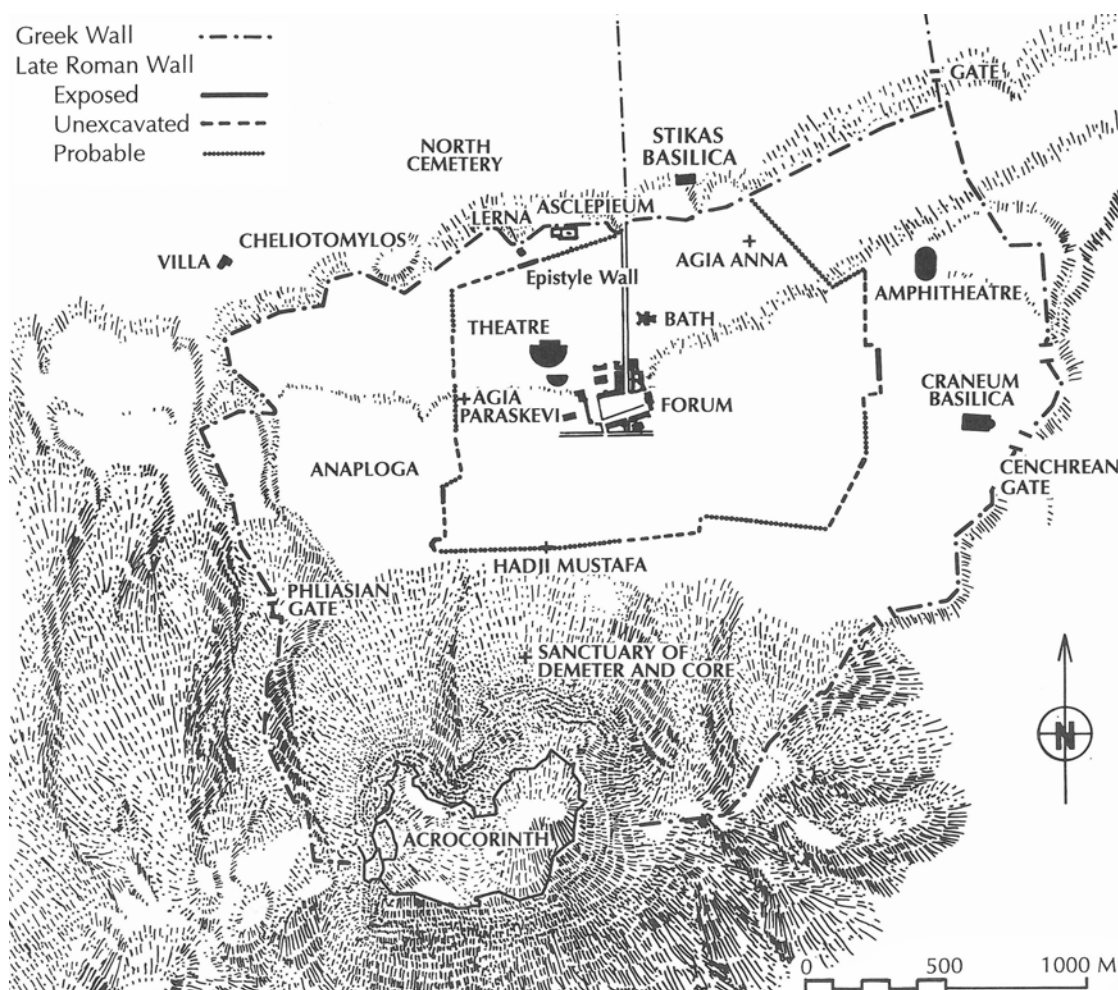


FIGURE 6. Plan of city area, Corinth (adapted from Walbank, 1997)

law forbidding burial within the *pomerium*.²⁰⁸ In the important area to the east of the city, Walbank refers to the discovery of a large cemetery in use from the fourth and third centuries BCE through the Roman period; and it is located, significantly, between the city and the amphitheatre.²⁰⁹ These early boundary lines, Walbank suggests,

²⁰⁸ See Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 107. According to Cic. *Leg.* 2.23, the law forbidding burial inside city limits goes back to the Twelve Tables. There is also a law forbidding burial within the city limits in the colonial charter of Urso in Baetica. *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae*, ch. LXXIII states: "No-one is to bring a dead person within the boundaries of a town or of a colony, where (a line) shall have been drawn around by a plough, nor is he to bury him there or burn him or build the tomb of a dead person" (translation Crawford, *RS* I 25, 424). For the text, translation, and commentary of both the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* and the *Twelve Tables*, see Michael H. Crawford ed., *Roman Statutes* (vol. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 64 of; 2 vols.; London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1996), 1.393-454, 2.555-721.

²⁰⁹ Walbank, "What's in a Name?," 254-257. For the report on the large cemetery, including two chamber tombs and thirty-seven graves mostly orientated north-south, excavated near the amphitheatre, see Theodore L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1929," *AJA* 33.4 (1929): 536-538. After discovering its use in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, Shear concluded, "These graves of the Greeks and Romans are located some distance within the eastern [Greek] walls of the city, but it is not

correspond closely to the late Roman wall built in the early fifth century (see figure 6), and place the amphitheatre outside of the Roman city beyond the cemetery.²¹⁰

Therefore, Dio's description of the site, including his suggestive comment that the ravine is "dirty (ῥυπαρός) and such that no one would even bury there any freeborn citizen," goes beyond just rhetoric. It should also be noted that an intentionally selected site near a cemetery would feed into the popular conception, discussed above, of the amphitheatre as the threshold to the underworld, rightly earning the descriptor dirty. Returning to Apuleius' image of the procession, we might imagine the wandering participants and spectators taking notice of the cemetery before arriving at the amphitheatre for spectacles of death.

However, we do not need to accept Dio's account wholesale. Despite his description of the site as a ravine, it is plausible that by the middle of the first-century CE the Corinthians had carved out and built on this site a stone and wooden amphitheatre. The natural ravine, also partially rock cut, was utilised by the Corinthians to construct an arena floor, *ima* and *media cavea*.²¹¹ The dimensions of the present day depression (see plate 2a, figure 7) have been measured at 78 by 52 metres;²¹² the original arena in antiquity would have been smaller, probably closer to the dimensions of the arena in Pompeii—66.8 by 34.5 metres.²¹³ The arena, the podium wall, and the *ima cavea*, as Welch has recently noted, remain buried.²¹⁴ Fragments of the collapsed rock cut *media cavea* are still visible, together with the remains of a *balteus* (a 1.5 metre wall separating the *ima* and *media cavea*) interrupted by narrow spaces for staircases dividing the *cavea* into twelve wedges (*cunei*) of seating (see figure 8). The surviving tunnel used to exit the arena (*porta libitinensis*) is located at its northern end (see figure 7);²¹⁵ while its corresponding tunnel (*porta triumphalis*) and main entrance into the

credible that such an extensive cemetery could have been in the city itself. The necessary conclusion, therefore, is that...the city did not extend on the east as far as its circuit wall" 538.

²¹⁰ On the late Roman wall, see Timothy E. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia* 48.3 (1979): 264-280. On the significance associated with locating the amphitheatre near or beyond the city limits, see Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 46.

²¹¹ For a model showing the various sections of seating in the *cavea*, see appendix 1.

²¹² For these dimensions, see Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 134. Also see David Romano's GIS analysis of the amphitheatre (<http://corinth.sas.upenn.edu/gisamphitheater.html>).

²¹³ Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain*, 34; Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 135; Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 53.

²¹⁴ Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 134.

²¹⁵ For a photo within the *porta libitinensis*, see Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 262 (Fig. 194). The early plans of the Corinthian amphitheatre also include the *porta libitinensis* at the north, see the 1701 sketch by Francesco Grimani published in Lampros, "Über das korinthische Amphitheater," 282-288 (Taf. XIX). Also see Guillaume-Abel Blouet, Amable Ravoisié, Achille Poirot, Félix Trézel and Frédéric de Gournay,

arena, still buried today, is located at the southern end. There is no surviving evidence of the *summa cavea*. Therefore, Welch, following Harold Fowler, advances the possibility of a wooden superstructure producing a third tier of seating on top of the *ima* and *media cavea*.²¹⁶ There is also no evidence of substructures (*hypogea*) characteristic of later amphitheatres; rather, wild beasts were probably released into the arena at ground level from rooms (*carceres*) behind the podium wall, located either side of the tunnels.²¹⁷

In sum, the rock cut amphitheatre at Corinth has been described as a relatively small, functional structure. Welch suggests it is comparable to amphitheatres built in the late Republican period, including amphitheatres discovered at Pompeii in Campania, Sutrium in Etruria, Carmo in Baetica, and Antioch in Syria; and, therefore, proposes dating the Corinthian amphitheatre to the foundation of the colony in 44 BCE.²¹⁸ This early dating, according to Welch, is further substantiated by the inclusion of the amphitheatre in the northeast corner of the reconstructed colonial grid advanced by David Romano, suggesting the earliest colonists planned for its construction from the very beginning. The final support for an early date is found in the apparent presence of a veteran contingent among the early colonists of Corinth, the amphitheatre reflecting this militaristic element.

Welch's proposal, however, is not without its difficulties. Taking the argument in reverse order. Benjamin Millis has argued against the characterisation of Corinth as a veterans' colony. Unlike the veterans' colony of Patras, the evidence for veterans in Corinth "is practically non-existent."²¹⁹ Rather than the occurrence of an amphitheatre indicating a significant military presence, as it does say for Antioch in Syria, perhaps a more profitable way forward in this location might be to focus on the legal, commercial, and cultic elements of Roman Corinth.

Expédition scientifique de Morée, ordonnée par le gouvernement français (3vols.; Paris: Didot, 1831-1838), 3.36-37 (Pl. 77 Fig. 3).

²¹⁶ Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 134. See *Corinth* I, 90.

²¹⁷ For the rooms (*carceres*) either side of the tunnels in and out of the arena, see the amphitheatres at Pompeii and Carmo in Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 192-198, 252-254. A surviving inscription from Corinth, *IG* IV.365; Robert, 117 (no.61); Carter, 320 (no.110) might refer to *carceres* in the Corinthian amphitheatre when it suggests there was a statue erected in the amphitheatre "near the entrances of the beasts" (ἐγγὺς θηρέων ἱστάμενοι στομάτων).

²¹⁸ Welch, "Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World," 137. Also see Dodge, "Amphitheatres," 38.

²¹⁹ Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 20. Millis notes Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 97., as an early exception to the tendency of characterising Corinth as a veterans colony. Williams, "Roman Corinth as a Commercial Center," 33. also emphasises that "Corinth was not refounded for the purposes of settling ex-soldiers," and instead looks to the commercial opportunities of the colony foreseen by the Roman Senate.



FIGURE 7. Corinthian Amphitheatre with a view of the *porta libitinensis*, from the south



FIGURE 8. The collapsed *media cavea* with space for a staircase, from the west

I have already discussed, following Walbank, the natural limits of the city, which problematise the colonial grid projected by Romano; and so we are left with the building itself. The description of the amphitheatre as small and functional does not definitively establish an early date, especially since wooden amphitheatres were still being built throughout the Julio-Claudian era.²²⁰ At the local level, there are more difficulties. There is almost no evidence for building activity in Corinth, let alone outside the city, in the first two decades of the colony.²²¹ Scholars have noted that the first colonists took advantage of the buildings that survived the sack of Mummius, including the theatre, the South Stoa and the Temple of Apollo. The earliest construction work seems to centre, naturally, on the greatest needs of the colony, especially the Peirene Fountain. It is hard to imagine the amphitheatre, at this early stage, taking priority. Major modifications to existing structures, like the theatre, and the construction of new buildings and monuments that came to adorn the city belong to the period ranging from the last years of Augustus through to Nero. It seems a reasonable assumption to suppose that the amphitheatre belongs to this period of development in Corinth.²²²

Finally, in our rediscovery of the Corinthian amphitheatre, a comparatively small, functional structure also does not necessarily mean it was devoid of decoration. A date closer to the middle of the first-century CE increases the possibility of such ornamentation. The ruinous state of Corinth's amphitheatre, like many others that have

²²⁰ Outside of temporary structures built in Rome, evidence is hard to come by, for obvious reasons, though not totally lacking. Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.62-63; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 40) records the collapse of a shabbily constructed wooden amphitheatre near Fidenae in 27 CE that, according to Tacitus, killed fifty thousand people (Suetonius claims "more than twenty thousand"). A wooden amphitheatre is also attested in an inscription honouring a local imperial cult priest, L. Calpurnius Longus, in Pisidian Antioch for his sponsorship of a *munus*. The inscription (*CIL* III 6832), variously dated to the middle of the first-century, end of the first-century, and beginning of the second-century CE, mentions the construction of a wooden amphitheatre to display *venationes*, gladiators, disperse perfumes, and distribute gifts throughout the eight-day festival. On the final day, Longus also sponsored a banquet for the people of Antioch. See Stephen Mitchell and Marc Waelkens, *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments* (London: Duckworth with The Classical Press of Wales, 1998), 224-225. This text hints at the attractive possibility that temporary structures were not uncommon in the provinces.

²²¹ This is not to say that gladiatorial spectacles arrived late to Corinth. The early spectacles, prior to the construction of the amphitheatre, would have been held either in the forum or possibly on the site of what would eventually become the amphitheatre. On the earliest construction in Roman Corinth, see Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 117-124; Paul D. Scotton, "Imperial Cult and Imperial Reconciliation," in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation* (ed. R. J. Sweetman; Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 75-84.

²²² Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 125n.112., suggests the amphitheatre "was probably built by the 2nd c.. Corinth was a wealthy city and a centre for the local and provincial imperial cult, which would entail regular, elaborate spectacles." However, as we explore in the rest of this chapter and especially the next, the developments in the local and provincial imperial cult during the Claudian and Neronian periods suggest the amphitheatre may have been built by the mid-first century CE.

been discovered, obscures these possibilities. While we should not imagine the lavish scale of Nero's wooden amphitheatre, the ornamental details of other provincial amphitheatres, Pompeii in particular, are suggestive for how we might envision various decorative features displayed in, on, or around the structure. First, we might expect the Corinthian amphitheatre to have displayed several copies of a dedicatory inscription above the main entrances, honouring the local elite(s) that paid for its construction.²²³ The surviving inscription on the Pompeian amphitheatre (see plate 5a) reads:

C. Quinctius C.f. Valgus and M. Porcius M.f., *duoviri* and *quinquennales* of the colony, as a duty of office, with their own money, oversaw the building of the *spectacula* and for the colonists they donated the place in perpetuity. (*CIL* X 852 = *ILS* 5627)²²⁴

Another common ornamental feature affixed to the top of amphitheatres were awnings (*vela*) providing shade for spectators, like the sky blue awning on the Neronian amphitheatre, discussed earlier.²²⁵ In Pompeii, the provision of awnings were referenced in painted inscriptions (*dipinti*) announcing gladiatorial spectacles (*edicta munerum*).²²⁶ This suggests that awnings not only provided a level of comfort during hot days at the amphitheatre, but could also become another way for competitive elites to display their munificence:

Twenty pairs of gladiators of D. Lucretius—Celer wrote (this)—Satrius Valens, perpetual *flamen* of Nero Caesar, son of Augustus [that is, Claudius], and ten pairs of gladiators of D. Lucretius Valens, his son, will fight at Pompeii on 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 April. There will be a regular hunt and awnings. Aemilius Celer wrote (this), alone at night. (*CIL* IV 3884 = *ILS* 5145)²²⁷

Confirmation of the use of awnings in Pompeii can also be found in the fresco from the house of Anicetus, depicting the famous riot of 59 CE between the Pompeians and

²²³ On dedicatory inscriptions related to buildings and monuments in Corinth, see the inscription of M. Antonius Milesius and other Antonii for their rehabilitation of the Asklepieion (*Corinth* VIII.3, no. 311); Q. Cornelius Secundus (and his family) for the construction of a meat market and other buildings (*Corinth* VIII.3, no. 321; *Corinth* VIII.2, nos. 124–125); L. Hermidius Celsus and L. Rutilius along with two other Hermidii for the temple and statue of Apollo Augustus and ten shops (*Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120); Cn. Babbis Philinus for donating both the Fountain of Poseidon and an *aedicula* in the forum (*Corinth* VIII.2, no. 132; *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 155); Erastus, the aedile, for the pavement east of the theatre (*Corinth* VIII.3, no. 232). Also we could add the *Augustales* monument (*Corinth* VIII.3, no. 53). For a list of benefactors and their surviving inscriptions, see *Corinth* VIII.3, 21.

²²⁴ See Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 76; Alison E. Cooley and M. G. L. Cooley eds, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook* (2nd ed.; New York: Routledge, 2014), 30 (B12).

²²⁵ See Plin. *HN* 19.24.

²²⁶ On *dipinti* and graffiti in general, see Peter Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 2014).

²²⁷ The painted inscription was posted on the west side of IX.8, Pompeii. Also see *CIL* IV 7992, IV 7995; Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 69 (D17–19); Keegan, *Graffiti in Antiquity*, 207–210. The reception of these advertisements and the popularity of gladiatorial spectacles in Pompeii are further evidenced by graffiti responding to Lucretius on the opposite doorway to the original advertisement: “[Bravo] to the priest of Nero Caesar!” *CIL* IV 7996. Also see *CIL* IV 1185.

Nucerians (see plate 5b).²²⁸ Scholars have noted the unusual accuracy of the painting, including in its representation of the amphitheatre the divisions of the *cavea*, the exterior stairways, and the awning affixed to the top.²²⁹

Other possible ornamental features include paintings inside the amphitheatre. In Pompeii, detailed scenes of *venationes* and gladiators were discovered on the two-metre-high podium wall surrounding the arena and the *balteus* further up.²³⁰ Unfortunately, soon after excavation, the frescoes crumbled in the frost and disappeared. Similar scenes of *venationes*, while from a later period, were discovered on the three-metre-high podium wall of the renovated theatre in Corinth.²³¹ They too suffered the same fate as the frescoes in Pompeii; but, not before Nora Jenkins Shear was able to reproduce copies in watercolour paintings. The preserved scenes depict various hunters (*venatores*) opposing lions and bears, and one acrobatic scene of a *venator* pole vaulting over a leopard.

It is also likely that statues of gods and emperors were placed in the amphitheatre during performances held in their honour. Literary, epigraphic, and iconographic materials all attest to processions carrying statues of gods and emperors to sites of musical, theatrical, and gladiatorial spectacles during imperial festivals.²³² Similarly, there is evidence of honorific statues on display in the amphitheatre itself. In a surviving gladiatorial inscription, a rarity from Corinth, we recover the details of a group of beast fighters (θηρ<ε>ύτο<ρ>ες & αὐδρες) who erected, by decree of the city council (<ψ>[ηφίσματι] β[ουλῆς]), a bronze statue (χαλκείην εἰκόνα) of Trophimos, their physician. The statue with its inscription was placed in the Corinthian amphitheatre, near the entrances of the beasts (ἐγγὺς θηρείων ἱστάμενοι στομάτων).²³³

²²⁸ The wall painting of the riot is now in Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 112222. Also see Tac. *Ann.* 14.17.

²²⁹ See Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 71-73; John R. Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 152-154.

²³⁰ See Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 64-65 (D10); Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 59-62 (Figs. 48-51); Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 76, 192-198 (Fig. 119). The frescoes include: several depictions of 'Victory' holding palm branches and crowns; shields of various sizes and shapes; beast fights that include, among other animals, lions and tigers; and a gladiatorial scene with attendants, musicians, gladiators, and a referee. These frescoes survive in the drawings of Francesco Morelli.

²³¹ For a full description of the arena scenes, see *Corinth* II, 84-98 (Figs. 76-83). For the preliminary reports, see Theodore L. Shear, "Excavations at Corinth in 1925," *AJA* 29.4 (1925): 381-397; idem, "Excavations in the Theatre District of Corinth in 1926," *AJA* 30.4 (1926): 444-463. Also see the early discussion of Edward Capps, Jr., "Observations on the Painted Venatio of the Theatre at Corinth and on the Arrangements of the Arena," *Hesperia Sup.* 8 (1949): 64-70.

²³² See n.179 above. Also see Dio Cass. 60.13.1-3.

²³³ *IG* IV 365; Robert, 117, no.61; Carter, 320, no.110.

The work of Mary Walbank and Katherine Welch has greatly aided our rediscovery of the amphitheatre, both regarding its location and certain aspects of its architectural detail. Adding some of the decorative possibilities to the reconstruction of the amphitheatre in Corinth, we may imagine a functional, yet significant, monument in the Corinthian landscape that contributed to the “Roman face” of the colony (overlooked by Pausanias, and others). It also presented another space to honour the gods, emperors, and patrons of Corinth; and, ultimately, was *the* key site for the production and consumption of gladiatorial spectacles during festivals in the city.

Sponsors and Spectators of Death

It is not enough, however, to reconstruct the site where gladiatorial spectacles were held. We must begin to repopulate it. Returning to Apuleius’ novel, Lucius-ass makes a point of introducing his master Thiasus before arriving in Corinth for the gladiatorial spectacles. In his profile of Thiasus, Lucius-ass mentions several important details:

Thiasus was my master’s name and he was a native of Corinth, the capital of the entire province of Achaëa. As his ancestry and position demanded, he had risen through the various grades of public office and had now been nominated for the quinquennial magistracy. To make an adequate response to the honour of receiving the fasces, he had promised a three-day spectacle of gladiatorial games in a generous sharing of munificence. In his pursuit of public glory he had even travelled to Thessaly at that time to buy the most renowned wild beasts and famous gladiators there. (*Met.* 10.18)

Despite his cameo role in the tale, Thiasus’ appearance is an important one in our pursuit of repopulating the amphitheatre. This fictional *duovir quinquennalis*, as sponsor (*editor/munerarius*), represents the role of magistracies in the production of gladiatorial spectacles in Corinth. Apuleius alludes to Thiasus’ progression through the *cursus honorum* to the office of *duovir quinquennalis*, which prompts his sponsorship of gladiatorial spectacles in an elaborate display of munificence. Apuleius emphasises the magnitude of Thiasus’ munificence by detailing his procurement of the most renowned wild beasts and famous gladiators from Thessaly (*nobilissimas feras et famosos gladiatores*).²³⁴

For Corinthian sponsors, as with Roman sponsors, we see the same pressures to make spectacles increasingly innovative and extravagant.²³⁵ The costs associated were

²³⁴ Apuleius is drawing upon the common, yet complex, interplay between the sponsor and audience regarding the extent of *munificentia* on display in the spectacles. Also see, Apul. *Met.* 4.13.

²³⁵ Although, we should not think the spectacles in Corinth were comparable with the spectacles sponsored by the emperors in Rome.

substantial. The emphasis on Thiasus' munificence, therefore, reflects the realities of the concentration of wealth among the elite empire-wide and the expectation by the local non-elite of gifts, including the funding of building projects and sponsorship of elaborate celebrations, as we observed in Rome.²³⁶ We also know that, among the various entertainments, gladiatorial spectacles in the provinces were tied to public offices by law. In the colonial charter of Urso, a Julian colony founded contemporaneously with Corinth, the provision of shows and spectacles was required during the terms of office for *aediles* and *duoviri*.²³⁷ Fortunately in Corinth, a large number of the *duoviri*, and some *aediles*, can be reconstructed from the beginning of its foundation through the Julio-Claudian era.²³⁸ Scholars have identified three main strands in the composition of the elite in Corinth,²³⁹ put succinctly by Millis: "freedmen, almost exclusively of Greek origin; Romans, i.e. Roman citizens from the West, usually members of the Roman elite and normally already active or settled in the East, sometimes having been so for generations; and members of the Greek provincial elite."²⁴⁰

Millis, in his most recent work, argues persuasively for the lack of social mobility in Corinth, a seemingly counterintuitive argument for a colonial elite long recognised as

²³⁶ On the concentration of wealth among the elite, see Arjan Zuiderhoek, *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²³⁷ On the provision of games and spectacles in the colonial charter of Urso, Baetica, see Crawford, *RS I* 25, 423-424. Also see, Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 168-169. For a reconstruction of the lost Corinthian charter, see Bradley J. Bitner, *Paul's Political Strategy in 1 Corinthians 1-4* (SNTSMS 163; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 52-83. This legal requirement for the provision of games is also evidenced in Pompeii, in a surviving inscription found in the Stabian Baths: "Gaius Uulius, son of Gaius, and Publius Aninius, son of Gaius, duumvirs with judicial power, contracted out the construction of the sweating-room (*laconicum*) and scraping-room (*destrictarium*) and the rebuilding of the porticoes and the exercise-area (*palaestra*), by decree of the town councillors, with that money which by law they were obliged to spend either on games or on a monument. They saw to the building-work, and also approved it" (*CIL* X 829 = *ILS* 5706, translation Cooley and Cooley, B13). Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 30., note, "This text also provides us with valuable evidence regarding the colony's charter, otherwise lost, which evidently required local magistrates to spend a certain sum of money in their year of office on a public building or on games."

²³⁸ See *Corinth* VIII.3, 24-28, 67-88 (no.149-191); *RPC I*, 249-257 (nos.1116-1237).

²³⁹ Examining the material evidence excavated in Corinth and the recent scholarly work, we are able to identify various prominent figures as plausible sponsors of gladiatorial spectacles in the colony. The discussion below of several of these figures follows the work done by Antony Spawforth and Benjamin Millis on the composition of the elite in Roman Corinth. See Antony J. S. Spawforth, "Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite," in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects* (ed. A. D. Rizakis; Athens: Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1996), 167-182; Millis, "Social and Ethnic Origins," 13-35; idem, "The Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth," in *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; *NovTSup.* 155; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 38-53.

²⁴⁰ Millis, "Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth," 41.

dominated by freedmen.²⁴¹ Given this unusual prominence of freedmen, the story of unimpeded opportunities for ex-slaves lent itself to descriptions of Roman Corinth and the formation of its elite. However, upon re-examination of the origins and careers of the Corinthian elite, Millis has focussed our attention on the powerful backers that, whether they were families in Rome or eastern businessmen (*negotiatores*), enabled and solidified the advancement of these individuals and their occupation of the most prominent offices in the colony.²⁴² This enfranchisement was replicated locally amongst the families established as the elite, creating a self-perpetuating system.²⁴³ The appearance of C. Iulii and M. Antonii among the earliest *duoviri* has long been seen as evidence for the powerful backers of the Corinthian elite; and Millis points to the father and son *duoviri*, M. Antonius Theophilus and M. Antonius Hipparchus, as an early, instructive example of the entrenched political class.²⁴⁴ This is further supported by the multiple appearances of families in the record, including the Heii, Hermidii, and Rutilii to name a few.²⁴⁵

Beyond these general comments on the Corinthian elite, there are the well documented ‘usual suspects,’ especially in the Julio-Claudian period, that not only provide the most obvious candidates for sponsors of gladiatorial spectacles, but also indicate an increasing scale of entertainments produced as the developing city attracted provincial benefactors. The first suspect, from the strand of freedman magistrates, is Cn. Babbius Philinus, a wealthy benefactor in the Augustan period. He held the annual magistracies, aedile and *duovir*, and the priesthood, *pontifex maximus*.²⁴⁶ Babbius, as *pontifex*, would have supervised cultic rituals in the colony under the auspices of Roman deities, probably including the Capitoline Triad: Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; and would have had a visible seat among the *decuriones* (councillors)—with the right to

²⁴¹ See Strabo 8.6.23. Also see Spawforth, “Roman Corinth,” 169-170; Millis, “Social and Ethnic Origins,” 21-23; Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 45-47.

²⁴² Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 38-53.

²⁴³ Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 50.

²⁴⁴ For a recent discussion on the early appearance of C. Iulii and M. Antonii, see Jean-Sébastien Balzat and Benjamin W. Millis, “M. Antonius Aristocrates: Provincial Involvement with Roman Power in the Late 1st Century B.C.,” *Hesperia* 82.4 (2013): 665-667.

²⁴⁵ For the Heii, see *RP I COR* 306-311; Hermidii, *RP I COR* 313-315; Rutilii, *RP I COR* 535-544. Also see Spawforth, “Roman Corinth,” 178-181. Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 51. notes: “From the founding of the colony to the end of the Julio-Claudian period in 69 CE, we know the names of 69 duovirs. Among these 69 duovirs, there are only 33 different family names.”

²⁴⁶ For the career of Babbius, see *RP I COR* 111; Harry A. Stansbury, “Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict: A Social History of Early Roman Corinth and Its Pauline Community” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1990), 254-261; Spawforth, “Roman Corinth,” 169; Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 39-40.

wear the *toga praetexta*—at shows and gladiatorial spectacles.²⁴⁷ Once elected *duovir*, he would have sponsored his own spectacles. These offices, as we have noted, were very costly; yet, because of Babbius' wealth, he was also able to donate various monumental benefactions, including both the Fountain of Poseidon and a circular *aedicula* at the west-end of the forum. These constructions contributed to adorning the city and were a means, alongside his magistracies and provisions of spectacles, of displaying his munificence as a leading man in Corinth.²⁴⁸ While Babbius' origins are unknown, it is likely that he was enfranchised by a powerful backer. Once enfranchised, his wealth and career made possible the continued prominence of his descendants.²⁴⁹

Our next suspect, Ti. Claudius Dinippus, is the most notable of the Romans active in the east, eclipsing Babbius in both wealth and magistracies. Dinippus had the backing of his wealthy family of *negotiatores* active in the east since the second-century BCE.²⁵⁰ His vast wealth is indicated by his equestrian status, the colony's first person admitted to the order; by attaining the highest magistracies in Corinth; and, finally, by his role as curator of the grain supply (*curator annonae*), particularly during a time of famine.²⁵¹ While attaining *duovir* and *duovir quinquennalis*—the office held by Thiasus in Apuleius' fictional tale—Dinippus also held several priesthoods, including the imperial priesthood of *Victoria Britannica*. This newly established imperial cult celebrated Claudius' military campaigns in Britain (see plate 1a).²⁵² We might imagine, in 44 CE or just after, Dinippus' sponsorship of lavish spectacles in Corinth in his capacity as imperial high priest, an extension of the triumphal celebrations held in Rome, discussed

²⁴⁷ See Crawford, *RS I* 25, 423 (ch. LXVI). Also see Stansbury, "Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict," 258-261. According to the *lex*, the magistrates, soon after taking office, would plan with the *decuriones* the number of days of festivals and public sacrifices—and who would perform them—in the colony; and once these had been decreed, they were legally binding (ch. LXIII). On the cultic life of first-century Corinth, see Nancy Bookidis, "Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (eds. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen; HTS 53; Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2005), 141-164.

²⁴⁸ *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 132, VIII.3, no. 155. For Babbius the builder, see the recent discussion of Bitner, *Paul's Political Strategy*, 236-239.

²⁴⁹ For the likely possibility of a powerful backer, see Millis, "Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth," 50. On Babbius' son, see *RP I COR* 110; Concannon, "When You Were Gentiles," 60.

²⁵⁰ See *Corinth* VIII.2, nos. 86-90, VIII.3, nos. 158-163. For the career of Dinippus, see *RP I COR* 170; Spawforth, "Roman Corinth," 177-178; Millis, "Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth," 43. notes the possibility that Dinippus descended from earlier Ti. Claudii attested in Corinth, making him a second or third generation Corinthian.

²⁵¹ See *Corinth* VIII.2, 73, for West's commentary on Dinippus' role as *curator annonae* during the severe famine in 51 CE, and the extensive private resources needed "to relieve the necessities of the city." Also see Stansbury, "Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict," 301.

²⁵² It was Louis Robert's work on gladiators in the east that revealed the intimate connection between imperial cults and the production of gladiatorial spectacles. This is a topic that I will explore in more detail in the next chapter.

earlier. Several years later, under Nero, Dinippus held the prestigious office of *agonothetes* (president) of the Neronean, Isthmian and Caesarean games. Dinippus' sponsorship of these games, which included musical, theatrical, and athletic performances, crowned his extensive *cursus honorum*; a career that was, subsequently, commemorated by the city council and various Corinthian tribes. The combination of the grain supply and spectacles, prompting this popular acclaim from the Corinthian people, follows precedents in Rome and is captured by Fronto's pithy statement: "the Roman People are held fast by two things above all, the grain supply and spectacles" (*populum Romanum duabus praecipue rebus, annona et spectaculis, teneri*).²⁵³

Our final two suspects, from the strand comprised of Greek provincial elites seeking opportunities in Corinth, are the father and son pair, C. Iulius Laco and C. Iulius Spartiaticus.²⁵⁴ Laco, the son of Spartan dynast C. Iulius Eurycles, was exiled from Sparta during the reign of Tiberius, and eventually settled in Corinth with his son. Restored under Caligula, Laco and Spartiaticus proceeded to flourish in Corinth during the reigns of Claudius and Nero. Laco, procurator of the imperial family, held the highest offices in the colony, *duovir*, *duovir quinquennalis*, and *agonothetes* of the Isthmian and Caesarean games; as well as several priesthoods, including the *flamen Augusti*.²⁵⁵ Following his father, Spartiaticus inherited and attained many of the same offices, including *agonothetes* of the Isthmian and Caesarean games.²⁵⁶ However, Spartiaticus was able to surpass his father. He was granted, like Dinippus, equestrian status; he held the office of *duovir quinquennalis* twice; and he held the priestly offices of *flamen divi Iulii*, *pontifex*, and significantly the first high priesthood of the Achaean *koinon*.²⁵⁷ This important new imperial cult, along with the various other local imperial cults in Corinth, will be discussed in the next chapter.

²⁵³ See Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 17 (slightly adjusted from LCL). Also see Augustus' emphasis on his provision of grain in *RGDA* 15.1. Fronto's statement echoes Juvenal's well-known quote: "The people that once used to bestow military commands, high office, legions, everything, now limits itself. It has an obsessive desire for two things only—bread and circuses" (*nam qui dabat olim imperium, fasces, legiones, omnia, nunc se continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat, panem et circenses*. [10.78-81]).

²⁵⁴ For an account of the Euryclids of Sparta, see Paul Cartledge and Antony J. S. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London: Routledge, 1989), 97-104; Welborn, *End to Enmity*, 309-319.

²⁵⁵ See Allen B. West, "The Euryclids in Latin Inscriptions from Corinth," *AJA* 30.4 (1926): 390-393. *Corinth* VIII.2, no.67; *RP I COR* 345.

²⁵⁶ See West, "The Euryclids in Latin Inscriptions from Corinth," 393-397. *Corinth* VIII.1, no.70, VIII.2, no.68.

²⁵⁷ Antony J. S. Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult: Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198," *Hesperia* 63.2 (1994): 218-221; Welborn, *End to Enmity*, 309-317.



FIGURE 9. Augustales Monument, from the west

Finally, in our search for sponsors in Corinth, we are not restricted to the Corinthian elite. An honorific monument preserved *in situ* in the southeast sector of the lower forum, dated to the Tiberian era, provides the best evidence for the presence of *Augustales* in Corinth (see figure 9). The remnants of the base of the monument consist of a low step; a rectangular limestone bench surrounding a square core of local poros; and an inscribed cylindrical drum. Margaret Laird recently examined and reconstructed this monument, placing it in its urban and social context.²⁵⁸ In her reconstruction, Laird notes that the square core of the base would have been finished with plaster or marble, and that atop this large base would have stood a bronze statue of the deified Augustus.²⁵⁹ Laird also restores the inscription to read: “The Augustales [nomen

²⁵⁸ Margaret L. Laird, “The Emperor in a Roman Town: The Base of the Augustales in the Forum at Corinth,” in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; NovTSup. 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 67-116.

²⁵⁹ For Laird’s description and reconstruction drawing, see Laird, “Emperor in a Roman Town,” 67, 76-78, 94, Fig. 4.10. Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, “Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth,” in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity* (ed. Alastair Small; JRSup. 17; Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996), 210-211., was the first to suggest that the statue atop of the base would have been *divus Augustus*, rather than Athena, as originally assumed.

nomen] [set this up] as sacred to *divus Augustus* on account of his honour by decree of the city council.”²⁶⁰

The *Augustales*, a mostly western phenomenon, were an association of both freedmen and freeborn and “constituted a second *ordo*” beneath the local city council and magistrates.²⁶¹ Locked out of the elite positions we have been discussing, the association, loosely connected to the imperial cult, offered its members an alternate path for gaining prestige. *Augustales*, like the magistrates and priests, sponsored building projects, spectacles, and public banquets. The best evidence for the connection between *Augustales* and gladiatorial spectacles is found on reliefs from the funerary tomb-complex of C. Lusius Storax, in Teate.²⁶² The detailed reliefs depict gladiatorial spectacles sponsored by Storax, an *Augustalis*. As the *editor*, Storax features prominently in the reliefs, seated on an armchair on a raised platform (*tribunal*). Other important figures appear next to him on *bisellia*.²⁶³ Fighting below Storax and his companions, pairs of gladiators look up to the *editor* for his judgment over the defeated performers. Taken together, the reliefs commemorate the events that had been enjoyed by the large crowd, the celebrated Storax most of all.²⁶⁴

Returning to Corinth, our line-up of Corinthian benefactors—now including magistrates, priests, and *Augustales*—in the Julio-Claudian period offers us various candidates for the sponsorship of elaborate gladiatorial spectacles, as one important avenue in their display of munificence. We can be certain that there were prominent individuals from the foundation of Roman Corinth well positioned to purchase at great expense the various performers—human and animal—and sponsor the construction and/or renovation of multiple venues. By the middle of the first-century CE, leading figures, like Dinippus and Spartiaticus, had amassed great wealth in the now thriving

²⁶⁰ Laird, “Emperor in a Roman Town,” 84. [DIVO A]VGVS[TO SACR(UM)] | [NOMEN NOMEN] | [AU]GVSTALES [OB H(ONOREM) D(ECRETO) D(ECURIONUM)]. For the original edit, see *Corinth* VIII.3, no.53.

²⁶¹ See Laird, “Emperor in a Roman Town,” 72-73. On the connection between *Augustales* and spectacles, see Lily R. Taylor, “Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study,” *TAPhA* 45 (1914): 231-253.

²⁶² The reliefs are on display in Chieti, Museo Archeologico, inv.4421 a, b, c. See Adriano La Regina ed, *Sangue e arena* (Milan: Electa, 2001), 357. For an excellent discussion of Storax and his tomb-complex, see Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 143-152. Also see Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 71, D23. for the gladiatorial spectacles sponsored by *Augustalis*, L. Valerius Primus, in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 9962). For *Augustales* more generally in Pompeii, see Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 196-202.

²⁶³ *Bisellia* (seats of honour) at spectacles could be awarded to patrons of the city for their generosity. In Pompeii, a prominent *Augustalis*, C. Calventius Quietus, in the time of Nero was given a *bisellium* “by decree of the town councillors and by agreement of the people” (*CIL* X 1026 = *ILS* 6372). A depiction of this *bisellium* together with a footstool is found on his tomb, see Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 196-197, F115a-b.

²⁶⁴ Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 145-152.

colony. They were capable of sponsoring spectacles on a level not seen before in Corinth, attracting large crowds from the region and beyond. Corinth's reputation for such extravagance was well known, becoming the benchmark for any city that attempted to emulate them:

The Athenians used to assemble in the theater below the acropolis and watch human slaughter, so that it was more popular there than it now is in Corinth. Paying large sums of money, they assembled adulterers, pimps, burglars, cutpurses, slave dealers, and types like that, and then armed them and told them to enter combat. This too Apollonius denounced, and when the Athenians summoned him to the assembly, he said he would not enter a place that was impure and full of gore. (Philostr. *VA* 4.22)

The severity of Apollonius' rebuke of Athens, similarly found in Dio Chrysostom cited earlier and in Lucian, trades on the popularity of gladiatorial spectacles in the colony.²⁶⁵ Corinth was already celebrated for the Isthmian Games; now it garnered fame (and for some infamy) for its gladiators. It should not be surprising then that the city of Corinth would be one of the first and few in the east to build an amphitheatre, to accommodate these Roman style spectacles properly; nor should it be surprising that Apuleius would select Corinth to host his imagined, extravagant spectacles, setting the stage for the climax of the humiliations experienced by his protagonist, Lucius-ass.

Conclusion

In this opening chapter, we have travelled a long way, exploring the various elements of the Roman and Corinthian landscapes. We have attempted to recover and reconstruct two sites often overlooked—the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres—that both emerged from and articulated a history of Roman militarism and imperialism. Throughout this history, leading men, emperors, and provincial elites were able to solidify their political and social positions in the established power structures through the construction of increasingly elaborate entertainments buildings and the production of extravagant spectacles. By the time we arrive at the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres, the sophistication of each helped produce events that included the display of large numbers of exotic wild animals from land and sea, the spectacular executions of polluted criminals cast out of society, and the combat of professional gladiators. However, I have also attempted to keep these sites somewhat distinct, not

²⁶⁵ See Dio Chrys. *Or.* 31.121; Lucian, *Demon.* 57.

assuming that the spectacles held in Rome were indicative of all spectacles throughout the empire. In Corinth, the site and the spectacles functioned according to patterns specific to its locale, including those who were able to sponsor games and in what capacity. This is true, even as Corinth looked to Rome in structuring its political and social life.

Having established the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres within their landscapes, we will linger in these sites in the next chapter. I have already begun to sketch some of the dynamics on display in the stands and on the sand. There was an ideology at work in the production and consumption of spectacles that structured the arenas throughout the empire. The forces of this ideology will be important to explore further, in order to fully grasp the power of popular spectacles in the early empire, especially as we turn towards the way Paul and Seneca, among various individuals, appropriated this site and its images in their writings.

CHAPTER 2

The Stands and the Sand

Ideology and Representation of Arenas Empire-Wide

Let the climax of your whole speech be praise of the emperor, because he who presides over peace is really the *agonothetes* of all festivals, since it is peace that enables them to be held.

Ps.-Dionysius, *Ars Rhetorica*, 1.7²⁶⁶

Thus in torture does the regime's world swell to enormous proportions and occupy reality itself, while the world of the victim dissolves into nothing.

William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist*²⁶⁷

In a moment of sheer terror, shocked spectators observed a member of the Roman elite, an *eques*, thrown onto the sand at the behest of Gaius (Caligula) to contend with ferocious wild animals. Before being torn apart, the equestrian desperately attempted to plead his innocence before the emperor and the crowd. In the midst of the madness, a moment of reprieve. The equestrian was removed from the arena of the condemned, his cries, seemingly, not falling on deaf ears. Just as the shock of the crowd began to subside with order restored, the apparent clemency of Caligula dissipated into new depths of madness. The reprieve offered to the unfortunate *eques*—transformed into a tragic Philomela—instead became a violent silencing of his pleading tongue, before being returned, mutilated, to his *damnatio ad bestias*.²⁶⁸

²⁶⁶ Ps.-Dion. Hal. *Rhet.* 1.7 in Hermann Usener and Ludwig Radermacher eds, *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1965), 259. Translation from the appendix of Donald A. Russell and Nigel G. Wilson eds, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 364., cited in Mark Golden, *Greek Sport and Social Status* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 83.

²⁶⁷ William T. Cavanaugh, *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998), 36.

²⁶⁸ For the story of Philomela, see Ov. *Met.* 6.519-674. In the famous myth, Tereus, a Thracian King, cuts out Philomela's tongue in an attempt to silence her after he had raped her. The scene of Tereus and Philomela plays out like an arena scene. In response to Philomela's protests that she will go to a place where the

This terrifying Suetonian anecdote is couched within several chapters crafted to display “Caligula the monster.”²⁶⁹ Among the anecdotes rattled off to demonstrate the cruelty and humiliation that flowed from Caligula’s exercise of power, the site of the arena looms large. On one occasion, he is said to have callously fed criminals (*noxii*), instead of costly cattle, to wild beasts. In Dio’s variant version of the same story, Caligula goes even further. Short on condemned criminals, he threw a section of the crowd to the wild beasts after he had cut out their tongues.²⁷⁰ On another occasion, “he had a composer of Atellan drama burnt to death in a fire in the middle of the arena because one of his lines of verse contained a doubtful joke.”²⁷¹ Beyond his brutality, the emperor was known for his dark wit, joking with the consuls that with just a nod he could slaughter them; and while kissing the neck of his wife or mistress, he would whisper: “This lovely neck would be severed the minute I gave the order.”²⁷² At the arena, when the crowd cheered for the opponents of his favourite gladiators, he declared, “If only the Roman people had a single neck!”²⁷³

During the reigns of many emperors, and as we saw in the introduction to part one with Nero in particular, the barriers between the spectator and the spectacle blurred. Our Roman sources detail many accounts of members from the elite *ordines* performing on stage or competing in the arena, and it is not always clear to what extent these performances were voluntary or coerced. Almost inevitably under Nero, the scale and the ostentation connected with these spectacles were taken to new levels. According to Suetonius, Nero famously sponsored spectacles that included the performances of four hundred senators and six hundred *equites* as gladiators, *venatores*, and arena assistants, though we are told that no one was put to death on these occasions.²⁷⁴ However, the point of these stories is both to shock the audience and to craft the character of the

crowds throng and, in the presence of the spectators and the gods, declare Tereus’ sexual assault, Tereus drew his sword. “At sight of the sword Philomela gladly offered her throat to the stroke, filled with the eager hope of death” (*iugulum Philomela parabat spemque suae mortis viso conceperat ense* [6.553-554]). Instead of cutting her throat in this execution scene, Tereus cuts out her tongue in order to quiet her protests of his abuse of power. For Caligula’s propensity to cut out his victims’ tongues, though the anecdote is likely a variant of the story of our unfortunate *eques*, see Dio Cass. 59.10.

²⁶⁹ See especially Suet. *Calig.* 22-35. For the turn to “Caligula the monster,” see Suet. *Calig.* 22.1.

²⁷⁰ Suet. *Calig.* 27.1; Dio Cass. 59.10.

²⁷¹ Suet. *Calig.* 27.4.

²⁷² Suet. *Calig.* 32-33.

²⁷³ Suet. *Calig.* 30.2. Also see Dio Cass. 59.13.7.

²⁷⁴ Suet. *Ner.* 13.1. Notwithstanding the ostentation normally associated with Nero’s spectacles, the number of performers mentioned by Suetonius from the members of the elite *ordines*, as Champlin, *Nero*, 68., notes, “are impossibly high.” Either Suetonius is exaggerating for effect, or he is numbering the total amount of elite performers from Nero’s full thirteen-year reign.

emperor.²⁷⁵ This can only be achieved if there is already a legal framework supported by social expectations concerning the organisation and presentation of both the spectators and the spectacle.

The story of the unfortunate *eques* under Caligula reminds us of the fragile state of the Roman social order under imperial rule. Legal and social expectations could be ignored at the whim of the emperor. The brutal death of the *eques*, therefore, becomes an *icon* of a citizenry, even worse of the elite *ordines*, stripped to varying degrees of their political agency, subjected to an overwhelming power that, for some, forced them to perform on the sand alongside marginalised victims who had long since lost their standing or their voice. The terror of the story recounted by Suetonius lies not in the public deaths of arena victims, but in the occasional subjection of elite members to this same fate. In this chapter, we will examine the power structures in this site; where the concentration of power, Roman social relations, and the cruel realities of arena victims were most spectacularly on display. In chapter one, we recovered and reconstructed two amphitheatres that had mostly been overlooked and ignored. Now we will linger inside these sites and examine the social, political, and cultic elements on display in the stands and on the sand. We will move from the most glorified seat in the stands—i.e. the seat of the emperor/*editor* of the spectacles—to the dishonourable, dissolving world of the victims forced to perform on the sand. The vivid imagery that these spectacles produced spilled out of the arena. The landscape, in some sense, was formed by the ubiquity of these images, and it is this landscape that Paul and Seneca wandered through and contributed to in their texts.

The Ideology of the Arena

Before we examine the structure and activity on display inside the amphitheatre, I first want to focus briefly on the use of ‘ideology’ in relation to gladiatorial spectacles. In an excellent study of the arena, from which my section title takes its name, Erik Gunderson explores the arena “as an apparatus which not only looks in upon a spectacle, but one which in its organization and structure reproduces the relations subsisting between observer and observed.”²⁷⁶ In order to do this, Gunderson employs

²⁷⁵ On the use of spectacles to examine the character of the emperor in Suetonius, see K. R. Bradley, “The Significance of the *Spectacula* in Suetonius’ *Caesares*,” *RSA* 11 (1981): 136.

²⁷⁶ Gunderson, “Ideology of the Arena,” 115-116.

Louis Althusser's famous essay on ideology and the state.²⁷⁷ Althusser begins with the classical Marxist theory of the state as a repressive apparatus that functions "in the interests of the ruling class" through public institutions like the police, law courts, prisons, and the army.²⁷⁸ He then adds another component to the state apparatus called the ideological state apparatuses, which are private institutions like families, churches, schools, and media etc.²⁷⁹ The difference between the two is that the state apparatus functions by force while the ideological state apparatuses function predominantly by ideology. For Althusser, "all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects."²⁸⁰ This leads to Althusser's famous proposition that individuals are transformed into subjects by the interpellation or 'hailing' of the individual by ideology; and in fact, "individuals are always-already interpellated by ideology as subjects."²⁸¹

Adopting, with some qualification, Althusser's theory, Gunderson proposes "the arena as an ideological state apparatus in Rome, and hence a vehicle for the reproduction of the relations of production. Most importantly, the arena serves to reproduce the Roman subject and thus acts as an instrument of the reproduction of Romanness as a variously lived experience. The arena should be viewed as *one* active element among the numerous ideological functionaries supporting and generating Roman social structure."²⁸² How the site of the arena, both in Rome and the provinces, functions in this way requires an examination of the complexities of the social relations within the empire. The two epigrams at the start of the chapter already begin to map these social relations, from the concentration of power in hands of the emperor, the *agonothetes* of all festivals, to the disappearing worlds of arena victims, and everyone in-between.

The VIPs and the Nosebleeds

In the previous chapter, we followed Seneca and Corydon into the Neronian amphitheatre. On Seneca's visit, I suggested that he sat prominently in a front row seat

²⁷⁷ Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 121-173.

²⁷⁸ Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 131-136.

²⁷⁹ Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 136-137.

²⁸⁰ Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 160.

²⁸¹ Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," 164.

²⁸² Gunderson, "Ideology of the Arena," 117.

amongst the senatorial order, and probably near the emperor.²⁸³ A little later in the chapter, I also noted Suetonius' description of the private box (*cubiculum*) Nero first reclined in on the podium of his newly built amphitheatre. Suetonius mentions sometime later, Nero uncovered the *cubiculum*, lounging on a couch on one of the raised platforms (*tribunalia*) either side of the minor axis of the amphitheatre.²⁸⁴ In contrast to these VIP seats, Corydon lamented his position in the *summa cavea* at the top of the stands, amongst those groups typically situated at the fringe of society: the togaless poor—that is, those in dark clothing (*pullati*)—slaves, and women.²⁸⁵

The full extent of the social stratification in the Neronian amphitheatre, beyond these passing—and poetical—remarks, is difficult to gauge. In attempts to review seating arrangements in all entertainment facilities in Rome and the provinces in the late Republic and early empire, recent scholarship has collected and considered the fragmented material and sporadic literary texts that allude to the social, political, and legal constraints structuring attendance.²⁸⁶ Elizabeth Rawson's discussion of the *lex Julia theatralis* reveals the strict seating arrangements introduced into theatres by Augustus, mirroring the ideal hierarchic vision of society that emerged in the early principate.²⁸⁷ Prior to the Augustan era, legislation was passed that separated the elite *ordines* from the *plebs* in the theatre. In 194 BCE, senators were granted segregated seating in the orchestra.²⁸⁸ Over a century later, in 67 BCE, the *lex Roscia theatralis*, introduced by the tribune L. Roscius Otho, reserved the first fourteen rows of seats for equestrians.²⁸⁹ Beyond the segregation of these two elite *ordines*, there were no formal restrictions in the rest of the *cavea*; however, it seems likely that non-citizens

²⁸³ For Seneca's seat at the amphitheatre, see Chapter 1, *Sites, Sponsors, and Spectators*, 28n.89, above.

²⁸⁴ Suet. *Ner.* 12.1. See Edmondson, "Public Spectacles," 53. The Vestal Virgins were allocated seating on the other *tribunal* opposite the emperor or *editor* of the spectacles in Rome. See Suet. *Aug.* 44.3.

²⁸⁵ Calp. *Ecl.* 7.26, 81. Also see Elizabeth Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum: The Lex Julia Theatralis," *PBSR* 55 (1987): 88-89.

²⁸⁶ In particular, see Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum," 83-114; Edmondson, "Dynamic Arenas," 84-95; idem, "Public Spectacles," 41-63; Tamara Jones, "Seating and Spectacle in the Graeco-Roman World" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2008), 6-49; idem, "Pre-Augustan Seating in Italy and the West," in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective* (ed. Tony Wilmott; BAR S1946; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 127-139. The following discussion of the evolution of seating regulations is indebted to these works.

²⁸⁷ This is an oft-noted point in the scholarship. As Rawson, "Discrimina Ordinum," 84., reminds us, the emphasis on stricter distinctions between the *ordines* emerged in response to the blurring that had occurred during the period of the civil wars: "As everyone realises, Augustus' whole hierarchic vision of the society of the Roman Empire is involved, with his attempt to rebuild this society after the chaos of the triumviral period when, to Roman eyes, *discrimina ordinum* had been scandalously overridden." See Suet. *Aug.* 40.1.

²⁸⁸ See Cic. *Har. resp.* 24; Livy 34.44.5, 34.54; Val. Max. 2.4.3.

²⁸⁹ See Cic. *Mur.* 40, *Phil.* 2.44; Livy *Per.* 99.

(*peregrini*), the togaless poor, and slaves were customarily relegated to the back.²⁹⁰ Nevertheless, throughout the Republic, seating was mostly indiscriminate with men and woman seated together.

Despite the legislation passed on the segregation of elite seating, there were deliberate violations.²⁹¹ In one instance in Puteoli referred to below, a senator was left standing in the crowded theatre after he had arrived late to the games (*ludi*). Augustus' response was first to issue—with the senate—a decree (*senatus consultum*) and then, subsequently, a law (*lex Julia theatralis*) that went beyond the segregation of the elite orders, comprehensively restructuring the *cavea*. A partial outline of the *lex* survives in Suetonius:

[Augustus] put a stop by special regulations to the disorderly and indiscriminate fashion of viewing the games, through exasperation at the insult to a senator, to whom no one offered a seat in a crowded house at some largely attended games in Puteoli. In consequence of this the senate decreed that, whenever any public show was given anywhere, the first row of seats should be reserved for senators; and at Rome he would not allow the envoys of the free and allied nations to sit in the orchestra, since he was informed that even freedmen were sometimes appointed. He separated the soldiery from the people. He assigned special seats to the married men of the commons, to boys under age their own section and the adjoining one to their preceptors; and he decreed that no one wearing a dark cloak should sit in the middle of the house. He would not allow women to view even the gladiators except from the upper seats, though it had been the custom for men and women to sit together at such shows. Only the Vestal virgins were assigned a place to themselves, opposite the praetor's tribunal. (*Aug.* 44)

The *lex Julia theatralis*, introduced sometime between 22 and 17 BCE, reinforced the previous segregation of the elite orders in the theatre.²⁹² Additionally, the *lex* extended seating restrictions throughout the *cavea*, prohibiting foreign envoys from sitting amongst the senators in the orchestra; separating soldiers and civilians; assigning *cunei* to married men, freeborn boys, and their *paedagogi*; and formally relegating women and the *pullati* to the back of the *cavea*.²⁹³ The stratification of the Roman people imposed in the *lex* was only one component in a “nexus of measures,” promulgated in

²⁹⁰ Jones, “Seating and Spectacle,” 17.

²⁹¹ At a time prior to the events in Puteoli, in which Augustus is responding (*Aug.* 44.1), Suetonius mentions a similar violation of seating regulations by a common soldier (*gregarium militem*) attempting to sit in the first fourteen rows of the *cavea* (*Aug.* 14).

²⁹² For the date, see Rawson, “Discrimina Ordinum,” 98; Edmondson, “Dynamic Arenas,” 88; Jones, “Seating and Spectacle,” 26.

²⁹³ On Augustus' relegation of women to the back of the *cavea* as a reflection of his broader marginalisation of women in the social-political sphere, see Futrell, *Blood in the Arena*, 165; Jones, “Pre-Augustan Seating,” 132.

the early principate, designed to clarify and fortify the distinctions between the *ordines* and non-citizens.²⁹⁴

The sources are not clear, however, whether the stipulations written into the *lex Julia theatralis*, structuring the *cavea* in the theatre, extended to the amphitheatre. Rawson argued that it was “extremely probable” they did.²⁹⁵ Suetonius does suggest that Augustus and the senate had in mind “any public show anywhere” (*quid spectaculi usquam publice* [44.1]), and included the incidental detail that women were prohibited from viewing gladiators, except from the upper seats at the top of the stands. Roughly twenty years prior to the *lex*, two *senatus consulta*, fragments surviving in a text from Josephus and in an inscription from Aphrodisias, detail the various benefits for free and allied nations, including the right for envoys of these nations visiting Rome to sit amongst the senators at spectacles. According to Josephus, Julius Caesar and the senate decreed that Judean envoys (πρεσβευταί) had the right “to sit with the members of the senatorial order as spectators of the contests of gladiators and wild beasts” (ἐν τε πυγμῇ μονομάχων καὶ θηρίων καθεζομένους μετὰ τῶν συγκλητικῶν θεωρεῖν).²⁹⁶ The *senatus consultum* inscribed on the so-called ‘archive wall’ in Aphrodisias offered the same right to envoys of Aphrodisias and its neighbour Plarasa.²⁹⁷ Both of these documents from the late Republic reveal the legal separation of the elite *ordines* in the theatre was in effect at the sites of gladiatorial spectacles.

However, it is often noted, Ovid, writing in the time of Augustus and after the *lex Julia theatralis*, proposed the circus and the forum—a venue for gladiatorial spectacles—as ideal sites to court women. A glimpse into what could be described as an ancient ‘playbook,’ Ovid divulges his best advice for charming women seated amongst the men. Therefore, as Jonathan Edmondson recognises, the relegation of women to the

²⁹⁴ On the nexus of measures enacted, see Barbara Levick, “The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum,” *JRS* 73 (1983): 114–115. These measures include: Augustus, in 18 BCE, fixing the senatorial census to four hundred thousand sesterces and, then, raising it to one million (Dio Cass. 54.17.3); he permitted the sons of senators to wear the *latus clavus* and to attend the senate in preparation for holding office, keeping the *ordo* fixed (Suet. *Aug.* 38.2); the introduction of the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* in 18 BCE and the *lex Papia Poppaea* in 9 CE encouraging marriage among the elite orders; and, finally, the repeated prohibition, in a series of *senatus consulta* in the late Republic and early empire, against the elite *ordines* performing on stage or in the arena.

²⁹⁵ Rawson, “Discrimina Ordinum,” 86., also notes: “Indeed, it is probable that as the Colosseum inscription suggests the words *theatrum* and *theatralis* in the law actually covered *amphitheatrum* and *amphitheatralis*; for the latter was a neologism, first found in Vitruvius, whereas the inscription on the building erected at Pompeii in the immediately post-Sullan period calls it simply *spectacula*, seats or seating, a usage still found later in this area.”

²⁹⁶ Joseph. *AJ* 14.210, see §§205–211 for details of the *senatus consultum*.

²⁹⁷ See Doc. 8.76–78 and Doc. 9.10–11 in Joyce M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (JRS 1; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), 54–96.

highest stands (that is, of the temporary amphitheatre) in the forum “appears not to have been immediately successful in Rome.”²⁹⁸ By the time we get to Nero, as we have already discovered, the shabbily dressed Corydon is forced to venture to the top of the stands in the Neronian amphitheatre where the women were seated, suggesting that the regulations had now extended to sites of gladiatorial spectacles. Unfortunately, given the paucity of information about seating in the Neronian amphitheatre, notwithstanding the poetical reconstruction by Calpurnius Siculus, we must make inferences from other spectacles produced in the time of Nero that may confirm the seating regulations at gladiatorial spectacles.

The first comes from the theatre and is a quick reminder that Augustan seating regulations, in this site, were very much in effect in the time of Nero.²⁹⁹ In the well-known anecdote from 58 CE, two Frisian leaders, Verritus and Malorix, arrived in Rome to lobby the emperor for land already assigned to Roman soldiers.³⁰⁰ While they waited on Nero, they went sightseeing around the city, finding their way to Pompey’s monumental theatre. Verritus and Malorix, Tacitus tells us, were not so interested in the entertainment on stage, but were fascinated by the seating arrangements. They inquired about the distinctions between the orders (*discrimina ordinum*), and especially the seating of the equestrians and senators. The Frisian leaders also noticed a number of privileged foreigners seated amongst the senators and queried their tour guides. The reason: they were envoys of nations distinguished for their courage and friendship to Rome. Upon hearing this response, the Frisians decided their rightful place in the theatre was also amongst the senators in the best seats in the house.

Beyond the theatre, the more interesting inferences come from the description of two processions into Rome presented as spectacles. In the year following the visit of the Frisian leaders, Tacitus describes Nero’s plot to kill his mother. After several unsuccessful assassination attempts, the emperor and his advisors witnessed, during a gladiatorial spectacle, a specially designed boat full of wild beasts split apart and reassembled. Nero’s advisors, including a certain freedman Anicetus, constructed a

²⁹⁸ Edmondson, “Dynamic Arenas,” 88.

²⁹⁹ Except for, interestingly, the prohibition against foreign envoys sitting amongst the senators. According to Tacitus, it was this detail that captured the gaze of the Frisian envoys. The right given to envoys representing allied nations of Rome to sit amongst the senators seems to be a return to the *senatus consulta* that predated the *lex Julia theatralis*.

³⁰⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 13.54. Also see Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments*, 203. Edmondson, “Public Spectacles,” 41., rightly cautions the reader over the accuracy of this anecdote in Tacitus, pointing to Suetonius’ use of this incident in the time of Claudius. Nevertheless, as with many of the anecdotal stories from our sources of the Julio-Claudian period, the story remains “valuable for the Roman cultural assumptions that underlie it.”

replica boat that would also come apart on the bay of Naples while Agrippina travelled to her nearby villa after a night of celebrations in Baiae; but, once again, Nero failed in his attempts to take his mother's life. The failure was short lived. Nero sent assassins to her villa to finish the job begun on the bay. After the murder of Agrippina, Nero remained in Campania for several months in a panicked and paranoid state, fearing the response of the Roman senate and people to news of Agrippina's death. Through a carefully crafted letter, probably written by Seneca, Nero and his court were able to persuade the senate and the people that Agrippina had attempted to assassinate the emperor, and that her death had been his salvation. Tacitus describes the triumphal scene awaiting Nero on his arrival back into Rome:

[T]he tribes along the route, the senate in festive adornment, columns of spouses and children arranged by sex and age, and, set up where he would process, tiers of seats used at spectacles [*spectaculorum gradus*], in the way that triumphs are viewed. (*Ann.* 14.13.1-2)³⁰¹

The strict ordering of the Roman people by tribe, gender, and age to greet Nero back into Rome and to celebrate his salvation, a celebration that would culminate in the production of the *Ludi Maximi* and the *Ludi Iuvenalia*, suggests that this was the standard way to congregate at spectacles.

This expectation is confirmed in another special day of celebrations later in Nero's reign. In 66 CE, Tiridates, king of Armenia, arrived into Rome amid triumphal celebrations, described by Suetonius as a *spectaculum*.³⁰² Later in his account, Suetonius notes the great expense lavished on Tiridates, spending up to eight hundred thousand sesterces a day as well as gifting him one hundred million sesterces on his departure from Rome.³⁰³ Dio offers more details. Tiridates' journey to Rome was imagined as a triumphal procession, featuring gladiatorial spectacles in Puteoli on route. It seems a confusing image to deploy. Tiridates, as king of Armenia, was Nero's defeated foe and presumably paraded as a defeated general. Instead, the Armenian king was to be treated with honour. For these events, Rome was decorated with lights and garlands and crowds flocked to the forum:

³⁰¹ Translation taken from Woodman, slightly modified.

³⁰² Suet. *Ner.* 13.1.

³⁰³ See Suet. *Ner.* 30.2. The amount of eight hundred thousand sesterces a day could refer to the cost of the events per day while in Rome, or could also refer to Tiridates' entire journey to Rome. See Dio Cass. 63.2.3; Bradley, *Suetonius' Life of Nero*, 166.

The centre was occupied by the civilians, *arranged according to rank*, clad in white and carrying laurel branches; everywhere else were the soldiers, arrayed in shining armour, their weapons and standards flashing like the lightning. The very roof-tiles of all the buildings in the vicinity were completely hidden from view by the spectators who had climbed to the roofs. (Dio Cass. 63.4.2)

The day's events enacted Tiridates subjugation to Rome. Tiridates proceeded through the strictly ordered crowds to Nero, presiding on the *rostra* in his triumphal dress. Nero played the parts of the triumphal general, emperor, and god, and in turn for his subjugation, Tiridates was crowned instead of executed. Moving from the forum to Pompey's theatre, gilded for the special day, spectators continued in their celebrations. In the theatre, now shimmering with gold and covered with an outstretched awning depicting the emperor as Apollo crossing the night sky, Nero and Tiridates re-enacted the same rituals that had unfolded in the crowded forum. In both of these venues, the forum and the theatre, the crowd of people that flocked to the spectacles were arranged according to their position in Roman society.

Returning to Seneca and Corydon in the Neronian amphitheatre, we can safely assume they were seated in *cunei* assigned to their respective class, and that the laws that had structured attendance in the theatre were enforced across the various sites of entertainment. In a similar way to the building itself, explored in chapter one, the structured seating in the Neronian amphitheatre anticipated the fully realised form enacted in the Flavian amphitheatre.

In our discussion of the *lex Julia theatralis* above, we noted that the law structuring the *cavea* covered 'any public show anywhere.' When we look to the provinces, and the *coloniae* in particular, we already see laws structuring seating at public shows, predating the Augustan regulations. In the colonial charter of Urso, instructive for Corinth, magistrates and local city councillors (*decuriones*) were not only reserved the best seats, but were given the power to award similar privileges to others.³⁰⁴ Local priests were also given the right to sit among the city councillors. The charter then stipulates penalties imposed on anyone occupying seats they had not been awarded.

³⁰⁴ On the seating of the *decuriones*, magistrates, and the penalties for anyone illegally sat in the wrong seat, see Crawford, *RS I* 25, 429-430 (chs. CXXV-CXXVII). On the priests seated among the *decuriones*, see *RS I* 25, 423 (ch. LXVI).



FIGURE 10. Privileged seating in the Theatre of Dionysus, Athens

Beyond *coloniae*, there is evidence to suggest the implementation of fairly strict, hierarchal seating arrangements throughout the east in the early empire.³⁰⁵ In the theatre of Dionysus in Athens, the high priest of the imperial cult sat amongst other priests in the reserved seats at the front (see figure 10, plate 11a).³⁰⁶ Seating inscriptions in theatres and stadiums throughout the east reveal the level of organisation in the east. In the theatre in Ephesus, individual seats and *cunei* were assigned to magistrates, the local council, a council of elders, priests, ephebes, *collegia*, and the six civic tribes in

³⁰⁵ For a collection of the inscriptional evidence and a discussion of seating in the Greek provinces, see Jones, "Seating and Spectacle," 102-161, 246-357.

³⁰⁶ In Dio Chrysostom's oration referred to in the previous chapter, Dio mentions the proximity of the privileged seats of the priests to the slaughter of fighters performing in the gladiatorial spectacles (*Or.* 31.121). On the seat of the priest of the imperial cult in the theatre of Dionysus, see Antony J. S. Spawforth, "The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities," in *The Romanization of Athens* (eds. Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff; Oxford: Oxbow, 1997), 183-201. Also see Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 165-178.

Ephesus.³⁰⁷ In the theatre and stadium in Aphrodisias we see similar patterns, with local variations (see plate 10).³⁰⁸

We have lingered on the seating arrangements in Neronian Rome and the provinces in order to establish the physical and symbolic barrier between those in the stands and those on the sand. Those in the stands, seated in a strict hierarchy, reflected and reproduced an idealised picture of Roman society. And as the spectators peered down to the sand, in the words of Gunderson, an “imagined Rome is given an impossible vision of the substance of its empire and its elements are brought in as totally subjected. Their significance, their alienness, their objective otherness can thereby be easily confronted and overcome given their situation within the confines of a stabilized, orderly ring of Romanness girding them.”³⁰⁹ It is to the various performers, in their alienness and otherness, that we can now turn.

The Disposable and the Déclassé

If the seating in the *cavea* reflected the social relations of the Roman world, the barrier between the stands and the sand revealed, in the cruellest possible terms, the structured inequality of Roman society. Animals, slaves, criminals, and defeated enemies were subjected to power structures that forced them into arenas for imperialist, entertainment, and pedagogical purposes. They were beyond the bounds of Roman society and they came to represent this on the sand.

The distance and distinction between those who occupied positions in the stands and the performers on the sand is most clearly presented in Seneca’s famous letter, mentioned in chapter 1. The fighters, criminals condemned to death, were sent out to “unmitigated slaughter” (*mera homicidia* [7.3]). The boisterous crowd’s response to these performances was a cry for more death: “Kill him! Whip him! Burn him!” and “A little throat-cutting in the meantime, so that there may still be something going on!” (7.5). The crowd knew the crimes committed by the victims, the crimes that had cast these individuals out of society and ultimately onto the sand. There was now a symbolic and physical distance between the audience and performers. As Egan Flaig notes, “[t]he line of demarcation that was drawn between *cavea* and *arena* was merciless; on one

³⁰⁷ For a discussion on the seating plan in the theatre of Ephesus, see Jones, “Seating and Spectacle,” 121-134.

³⁰⁸ On the large number of seat inscriptions in the various sites at Aphrodisias, see Charlotte Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods* (JRS Mon. 6; London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993), 44-128.

³⁰⁹ Gunderson, “Ideology of the Arena,” 133.



FIGURE 11. Fragment of a 1st–2nd century CE terracotta relief depicting a *venatio*.

A lioness attacks a *venator* armed with a sword, shield, and helmet.

British Museum, no.1866,0412.13

side the outlaws performed, on the other the citizens sat and watched. The separation was omnipresent during the display.”³¹⁰

But, as Wiedemann makes clear, gladiatorial spectacles included a threefold exhibition of Roman power; where empire “confronted nature, in the shape of the beasts which represented a danger to humanity...confronted wrongdoing, in the shape of the criminals who were executed there; and...confronted its enemies, in the persons of the captured prisoners of war who were killed or forced to kill one another in the arena.”³¹¹ While all the performers in the arena were subject to Roman power, in such a way that distinguishes them from the spectators in the stands, there were still distinctions between performers that must be explored.

The *venatio* can refer to various types of spectacles that presented animals. These included the display of exotic animals from around the empire, sometimes performing tricks; wild beasts pitted against each other; hunters (*venatores*) and beast handlers (*bestiarii*) against wild beasts (see figure 11); and those condemned to the beasts

³¹⁰ Egon Flaig, “Roman Gladiatorial Games: Ritual and Political Consensus,” in *Roman by Integration: Dimensions of Group Identity in Material Culture and Text* (eds. Roman Roth and Johannes Keller; JRASup. 66; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2007), 84. Also see, Kathleen M. Coleman, “Public Entertainments,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World* (ed. Michael Peachin; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 353-354.

³¹¹ Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 46.

(*damnatio ad bestias*).³¹² The display of exotic animals in Rome dates to the middle Republic. By the first century BCE, the wealthiest Romans competed to present the most magnificent animals, including elephants, lions, leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, and bulls. In a specialised version of these hunts, named ταυροκαθάρσια, bull-fighters (ταυροκαθάπτοι/*taurocentae*) pursued bulls on horses, before jumping onto the bulls to wrestle them to the ground (see figure 18).³¹³

The various beasts on display were costly and needed to be sourced from around the empire. In a correspondence between M. Caelius Rufus and Cicero, governor of Cilicia at the time, Caelius requested Cicero's help as he desperately attempted to source panthers from Cilicia for his *venatio* in Rome. While some animals were displayed just for show, most were slaughtered as part of the entertainment. In the last chapter, we noted the large exhibitions of animals sponsored by Pompey, Caesar, and Augustus, which included the slaughter of large numbers of *bestiae Africanae*, among other animals.³¹⁴ The display of animals from around the empire in Rome would come to symbolise the worldwide dominion of the emperor. In the provinces, *venationes* were not on the same scale as those produced in Rome, and yet local and provincial sponsors sought ways to outcompete each other. In Apuleius' novel, the sponsor in Corinth travelled to Thessaly in search of the most renowned wild beasts.³¹⁵

The spectacle of exotic beasts easily morphed into the execution of criminals (*noxii*). Some criminals could be condemned to the gladiatorial schools (*ludi*) to serve gladiators, but many others were condemned to horrific deaths in the arena.³¹⁶ The criminals were represented mostly nude, being led into the arena with metal collars

³¹² On *venationes*, see Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 55-67; Potter, "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," 307-311; Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria," 70-74; Hazel Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011), 47-62.

³¹³ Bull-fighters are recorded in the famous list of imperial priests, under the priest Pylaemenes (Il.48-56), inscribed on the temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra. For text and commentary, see Stephen Mitchell and David French eds, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra): Vol. I from Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD* (vol. Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts of; München: Beck, 2012), 138-150. Also note the bull-fighters in a *familia* of an imperial high priest, Zeno Hypsicles, in Aphrodisias. See Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 63. Depictions of the *taurokathapsia* can be seen in reliefs from Hierapolis (see figure 18) and from Smyrna (see Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria," 71, fig. 78.). Pliny tells us that these events first appeared in Rome during spectacles produced by Caesar (Plin. *HN* 8.181-183), and are mentioned again a little later under Claudius (Suet. *Claud.* 21.3).

³¹⁴ As Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World*, 52., notes, "In the ancient sources, the term '*Africanae*' came to be used collectively for lions, leopards and other big cats, irrespective of their origins."

³¹⁵ See Apul. *Met.* 10.18.

³¹⁶ Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 91., notes: "Contrary to popular opinion, most of the arena's dead victims were not true gladiators but doomed convicts (*noxii*), men (and women) sentenced to execution, crucifixion, fire, or the beasts."

around their necks (see plate 6 and figure 21).³¹⁷ In the arena, criminals—though this class also included slaves, prisoners of war, and military deserters—faced various methods of execution: the sword, crucifixion, fire, and wild beasts.³¹⁸ Despite executions thought to have been held in the lunchtime interval, between the morning hunts and the afternoon gladiatorial combats, they were popular. In Seneca's representation of these events, the boisterous audience took pleasure in the spectacle, calling loudly for the deaths of these disposable victims.

During the reign of Nero, as we discussed earlier, innovative ways of killing emerged. The executions were theatricalised. Criminals donned the garb of mythological figures and performed in "fatal charades."³¹⁹ Hercules was set on fire, Icarus fell from flight, Pasiphae was penetrated by a bull. These types of torturous, bloody deaths emphasised the humiliation, degradation, and the separation of the performers from society to the threshold of the underworld. With the stench of death wafting around the arena, the lives of these victims quickly vanished as perfume sprayed from "jets of water"³²⁰ deodorised the cruelty of the entertainments. The aromas that now refreshed the satisfied spectators marked the emergence of the next set of performers.

The ranks of trained, professional gladiators, supplied by slaves, criminals, prisoners of war, and volunteers (*auctorati*), were a distinct class from the cheap, disposable criminals sent out to slaughter. There are variously attested types of gladiators—*thraex*, *hoplomachus*, *murmillo*, *secutor*, *retiarius*, *provocator*, *eques*, among others—but, for the purposes of this project, I would like to focus in particular on two gladiators that were pitted against one another: the *retiarius* and the *secutor* (see plate 7).³²¹ They produced the most famous bouts exhibited in the spectacles, especially popular for their

³¹⁷ For similar depictions to plate 6 of *damnati* chained by their necks being led into the arena, see figure 21 from Miletus. This image is from Louis Robert, "Monuments des gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec," *Hellenica* 7 (1949): pl.XXII.2. In this relief, one of the condemned criminals holds up a placard, presumably inscribed with his name and crime. Robert in this same volume (figure 2) includes a similar relief of criminals holding up placards from Hierapolis. Also see Tullia Ritti and Salim Yilmaz, *Gladiatori e 'venationes' a Hierapolis di Frigia* (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998), 514, fig.32. In the *Martyrs of Lyons*, we hear of a similar placard: "But Attalus was himself loudly called for by the crowd, for he was well known. He went in, a ready combatant, for his conscience was clear, and he had been nobly trained in Christian discipline and had ever been a witness for truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre and a placard was carried before him on which was written in Latin, 'This is Attalus, the Christian.'" (Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 5.1.43)

³¹⁸ On soldiers who had deserted being thrown to wild beasts or trampled by elephants, see Val. Max. 2.7.13-14.

³¹⁹ See Coleman, "Fatal Charades," 44-73.

³²⁰ Sen. *QNat.* 2.9.3. For the spray of perfumes throughout the arena, see Apul. *Met.* 10.34; Calp. *Ecl.* 7.69-72. On the sensory experience at entertainment sites, see Toner, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome*, 123-161.

³²¹ See the short descriptions of the various types of *armaturae* in the appendix 2.

tactical manoeuvring. Both types of gladiators emerged in the first-century. Suetonius, in his portrait of Caligula, mentions them both in an unusual account, when five *retiarii* were pitted against five *secutores*.³²² It was unusual because combats were mostly one-on-one. The *secutor* may have evolved as a version or subset of the *murmillo*, a heavily armed gladiator, while the *retiarius* was a new invention.³²³ These two opponents were opposite in every respect; from their armament to their fighting style.

The *retiarius* was armed with a weighted net (*rete*), trident, and dagger.³²⁴ He wore minimal armour, consisting only of a wrapping (*manica*) on his left arm and a metal guard (*galerus*) on his left shoulder. The *galerus* extended 12-13 cm above the shoulder and offered a small amount of protection for his head. Mostly naked, the *retiarius* wore a loincloth and belt, and was the least protected gladiator to appear in the arena. Yet, without the limitations of standard armour—helmet, shield, and greaves—the *retiarius* was able to move swiftly on his feet, using his trident and net to attack from distance. His opponent, the *secutor* (pursuer), on the other hand, was heavily armed. He was clad with a visored helmet, a *manica* on his right arm, greave on his left leg, large rectangular shield, and a sword. His helmet was unique. It was completely smooth and appears to have been specifically designed to protect against the thrusting trident or flying net of the *retiarius*.³²⁵

This match up quickly became the most popular and most recognisable performance. The crowd expected to see the speed and agility of the mostly naked *retiarius* moving swiftly around the arena, maintaining his distance. Using his speed to evade attacks, the *retiarius* could wait for the right time to cast his net or thrust his trident. Meanwhile, the *secutor* pursued his opponent to get in close, in order to strike with his sword or knock his opponent down with his shield. The tactical battle emphasised the skill and courage that set gladiators apart from the criminals. The fact that emperors favoured specific types of gladiators, as David Potter has noted, suggests “that what they were interested

³²² Suet. *Calig.* 30.

³²³ The name *murmillo* is derived from the Greek word for fish (μορμύρος), which decorated his helmet. Junkelmann notes that the *secutor*, as a variety of the *murmillo*, adopted this image by wearing a smooth, rounded helmet with a fin-like crest that mimicked the look of a fish’s head. These details attributed to the aesthetic of the bout: the *retiarius* as a fisherman with his net and trident against the fish like helmet of the *secutor*. See, Junkelmann, “*Familia Gladiatoria*,” 61.

³²⁴ After completing experimental testing, Junkelmann, “*Familia Gladiatoria*,” 59. concluded the nets used by the *retiarius* would have carried lead weights at the edges, similar to “throwing nets used in fishing.” For a rare depiction of the net of the *retiarius*, see the right hand of *Fortis* in plate 9b.

³²⁵ For a depiction of the helmet of the *secutor*, see figure 12 and plate 7. Also see, Junkelmann, “*Familia Gladiatoria*,” 40, fig.22; 61-62, figs. 61-62.



FIGURE 12. Gladiatorial mosaic, from Cos; presenting, on the left, a fight between the victorious [νει(κῶ)] *retiarius*, Tydeus, and his opponent, Leukaspis, a *secutor*. On the right, two *provocatores*, Paktolos and Nympheros, battle under the supervision of a *summa rudis*.

in was a style of fighting.”³²⁶ There is also some evidence of popular partisans in the arena, like the well-known groups in the Circus, favouring famous gladiators and certain styles of armature.³²⁷

Styles of fighting that emphasised martial excellence flourished because, unlike the animal and human massacres, professional gladiators were bound by “rules of engagement.” In a recent article, Michael Carter explores the rules, standards, and even an unwritten code among the gladiators themselves that governed combats.³²⁸ The appearance of referees (*summa* and *secunda rudis*) in various representations of combat presume the enforcement of rules. In a mosaic from Cos, a *summa rudis*, wearing a white tunic and holding a long rod, officiates a fight between two *provocatores* (figure 12). Carter notes that referees, taken from the ranks of ex-gladiators, were experts who determined when to intervene and stop the fight.³²⁹

Of course, rules and expert intervention were necessary in dangerous exhibitions of professional performers. Well trained, skilful gladiators were expensive commodities.

³²⁶ Potter, “Review of Wiedemann,” 231.

³²⁷ On partisanship in the arena, see Chapter 4, “In Honour and Dishonour,” 157. Also see Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena*, 219-221.

³²⁸ Michael J. Carter, “Gladiatorial Combat: The Rules of Engagement,” *CJ* 102 (2006/2007): 97-114. Also see Potter, “Entertainers in the Roman Empire,” 314-315.

³²⁹ Carter, “Gladiatorial Combat,” 102. The famous epitaph of the victorious gladiator, Diodoros from Amisus, blaming the *summa rudis* for his death suggests that the referee had not intervened as he was supposed to: Ἐνθάδε νεικήσας κεῖμαι Διόδωρος | ὁ τλήμων· ἀντίπαλον ῥήξας | Δημήτριον οὐκ ἔκτανον εὐθύς | ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ’ ὀλοή καὶ συμμαρῶν <δου> δόλος αἰνὸς ἔκτανον, ἐκ δὲ | φάους ἤλυθον εἰς Ἀΐδην. [Κεῖ] | μαι δ’ ἐν γαίῃ αὐτοχθόνων· ἡδέ μ’ ἔθαψεν ἔνθα φίλος ἀγαθὸς εὖσεβίης ἔνεκεν. “Here I lie victorious, Diodoros the wretched. After felling my opponent Demetrios, I did not kill him immediately. But murderous Fate and the cunning treachery of the *summa rudis* killed me, and leaving the light I have gone to Hades. I lie in the land of the original inhabitants. And a good friend buried me here because of his piety.” Translation from Carter, “Gladiatorial Combat,” 111.

They were generally owned by a *lanistae*, who hired them out to *editores* for combat in *munera*.³³⁰ The cost of hire depended on the skill and record of the gladiator, which was recognised by a ranking (*palus*/πάλος) system.³³¹ This system, according to the evidence, included five ranks, from the recruit (*tiro*), the lowest rank, through four *pali*-ranks all the way up to the highest rank, the first *palus* (see plate 8 for two gladiators from Tralles ranked second and fourth *palus*).³³² Attaining first *palus* resulted from acquiring great skill, experience, popularity, and, of course, victories. The higher the rank the more expensive the gladiators became.

In light of such an elaborate system, it is not surprising, despite modern assumptions, to find that gladiators did not fight to the death. Of course, combat was dangerous and could result in death, but, as David Potter has shown, “it was not a necessary result.”³³³ Fights could end in a draw, or when one gladiator became exhausted, wounded, or raised his finger in defeat (to fight *ad digitum*, see plate 7).³³⁴ Notwithstanding the danger of the activity, the emphasis in gladiatorial combat, unlike the executions, was on skill and courage. And it is in this space that gladiators could become popular among fans, gain wealth, and be celebrated as heroes.

However, even as we acknowledge various possibilities for gladiators, they were still part of a profession that was socially and politically stigmatised. They suffered *infamia*, a legal term that stripped them of full citizenship and assimilated them with slaves.³³⁵ For volunteers, their assimilation took the form of an oath (*sacramentum*), which offered their body up to be burned, bound, beaten, and to die by the sword (*uri*,

³³⁰ Imperial cult priests might own, purchased from their predecessor, a troupe (*familia*) of gladiators themselves. See the *familia* inscriptions of imperial cult priests below.

³³¹ On the ranking system and the pricing of gladiators, see Potter, “Entertainers in the Roman Empire,” 317-321; Michael J. Carter, “Gladiatorial Ranking and the *SC de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis* (CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163),” *Phoenix* 57 (2003): 83-114.

³³² For the possible existence of a sixth and eighth *palus*, see Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 64-65, 67-68 (nos.23-24).

³³³ David S. Potter, “Gladiators and Blood Sport,” in *Gladiator: Film and History* (ed. Martin M. Winkler; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2004), 78. According to Ville, around twenty percent of fights ended in the death of a single gladiator in the first century. See Ville, *La Gladiature*, 318-325. Cited in Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 86.

³³⁴ See Potter, “Entertainers in the Roman Empire,” 315. “The average fight ended either with a wound to one of the contestants or when one fighter’s endurance gave out. The standard way of describing the end of a fight was with the phrase *ad digitum*, which referred to the point at which one fighter raised a finger to indicate that he had had enough or simply threw down his shield. It was then up to the referee to make sure that the fight ended: they are often depicted as standing between the victor and vanquished or even grabbing the hand of the victor to prevent his dealing a fatal blow.”

³³⁵ On *infamia*, see Levick, “*Senatus Consultum*,” 108-110; Catharine Edwards, “Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome,” in *Roman Sexualities* (eds. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 69-82.

verberari, vinciri, ferroque necari).³³⁶ It is this bodily subjection and the degradation of their social-political status that the upper classes feared. These fears are represented in the restrictions placed on the upper classes from publicly performing in the *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum in 19 CE:

And with regard to what was written? and provided for under the SC which was passed on the motion of the consuls Manius Lepidus and Titus Statilius Taurus,? namely that it should be permissible for no female of free birth of less than twenty years of age and for no male of free birth of less than twenty-five years of age to pledge himself as a gladiator or hire out his services for the arena or stage. (*ll.* 17-18)³³⁷

The reception of the gladiator, as an ambiguous figure, was best articulated by Tertullian:

Take even those who give and who administer the spectacles; look at their attitude to the charioteers, players, athletes, gladiators, most loving of men, to whom men surrender their souls and women their bodies as well, for whose sake they commit the sins they blame; on one and the same account they glorify them and they degrade and diminish them; yes, further, they openly condemn them to disgrace and civil degradation; they keep them religiously excluded from council chamber, rostrum, senate, knighthood, and every other kind of office and a good many distinctions. The perversity of it! They love whom they lower; they despise whom they approve; the art they glorify, the artist they disgrace. (Tert. *De spect.* 22)

Ultimately, amphitheatres were sites of imperialism; arenas, sites of subjugated performers. But as we look out beyond Rome, we must pay careful attention to how these sites of imperialism stretched out across the empire. The reproduction of arenas empire-wide was part of a larger network of power relations that included the imperial cults, which established local elites throughout the provinces and enforced social hierarchies.

Imperial Cult Productions

Returning to *editores* of gladiatorial spectacles. In the previous chapter, I examined sponsors in both Rome and Corinth. In Rome, I focussed on the role of the emperors, Nero in particular, in producing extravagant spectacles in his ‘golden amphitheatre,’ while also acknowledging the possibility of other members of the elite *ordines* sponsoring more modest displays. On the whole, with legislation introduced during the reign of Augustus restricting the display of gladiators, the power on display in the large-scale spectacles was effectively concentrated into the hands of the emperor. Outside of

³³⁶ See Petron. *Sat.* 117, Sen. *Ep.* 37.2, 71.23. Also see Barton, *Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*, 14-15.

³³⁷ Translation from Levick, “*Senatus Consultum*,” 98-99.

Rome in the provinces, the legal framework of *coloniae* and *municipia* stipulated the production of spectacles within the purview of the aedileship and duovirate. Fortunately, the material evidence—coins and inscriptions—unearthed in Corinth preserve a large number of the colony's *duoviri* throughout the Julio-Claudian period.

Beyond these annual magistrates, however, priests of the various imperial cults played a significant role in the production of gladiatorial spectacles in the east.³³⁸ In the early principate, the proliferation of imperial cults throughout the east was “almost instantaneous.”³³⁹ At the provincial level, the *koina* of Asia and Bithynia requested permission to build temples to the emperor in 29 BCE.³⁴⁰ Following Asia and Bithynia, the new Roman province of Galatia, sometime after it had been annexed in 25 BCE, established a provincial cult and built a temple in the capital, Ancyra. Dio mentions the dedication of the provincial imperial cult temples in Asia (Pergamum) and Bithynia (Nicomedia):

[Caesar] permitted the aliens, whom he styled Hellenes, to consecrate precincts to himself, the Asians to have theirs in Pergamum and the Bithynians theirs in Nicomedia. This practice, beginning under him, has been continued under other emperors, not only in the case of the Hellenic nations but also in that of all the others, in so far as they are subject to the Romans. For in the capital itself and in Italy generally no emperor, however worthy of renown he has been, has dared to do this; still, even there various divine honours are bestowed after their death upon such emperors as have ruled uprightly, and, in fact, shrines are built to them. All this took place in the winter; and the Pergamenians also received authority to hold the “sacred” games, as they called them, in honour of Caesar's temple. (51.20.6-9)³⁴¹

While Dio only names Augustus as the dedicatee of these temples, they were actually dedicated to both the goddess Rome and Augustus; but, as Steven Friesen notes, “Augustus was clearly the dominant figure in this religious institution.”³⁴² The precise locations of these temples have not been found, but images of the temple in Pergamum,

³³⁸ See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 270-275; Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East.”

³³⁹ Stephen Mitchell, *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 1.100.: “The diffusion of the cult of Augustus and of other members of his family in Asia Minor and throughout the Greek East from the beginning of the principate was rapid, indeed almost instantaneous.”

³⁴⁰ Dio Cass. 51.20.6-8.

³⁴¹ In the lines just prior to the quote, Dio reports the permission granted to build temples to Rome and to the hero Julius in Ephesus, Asia and Nicaea, Bithynia. These cults were for Romans living abroad, where the provincial imperial cults of Rome and Augustus were for the ‘Hellenes.’ For a discussion on Dio's perspective and the emergence of these cults, see Steven J. Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 25-36.

³⁴² Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*, 27.

which include representations of statues of Augustus placed in the temple, survive on coins issued in Asia throughout the Julian-Claudian period.³⁴³

Fortunately, the Sebasteion, the Galatian provincial imperial cult temple of Rome and Augustus, in Ancyra has been located. In preparation for its construction, the site of the temple was donated by the imperial cult priest, Pylaemenes son of king Amyntas, in 2/1 BCE, along with his sponsorship of feasts, various shows, and oil. The following year, Albiorix son of Ateporix dedicated statues of Augustus and Livia (Καίσαρος καὶ Ἰουλίας Σεβαστῆς), providing “a focus for cult activities before the completion of the temple.”³⁴⁴ The *Res Gestae* and a list of annual priests and their benefactions were inscribed on the walls of the temple.³⁴⁵ Just as Augustus was the *agonothetes* of the empire, advertising his many and varied benefactions, so too the priests of Augustus advertised their munificence, which included the introduction of gladiatorial spectacles as early as 4/3 BCE. Among the many benefactions of the priests, Pylaemenes, one of two priests named twice on the list, also sponsored an elaborate imperial festival in 7/8 CE:

Pylaemenes son of king Amyntas gave a public feast for the three tribes, and sacrificed a hecatomb for the one in Ankyra, gave shows and a procession [πομπήν], and similarly a bull-fight and bull wrestlers and 50 pairs of gladiators (ὁμοίως δὲ ταυρομάχιον καὶ ταυρ]οκαθ[άπτ]ας καὶ μονομάχων [ζεύγη] ν'), provided oil for the whole year for three tribes, gave a wild beast fight [θηρομαχίαν]. (Il.48-56)³⁴⁶

The priest the following year, M. Lollius, also provided gladiatorial spectacles in Ancyra and Pessinus, and dedicated a statue for the imperial cult in Pessinus:

[Marcus Lo]llius (?) gave a public feast in Pessinus, 25 [pairs] of gladiators and 10 in Pessinus (μονομάχων [ζεύγη] κέ' καὶ ἐν Πεσσινοῦντι ι'), provided oil for the two tribes for the entire year, dedicated a divine statue in Pessinus. (Il. 58-62)

These various examples at the provincial level bring together key elements of the imperial cults significant for this project: temples, priests, iconography, and festivals. The imperial cults were integrated into already existing traditions in the east, reflecting local elements in each place.³⁴⁷ However, we also see the emergence of imperial cults as

³⁴³ See Steven J. Friesen, *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 11-15.

³⁴⁴ Mitchell and French, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 150.

³⁴⁵ See Cooley, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*., 7-13; Mitchell and French, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 66-138.

³⁴⁶ Translations of the priest list taken from Mitchell and French, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara*, 138-150.

³⁴⁷ On the diversity of imperial cults, see Friesen, *Twice Neokoros*, 142-145.

a way for local and provincial elites, empire-wide, to negotiate Roman hegemony. We see the construction of temples, the production of imperial family iconography, local elites holding office as imperial cult priests, and the incorporation of gladiatorial spectacles as part of imperial festivals; and these elements shaped political and social life in the early empire. As Mary Beard, John North, and Simon Price write, “What was at stake for emperors, governors and members of civic elites was the whole web of social, political and hierarchical assumptions that bound imperial society together. Sacrifices and other religious rituals were concerned with defining and establishing relationships of power.”³⁴⁸

At the same time as these provincial developments, local imperial cults emerged throughout the east. Simon Price, in his study on imperial cults in Asia Minor, counts the presence of local imperial priests in thirty-four cities throughout the region during the Augustan period.³⁴⁹ These cults pervaded everyday life, inhabiting and connecting various sites in the local landscape.³⁵⁰ Temples and shrines were built or modified for cultic rituals. Statues of imperial family members were commissioned and displayed throughout the city. And imperial festivals, celebrated on important dates—like birthdays of the emperor and his family, accessions to the throne, anniversaries, military victories, etc.—and as part of regular annual events, involved sacrifices and banquets, processions, and entertainments held at various sites throughout the city.

One of the most important discoveries of local imperial cults is the site of the Sebasteion unearthed in Aphrodisias, Caria (see figure 13). The Sebasteion offers, in the words of R. R. R. Smith, “an unrivalled picture of the physical setting of the imperial cult in a Greek city.”³⁵¹ Visitors and residents of Aphrodisias would have entered the imperial cult complex through a two-storey monumental gate at the western end. Beyond the gate, a paved courtyard (14 x 90 metres), flanked by three-storey high porticoes on the north and south sides, met a flight of stairs at the eastern end that led up to a Roman style podium temple. The complex was constructed over several decades, from the time of Tiberius to the early years of Nero. The related inscriptions on the

³⁴⁸ Mary Beard, John A. North and Simon R. F. Price, *Religions of Rome* (2vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1.361. Beard, et al., continue, “Not to place oneself within the set of relationships between emperor, gods, elite and people was effectively to place oneself outside the mainstream of the whole world and the shared Roman understanding of humanity’s place within the world.”

³⁴⁹ See Simon R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 58.

³⁵⁰ See Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*, 56-76.

³⁵¹ R. R. R. Smith, “The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias,” *JRS* 77 (1987): 88.



FIGURE 13. Sebasteion, with a segment of the south portico under reconstruction, from the east

buildings provided the names of the benefactors from two Aphrodisian families, who sponsored the project, as well as dedications to Aphrodite, the gods Sebastoi, and the demos.³⁵² The south portico, for example, was dedicated to Aphrodite, Livia, Claudius, and the demos. There is some uncertainty around the identification of Livia from the text: ΘΕ[]Ι Σεβαστ[...3-4..Τιβερ]ίωι Κλαυδίωι Κ[αί]σαρι. Joyce Reynolds reconstructs the text to read ΘΕῶι Σεβαστῇι, that is Livia, and suggests this reflected the renewed interest in Livia at the time of her deification in the beginning of Claudius' reign.³⁵³

The large north and south porticoes created a uniquely narrow courtyard that functioned more “like a processional way” leading up to the temple.³⁵⁴ Smith, noting this unusual architecture for the east, suggests the Julian and Augustan *fora* in Rome as

³⁵² One family, brothers Menander and Eusebes with his wife Apphias, sponsored the construction of the monumental gate and the north portico. The other family, Diogenes and his brother's wife Attalis (in honour of her husband Attalus, who seems to have already died), sponsored the construction of the temple and the south portico. See Joyce M. Reynolds, “New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias,” *ZPE* 43 (1981): 317-327. Also, Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 90; Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*, 81-84.

³⁵³ Reynolds, “New Evidence for the Imperial Cult,” 317-318. Livia is also mentioned in the inscription on the temple sponsored by the same family. A possible depiction of Livia can be seen in a surviving panel relief from the south portico of an ‘Empress Sacrificing.’ See Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 125-127 (pl. 22 and 23).

³⁵⁴ Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 93.

possible models, though with innovative elements suited to the local space. As one moved through the courtyard, reliefs emerged from the second and third storeys of both porticoes. The panel reliefs depicted personifications of *ethnē*, allegorical figures, familiar Greek mythology, and representations of the imperial family.³⁵⁵

Of the panels depicting imperial family members, two from the eastern end of the south portico stand out in particular due to their brutal imagery of conquest. The first (plate 1a) presents the emperor Claudius standing over a personified Britannia. Claudius is mostly naked—in the idealised heroic style—wearing only a cloak, helmet, belt (for a sword), and small circular shield on his left arm. Britannia too is scantily clad, struggling to prevent her entire body from being exposed. Claudius has her pinned down with his right knee and is pulling her head back by her ‘barbarian’ styled hair. The panel captures her ‘death scene’: Britannia, raising her finger, attempts to plead for mercy while Claudius readies himself to deliver the *coup de grâce*. In the second panel (plate 1b), and partner to the Claudius panel, we see a similar scene, but this time featuring the emperor Nero and a personified Armenia. Armenia has collapsed at the feet of Nero, while he holds her by both arms. Nero is also depicted in the idealised heroic style, wearing a helmet, cloak, and belt. Armenia is naked, wearing only an eastern style hat and cloak.

These scenes carved into both panels work on several levels. At one level, they communicated Roman conquest and imperialism to a local community who were negotiating their own position within the empire. At another level, the scenes were presented in a more familiar local idiom. Smith notes they were modelled on Greek mythology, specifically Amazonomachies. This worked to situate the Julio-Claudians in the east and to incorporate them among the Olympian gods.³⁵⁶ Smith also suggests the overt communicative element of these mythic battle scenes—the deaths of the ‘barbarian’ women—pushed imperial ideology beyond just subjugation to the death of

³⁵⁵ Smith connects this display of *ethnē* in the Sebasteion with, among others in Rome, the display of nations in Pompey’s theatre, discussed in chapter one. See Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 96.

³⁵⁶ This connection between the Olympian gods and the emperors was explicitly made in a later dedicatory inscription inscribed onto the north portico after an earthquake required renovations to be completed. The inscription names the emperors: Θεοὶ Σεβαστοὶ Ὀλύμπιοι. See Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 136; Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*, 84. The elevation of emperors among divine figures in the provinces was part of the way power structured social relations throughout the empire. As Smith, “Imperial Reliefs,” 136., notes: “The divine emperors are added to the old gods, not as successors or replacements, but as a new branch of the Olympian pantheon. Such simple equivalence of divine status was avoided at Rome both conceptually and in art.”

- Φαμιλίας • μονομά
 χων • καὶ καταδί
 κων • Τιβερίου • Κλαυ
 4 δίου • Παυλείνου
 ἀρχιερέως • υἱοῦ • Τι (sic)
 [β]ερίου • Κλαυδίου
 [...]



FIGURE 14. The *familia* inscription of high priest Ti. Claudius Pauleinus, from Aphrodisias

Translation: (The memorial) of the *familia gladiatoria* and convicts of Tiberius Claudius Pauleinus, high priest, son of Tiberius Claudius [...]

conquered nations; this reality was not typically depicted in the art and ideology in Rome.³⁵⁷

Having moved through the courtyard and passed the panel reliefs, one arrived at the steps leading up to the temple, in which imperial priests would have made various sacrifices. Beyond these cultic practices, priests and priestesses drawn from the local elite played a central role in the production of imperial festivals, including gladiatorial spectacles. An important first century CE inscription records a troupe (*familia*) of gladiators and criminals owned by the local imperial cult high priest in Aphrodisias, Ti. Claudius Pauleinus (see figure 14).³⁵⁸ This inscription not only honours Pauleinus and his troupe of performers, but also commemorates his sponsorship of a *munus* in which his troupe performed.

On the day(s) of the *munus*, we might imagine Pauleinus offering a sacrifice at the Sebasteion and then leading a procession through Aphrodisias to the site of gladiatorial spectacles. In the previous chapter, we spent our time examining the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres. The amphitheatre in Corinth was a key monument in the city

³⁵⁷ See Smith, "Imperial Reliefs," 117.

³⁵⁸ *IAPH2007* 4.104. See Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 62, no.13, pl.VIII.13; Anne C. Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs and Elite Funerary Monuments," in *Aphrodisias Paper 4: New Research on the City and its Monuments* (eds. C. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith; JRASup. 70; Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2008), 205-206, no.3, fig.4.

that conveyed both its colonial history and its Romanness. In the east, however, amphitheatres were rarely constructed. Instead, already existing buildings—theatres and stadiums—were renovated to incorporate Roman style entertainment.

One of the earliest theatres to be renovated for gladiatorial spectacles was the theatre of Dionysus in Athens (see figure 10, plate 11a). The first few rows of seats were removed and a parapet wall was erected around the *orchestra* turned *arena*. There is also evidence that a netting system was erected just in front of the wall.³⁵⁹ Both the wall and nets were introduced to protect the Athenian audience from the violent entertainments. These changes have been connected to the high priest of the imperial cult, Ti. Claudius Novius, in the reign of Nero.³⁶⁰ However, most theatres in the east did not go through similar renovations until the second or third-centuries CE. This includes the theatre in Aphrodisias, renovated for the display of gladiatorial spectacles in the second-century. For the spectacles of Pauleinus, and any others sponsored during the first-century, the stadium provided the best location (plate 10). The traditional site for athletic competitions, the size of the stadium was ideal for gladiatorial spectacles, including large scale *venationes*.³⁶¹ Pauleinus' troupe—both gladiators and criminals—performed for the local Aphrodisian community. These brutal scenes, exhibited in the stadium, were not just physically connected to the Sebasteion by the procession, but ideologically connected, via the imperial cult, to the scenes of domination displayed in the courtyard of the Sebasteion. The condemned criminals, in particular, inhabiting the subjugated space of Britannia and Armenia.

The various elements of the imperial cult that we have explored so far in Asia Minor, at both the provincial and local level, were also present in Corinth with local variations. The local imperial cult in Corinth, as Mary Walbank has shown, can be dated to the foundations of the Roman colony in 44 BCE.³⁶² This is expected, given “the Corinthians regarded Julius Caesar as the founder of their colony.”³⁶³ An inscription, dated to the earliest period of Roman Corinth, provides material evidence for the existence of a cult

³⁵⁹ For the discovery of holes used to erect a netting system in the pavement just in front of the parapet wall, see Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 165.

³⁶⁰ See Spawforth, “Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens,” 183-201; Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 169.

³⁶¹ For an architectural and archaeological study of the stadium at Aphrodisias, see Katherine E. Welch, “The Stadium at Aphrodisias,” *AJA* 102 (1998): 547-569; eadem, “Greek Stadia and Roman Spectacles: Asia, Athens, and the Tomb of Herodes Atticus,” *JRA* 11 (1998): 117-145.

³⁶² Walbank, “Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth,” 201-213. Walbank's article is the most influential work done on the local imperial cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth and my outline of the initial stage of the cult follows Walbank's insights.

³⁶³ Walbank, “Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth,” 201.



FIGURE 15. Temple of Apollo (possibly also the *gens Iulia* temple), from the southeast

dedicated to their founder: “[Sacred] to the deified Julius Caesar” (DIVO IVL[IO] CAESARI [SACRUM]).³⁶⁴ Walbank also notes the possibility that Marc Antony, influential in the early period of the colony and himself a *flamen Divi Iulii*, may have been involved in initiating and establishing a cult to *Divus Iulius* in Corinth.³⁶⁵ In the decades that followed, the cult of Julius Caesar was subsumed by the *domus Augusta* and the various cults that emerged dedicated to the imperial family members. Throughout the Julio-Claudian period, Corinth’s enthusiasm for imperial cults is well attested in various media, including inscriptions, coins, and statues.³⁶⁶

The most controversial aspect of the imperial cult in Corinth continues to be the identification of the *gens Iulia* temple, that is the imperial cult temple. Two strong

³⁶⁴ *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 50.

³⁶⁵ Walbank, “Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth,” 202.

³⁶⁶ See Walbank, “Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth,” 201-213. Also see Bookidis, “Religion in Corinth,” 156. Bookidis notes: “At least sixty-two inscriptions make reference to the imperial cult, beginning with an altar to Divus Iulius. A statue in the middle of the forum was erected by the Augustales to Divus Augustus. Dedications to the Lares Augusti, Saturnus Augustus, and subsidiary cults such as providential Augusti, Salus Publica, and Victoria Britannica were also all related to the imperial cult.” For the Augustales monument, see figure 9.

possibilities have been proposed: Temple E, overlooking the forum to the west, and the Temple of Apollo, to the north.³⁶⁷ Unfortunately, without any new evidence, the exact identification of the imperial cult temple remains unclear. However, I am inclined towards the arguments put forward by Walbank for locating the imperial cult in the Temple of Apollo (figure 15).

The existence of an imperial cult temple in Corinth can be inferred from its representation, including the inscription of GENT(IS) or (I) IVLI(AE) on the architrave of the temple image, on the coins of the *duoviri*, L. Arrius Peregrinus and L. Furius Labeo, in 32-33 or 33-34 CE.³⁶⁸ These coins were, Walbank proposes,

a multiple anniversary issue commemorating the original dedication of a temple early in the life of the colony when the cult of *Divus Iulius* was inaugurated, and that it was combined with other significant dates in the Roman calendar: the 20th anniversary of the death of Augustus and the accession of Tiberius, the 60th anniversary of the *res publica restituta* of 27 BCE, and the 50th anniversary of the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BCE. It is the kind of multiple anniversary that was widely celebrated both at Rome and on the provincial coinages.³⁶⁹

Since the inauguration of the cult can be established so early in the life of the colony, before it had developed and prospered, it seems more plausible to assume the early colonists utilised an existing structure that survived the sack of Mummius, rather than construct a new temple for the cult. The restoration and renovation of the surviving Temple of Apollo makes it an attractive candidate for housing the imperial cult.³⁷⁰ Evidence of modifications made to the Temple of Apollo may also indicate the introduction of a new deity into the sanctuary. The co-habitation of various imperial

³⁶⁷ On the identification of Temple E as the imperial cult temple, see Charles K. Williams, "A Re-Evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth," in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire* (eds. S. Walker and A. Cameron; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989), 156-162. On the identification of the Temple of Apollo as the imperial cult temple, and Temple E as the Capitolium, see Mary E. Hoskins Walbank, "Pausanias, Octavia and Temple E at Corinth," *BSA* 84 (1989): 361-394; eadem, "Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth," 201-213; eadem, "Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; NovTSup. 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 156-162.

³⁶⁸ Walbank, "Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth," 202. For the issue of coins of Peregrinus and Labeo, see *Corinth* VI, nos. 40-43; *RPC* I, nos. 1151-61.

³⁶⁹ Walbank, "Image and Cult," 158.

³⁷⁰ The Temple of Apollo was among a number of public buildings in Corinth—including the South Stoa and the Peirene Fountain—that mostly survived the sack of Mummius in 146 BCE. For a recent discussion and bibliography related to the interim period between the sack of Corinth and the foundation of the Roman colony, see Sarah A. James, "The Last of the Corinthians? Society and Settlement from 146 to 44 BCE," in *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality* (eds. Steven J. Friesen, et al.; NovTSup. 155; Leiden: Brill, 2014), 17-37. Given the first major phase of new monumental constructions probably did not begin until the middle of the Augustan period (at the earliest), the utilisation of existing buildings would have been essential for the early colonists in Corinth. See Stansbury, "Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict," 212-227; Walbank, "Foundation and Planning," 123-124; Scotton, "Imperial Cult and Imperial Reconciliation," 75-84.

cults with local deities was a common occurrence in the east.³⁷¹ The Temple of Apollo as a site for the imperial cult is further strengthened by the appropriation of Apollo by both Julius Caesar and Augustus. Augustus, then Octavian, adopted the imagery of the god, taking “on the role of the protégé of Apollo,”³⁷² early in his conflicts; first with Sextus Pompey and then Marc Antony. After these victories, Augustus built a temple to Apollo, dedicated in 28 BCE, fulfilling a vow made in 36 BCE during his battle with Sextus Pompey. The temple itself was built atop the Palatine hill right next to the house of Augustus; the two structures may have even been connected by a ramp.³⁷³ These developments, and Corinth’s well known attentiveness to Rome, made the Temple of Apollo in Corinth an ideal site for emperor worship.

The *gens Iulia* coin issue commemorating the dedication of this temple, as well as various anniversaries related to Augustus and Tiberius, also hints at the various celebrations during imperial cult festivals in Corinth. These festivals included priestly sacrifices at the temple, banquets, processions that connected the various cultic sites to the local entertainment structures, and the spectacles themselves. In Corinth, this would have included the Temple of Apollo, the Julian Basilica at the east end of the forum, the various temples at the west end, and the theatre and amphitheatre.³⁷⁴ An instructive inscription from Pompeii, detailing festivals in honour of Apollo, offers a depiction of the variety of events involved and the munificence on display:

Aulus Clodius Flaccus, son of Aulus, of the Menenian voting-tribe, duumvir with judicial power three times, quinquennial, military tribune by popular demand. In his first duumvirate, at the games of Apollo in the Forum (he presented) a procession, bulls, bull-fighters, and their fleet-footed helpers, three pairs of stage-fighters, boxers fighting in bands, and Greek-style pugilists; also (he presented) games with every musical entertainment, pantomime, and Pylades; and he gave 10,000 sesterces to the public coffers. In return for his second duumvirate, which was also his quinquennial duumvirate, at the games of Apollo (he presented) in the Forum a procession, bulls, bull-fighters and their fleet-footed helpers, and boxers fighting in bands; on the next day in the Amphitheatre (he presented) by himself thirty pairs of athletes and five pairs of gladiators, and with his colleague (he presented) thirty-five pairs of gladiators and a hunt with bulls, bull-fighters, boars, bears, and the other hunt-variations. In his third

³⁷¹ For the joint use of an existing temple to local deities, See Price, *Rituals and Power*, 146-156; Friesen, *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John*, 62-65.

³⁷² For Octavian’s appropriation of Apollo as his patron deity during these conflicts, see Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (trans. Alan Shapiro; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988), 33-77, quotation at 48.

³⁷³ On the proximity of the temple of Apollo to the house of Augustus, see Favro, *Augustan Rome*, 204.

³⁷⁴ The Julian Basilica and the theatre have preserved the largest concentration of material evidence for the imperial cult in Corinth. See Scotton, “Julian Basilica,” 253-254; idem, “Imperial Cult and Imperial Reconciliation,” 78.

duumvirate (he presented) with his colleague games by a foremost troupe, with extra musical entertainment. (*CIL* X 1074d = *ISL* 5053.4)³⁷⁵

While these various events in Pompeii were sponsored during the magistracies of Aulus Clodius Flaccus, similar festivals, as we have seen in Aphrodisias and elsewhere, were also sponsored in the east by imperial cult priests. Having established a temple for the imperial cult in Corinth, we can take a closer look at certain priests that would have played a central role in the cultic life of the colony, including their sponsorship of elaborate festivals.

Beyond the early inscription to the deified Julius Caesar mentioned above, an inscription carved on an architrave block, interestingly, identifies two donors of a building complex, L. Hermidius Celsus and L. Rutilius, as priests of Apollo Augustus.³⁷⁶ The architrave block may have belonged to a small shrine (*aedes*) mentioned in the inscription. Along with the construction of the *aedes*, the inscription also mentions a statue of Apollo Augustus and ten shops as part of the complex sponsored by the two priests, with the help of two other members from the Hermidii family. Not long after this period, the *Augustales*, also connected to the imperial cult, erected the large bronze statue of the deified Augustus in the forum (see figure 9).

However, it is in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, during the time of Paul's visits and correspondence with members of the Corinthian *ekklēsia*, that we see interesting developments in the imperial cults. As I mentioned in chapter 1, Ti. Claudius Dinippus, one of the most celebrated men in Corinth, was a priest of the newly established cult of *Victoria Britannica*.³⁷⁷ Claudius' military victories were celebrated in Rome with elaborate spectacles and a large-scale re-enactment of a battle in Britain. The emergence of the cult in Corinth, just like the panel relief from the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (plate 1a), is an example of provincial responses to the celebrations associated with Rome's militarism and imperialism under Claudius. It is possible that similar events would have been produced in Corinth by Dinippus to commemorate Claudius' accomplishments.

At the same time as the emergence of Dinippus, several provincial Greek figures arrived in Corinth, contributing to a shift in the composition of the Corinthian elite.

³⁷⁵ Translation from Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 65, D11.

³⁷⁶ *Corinth* VIII.2, no. 120. The identification of the benefactors as priests of Apollo Augustus was suggested by Allen West in his reconstruction: L • HERMIDIVS CELSVS • ET • L • RVTILIVS[- - - - - SACERDOTES APOLLINIS] | AVGVSTI • ET • L • HERMID[IVS] MAXIMVS ET L • HERMIDIVS[- - - - -] | AEDem • ET • STATVAM • APOLLINIS AVGVSTI • ET • TABERNAŞ DECEM.

³⁷⁷ See *Corinth* VIII.2, nos. 86-90, VIII.3, nos. 158-163.

According to Anthony Spawforth, with the appearance of Cn. Cornelius Pulcher from the famous Corneli of Epidauros and C. Iulius Laco and his son C. Iulius Spartiacus from the Euryclids of Sparta, Corinth had become an attractive prospect for wealthy provincial elites to gain closer contact to the “seat of Roman officialdom in the province” and to pursue positions within “Roman administrative initiatives.”³⁷⁸ This shift seemed to be mutually beneficial. Corinth gained benefactors wealthy enough to sponsor the expensive spectacles staged during their festivals and these provincial Greek elites, in the words of Benjamin Millis, now “saw Corinth as a suitable stage for distributing largesse and gaining prestige as one step on the rungs of imperial service.”³⁷⁹

Pulcher arrived in Corinth from a distinguished Epidaurean family active in the imperial cult at Epidauros.³⁸⁰ Pulcher’s presidency of the Isthmian games, attested in a Delphic inscription, has been dated by Allen West to 43 CE.³⁸¹ He briefly appears in the Corinthian record in a fragmented inscription honouring his assistant (*isagogeus*) of these same games.³⁸² However, we may recover more details about Pulcher in Corinth if Mika Kajava is correct in his rereading of *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 153.³⁸³ The inscription honours a wealthy individual, name now lost, who held the offices of *aedile*, *praefectus iure dicundo*, *duovir*, *duovir quinquennalis*, and *agonothetes* of both the imperial games and the Isthmian and Caesarean games. This individual, the first to hold the Isthmian festival back at the Isthmian Sanctuary of Poseidon since the sack of Corinth, also presided over games that introduced a poetry contest to the deified Julia Augusta, that is Livia ([*carmina ad Iulia*] *m diva*[*m Au*] *g(ustam)* [l.9])—probably held in the theatre in Corinth (see plate 3b)—and a contest for maidens (*virginum certamen* [ll.9-10]).³⁸⁴ He sponsored the renovation of buildings connected to the Caesarean games and a public banquet for all the inhabitants of the colony.

³⁷⁸ Spawforth, “Roman Corinth,” 174.

³⁷⁹ Millis, “Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” 42-43.

³⁸⁰ See Allen B. West, “Notes on Achaean Prosopography and Chronology,” *CPh* 23 (1928): 268. For the career of Pulcher’s father, Γναίος Κορνήλιος Νικάτας, see *RP* I ARG 114. For the career of Pulcher, see *RP* I ARG 116, COR 226.

³⁸¹ See *FD* III. 1.534 = *SIG*³ 802. On the dating of the *agonothesia* and for Pulcher in general, see West, “Notes on Achaean Prosopography and Chronology,” 258-269.

³⁸² See *Corinth* VIII.3, no. 173.

³⁸³ Mika Kajava, “When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus? (Rereading *Corinth* 8.3.153),” *CPh* 97 (2002): 168-178.

³⁸⁴ Kajava, “When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus?,” 174., in discussing the ‘contest of the maidens,’ notes the use of the term *certamen* for various contests exhibited in both the circus or the arena.

Reading in *l.14* the *cognomen* Regulus (the son of the honorand), John Kent suggested that this inscription was set up in honour of either L. Castricius Regulus, *duovir quinquennalis* during the reign of Tiberius, or Cn. Publicius Regulus, *duovir* in 50/51 CE. Kent ultimately favoured the former, L. Castricius Regulus. Elizabeth Gebhard, in light of the archaeological record at the Isthmus, lent towards the latter Cn. Publicius Regulus.³⁸⁵ Kajava, however, identifies Pulcher as the honorand. This identification, Kajava argues persuasively, makes better sense of the details in the honorific inscription. The new poetry contests honouring the deified Livia reflect Pulcher's connection to the imperial cult.³⁸⁶ Also, as we observed with the dedication to Livia in Aphrodisias, the new contest in honour of Livia is better situated in the Claudian period, as close as possible to the official deification of Livia in 42 CE. If Pulcher is the honorand, then the inscription honours the benefactions connected to his presidency in 43 CE, referred to in the Delphic inscription.

Finally, Pulcher, in connection with his sponsorship of the games, also sponsored a building project in the colony and a lavish public banquet. The building renovations are particularly interesting because they are renovations of sites associated with the Caesarean games, held in Corinth at this time. Kajava speculates on possible buildings that could have been renovated, noting, "it is difficult to think of buildings other than the theatre and the odeum that would have been related to the Caesarea, unless the program included *venationes* and gladiatorial events staged in the amphitheater."³⁸⁷ Beyond these provocative thoughts, we can say that a picture emerges of a provincial Greek elite who arrived in Corinth and spent a substantial amount, within the established power structures, towards his own social advancement.

But, as we already know, Pulcher was not the only wealthy provincial elite to arrive in Corinth during this period. The Spartan dynasts, Laco and Spartiaticus, flourished in

³⁸⁵ Elizabeth R. Gebhard, "The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the Early Empire," in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period* (ed. Timothy E. Gregory; JRA Sup. 8; Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993), 78-94. The archaeological record at Isthmia is significant for identifying the president of the games because, as the inscription emphasises, this president was the first to hold the games at the Isthmian sanctuary. Gebhard reveals the lack of any activity in the archaeological record from the Augustan period until the middle of the first century CE. This suggests that the return of the games to Isthmia did not happen until the middle of the first century, ruling out L. Castricius Regulus in the Tiberian period.

³⁸⁶ Kajava, "When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus?," 174-175., connects these poetry contests in honour of Livia with a list of victors of the Caesarea found in *Corinth* VIII.1, no. 19. In this list, the poet Γάιος Κάσσιος Φλάκκος from Syracuse is named the victor with a poem to θεάν 'Ιουλίαν Σεβαστήν (Livia) II.9-11. Also on the list, Γάιος 'Ιούλιος 'Ιων from Corinth won with poems to Augustus and Tiberius, revealing the celebrations not only included honours to the newly deified Livia, but also to the past emperors.

³⁸⁷ Kajava, "When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus?," 175n.46. For all three sites, see plates 2a, 3a, and 3b.

the colony. I have already outlined in chapter one their rise to prominence through the various colonial offices. Now we can focus on their priesthoods, Laco as *flamen Augusti* and Spartiaticus as *flamen divi Iulii*. These were local imperial cult priesthoods; the *flamen* of deified Julius reaching all the way back to the foundations of the colony. These priesthoods would have required the organisation and presentation of many of the cultic and festive events outlined above. It is also possible that these priests would have commissioned similar imperial statuary observed in Aphrodisias and Ancyra.

A group of imperial statues, along with fragmented dedicatory inscriptions, were discovered in the Julian Basilica at the east end of the forum.³⁸⁸ The basilica, the seat of the imperial court of law, was one of the key sites for imperial sculpture in Corinth.³⁸⁹ The group includes a statue of Augustus, as a priest, and his two adopted sons—Gaius and Lucius—represented in heroic nudity (see plate 4). Scholars have suggested that the representations of Gaius and Lucius assimilate them to the Dioskouroi.³⁹⁰ Catherine de Grazia Vanderpool, provocatively, connects these statues to possible Spartan patrons, who looked to the famous representations of Dioskouroi created by Antiphanes of Argos for the Spartan victory monument for inspiration.³⁹¹

The identification of Spartan patrons almost inevitably suggests Laco and Spartiaticus, “the ubiquitous Euryklids.”³⁹² An additional statue associated with the imperial group has been identified as Julius Caesar, the founder of the colony (figure 16).³⁹³ The statue is on a larger scale than the others and god-like in its representation. In an early assessment, E. Swift concluded that the statue must be “the central and most important figure of the entire assemblage,” and is “none other than the Divine Julius himself.”³⁹⁴ Spartiaticus’ priesthood, *flamen divi Iulii*, in this same period contributes to the speculative connection between the imperial statuary and their potential Spartan patrons.

³⁸⁸ For the imperial group: Deified Julius (S-1098); Augustus (S-1116); Gaius (S-1065); Lucius (S-1080); Nero (S-1088); cuirassed figure (S-1081). See Diana E. E. Kleiner, *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 72-75; Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 138-139; de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 369-384. See figure 1 for the portrait of Nero (S-1088).

³⁸⁹ The concentration of imperial cult dedications in the Julian Basilica were second only to the theatre. See Scotton, “Julian Basilica,” 263; idem, “Imperial Cult and Imperial Reconciliation,” 78. For the Julian Basilica at the east end of the Corinthian forum, see the foreground of plate 2b.

³⁹⁰ See Rose, *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture*, 139; de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 376-377; de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 376-377.

³⁹¹ See de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 377.

³⁹² de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 379.

³⁹³ The fragment of the statue that remains—preserved from the base of the neck down to the knees—measures 1.52 metres, giving an indication of its original, colossal size.

³⁹⁴ E. H. Swift, “A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth. IV. The Four Torsos,” *AJA* 26 (1922): 134. Also see de Grazia Vanderpool, “Roman Portraiture,” 378.



FIGURE 16. Colossal statue of *Divus Iulius*; from the Julian Basilica.

The size and style of the statue associates it with the gods, possibly Jupiter, and suggests that this statue was the central figure among the group of imperial statues from the Julian Basilica (see figure 1, plate 4).

The developments that we have traced throughout the history of the colony reveals the importance of the various imperial cults in the everyday life of Roman Corinth. By the middle of the first-century CE, and with the arrival of wealthy provincial elites to the colony, vast amounts were being spent on imperial festivals and various expressions of loyalty to the imperial family. The Calpurnian tribe explicitly attest to the liberality of Spartiaticus in the inscription they set up in his honour: “on account of his virtue and unsparing and most lavish generosity both to the divine family and to our colony” (*ob v[i]rtutem eius et animosam f[usi]ss[im]amque erga domum divinam et erga coloniam nostr(am) munificentiam*).³⁹⁵

It is in this same inscription of Spartiaticus that we see the culmination of the developments of the various imperial cults in Corinth. The office of “high priest of the house of Augustus,” climaxing Spartiaticus’ *cursus honorum*, was the newly established priesthood of the Achaean *koinon*.³⁹⁶ Spartiaticus was “the first of the Achaeans” to hold this office and held it “for life” (*[in] perpetuum*). Antony Spawforth has argued persuasively that Spartiaticus was elected to this new office in 54 CE, in celebration of the accession of Nero. Spawforth also observes that the focus of this new cult was an

³⁹⁵ *Corinth* VIII.2, no.68.

³⁹⁶ In what follows, I am indebted to Antony Spawforth for his reconstruction of this the new imperial cult for Nero on his accession in 54 CE. See Spawforth, “Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult,” 211-232.

annual imperial festival featuring *venationes* and gladiatorial combats held in Corinth, the provincial capital.³⁹⁷ The amphitheatre in Corinth would have been the most suitable site for these provincial celebrations and the costs would have been extensive. Spartiaticus would have paid a substantial amount as high priest and sponsor, though the various associated cities throughout the province were obliged to contribute to their financing.³⁹⁸

For these first provincial celebrations in 54 CE, we might imagine the most extravagant gladiatorial spectacles produced in Corinth to date, celebrating the accession of Nero and the establishment of the new imperial cult by the Achaean *koinon*. Spartiaticus would have sought to procure exotic animals; source criminals to execute, possibly as part of mythological re-enactments; and present famous, professional gladiators.³⁹⁹ Spectators would have travelled from the surrounding areas and the wider region. Following sacrifices, banquets, and a procession out to the amphitheatre, the city council, various priests, and the visiting delegates from the province would have sat alongside Spartiaticus in the *ima cavea*. Other Corinthian citizens, possibly sat by tribe, filled the *media cavea*; while itinerant and seasonal workers, women, and even some slaves were stuck in the nosebleed section at the top (*summa cavea*). And it is exactly these types of lavish spectacles that we see commemorated across all media in the ancient world, so that the glory attributed to the sponsor would continue long after the events themselves.

³⁹⁷ Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult," 226-227.

³⁹⁸ At the time of the first high-priest, Spartiaticus, it is thought that the cult was provincial, including the Achaean *koinon* and several smaller *koina*, or at least the cult represented the province. It is the various cities in these *koina* who were obliged to contribute to the financing of the imperial festival. At the end of the first-century, a letter on behalf of Argos, preserved in the Letters of Julian (no.28), presents a dispute between Argos and Corinth over the financing of the same imperial festival. Argos was seeking an exemption from contributing to the substantial cost of the annual imperial festival due to the cost of holding their own panhellenic games (the Nemean games). The author of the letter also attempts to protest the financing of spectacles that were "neither Hellenic nor ancient" (409a). Instead, the enormous costs, requiring financing from Argos and other member cities, were due to the procurement of bears and panthers for *venationes*. The fact that gladiators were not mentioned as part of the cost borne by other cities might suggest that the high priest of the imperial cult paid for the gladiators or owned his own troupe. See Spawforth, "Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult," 212; Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 174-175.

³⁹⁹ See Apul. *Met.* 10.18, for the fictional organisation of gladiatorial spectacles in Corinth.

The Representation of the Arena

Recent work on the spectacles in antiquity has seen the collaboration of historians, philologists, archaeologists, and art historians grappling with the range and interconnectedness of different elements of the spectacles. In her introduction to the edited volume on ancient spectacle, Bettina Bergmann describes an “extremely flexible and polysemantic *visual language*” inspired by the spectacles displayed in various forms of media.⁴⁰⁰ This is a language containing a “shared vocabulary of visual signs and patterns that, despite their endless inflections, spoke across vast distances and to diverse segments of the population.”⁴⁰¹

Part of the reproduction of images of gladiators in the community reflected, as I have said, the desire to maintain the glory attributed to the sponsor of the spectacles long after the events themselves had passed. After life-like portraits of gladiators were displayed on public porticoes in the time of Nero, Pliny mentions that portraits of gladiators exhibited in public were a long-held tradition in Rome starting with Gaius Terentius Lucanus in the second-century BCE:

When a freedman of Nero was giving at Anzio a gladiatorial show, the public porticoes were covered with paintings, so we are told, containing life-like portraits of all the gladiators and assistants. This portraiture of gladiators has been the highest interest in art for many generations now; but it was Gaius Terentius Lucanus who began the practice of having pictures made of gladiatorial shows and exhibited in public; in honour of his grandfather who had adopted him he provided thirty pairs of gladiators in the forum for three consecutive days, and exhibited a picture of their matches in the Grove of Diana. (*HN* 35.52)

We find similar paintings commemorating gladiators and gladiatorial spectacles in Pompeii, especially on the occasion these spectacles led to a city-wide riot (see plate 5b).⁴⁰² In Pompeii, we also see gladiatorial imagery inscribed into the walls of stores and houses. Graffiti drawings of gladiators in combat have been found throughout the city, revealing both their popularity and their infusion into everyday life.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰ Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 27 (italics mine). Bergmann also states: “Obviously, spectators at events, readers or hearers of texts, and viewers of art require different stimuli, and these modes of communication need to be distinguished. But the fact that such varied media were interdependent, that they were regularly combined and referred to each other, points to a social phenomenon larger than the passing event, to a framework of thought that was inspired by spectacles” 13.

⁴⁰¹ Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 25. For a recent study on civic munificence and its flowering in the first and second centuries CE, and its connection with festivals and gladiatorial games in Asia Minor, see Zuiderhoek, *Politics of Munificence*, esp. 86-109.

⁴⁰² See Clarke, *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans*, 152-158; Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 39-105; Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 65-84.

⁴⁰³ See Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 49-51; Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 75-79.

Beyond paintings and graffiti, however, it is the range of media exhibiting gladiatorial imagery that demonstrates the notion of an ancient society saturated by spectacle, to recall the words of Eric Gunderson in the introduction. Spectacles were, as Bergmann notes, “memorialized in scattered fragments of nearly all expressive media in antiquity, from mundane household objects to monuments of contemplation: finger rings, clay lamps, glassware, silver, painting, mosaic, inscriptions, coins, reliefs, texts, and architecture.”⁴⁰⁴

Of these, the appropriation of gladiatorial imagery on discus-scenes of cheap oil lamps is particularly significant for our purposes in establishing spectacle landscapes.⁴⁰⁵ The everyday use of small oil lamps by all classes literally carried the images of the arena into every space of ancient society. As Oscar Broneer says in his introduction to lamps in Corinth, they “were in common use in every home, hence were broken and thrown away at all times; and, unlike articles made of metal, each lamp can have been used only for a comparatively short period.”⁴⁰⁶ This makes the use of gladiatorial imagery on such ordinary, disposable objects all the more extraordinary. Among scenes from myth and everyday life, the mass production and consumption of arena scenes on lamps from Rome, Corinth, and throughout the empire gestures to the extent of their popularity (see plate 14 for a small sample from Corinth).⁴⁰⁷ And, it is in light of this popularity that we can turn to take a closer look at another form of vivid, but far more complex, media celebrating gladiatorial spectacles in the various landscapes of the Greek East.

Roadside Commemorative Monuments

Louis Robert, in his ground breaking work on gladiators in the Greek East, examined a series of inscriptions concerned with the ownership of gladiatorial troupes in the cities

⁴⁰⁴ Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 10.

⁴⁰⁵ For gladiatorial imagery on discus-scenes of Roman and provincial oil lamps, including Corinth, see *Corinth* IV.2, 172-206, 256-257; Donald M. Bailey, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy* (London: British Museum Publications, 1980), 51-56; idem, *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 3: Roman Provincial Lamps* (London: British Museum Publications, 1988), 55-59, 401-405 (Corinth).

⁴⁰⁶ *Corinth* IV.2, 4.

⁴⁰⁷ On the representation of gladiators on the discus-scenes of Roman lamps made in Italy in the collection of the British Museum, Donald M. Bailey comments: “Gladiators were a popular subject for the decoration of lamps, and many examples of Italian with such scenes, dating from Augustan times to the Severan period are found in the Museum’s collection. They were more popular during the first century ad than later.” Bailey, *BMC 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy*, 51.

of Asia.⁴⁰⁸ These inscriptions included variations on the formula: “The *familia gladiatoria* and memorial of beast hunts of a certain person” (φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων τοῦ δεῖνος).⁴⁰⁹ Robert speculated that these *familia* documents were not isolated inscriptions, but would have been accompanied by a series of reliefs representing the events of the *munus*, including gladiators in combat, *venatores* hunting wild animals, and condemned criminals being led to their death. Robert described many of these reliefs as “*les disjecta membra d’ensembles monumentaux*,”⁴¹⁰ properly belonging together with a *familia* inscription producing a complete commemorative monument. These inscriptions acted as the centrepiece for the entire complex, announcing and accompanying the reliefs.⁴¹¹

Michael Carter, building on the work of Robert, cites twenty-five known *familia* inscriptions of this particular type, all from Asia.⁴¹² Twenty-three of which indicate gladiatorial ownership by imperial cult officials. These inscriptions typically cite the troupe of gladiators,⁴¹³ naming the owner in the genitive, and stating his office, either as high priest (ἀρχιερεύς) or asiarch (ἀσιάρχης).⁴¹⁴ Several inscriptions also identify the official’s wife as a high priestess (ἀρχιέρεια), co-owner of the troupe, and co-sponsor of the *munus*. The brevity of these inscriptions, Carter notes, succinctly identifies the owner(s) of the troupe of gladiators and associates them with the most important elements in the monument, the images representing the *munus*.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁸ Robert, *Gladiateurs*. At the time of Robert’s study there were eighteen inscriptions in this category of documents. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58.

⁴⁰⁹ See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 55-58; Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East,” 156-157. The variations include the addition of *taurokathapsiai* (bull-fights) or *katadikoi* (convicts condemned to death) as events in the *munus*, as well as *familia* appearing in the genitive following ὑπόμνημα. See the inscription from Hierapolis below.

⁴¹⁰ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 62.

⁴¹¹ Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 58.: “C’est, je pense, qu’ils ne sont pas proprement le monument commémoratif du munus; ils n’en sont que le titre, dirais-je. Ils n’étaient pas isolés. Les inscriptions μονομάχοι τοῦ δεῖνος annoncent et accompagnent une série de sculptures représentant les gladiateurs qui ont figuré dans le munus donné par un tel. Il faut y rattacher les représentations de combats et de chasses que nous avons réunies plus haut, et dont le titre serait: φамиλία μονομάχων καὶ ὑπόμνημα κυνηγεσίων.”

⁴¹² Michael J. Carter, “*Archiereis* and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective,” *GRBS* 44 (2004): 41-68. The *familia* inscriptions of this type have been found so far in Mytilene, Cos, Cyzicus, Parium, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus, Tralles, Hierapolis, Laodicea, Aphrodisias, Stratonicea, and Halicarnassus. See the appendix to Carter’s article. Also see Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East,” 156-168.

⁴¹³ Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East,” 162., argues that “[t]he significance of the expression, φамиλία μονομάχων, therefore has moved beyond the simple indication of a troop of gladiators to imply both gladiatorial combat itself and also the commemoration of that combat.”

⁴¹⁴ Of the twenty-three inscriptions attributed to imperial cult officials, Carter, “*Archiereis* and Asiarchs,” 44., notes “[n]ine identify the owner as an *archiereus* and another nine identify the owner as an asiarch. The remaining five do not reveal the office of the owner, either because it was not written or because the inscription is incomplete.”

⁴¹⁵ Carter, “*Archiereis* and Asiarchs,” 44-45 and 65. It is important to note the warning of privileging one medium over the other, text over image. Greg Woolf, “Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman

We have already discussed the importance of imperial cults in sponsoring gladiatorial spectacles in Corinth, Aphrodisias, Ancyra, and throughout the east. We have also already introduced one of the most important finds of the *familia* documents: the first-century *familia* inscription of the imperial cult priest, Ti. Claudius Pauleinus, in Aphrodisias (see figure 14).⁴¹⁶ The *familia* inscription would have been the centerpiece to a large monument containing a series of reliefs. The reliefs would have exhibited a troupe of gladiators owned by Pauleinus and other scenes of the *munus*, particularly the condemned convicts named in the inscription. This inscription, as is normally the case, was found separate from any gladiatorial reliefs. Robert suggested, therefore, that it is left to the interpreter to imaginatively recombine these centerpiece inscriptions with such reliefs.

Fortunately, Aphrodisias has provided a substantial body of evidence for gladiatorial reliefs. The corpus includes twenty-four altar and panel shaped reliefs, and eleven relief fragments of arena scenes in multiple registers.⁴¹⁷ The altar shaped reliefs offer detailed scenes of gladiators ready for battle, carved into high quality white marble (see plate 9b).⁴¹⁸ Both the altar and panel shaped reliefs frequently include an inscription of the gladiator's stage name in the nominative and occasionally his rank (*palus*).⁴¹⁹ The name normally indicates a valued attribute such as speed, beauty, or strength, and sometimes was taken from the heroes of Greek mythology (see plate 9).⁴²⁰ The representation of these individual gladiators on the altar and panel shaped reliefs, taken together, commemorate the troupes of gladiators that belonged to the local high priests in Aphrodisias.⁴²¹

Society in the Early Empire," *JRS* 86 (1996): 27., writes, "The ubiquity of images warns us against privileging the use of writing in this process of monumentalization. Writing was one mode of representation that might be used in any of the component parts...but non-written images could be used in place of each of these elements."

⁴¹⁶ There are currently three *familia* inscriptions of this type discovered from Aphrodisias, which all cite the title of *archiereus*. There are eight *familia* inscriptions from Ephesus, six citing the office of *asiarch*, with the remaining two inscriptions incomplete.

⁴¹⁷ For a catalogue of the gladiatorial inscriptions and reliefs from Aphrodisias, see Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 61-73; Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 203-229.

⁴¹⁸ For the reliefs in plate 9b, also see *I Aph 2007* 12.13; 12.621; 11.501.

⁴¹⁹ The gladiator's name in the nominative, instead of the dative, indicates that the relief is not dedicated to the gladiator, but is simply a representation of a gladiator who participated in the *munus*. See Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 159. Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 83, notes that 'stage names' developed "when gladiators were becoming stars by fighting and surviving several fights." For gladiator ranks, see the discussion above and plate 8.

⁴²⁰ Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 120-124., notes that 25% of stage names originate from Greek myth. See plate 9b for gladiator names, Patroclus, Fortis (strong), and Secundus (fortunate).

⁴²¹ See plate 9a for the inscription commemorating the *familia* of the Aphrodisian high priest M. Antonius Apellas Severinus, dated to the late second-century. A third *familia* inscription of the high priest Zeno

In the multi-register reliefs, we see displayed all of the events of *munera*: gladiators in combat, the execution of a defeated gladiator,⁴²² *venatores* fighting against various animals, and the execution of a condemned convict.⁴²³ In the vivid relief of the convict, a mostly naked man is trying to hold off a bear while it bites down on his right thigh.⁴²⁴ There is the possibility that the object depicted below the extended right arm of the man is a column to which he is tied, common in representations of *damnatio ad bestias*.⁴²⁵

The stylistic similarities of many of the reliefs from Aphrodisias permit the possibility that they formed a series of groups, constructing several monuments that emphasised the individual gladiators that made up the troupes in Aphrodisias and performed in the local *munera*.⁴²⁶ Charlotte Roueché, following Louis Robert, suggests the original locations of these monuments were both near the tombs of the high priests and the sites of entertainment themselves.⁴²⁷ Several gladiatorial reliefs, including the gladiator Patroclus (plate 9b), were found near the Aphrodisian stadium (plate 10a), the key site of gladiatorial spectacles in the city. The imaginative project of reassembling these large ornamental monuments allows us to see the celebration of the wealthy and influential citizens in Aphrodisias, in the office of high priest, and the continued celebration of gladiatorial spectacles spilling out of the arena into the landscape.

Hypsicles, dated to the end of the first-century, includes gladiators, condemned criminals, and 'bull-catchers.' See Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 63; Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 205.

⁴²² The fragment of the relief depicts the defeated gladiator lying face down with his arms outstretched. The victorious gladiator has stabbed the defeated gladiator in the right side of his back. See Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 222, fig. 33, cat. 32. For a similar depiction, see the relief of a gladiatorial execution from Apollonia that presents the defeated gladiator on all fours, while the victorious gladiator thrusts a sword through his back, in Golvin and Landes, *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs*, 193.

⁴²³ For the image of the condemned convict see Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 72, no. 41, pl. xi; Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 223, fig. 35, cat. 34. Welch, "Greek Stadia and Roman Spectacles," 122, n.12., interprets the relief as a depiction of a *venator* rather than a person condemned *ad bestias*.

⁴²⁴ The degree of nakedness portrayed identifies the figure as a condemned criminal distinct from the expert gladiator. See Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 79 and 92.

⁴²⁵ For an example of this from Hierapolis, see Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 518-522. Also see the famous Zliten mosaic in Katherine M. D. Dunbabin, *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 121.

⁴²⁶ See Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 199.

⁴²⁷ Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 62.

From the time of Robert's study published in 1940 up until 1994, Robert's intuition concerning the nature of these inscriptions and their connection to gladiatorial reliefs lacked direct evidence of a complete (or near complete) monument. All of the *familia* inscriptions were discovered isolated from any gladiatorial reliefs. However, by the end of 1994, new evidence was found confirming Robert's theory. A *familia* inscription (figure 17) and a series of marble slabs with gladiatorial reliefs were discovered in the necropolis to the north of Hierapolis in Phrygia.⁴²⁸ The inscription and reliefs are dated to the end of the second or beginning of the third-century CE, and provide the best example of a complete commemorative monument.

- vac.* Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ *vac.*
 Ὑπόμνημα φα
 μιλίας μονο •
 4 μάχων • καὶ κυ
 νηγεσίων • καὶ
 ταυροκαθαψί
 ων • Γναΐου • Ἀρ
 8 ρίου Ἀπουληΐ
 ου, • Αὐρηλιανοῦ
 ὑοῦ, χειλιάρ •
 χου καὶ ἄρ •
 12 χιερέως, • καὶ
 Αὐρηλίας Με
 λιτίνης Ἀττι
 κιανῆς, ἀρχιε
 16 ρείας, τῆς γυ •
 ναικὸς αὐτοῦ



FIGURE 17. The *familia* inscription of high priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius, from Hierapolis.

⁴²⁸ Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 443-543; SEG 46.1657-1661.

Translation: To Good Fortune. The memorial of the familia gladiatoria and of wild beast hunts and of bull fights of Gnaeus Arrius Apuleius, son of Aurelianus, tribunus militum and high priest, and of Aurelia Melitine Atticiana, high priestess, his wife.

The presence of Good Fortune (Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη) in line 1 and the use of ὑπόμνημα (or its equivalent μνήμα), with the identification of participants in the *munus*, indicate that these *familia* inscriptions were commemorative, celebrating the *munus*, rather than funerary.⁴²⁹ The *munus* in this particular inscription, produced by the local high priest of the imperial cult, Gnaeus Arrius Apuleius, and his wife, Aurelia Melitine Atticiana, included gladiatorial combats, beast hunts (κυνηγεσία/*venatio*), and the exotic bull-fights (ταυροκαθψίων) described by Pliny and Suetonius.⁴³⁰ These performances were represented in a series of reliefs found near the *familia* inscription.

Following the account of the inscription, the series included two hunting reliefs in two registers, a *venatio* and a *taurokathapsia* (figure 18), as well as five gladiatorial



FIGURE 18. The *venatio* (left) and *taurokathapsia* (right) presented by high priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius, from Hierapolis.

⁴²⁹ See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 57-58. While the monuments may have been erected in or near cemeteries, they were erected to memorialise the *munus* and their *editor*. Also see Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 64; Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 449; Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 158; Hrychuk Kontokosta, "Gladiatorial Reliefs," 196.

⁴³⁰ Cf. Pliny, *NH* 8.182; Suet. *Claud.* 21; also mentioned in Dio Cass. 61.9. See Welch, "Greek Stadia and Roman Spectacles," 123.

reliefs. The relief of the *venatio* portrays a rider on the back of a bull hunting a boar and a bear. Ritti and Yilmaz note that despite the relief being unitary, two separate moments of the hunt are being represented.⁴³¹ The first moment of the hunt has already passed with the boar lying dead on the ground in the upper right corner of the relief. The second moment is suggested by the living bear crouched down at the bottom of the relief still to be hunted. The relief depicting the *taurokathapsia* in two registers with a horizontal bar dividing the upper and lower parts of the relief, is clearly in two successive moments. In the upper register, a rider on horseback manoeuvres alongside the bull. In the lower, the rider has leapt from the horse onto the bull before killing it. The scene finishes with the rider knelt on the ground and the bull lying on its back with its feet in the air.

The five gladiatorial reliefs recovered, with the probability of at least one further relief now lost, make up three sets representing three different combats. The first two reliefs belong together, depicting two successive stages of a fight between a heavily armoured gladiator, *Principinus*, and a *retiarius*, *Pinnas* (plate 12). The first relief presents both gladiators, identified by the inscriptions above their heads, moving towards one another. *Principinus*, on the left, carries a large rectangular shield and is wearing a helmet. In contrast, *Pinnas*, a *retiarius*, wears minimal armour, no helmet, and carries only a trident and a dagger. The scene depicted in the second relief presents the climax of the fight. The victorious *Principinus* has thrown *Pinnas* to the ground and is holding a dagger to his throat, awaiting the decision from the *editor* for either *missio* or *iugulum*. Just visible to the left of the gladiators is inscribed a square barred sigma and an eta, the remnants of the name [Πιννα]ς and his fate [ἐσφαγ]η (executed).⁴³² While the image leaves the scene suspended, the inscription provides the observant passerby the judgment of the *editor* (and/or the spectators).

In the second set of reliefs, we observe a fight between two similarly armed gladiators named *Kalydon* and *Odysseus* (plate 13). The first relief depicts the initial encounter, with their names again inscribed above their heads. The following relief, in two registers, depicts the next two phases of the fight. In the upper register of the second relief, *Kalydon* is working to throw his opponent to the ground. Then in the lower register, *Kalydon* is on top of *Odysseus* with a dagger to his throat. In the

⁴³¹ Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 456.

⁴³² Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 469. Also see Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 253.

background of the lower register, we also see inscribed to the left the victorious gladiator's name, Καλυ(δών), and to the right the defeated gladiator's name, Οδυσσευς, the misspelt word ε[σ]φαγη (executed). Yet again, we find the scene suspended at the point of death, with the background inscription informing the viewer of the outcome.

The final relief is fragmentary, only showing one of the gladiators, whose armour looks similar to that of *Kalydon* and *Odysseus*.⁴³³ However, this gladiator bears two weapons, a curved *sica* and a short dagger. It is hard to see what stage of the fight this relief depicts, but Ritti and Yilmaz note that the lack of a name inscribed above the gladiator suggests that this is not the first relief in the series.⁴³⁴ On this basis, there would certainly be one relief prior to this scene, introducing two gladiators, and possibly a third relief exhibiting the climax of the fight.

Counting the five reliefs that have been recovered and the *familia* inscription, it is difficult to reconstruct their exact placement in the monument. Possibly, the gladiatorial reliefs would have been clustered together, with each duel put in sequence according to the stages of the fight. Ritti and Yilmaz suggest that the reliefs of the hunts may have been somewhat distinct from the gladiatorial reliefs, just like in the real events.⁴³⁵ However, given their sizing and irregular cut it remains impossible to be certain. Since the northern necropolis was the location of the find, it has been suggested that the slabs of marble may have been incorporated into a support structure, possibly a low wall surrounding the tomb of the high priest. This placement of the monument, alongside the tomb of the imperial high priest, would inevitably associate the honour due for his role as the sponsor of lavish spectacles with his life.

These complex monuments, as well as many of the representations of gladiatorial spectacles across various media, present more than portraits. They often exhibit “action shots”⁴³⁶ of the multifaceted shows. In this Greek context, Roman style spectacles were particularly recognisable in their emphasis on heroic single combat, evidenced by the reception of the gladiator in the east.⁴³⁷ The gladiators in the commemorative monuments are portrayed heading into battle, some already engaged in combat, others having been thrown to the floor, and still others suspended in defeat awaiting the *coup*

⁴³³ For this relief, see Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 480 (fig.16).

⁴³⁴ Ritti and Yilmaz, *Gladiatori*, 479-481.

⁴³⁵ For the distinction between the events of the arena, see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 76-95.

⁴³⁶ See Kathleen M. Coleman, “*Missio* at Halicarnassus,” *HSPH* 100 (2000): 496.

⁴³⁷ For the reception of the gladiator in the east, see Michael J. Carter, “Gladiators and Monomachoi: Greek Attitudes to a Roman ‘Cultural Performance’,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009): 298-322; Mann, “Gladiators in the Greek East,” 272-297.

de grâce (see plates 12 and 13)⁴³⁸ These visual representations introduce the passerby to the individual gladiators that made up the troupe involved in the spectacles and capture the climax of each event.⁴³⁹

This emphasis on the death of the defeated gladiator in the visual representations is important to note. In the introduction, I mentioned the working distinction between *description* and *representation* used by Rowan Williams.⁴⁴⁰ The popular reproduction of the *coup de grâce* in these representations could be confused with the frequency in which these scenes actually played out in the arena. While it is tempting to assume death was the outcome of most gladiatorial duels, as we have discovered, this was not the case. Robert notes that these scenes have a ritualised element, with the familiar placement of the participants.⁴⁴¹ There is the sense that the scene of the *coup de grâce* is intentionally styled to theatricalise arena experiences at this climatic moment. Upon passing monumental structures that represent these famous arena moments, the audience might imagine the series of orchestrated movements that would lead to the judgment of death for the defeated gladiator.

Shelby Brown argues that these climatic scenes of gladiatorial combat, also represented in mosaics displayed on the walls or floors of private homes, invite the curiosity and participation of the viewer.⁴⁴² In the famous mosaics from Rome, now in the archaeological museum in Madrid, we see the same sequence of events. The mosaics depict the combat in two successive moments, with the final scene suspended before the fatal blow. The referees and gladiators are pictured looking to the *editor*, out of the frame, for his decision.⁴⁴³ The discerning spectators often had the power to influence his decision.⁴⁴⁴ Basing their judgment on the performance of the gladiator, they would shout either “*missum!*” or “*iugula.*”⁴⁴⁵ Through the suspended scene, these representations of the real events draw the viewers (the new spectators) in and elicit

⁴³⁸ Carter, “Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East,” 128.

⁴³⁹ For similar representations (in different media) from the west, on mosaics, see Brown, “Death as Decoration,” 180-211; Alison Futrell, *The Roman Games: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 85-119. On lamps, see Edwards, *Death in Ancient Rome*, 56-57.

⁴⁴⁰ See *Introduction: Images of Friendship*, 13.

⁴⁴¹ The ritualised styles of killing were sometimes supplemented with the addition of unusual elements. See Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 203-205. In a relief from Smyrna (no. 228, pl. XVIII), three sets of gladiators are depicted in combat, with the middle set portrayed in the final scene. In this scene, there is the curious detail of the defeated gladiator, a *retiarius*, being propped up on the shield of his opponent. The heavily armed gladiator on top of the *retiarius* is being restrained by the *summa rudis* in the background, while they await the decision of the *editor*.

⁴⁴² Brown, “Death as Decoration,” 180-211.

⁴⁴³ See Brown, “Death as Decoration,” 204; Futrell, *Roman Games*, 98-102.

⁴⁴⁴ Coleman, “Public Entertainments,” 353.

⁴⁴⁵ Futrell, *Roman Games*, 101.

their judgment, as if they were present in the stadium. In this way, representations of arena scenes were not only ubiquitous throughout the landscape, they became interactive. The passersby, already familiar with the logic of the arena, became part of the action of these memorialised spectacles, (re)performed in the minds of the new audience.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this chapter, we observed the horrifying scene of an *eques* thrown to wild beasts in the arena. In response to his protests, Caligula halted the execution to cut out his tongue before continuing his display of unfettered power. This scene, conjured from dark days under a “madman,” is anecdotal. The incitement of terror produced amongst a fragile elite does not highlight the general cruelty of the arena, but the perversion of the ordinary ideology of the arena. The sand was a site for individuals either marginalised or considered “outside” of Roman society: *the disposable and the déclassé*. It produced vivid scenes of violence and bloodshed, but also of courage and skill to a strictly structured spectatorship reflecting their own positions within the empire.

Beyond Rome, these power structures were appropriated across the empire by local and provincial elites, especially through the emergence of imperial cults. This is particularly true in Corinth, where a large chunk of the material record unearthed can be connected to the cults. Even more fortuitous for this project is the survival of an honorific inscription to Spartiacus, the first high-priest of the house of Augustus, attesting to the establishment of a provincial-wide office and cult at the time of Nero’s accession. And what emerged out of these sites of imperialism, in Rome, Corinth, and further afield, were vivid images of combat and death that both decorated and shaped the landscape.



1a. Relief panel of Claudius defeating a personified Britannia; from the third storey (above room 3) of the south portico of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias. Their names are inscribed on the base:

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Βρεταννία
Καῖσαρ

1b. Nero defeating a personified Armenia, the companion piece to Claudius and Britannia above; from the third storey (above room 3) of the south portico. Their names are inscribed on the base:

Ἀρμενία [[Νέρωνι]
Κλαύδιος
Δροῦσος
Καῖσαρ Σε
βαστὸς Γερ
μανικὸς





2a. Corinthian Amphitheatre, from the north



2b. Corinthian Forum, from the east



3a. Corinthian Odeion, from the north



3b. Corinthian Theatre, from the northwest



4a. Statue of Augustus in *toga* with head covered; from the Julian Basilica. Augustus, represented as a priest, was probably holding a *patera* in his right hand in the act of sacrificing.



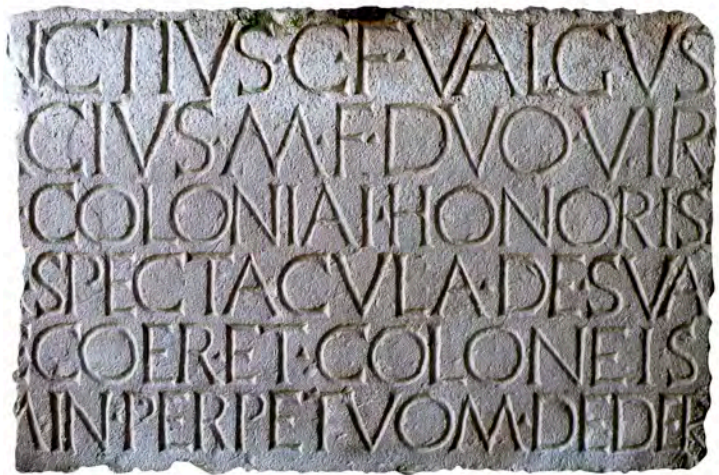
4b. Statue of Lucius Caesar (left)

4c. Statue of Gaius Caesar (right)

Both adopted sons of Augustus are presented in an idealised heroic style, possibly modelled on the *Dioskouroi*; also from the Julian Basilica.



5a. Dedicatory inscription of
the Pompeian amphitheatre
(*spectacula*)



5b. Wall painting of the riot in the Pompeian amphitheatre from the
peristyle garden of the house of Actius Anicetus, I.3.23. Note the
representation of the awning at the top.



6. A relief from Smyrna; *damnati*, with collars around their necks, being led to the arena for execution are depicted in the top two registers, while the bottom register represents a scene of wild beast fights.



7. Colchester Vase with a gladiatorial scene depicting Memnon (a *secutor*) vs. Valentinus (a *retiarius*). Valentinus, with his trident on the ground beneath the advancing Memnon, has been defeated and raises his finger to plead for *missio*. The inscription above their heads—*MEMNON SAC VIII VALENTINVS LEGIONIS XXX* (*CIL* VII.1335.3)—relates their names and the possibility that Valentinus was owned by the Thirtieth Legion, based at Xanten on the Rhine.



8a. Funerary relief of a gladiator (name now lost), from Tralles. The gladiator boasts of fighting and being victorious many times in the “stadia,” also visually represented by the crowns and palm branch. The gladiator presents Fate (Μοῖρα) as the reason for his death. See the inscription ΠΑΒ - πάλος β’ (second rank), with the A inside the Π on the shield.

8b. Funerary relief of the gladiator Βίκτωρ (Victor), from Tralles. Victor also boasts that he has defeated everyone in the stadia, and died according to Fate. However, we also hear that his life ended in the “murderous hands” of his opponent, Amarantos (Unkillable). Also see the inscription ΠΑΔ - πάλος δ’ (fourth rank), with the A inside the Π in the right-hand crown below the shield.





9a. The *familia* inscription of the high priest M. Antonius Apellas Severinus, commemorating a spectacle that included his *familia* of gladiators and wild beast hunts (κυνηγεία). Two figures (*Nikai*) below hold the inscribed panel and palm branches, while between them stands a small figure of *Nemesis*.



9b. The *murmillo* Patroclus (left), *retiarius* Fortis (centre) and *murmillo* Secundus (right). Note the rare depiction of a net in the right hand of Fortis.



10a. Aphrodisian Stadium, from the east



10b. Aphrodisian Theatre, from the west



11a. Theatre of Dionysus, Athens



11b. Ephesian Theatre, from the east



12. A set of reliefs depicting two stages of a fight between Principinus and Pinna; from the large commemorative monument of the priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius in Hierapolis. The first relief presents the two gladiators, while the second depicts the *coup de grâce* of Pinna, the *retiarius*.



13. A second set of reliefs presents several stages of a fight between Kalydon and Odysseus; also part of the large commemorative monument of the priest Cn. Arrius Apuleius. The lower register of the second relief depicts, inevitably, the *coup de grâce* of the defeated gladiator, Odysseus.



a. gladiator, sword in right hand
(Broneer Type XXI-XXV)



b. heavily armed gladiator
(Broneer Type XXIV)



c. gladiator fighting a crane
(Broneer Type XXVII)



d. gladiator fighting crane, same as c.
(Broneer Type XXVII)



e. *retiarius* vs. *secutor*
(Broneer Type XXVII)



f. *retiarius* vs. *secutor*, same as e.
(Broneer Type XXVII)



g. heavily armed gladiators
(Broneer Type XXVII)

14. Corinthian Oil Lamps

PART TWO

Paul, Seneca, and their Spectacles of Death

The *Letters* are an oppositional work—doubly so.

Paul Veyne, *Seneca*⁴⁴⁶

In part one, we recovered the Neronian and Corinthian amphitheatres in their spectacle landscapes. We saw how these sites contained sophisticated spectacles that included the exhibition of costly animals sourced from around the empire; the display of condemned criminals, at times forced to perform in various mythological re-enactments; and the presentation of professional gladiators. These sites and spectacles were sponsored by a small minority in the upper classes of the Roman world—in which extraordinary wealth was accumulated at the very top—including leading men in Rome, emperors, and the provincial elite. This led us to explore the way social relations were both reflected and reproduced in these sites of imperialism, moving from the most honoured positions in the *cavea*, at “ringside,” up through the crowd seated according to their position in society, eventually landing beyond the podium wall on the sand among individuals cast out by society; individuals who performed on the threshold of the underworld. Already at this stage, we have seen Paul and Seneca imagine themselves in both the stands and the sand. And it is these imaginings, the struggles and sufferings

⁴⁴⁶ Veyne, *Seneca*, 163.

experienced in a shared moment of Neronian theatricality and cruelty, that we now turn in part two.⁴⁴⁷

The Exile and the Wanderer

Reflections that force language to its breaking point, where the deployment of vivid imagery represents with more nuance and complexity deep meditations on life and death, cannot be abstracted from the moments of crisis, of suffering and struggle, that animate the use of excessive imagery in the first place. To abstract or systematise, whether theologically or philosophically, is to remove the material grounds on which such media emerges. Therefore, while obvious, the social-political context in which Paul and Seneca write remains most important. As we already noted in the introduction, Seneca, during his rise to the summit of the Roman political power structures, had been tutor and political advisor to emperor Nero. He amassed extraordinary wealth and oversaw the judicial and financial administration of the empire during the first five years of Nero's reign. However, Seneca's circumstances had changed considerably by the time he wrote his *Letters*. While it is true that the *Letters* as a whole provide a kind of progressive Stoic study for the would-be philosopher, the tone and mood of the work—especially the preoccupation with suffering and death—should be read in the context of Seneca's final years. Seneca had previously suffered exile to Corsica, but in the moments that make up his most prolific period of writing, Seneca was in the precarious position of being forced out to the very edge of the Neronian court without being able to escape.

From the edge of the imperial court to the edge of empire, Paul suffered too, but under local and provincial imperial power structures in Roman Greece and Asia. Paul suffered beatings, whippings, poverty, and various humiliations. While both writers adopt and adapt the vivid imagery of gladiatorial spectacles to give expression to these circumstances, Paul's and Seneca's letters reflect their differing positions in the social

⁴⁴⁷ The idea of struggle (ἀγών) and the common appropriation of athletic imagery in Paul, Seneca, and others has been thoroughly examined. See Victor C. Pfitzner, *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1967). This work is part of the long tradition of exploring Paul's relation to popular philosophers that I briefly sketched in the introduction. It seeks to find points of contact between the apostle and various philosophical figures. But, like the earlier works cited, it still relies on problematic "parallels" between Paul and the so-called diatribe. This is the case because Paul's own experiences of the Greek games is mostly rejected by Pfitzner on the basis, and old biases, that as a "Palestinian Jew" he would have "abhorred" Greek games. It should also be noted that Pfitzner does not explore the key texts in 2 Corinthians that the next two chapters are primarily focused on.

structures. It is generally accepted that Seneca's *Letters* are a fictional correspondence.⁴⁴⁸ They were intended for a small upper class audience attempting to negotiate power under the principate. There is a general development throughout the *Letters* as Lucilius, the representative of this elite audience, makes progress towards the Stoic (re)conception of virtue. Gladiatorial imagery is deployed consistently from start to finish. Paul's situation and real correspondence, however, written as he wandered through Asia and Macedonia, is much more convoluted.

In approaching the Corinthian correspondence, particularly the text that survives as canonical 2 Corinthians, one is always required to acknowledge the long and complex debate surrounding the compositional history of the texts.⁴⁴⁹ While early scholars that advocated for partitions in 2 Corinthians were in the minority, over time this has changed.⁴⁵⁰ As Günther Bornkamm remarks at the beginning of his study: "Many scholars have now recognized the fact that the Second Letter to the Corinthians is not a unity in itself, but a collection of various letters which the Apostle wrote to Corinth at different times and situations."⁴⁵¹ This shift opened up possibilities of sketching a much more elaborate correspondence between Paul and the Corinthian *ekklēsia*.⁴⁵² While lingering questions remain concerning the number and sequence of the various letters, the very existence of a complex and often strained correspondence gestures to both an animated community made up of diverse members and an evolving relationship between the travelling apostle and these Christ-followers in Corinth.

In the reconstruction of the Corinthian correspondence adopted here, I am following Günther Bornkamm, Hans Dieter Betz, Margaret M. Mitchell and L. L. Welborn in the hypothesis that 2 Cor 2:14-7:4 is an individual letter.⁴⁵³ Following Welborn, and James

⁴⁴⁸ See Griffin, *Seneca*, 416-419.

⁴⁴⁹ Hans Dieter Betz opens his account of the history of scholarship with this observation: "Investigation of the literary problems of 2 Corinthians goes back to the beginning of historical-critical inquiry into the New Testament." See Hans D. Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 3.

⁴⁵⁰ For the continuation of the theory of a unified 2 Corinthians, See Reimund Bieringer and Jan Lambrecht, *Studies on 2 Corinthians* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994).

⁴⁵¹ Günther Bornkamm, "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians," *NTS* 8 (1962): 258.

⁴⁵² Margaret Mitchell puts this well when she observes that "the Corinthian situation can be largely understood as a history of successive epistolary reception, response, and counter-response." See Margaret M. Mitchell, "Paul's Letters to Corinth: The Interpretive Intertwining of Literary and Historical Reconstruction," in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches* (eds. Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen; HTS 53; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 323.

⁴⁵³ That is, 2:14-7:4 minus the interpolation of 6:14-7:1. See Bornkamm, "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians," 258-264; Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*; Mitchell, "Paul's Letters to Corinth."; Welborn, *End to Enmity*, xix-xxviii; idem, "The Corinthian Correspondence," in *All Things to*

Kennedy among others before him,⁴⁵⁴ I am convinced that this letter, titled generically as a “Conciliatory Apology,” comes after 2 Cor 10-13, the “letter of tears;” and both of these letters follow the fragments that make up 1 Cor and the administrative letter in 2 Cor 8.⁴⁵⁵ Both letters represent the tensest moments in the fraught correspondence. The key issue standing behind the texts belongs to the event that occurred during Paul’s second visit to Corinth.⁴⁵⁶ On this visit, Paul was publicly accused of embezzling the collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem he had been requesting since 1 Cor 16. Other accusations and insults, as we shall see, were made concerning his position in the community, his appearance, and his abilities, causing anger, pain, and grief. This led to Paul reaching for even more humiliating and precarious positions.

Jennifer Glancy recently explored the possibility that throughout 2 Cor 10-13 Paul rhetorically and literally exposed and exhibited his body for his Corinthian audience.⁴⁵⁷ Glancy suggests that the observers of this exhibition would have been, according to a first-century somatic idiom, perceptively suspicious of a body that represented such vulnerability, whippability, and weakness.⁴⁵⁸ Rather than a body scarred by martial virtue, Paul’s beaten body communicated weakness and dishonour, provoking suspicion and contempt. This type of reaction from the Corinthian audience may also have confirmed, in part, earlier suspicions provoked from the reception of abject images of

All Cultures: Paul Among Jews, Greeks, and Romans (eds. Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 205-242.

⁴⁵⁴ See James H. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians: With Some Proofs of Their Independence and Mutual Relation* (London: Methuen, 1900).

⁴⁵⁵ On the sequence and titles of the letters that make up the Corinthian correspondence, see Welborn, “Corinthian Correspondence,” 205-242.

⁴⁵⁶ On this second, painful visit, see Johannes Weiss, *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150* (trans. Frederick C. Grant; 2 vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937), 1.342-344; Welborn, “Corinthian Correspondence,” 235.

⁴⁵⁷ Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings,” 99-135. Glancy observes: “Paul’s story, as known by the Corinthian churches, has somatic dimensions (see 2 Cor 10:1, 10). In 2 Cor 11:23-25, Paul provides greater detail about the blows to which he has alluded in several previous letters to the Corinthians (1 Cor 4:11; 2 Cor 6:5); we may easily imagine that Paul spoke about those incidents when he was in Corinth, and even speculate that he had—intentionally or not—exposed fleshly souvenirs of those episodes” 118. Glancy suggests that the possibility of the apostle exposing his beaten body informed his rhetoric and, so the apostle believed, retold the story of the crucified Christ. Compare the possibility that Paul exhibits the crucified Christ in his body with the recent article by Elliott, “Ideological Closure in the Christ-Event,” 135-154. Elliott claims: “So, for that matter, was what we must assume was Paul’s defiant practice of *performing* the “dying of Jesus” as crucified, whatever form that performance took, for it repeatedly embodied a counter-representation of status.” Elliot continues in a footnote, “Paul’s initial proclamation was an “exhibition” of Christ crucified (Gal 3:1 NRSV); his apostolic presence was a “carrying in the body the death of Jesus” (2 Cor 4:10); the Eucharistic assembly was a proclamation of “the Lord’s death until he comes” (1 Cor 11:26),” 146 n.30.

⁴⁵⁸ See Glancy, “Boasting of Beatings,” 134.

spectacle performances in 1 Cor 15:32 and 4:9-13.⁴⁵⁹ Immediately following the letter of tears (2 Cor 10-13), the Conciliatory Apology (2:14-7:4) presents a continuation of Paul's deep reflection on the pain caused by his second visit to Corinth and includes the highest concentration of spectacle imagery in the correspondence. The development and deployment of the spectacle images throughout this letter also contributes to reflections on the dynamics of the unfolding relationship between the apostle and the *ekklēsia*.

This reading of Paul takes seriously the site of his body as a "text" that communicated political and ideological realities. From this vantage point, Paul's body contains various possible readings. Paul's presentation of his body through vivid, and at times excessive, language deployed throughout the Corinthian correspondence is often poly-semantic and multi-layered and consequently, as well as problematically, defies any single interpretation. In the next two chapters, I am not attempting to exhaust or account for all the various motif fields that may interpret the images throughout 2 Cor 2:14-7:4, nor am I trying to restrict the ways we or Paul's audience may have read this text. What I hope to do is contribute to a reading that works out of the landscape—social, cultural, political, ideological—that we have explored in part one and in which Paul and Seneca were deeply embedded; and, explore specifically the features of gladiatorial spectacles in these texts which have been largely neglected.

In part two, chapters 3 and 4 follow the Conciliatory Apology (2 Cor 2:14-7:4) as it unfolds. Seneca is introduced throughout the discussion as another key figure appropriating spectacle imagery; imagery that has become a sort of "common currency" or a shared "visual language." Spectacle, materially and ideologically, shaped the landscape, and Paul and Seneca offered their own contributions to this spectacle landscape of the early empire. This is by no means a straightforward comparison of these disparate figures. Rather, they perform and represent, amongst the various forms of spectacle architecture and media, complex exhibitions of their own that in many ways can be read as subversive to the dominant power structures explored in part one.

⁴⁵⁹ See Welborn, *Paul, the Fool of Christ*; idem, "Towards Structural Marxism as a Hermeneutic of Early Christian Literature, Illustrated with Reference to Paul's Spectacle Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 15.30-32," *Bible and Critical Theory* 8 (2012): 27-35; Nguyen, "Paul's Spectacle of Death," 489-501.

CHAPTER 3

“Thrown down but not Destroyed”

Arenas of Suffering and Struggle

While Priscus continued to draw out the contest [*certamina*], and Verus likewise, and for a long time the struggle was evenly balanced on both sides, discharge [*missio*] was demanded for the stout fighters with loud and frequent shouting.

Martial, *Liber spectaculorum*, 31.1-3⁴⁶⁰

Every cultural production impacts the attitudes and ideas of its viewing audience, even if only to promote indifference and the numbing of critical thought.

Brad Evans and Henry A. Giroux, *Disposable Futures*⁴⁶¹

The Terror of an Unusual Spectacle

In early autumn of 166 BCE, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, king of Syria, produced magnificent spectacles in Daphne, near Antioch.⁴⁶² These spectacles were designed to surpass any that had gone before in both the east and west. Polybius claimed that Antiochus sought to surpass the victory celebrations of the Roman General L. Aemilius Paullus in particular; celebrations that had been held in Macedonia in the spring of the previous year.⁴⁶³ Paullus had presented Greek style spectacles in Macedonia to celebrate Roman militarism and power in the east. Competing on this political and military stage, Antiochus’ spectacles, as Jonathan Edmondson observes, “harnessed Hellenistic

⁴⁶⁰ Translation, here and throughout, taken from Coleman, *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum*, 218.

⁴⁶¹ Brad Evans and Henry A. Giroux, *Disposable Futures: The Seduction of Violence in the Age of Spectacle* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2015), 40.

⁴⁶² For the spectacles of Antiochus, see Polyb. 30.25-26; Diod. Sic. 31.16; Livy 41.20.

⁴⁶³ Polyb. 30.25.1. On the relationship between the spectacles of Antiochus and L. Aemilius Paullus (as well as the spectacles of L. Anicius Gallus), see Jonathan C. Edmondson, “The Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle in Rome and the Greek East, 167-166 BCE,” in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (eds. Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 77-95.

traditions and cultural innovations imported from Rome to produce another memorable act of political theatre.”⁴⁶⁴ In preparation, Antiochus had sent out embassies to announce his festival and invite the most distinguished people from Greece, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and Syria.⁴⁶⁵ The festival, funded by Antiochus’ military exploits in Egypt, opened with a vast procession (πομπή) modelled on the triumph. According to Polybius, five thousand soldiers equipped with Roman armour led the procession. Marching close behind were another forty thousand soldiers equipped in various armaments from the Seleucid kingdom, as well as horses, chariots, and elephants. Following this exhibition of Seleucid militarism, Polybius also recounts, among other features, the excessive display of wealth throughout the procession:

It is a difficult task to describe the rest of the procession but I must attempt to give its main features. About eight hundred young men wearing gold crowns made part of it as well as about a thousand fat cattle and nearly three hundred delegations and eight hundred ivory tusks. The vast quantity of images it is impossible to enumerate. For representations of all the gods and spirits mentioned or worshipped by men and of all the heroes were carried along, some gilded and others draped in garments embroidered with gold, and they were all accompanied by representations executed in precious materials of the myths relating to them as traditionally narrated. Behind them came images of Night and Day, of Earth and Heaven, and of Dawn and Midday. The quantity of gold and silver plate may be estimated from what follows. A thousand slaves of one of the royal “friends,” Dionysius, the head of the royal chancellery, marched along carrying articles of silver plate none of them weighing less than a thousand drachmae, and six hundred of the king’s own slaves went by bearing articles of gold plate. Next there were about two hundred women sprinkling the crowd with perfumes from golden urns, and these were followed by eighty women seated in litters with golden feet and five hundred in litters with silver feet, all richly dressed. Such were the more remarkable features of the procession. (30.25.12-19)

Besides the extravagant display of Seleucid militarism and wealth, a significant feature of the procession was the inclusion of two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators (μονομάχων ζεύγη διακόσια τετταράκοντα [30.25.6]); star performers in the thirty-day festival that followed, including athletic, musical, and hunting events, as well as extravagant banquets:

When the games, gladiatorial shows, and beast fights [τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μονομαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων], which lasted for the thirty days devoted to spectacles, were over, for the first five succeeding days every one who chose anointed himself in the gymnasium with saffron ointment out of gold jars, of those there were fifteen, and there were the same number of jars with ointment of cinnamon and spikenard. On the succeeding days

⁴⁶⁴ Edmondson, “Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle,” 84.

⁴⁶⁵ According to Diodorus Siculus, Antiochus “brought together at his festival the most distinguished men from virtually the whole world” (συνήγαγεν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἄνδρας εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν [31.16.1]).

ointments of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris were brought in, all of exquisite perfume. For banqueting there were sometimes a thousand tables laid and sometimes fifteen hundred, all furnished with the most costly tableware. (30.26.1-3)

While Antiochus is recorded as the first to produce gladiatorial spectacles in the Greek East, their inclusion in this festival was not the first time these Roman style entertainments had been exhibited. Livy mentions Antiochus' first presentation of gladiatorial combats in the period before 166 BCE, which was "received with greater terror than pleasure (*maiore cum terrore...quam voluptate*) on the part of men who were unused to such sights."⁴⁶⁶ But through frequent exposure to gladiatorial combats, this new audience in the east began to enjoy these foreign entertainments. Livy notes that familiarity was gained through "sometimes allowing the fighters to go only as far as wounding one another, sometimes permitting them to fight without giving quarter" (*sine missione*).⁴⁶⁷ These early spectacles were first produced by procuring expensive gladiators from Rome. A generation of local youth were so inspired by the performance of these professional gladiators that many began to train as gladiators themselves. Eventually, Antiochus was able to supply his spectacles with local fighters, and it is possibly these youths who made up the two hundred and forty pairs of gladiators that marched in the procession and performed in the festival.⁴⁶⁸

Antiochus' spectacles were an early start in the east. But, as we explored in chapter 2, it was not until the Julio-Claudian period, via the emergence of imperial cults, that gladiatorial spectacles spread throughout the eastern landscape. These Roman style entertainments became an important part of festival life in the early empire. Therefore, it should not be surprising that Paul, among others, would inhabit this field of imagery. In this chapter, I will start at the beginning of Paul's Conciliatory Apology and explore the spectacle imagery that emerges out of the text. However, to start with this letter is already to jump into the middle of an eventful exchange. As we briefly reviewed in the introduction to part two, 2 Cor 2:14-7:4 was penned after a very tense and tiring correspondence that continued to unfold. In every missive of this extended

⁴⁶⁶ Livy 41.20.11.

⁴⁶⁷ Livy 41.20.11-12. The term *sine missione* to describe gladiatorial fights is unclear. It is often assumed that a fight *sine missione* meant that it was a fight to the death. However, it literally means "without reprieve/release," where *missio* was technically the end of the fight. As David Potter observes, *missio* did not require a clear winner, for two gladiators could both be *stantes missi* (released standing) despite neither gladiator being declared the victor. To fight *sine missione* in this sense meant that there had to be a clear winner before the fight could end. See Potter, "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," 307. For more on *sine missione* also see chapter four below.

⁴⁶⁸ See Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 57-61.

correspondence, Paul deploys athletic, theatrical, and gladiatorial imagery. The various ways these images function in the text partly depend on the particular moment of each exchange and the rhetorical purposes of each letter. The correspondence preserves numerous issues that led to increasing suspicions and even outright criticisms of Paul and his apostleship as his relationship with the Corinthian *ekklēsia* evolved. Particularly sharp were the criticisms of his collection for the poor in Jerusalem and the accusation of embezzlement (2 Cor 12:14-16, 13:1). Alongside these financial tensions, Paul increasingly identified with various spectacle performers that were at best ambiguous, at worst weak and vulgar, in attempts to respond to his critics. By the time we arrive at the concluding thoughts in Paul's emotional letter of tears, preserved in 2 Cor 10-13 and written immediately after his painful, second visit to Corinth at the tensest period of the entire exchange, Paul has already presented himself to his Corinthian spectators in the roles of a wild-beast fighter (1 Cor 15:32), a criminal condemned to death in the arena (1 Cor 4:9-13), and a foolish mime (1 Cor 1-4; 2 Cor 11:21b-12:10), among others. In closing his letter of tears, Paul's anger towards his critics burns:

I warned those who sinned previously and all the others, and I warn them now while absent, as I did when present on my second visit, that if I come again, I will not be lenient—since you desire proof that Christ is speaking in me. He is not weak in dealing with you, but is powerful in you. For he was crucified in weakness, but lives by the power of God. For we are weak in him, but in dealing with you we will live with him by the power of God. (2 Cor 13:2-4)

The carefully calibrated discourse of “weakness” and “power” presents, as Paul understands it, his paradoxical existence marked by suffering and struggle. Paul's ongoing self-presentations throughout 2:14-7:4 must be understood within this developing exhibition of images. Seneca is enlisted throughout this chapter, and the next, to provide interpretive clarification for features of Paul's imagery that were almost universally familiar. Beyond these similarities, however, the next two chapters also attempt a differential comparison of Paul and Seneca, reflecting their distinctive social realities and disparate experiences within the wider spectacle landscape.

Processions of Life and Death

Paul, right at the outset of the Conciliatory Apology, presents a vivid, yet ambiguous, image that has been difficult to focus. But, in whatever way the image may take shape, it conjures in the minds of the audience sites of spectacle from the very start. The image

emerges out of Paul's use of the word θριαμβεύω in 2:14 and can be variously read as: "lead in a triumphal procession," "to lead in triumph," "cause to triumph," "triumph over," "expose to shame," or more generally to "display, publicise, make known."⁴⁶⁹ Of these options, most NT scholars have been content to identify the image as a *pompa triumphalis*, with the on-going debate, instead, concerned with attempts to recognise in Paul's self-presentation the particular figure from the Roman triumph.⁴⁷⁰

The present active participle θριαμβεύοντι with the direct object ἡμᾶς would usually take the reading to "lead (a conquered enemy) in a triumphal procession."⁴⁷¹ This reading emphasises Paul's defeat, paraded by God—the victorious general—potentially to his death. Uncomfortable with the implications of this image, both for Paul (the captive) and God (the victorious general), several scholars have worked to refocus the image on other participants in the Roman triumph. Some have been tempted to identify Paul with the victorious soldiers marching in the triumph;⁴⁷² others, more plausibly, have suggested the participants carrying incense.⁴⁷³ The identification of 'incense bearers' could also make sense of Paul's language of ὄσμή and εὐωδία, extending the metaphor down to 2:16. However, if Paul is cast as an incense bearer rather than a captive condemned to death in God's triumphal procession, it is not clear how Paul carries about, or embodies in himself, the stench (ὄσμή [2:16]) of death "among those being destroyed" (ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις [2:15]).⁴⁷⁴

In an attempt to open up this image beyond the limited selection of participants in the procession, Paul Brooks Duff notes the "semantic plentitude" that occurs from the

⁴⁶⁹ See LSJ, s.v. θριαμβεύω; BDAG, s.v. θριαμβεύω.

⁴⁷⁰ On the Roman triumph, see H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); Beard, *Roman Triumph*; Ida Östenberg, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁷¹ See Scott J. Hafemann, *Suffering and the Spirit: An Exegetical Study of II Cor. 2:14-3:3 within the Context of the Corinthian Correspondence* (WUNT 19; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986).

⁴⁷² Despite the fact that this reading has no lexical support. See Ernest Bernard Allo, *Saint Paul: Seconde épître aux Corinthiens* (Paris: Gabalda, 1956), 43-44; Jean Héring, *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Epworth, 1967), 18; C. K. Barrett, *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (BNTC; London: A & C Black, 1973), 97-98.

⁴⁷³ See Cilliers Breytenbach, "Paul's Proclamation and God's 'Thriambos' (Notes on 2 Corinthians 2:14-16b)," *Neotestamentica* 24 (1990): 266-269; George H. Guthrie, "Paul's Triumphal Procession Imagery (2 Cor 2.14-16a): Neglected Points of Background," *NTS* 61 (2015): 79-91.

⁴⁷⁴ The stench of death emanating from Paul's body is picked up again later in the letter, when Paul says: "[We are] always carrying around the dying of Jesus in [our] body, so that the life of Jesus may be manifested in our bodies" (πάντοτε τὴν νέκρωσιν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι περιφέροντες, ἵνα καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ [2 Cor 4:10]). The stench of death, of burning flesh, is compared to a sweet aroma in the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp in the stadium at Smyrna. *Mart. Pol.* 15: "And he was in the center, not like burning flesh but like baking bread or like gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived a particularly sweet aroma (εὐωδίας), like wafting incense or some other precious perfume."

ambiguous image embedded in θριαμβεύω.⁴⁷⁵ Its cognate noun, θρίαμβος, was an epithet for Dionysus, or could refer to a hymn sung to Dionysus in epiphany processions.⁴⁷⁶ On this reading, eastern and western processional features may be read, even intertwined, so that elements of Hellenistic and Roman traditions emerge out of Paul's image, just like in the procession that opened the spectacles sponsored by Antiochus.⁴⁷⁷

However, even if we concentrate our reading on the Roman triumph, by the middle of the first-century CE the triumph was already an over determined category that functioned to concentrate power in the figure of the emperor. First, we can note with Mary Beard that the boundaries of the triumph were permeable:

The fact is that the Roman triumph, like all rituals, was a porous set of practices and ideas, embedded in the day-to-day political, social, and cultural world of Rome, with innumerable links and associations, both personal and institutional, to other ceremonies, customs, events, and traditions. For modern scholars there is an inevitable trade-off between a restrictively narrow approach and an impossibly all-embracing one. To limit what we understand as "the ritual" simply to the procession itself, and so to exclude from view the (maybe no less "ritualized") preparations or the different forms in which the triumph prolonged its impact in further spectacles and celebration would amount to a very blinkered view of the occasion and its significance.⁴⁷⁸

The various rituals and entertainments surrounding the procession itself, including banquets, theatre acts, athletic events, and gladiatorial spectacles became extensions of the triumph; continuous celebrations of the emperor (or emperor-like figure) himself. During Pompey's celebrations in his newly built theatre-complex, as we saw in chapter 1, many of the pieces of art and other spoils of war carried in his triumphal procession, six years earlier, were displayed throughout the complex. This created the effect of re-enacting the procession each time events were held in the theatre.⁴⁷⁹ A decade later, during the quadruple triumph of Caesar, many of the captives on display in the procession were, subsequently, featured in the various spectacles held in the forum, circus, and Campus Martius.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷⁵ Paul B. Duff, "Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy behind the Image 'Led in Triumph' in 2 Corinthians 2:14," *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 53 (1991): 83.

⁴⁷⁶ See LSJ, s.v. θρίαμβος.

⁴⁷⁷ See Duff, "Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning," 79-92; idem, "Apostolic Suffering and the Language of Processions in 2 Corinthians 4:7-10," *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21 (1991): 158-165; Timothy L. Marquis, *Transient Apostle: Paul, Travel, and the Rhetoric of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 70-86.

⁴⁷⁸ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 265.

⁴⁷⁹ See Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 25.

⁴⁸⁰ Dio Cass. 43.22-23.

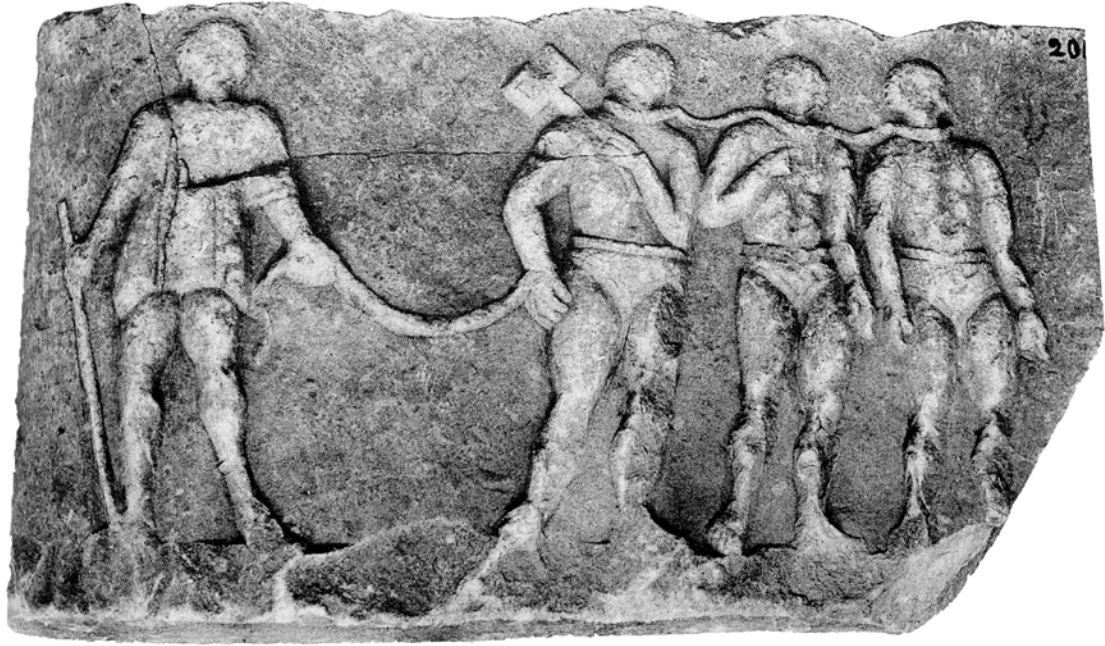


FIGURE 19. Relief from Miletus; *damnati* being led to the arena

There were also various ways these events were enveloped by the triumph. Many of the components of a triumphal procession were mirrored in *pompae* that preceded theatrical, athletic, and gladiatorial spectacles. Both literary and material ‘texts’ representing the *pompa* of gladiatorial spectacles present the carrying of images and statues of the gods; the performance of musicians including trumpeters (*tubicines*); and the parade of performers in the spectacles, including gladiators and chained captives condemned to death (see figure 19; plate 6).⁴⁸¹ Beyond the processions, the dress of the emperor, presiding over theatrical and gladiatorial spectacles, often tied them to the triumph. This had precedents in Republican Rome. Leading men were sometimes awarded the right to wear triumphal dress on ceremonial occasions outside of the triumph. But it is in the principate that the symbolism of the triumph was monopolised by the imperial family, including dressing as a triumphal general at various spectacles. According to Suetonius, Caligula “frequently wore the dress of a triumphing general” and Claudius presided over his victory celebrations “clad in a general’s cloak.”⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ On the representation of various figures marching in a *pompa* that preceded gladiatorial spectacles, see the upper register of the large relief from Pompeii, now in Museo Archeologico Nazionale (inv.6704) in Naples, in Junkelmann, “*Familia Gladiatoria*,” 48; Jacobelli, *Gladiators at Pompeii*, 94-95. Also see Robert, “Monuments des gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec,” pl.XXII.2. For a literary account, see Tert. *De spect.* 7.

⁴⁸² Suet. *Calig.* 52; *Claud.* 21.6.

In a similar way, triumphal customs and symbols could be exploited to define festivals that had no connection to the ritual.⁴⁸³ For our project, we have already discussed two important examples from the reign of Nero that follow this pattern. The first was the travel, arrival, and events held in Rome of Tiridates, king of Armenia, in 66 CE. Dio describes Tiridates' progress from the Euphrates to Rome "like a triumphal procession," with Nero meeting the king in Italy before arriving in Rome. While in Puteoli, Nero entertained Tiridates with a gladiatorial exhibition. Suetonius describes Tiridates' arrival into Rome and the events that proceeded in the forum and Pompey's gilded theatre as *spectacula*. Nero wore his triumphal dress for these events.⁴⁸⁴

Nero's own arrival back into Rome the following year, however, offers us an even more compelling example of the triumph as an encompassing category.⁴⁸⁵ After touring Greece, competing in and winning many victories, including all four Panhellenic festivals: Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games, Nero returned to Rome. The elaborate procession back into Rome was described as a hybrid of Greek and Roman features. Nero rode into Rome in the triumphal chariot previously used by Augustus. Next to the emperor in the chariot stood Diodorus, the citharode, one of his defeated competitors. Dressed in the guise of both a triumphal general and a Greek victor, Nero "wore a purple robe and a Greek cloak adorned with stars of gold" (*in veste purpurea distinctaque stellis aureis chlamyde*).⁴⁸⁶ He also wore the olive wreath of Olympic victors and held the laurel wreath of the Pythian games in his right hand. Marching in front of the chariot, Nero's other victory crowns were carried along with placards that named the games, the contest, and an inscription that declared: "Nero Caesar first of all the Romans from the beginning of the world had won it."⁴⁸⁷ Following the chariot, Nero's applauders proclaimed that "they were the Augustiani and the soldiers of his triumph."⁴⁸⁸ Dio adds the proclamations of the spectators:

Hail, Olympian Victor! Hail, Pythian Victor! Augustus! Augustus! Hail to Nero, our Hercules! Hail to Nero, our Apollo! The only Victor of the Grand Tour, the only one from the beginning of time! Augustus! Augustus! O, Divine Voice! Blessed are they that hear thee. (63.20.5)

⁴⁸³ Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 270, 295-296.

⁴⁸⁴ Suet. *Ner.* 13.1-2; Dio Cass. 63.4.3.

⁴⁸⁵ See Suet. *Ner.* 25; Dio Cass. 63.20. For a discussion on this Neronian "triumph," see Champlin, *Nero*, 229-234; Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 268-272.

⁴⁸⁶ Suet. *Ner.* 25.1.

⁴⁸⁷ Dio Cass. 63.20.2-3.

⁴⁸⁸ Suet. *Ner.* 25.1. Dio also includes knights and senators among those following the chariot.

It is clear, as noted by Edward Champlin, from the various elements on display that Nero's victory procession could be viewed from three perspectives: "the triumphal, the Greek, and the spectacular."⁴⁸⁹ In this way, not only does the triumph and its associated events blur, but the triumph can shape and interpret other spectacles as well. The power on display in the triumph was also on display in theatrical and gladiatorial spectacles. In the production of triumphal imagery, one spectacle, or event, can easily slip into another.⁴⁹⁰ So, in the way Duff explored opening up Paul's image to epiphany processions, we might explore other possible processions and events.⁴⁹¹

Before arriving back to Paul's opening image, Seneca, too, participates in this spectacle landscape, adopting and adapting images of processions. Here, I want to be careful not to collapse a reading of Seneca into that of another elite figure, and especially not of Paul. However, exploring Seneca's use of spectacle imagery will be instructive as one figure among many deploying this imagery to articulate identity, ethics, and their position within the power structures. In *Letter 71*, Seneca asserts the Stoic thesis: "'The highest good is that which is honourable.' Or, more surprisingly, 'The sole good is that which is honourable'" (§4). To play out the logic of this Stoic position for Lucilius and an elite audience, Seneca, as he often does, reflects back on the life of Cato. Seneca selects two provocative incidents from the life of Cato—the defeat of his election to the praetorship in 55 BCE and his military defeat at Pharsalus in 48 BCE that would ultimately lead to his death—to conclude that "[v]irtue while defeating adversity is just the same as it is while holding the line in the midst of prosperity" (§8). According to Seneca, Cato understood this Stoic thesis and therefore, whether he lost the election or his life, he was able to endure. This reading opens up a space for Seneca to explore virtue in relation to various circumstances that Stoics variously labelled "preferred" or "dispreferred indifferents."⁴⁹² On this categorisation of circumstances, imprisonment or death were dispreferred indifferents, but indifferents nonetheless.

⁴⁸⁹ Champlin, *Nero*, 230.

⁴⁹⁰ This slippage from one spectacle to another, or the conjuring of overlapping spectacle events, is to take advantage of Bettina Bergmann's language of "the intertextuality of spectacle." Bergmann notes: "The efficacy of the visual images both in live events and in representations accounts for the popularity of their overlapping and cross-referencing, which we have called the 'intertextuality' of spectacle." See Bergmann, "Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle," 25.

⁴⁹¹ This makes more general definitions of θριαμβεύω, like to "display, publicise, make known," more attractive than first thought. See J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997), s.v. θριαμβεύω. Also see Rory B. Egan, "Lexical Evidence on Two Pauline Passages," *NovT* 19 (1977): 34-62; Victor P. Furnish, *II Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 32A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 174-175.

⁴⁹² Seneca has already explored in detail virtue, preferred, and dispreferred indifferents in *Ep.* 66, and elsewhere.

They, properly understood, were of equal value—even to preferred indifferents—having no bearing on the good or the good life. Seneca supplies the obvious interjection by his interlocutors: “‘What’s this?’ you say. ‘Reclining at dinner is equal to being tortured?’”, before pushing this even further. If you confront torture honourably, it could be good, where reclining at a dinner, if dishonourably, could be bad.

For Seneca’s elite audience, the logic of this doctrine of the sole good was illogical, and Seneca knew it:

At this point, the person who judges everyone’s spirit by his own waves his hands in my face because I say there is equality of goods between an honourable judge and an honourable defendant, and equality of goods between the returning general in his victory parade and the mentally unconquered captive that is trundled along in front of his chariot. Such people think that whatever they cannot do cannot be done; they form their opinions about virtue based on their own weakness. (§22)

It is difficult to imagine the correlation between the positions of the victorious general and defeated captive in the triumphal procession. Yet, Seneca presses the point even further by following this triumphal procession into the arena, only eliciting more confusion from his audience:

Why are you surprised that being burned, wounded, struck down, or shackled [*uri, vulnerari, occidi, alligari*] should be a source of satisfaction, sometimes even gladness? (§23)

Seneca’s audience would have heard in this formula, as we saw in chapter two, the oath (*sacramentum*) of the gladiator: *uri, verberari, vinciri, ferroque necari*.⁴⁹³ This oath confirmed the terms of what Seneca called “the most shameful contract” (*turpissimi auctoramenti* [*Ep.* 37.2]), which included the fee paid for fighting. Whatever else one might say about volunteers, especially elites, selling themselves to fight as gladiators, this process branded them *infames*. This was a social-legal status that categorised these volunteers as contract gladiators (*auctorati*), comparable to other disreputable figures, and subjected them to suffer broad discrimination. As we noted in Tertullian’s reflections: Romans “openly condemn [gladiators] to disgrace and civil degradation; they keep them religiously excluded from council chamber, rostrum, senate, knighthood, and every other kind of office and a good many distinctions.”⁴⁹⁴

⁴⁹³ See Petron. *Sat.* 117; Sen. *Ep.* 37:2. Also see Barton, *Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*, 14-15.

⁴⁹⁴ Tert. *De spect.* 22. Also see Kyle, *Spectacles of Death*, 79-90.

Throughout this discourse, Seneca was doing something much more radical than his predecessor in letters, Cicero.⁴⁹⁵ Seneca moved beyond interpreting the image of a courageous, skilful gladiator as a paradigm of virtue to explore what Stoic virtue might look like in several precarious positions on the sand itself. In an earlier letter, Seneca outlined three key fears that plague people: “we fear poverty; we fear disease; and we fear the violent deeds of those more powerful than ourselves” (*Ep.* 14.3). Maybe given the anxiety of his elite audience, in their attempts to negotiate imperial power under “bad emperors,” Seneca focused on the third of these fears. Seneca imagines this fear of violent power as a *pompa* that enters the arena. Suddenly the procession becomes “encompassed with fire and sword, with chains, with packs of wild animals primed to leap upon our human vitals” (§4). This nightmare vision, like the story of the *eques* in chapter 2, overwhelms and overpowers. The vivid sights of torture compound with images of the cross, rack, hook, and the stake protruding from the mouth of a victim, eventually climaxing with people being torn apart and set on fire. At this early stage in his letters, Seneca obscures the robust philosophical response to such power, like we see in letter 71, choosing instead to advise Lucilius and the wider audience to avoid offending the powerful and to be circumspect in pursuing power. While much more work will be done by Seneca in the ensuing letters to confront suffering and death, realities that would soon materialise in his own life, it is fascinating at this stage to note that Seneca could locate himself beyond the podium wall, not just as a skilful gladiator but as a disposable victim facing wild-beasts. This is surprising for an individual who, just a few short years earlier, was at the very centre of Roman power.

Seneca, as we will continue to see, conjured violent scenes of spectacle to construct a Roman style Stoic ethics that subverted the power exerted on the physical bodies of imperial subjects by concerning himself with a life of interiority. This shift to an inner life of philosophical exercise becomes the new arena of virtue, rather than the

⁴⁹⁵ Cicero is mostly disparaging of gladiators, using ‘gladiator’ as a slur; though, he also presents them as a paradigm of virtue in a certain, limited sense. Cf. *Cic. Rosc. Am.* 3.8, 6.8 and *Tusc.* 2.41. Catharine Edwards, noting the differences between Cicero’s and Seneca’s explicit presentations of torture and pain—connected to the battlefield and the arena—in discussions of bravery, concludes: “only in Seneca does the imagery used make fully explicit the parallel between the arena or battlefield and the body of the invalid or torture victim. Only in Seneca is the translation from external world of the games or battlefield to the internal world of the private sufferer fully developed.” Catharine Edwards, “The Suffering Body: Philosophy and Pain in Seneca’s *Letters*,” in *Constructions of the Classical Body* (ed. James I. Porter; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 262.

traditional military and political honours.⁴⁹⁶ As Matthew Roller observes, this argument depends partly upon repositioning the term *virtus* by rejecting the traditional frame of moral reference, with its emphasis on observed actions and external judging, and embracing instead a Stoic ethical framework in which moral value resides only in mental dispositions.⁴⁹⁷

Circling back to Paul's imagery at the opening of his letter in 2:14, θριαμβεύω may just as easily have conjured in the minds of Paul's audience the image of a *pompa* leading to and entering the amphitheatre, or even the gladiatorial spectacles themselves, as it did the triumph. This is especially the case when we consider that triumphs in the early imperial period were restricted to the emperor and the imperial family in Rome, and even then rarely celebrated.⁴⁹⁸ The Corinthian *ekklēsia* were much more likely to have experienced the processions put on in Corinth during imperial festivals, than the rare triumphs of the Julio-Claudians.

Paul's march in a procession and stench of death may have recalled his earlier image of God exhibiting him in a spectacle, "like men sentenced to death" (1 Cor 4:9). Given the representations in various media and Seneca's own representation of torture and spectacle, hesitation on the part of NT scholars to acknowledge Paul's own adoption and adaptation of suspicious, even scandalous, spectacle imagery seems untenable.⁴⁹⁹ What we can begin to explore is the various ways in which these two figures contribute to the spectacle landscape. Paul is not, like Seneca, offering a new arena for elites to develop an ethical system and redefine virtue, but he does place himself in provocative social and political positions to represent his own social realities. In both Paul and Seneca, the processional imagery inevitably flowed into vivid images appropriated from the arena. At the end of the procession, as we enter the arena, it is difficult now not to see the ideological features that appear in any spectacle performance.

⁴⁹⁶ This is also true for the way *gloria* functioned in the Roman tradition, and then the way Seneca merges this more traditional understanding with a Stoic understanding of *gloria*. See Robert J. Newman, "In umbra virtutis: Gloria in the Thought of Seneca the Philosopher," in *Seneca* (ed. John G. Fitch; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 316-334.

⁴⁹⁷ Roller, *Constructing Autocracy*, 102.

⁴⁹⁸ The last full-scale triumph of someone other than imperial family members was the triumph of L. Cornelius Balbus in 19 BCE. On the shifts that take place in triumphal history from Augustus on, including the limiting of triumphs to the imperial family, see Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 295-305.

⁴⁹⁹ For an earlier exploration of Paul's use of suspicious and shameful imagery, see Peter Marshall, "A Metaphor of Social Shame: θριαμβεύειν in 2 Cor. 2:14," *NovT* 25 (1983): 302-317.

Arenas of Life and Death

In a lengthy gladiatorial epitaph found in Alexandria Troas, we are introduced to Melanippus, a *retiarius*:

You see me who was bold in the stadia, dead, traveller, from Tarsis a retiarius of the second rank, (by the name of) Melanippus. No longer do I hear the voice of the bronze trumpet, nor when competing do I raise the din of the unequal pipes. They say that Herakles completed twelve labours [ἄθλα], but I completed the same and finished with thirteen. Thallus and Zoe made this for Melanippus from their own funds in remembrance.⁵⁰⁰

Melanippus came from Tarsus in Cilicia, the same city the author of Acts gives for Paul.⁵⁰¹ He boasts of his profession and performance, using Latin technical terminology, *retiarius* (ῥητιάρις) and *palus* (δεύτερος πάλος), to signify to travellers his armament type and rank. However, Melanippus also presented himself to a Greek audience as a successful athlete, boldly competing (ἄ[εθ]λῶν) in the stadium.⁵⁰² He compares his accomplishments with the famous labours of Herakles, an important heroic figure in agonistic festivals; a figure we will return to below. Melanippus even claims to have surpassed the hero, having won thirteen prizes (ἄθλα). Melanippus, like other gladiators in the east, blurred Roman and Greek traditions, athletic and gladiatorial. This type of representation offers us, particularly for Paul, another way of reading spectacle imagery.⁵⁰³

Images and Oil Lamps

As we explored in chapter 2, the image of the gladiator was ubiquitous; the skilled gladiator was hailed as a hero by large crowds and even taken up as a paradigm of virtue by some elite authors. Among Senecan scholars, there is no hesitation to discuss Seneca's use of spectacles more broadly and the figure of the gladiator in particular.⁵⁰⁴ For Pauline scholars, on the other hand, we have to struggle a little more and observe

⁵⁰⁰ CIG 3765; Robert, *Gladiateurs*, 234-235 no.298; Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 336 no.189. For a discussion of Greek attitudes to gladiators and this epitaph in particular, see Carter, "Gladiators and Monomachoi," 298-322. For gladiators in the Greek East, also see Mann, "Gladiators in the Greek East," 272-297.

⁵⁰¹ See Acts 21:39; Carter, "Gladiators and Monomachoi," 308.

⁵⁰² For gladiators competing in *stadia*, also see plate 8.

⁵⁰³ See Cavan W. Concannon, "'Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives': Gladiators, Athletes, and Early Christian Bodies," *JBL* 133 (2014): 193-214.

⁵⁰⁴ On Seneca's familiarity with the arena and use of the gladiator as a metaphor, see, among others, Barton, *Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*; Pierre Cagniard, "The Philosopher and the Gladiator," *CW* 93 (2000): 607-608; Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca*, 74-87.

more carefully Paul's appropriation of this figure. Reservations tend to emerge out of so-called theological concerns, rather than a legitimate examination of the social, political, and ideological context of Paul's thought.

The appearance of an event, a performance: advertised, attended, observed, remembered, and sometimes even lit up for all to see, emphasised the sensory experience of the spectators.⁵⁰⁵ Following on from his appearance in a procession, Paul, throughout the complicated argument that unfolds in 2 Cor 2:14-4:7, densely packs his discourse with images; especially images related to vision.⁵⁰⁶ These images appear thick and fast, including letters of recommendation (3:1), inscribed tablets and hearts (3:3), the glorious yet veiled face of Moses (3:13), the mirror reflecting the lord's glory (3:18), the god of this age blinding unbelievers (ἀπίστοι [4:4]), Christ as the icon of God (4:4), and the διάκονοι figured as fragile clay pots (4:7). The effect is one of being surrounded by a series of overlapping images that drew on tradition, myth, and festivals for their reference points. As one image blurs into the next, this exhibition prompts Paul's audience to recreate visually the next (or on-going) spectacle performance captured in a series of vivid images in 4:8-9.

The visual features of the discourse are also illuminated by Paul's vocabulary. His frequent use of language of manifestation and visibility (φανερῶ/φανέρωσις) in this letter fragment has not gone unnoticed.⁵⁰⁷ Paul's use of φανερῶ pushes back against accusations that he had acted deceitfully, especially the accusation of embezzling the collection; lit. "the hidden things of shame" (τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς αἰσχύνης [4:2]). Paul's language of visibility is also accompanied in the beginning of 2 Cor 4 with language of light and luminosity (φῶς/φωτισμός/λάμπω). The light that Paul refers to is "the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Christ" (4:6).

To continue his thought, Paul deploys the image of clay pots (ὄστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν), which contain light, the reference of "this treasure" (θησαυρὸν τοῦτον [4:7]). The presence of light should reveal the type of clay pots in view: cheap oil lamps sold in

⁵⁰⁵ For night-time spectacles lit up, see Suet. *Calig.* 18; *Dom.* 4; Tac. *Ann.* 14.21.3.

⁵⁰⁶ For a recent exploration of the excessive imagery used by Paul in 2 Cor 2:14-7:4, and its relation to the senses, see Jane M.F. Heath, *Paul's Visual Piety: The Metamorphosis of the Beholder* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

⁵⁰⁷ The word φανερῶ and its cognates appears eight times in 2 Cor 2:14-7:4 alone, and only two further times in the rest of canonical 2 Corinthians. On Paul's surprisingly frequent use of φανερῶ in 2 Corinthians, See Bultmann and Lührmann in *TDNT* 9, s.v. φαίνω κτλ., 4.

FIGURE 20. Oil Lamp, Corinth; Broneer Type XXVII

Scene: two heavily armed gladiators in combat. The gladiator on the left holds a sword in his right hand and with his left thrusts a large shield. The gladiator on the right has either been knocked down or ducks the thrust of the shield.



Corinth.⁵⁰⁸ It is provocative to imagine that as Paul wrote these verses and the Corinthians heard them, they peered down to see the light cast by their own oil lamps revealing images of gladiators in action on the discus-scenes (see figure 20; plate 14). With this new light, Paul focuses attention on his on-going spectacle performance, presented as a series of images of his body. While his performance was familiar, like the procession that Paul cast himself in at the start of the letter, the images that emerged were far from unambiguous.⁵⁰⁹

The (Un)Defeated Gladiator

Before we attempt to cast new light on Paul's spectacle, let us first turn to Seneca and explore the ways he adopts and adapts imagery from athletic and gladiatorial arenas to construct "a new type of hero...a fighter against fortune."⁵¹⁰ As we have already

⁵⁰⁸ This possibility of oil lamps is mostly ignored by the commentators, seeing "this treasure" as alluding back to Paul's διακονία in 4:1 or the gospel in 4:4, rather than the light in 4:6. However, see Thomas W. Manson, "2 Cor. 2:14-17: Suggestions towards an Exegesis," in *Studia Paulina (de Zwaan Festschrift)* (eds. Jan N. Sevenster and Willem C. van Unnik; Haarlem: Bohn, 1953), 156; Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 138.

⁵⁰⁹ These images feed into the tension between clarity and obscurity throughout the letter. This is what Margaret Mitchell calls Paul's employment of a "veil scale" that carefully calibrates "between the utterly clear and the utterly obscure, depending upon the *skopos* of the argument." See Margaret M. Mitchell, *Paul, the Corinthians and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 59.

⁵¹⁰ Asmis, "Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God," 115. My reading of Seneca and fortune is indebted to Asmis' essay. On the frequency of gladiatorial and athletic imagery in Seneca, see Magnus Wistrand, "Violence and Entertainment in Seneca the Younger," *Eranos* 88 (1990): 31-46; idem, *Entertainment and*

noted, Seneca reproduced the shameful oath of the gladiator: “to be burned, to be bound, to be slain by the sword” (*Ep.* 37.2), to describe the promise of the would-be philosopher to endure and even conquer the circumstances of life. The oath subjected volunteer gladiators to slave status, in order to maintain the important distinction in Roman society of free persons and slaves. Notwithstanding these social barriers, or maybe even because of them, Seneca enters the arena.

In the opening sections of *Letter* 13, Seneca suggests that you can never be sure of your strength until you have been tested on every side with many difficulties. Seneca imagines these difficulties as a contest, a single combat, against fortune.⁵¹¹ Evoking the figure of a boxer (*athleta*), Seneca claims, a fighter “who has never suffered a beating cannot bring bold spirits to the match (*certamen*). It is the one who has seen his own blood—who has heard his teeth crunch under the fist—who has lost his footing and found himself spread-eagled beneath his opponent—the one who, though thrown down, has never been thrown down in spirit, who after falling rises fiercer every time: *that* is the one who goes to the fight (*pugna*) with vigorous hope” (§2).⁵¹² Seneca’s figure of a boxer could also appear as a gladiator. Certainly *certamen* refers to an agonistic contest, but *pugna* usually refers to the fight between gladiators.⁵¹³ In the fight of Priscus and Verus, from the chapter epigram, Martial uses both terms to describe their gladiatorial fight.⁵¹⁴

Whether as boxer or gladiator, Seneca frequently appropriated arena imagery to construct his own spectacle, featuring a new Roman hero fighting against external circumstances.⁵¹⁵ In her excellent essay, Elizabeth Asmis explores the way Seneca’s

Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D. (Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992); Cagniard, “The Philosopher and the Gladiator,” 607-618; Gunderson, “Ideology of the Arena,” 113-151.

⁵¹¹ Cf. *Ep.* 80.3, where Seneca says: “Most of all, I ponder this. If the body can, with training, come to such a peak of endurance that it is able to sustain punches and kicks from more than one opponent, to bear the hottest glare of the sun, the most scorching heat of the dust, and to do this for an entire day while drenched with its own blood, then surely the mind can be strengthened far more easily to accept the blows of fortune, to be knocked down and trampled and yet to get up again.”

⁵¹² Translation, slightly adapted, from Graver and Long, *Seneca: Letters on Ethics to Lucilius*, 52.

⁵¹³ See OLD s.v. *pugna*. Also see *CIL* IV 2508 for the surviving inscription into plaster of a gladiator programme, which includes the types of gladiators, their names and *ludi* (Julian or Neronian), how many times they fought (*pugnarum*), and the results.

⁵¹⁴ Coleman, *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum*, 218-220.

⁵¹⁵ Seneca tends to linger on those athletic events that were the bloodiest, like boxing and wrestling, which had long been part of native Italian *ludi*. It was not till the end of the first-century, despite Nero’s attempts (with his five-yearly *Neronia* in 60 CE), that a permanent Greek-style festival was instituted in Rome. See Zahra Newby, “Greek Athletics as Roman Spectacle: The Mosaics from Ostia and Rome,” in *Greek Athletics* (ed. Jason König; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 238-262.

new hero struggles against fortune, “the apotheosis of these circumstances.”⁵¹⁶ In line with Stoic orthodoxy, the virtuous person remained calm and composed amid the struggle. Again, for Seneca this was best exemplified by Cato. But, unlike other Stoic thinkers, the struggle, despite one’s composure, was an active fight against an aggressive enemy.⁵¹⁷ Seneca, at one point, discloses to Lucilius: “I yearn to challenge every stroke of fortune—to shout, ‘Why let up fortune? Do your worst! See, I am ready!’” (*Ep.* 64.4).

Seneca’s spectacle trades on the reality of the arena in Roman society, but it is no simple adoption. Seneca may imagine himself thrown down again and again by the tyranny of fortune, but, with the right training, he rises to fight more boldly, like Melanippus, but in the arena of the self. Seneca does not continue to fight, however, just for another victory. Rather, Seneca seeks to attain virtue by despising all externals and rising far above them. “Seneca translates from the material world and its ephemeral shows into an abstract world wherein the mind can contemplate an eternal spectacle of virtue.”⁵¹⁸ However, as Asmis notes, this struggle to conquer fortune had political dimensions. “Seneca’s personification of fortune as a wilful tyrant reflects the real life tyranny of political agents.”⁵¹⁹ The state and especially the emperor—in this case Nero—take the place of fortune. Seneca’s spectacle becomes a form of resistance or subversion to the power structures that exhibited torture and death for entertainment.

Turning to Paul. On one level, the images that emerge from Paul’s text, lit up by oil lamps, are strikingly similar to Seneca’s spectacle. In a series of antithetical participles,⁵²⁰ Paul emphasises his physical and psychological struggle against a fierce opponent at each stage of combat:

On every side (we are) pressured but not cornered, at a loss but not in despair, pursued (διωκόμενοι) but not overtaken, thrown down (καταβαλλόμενοι) but not destroyed. (2 Cor 4:8-9)

⁵¹⁶ Asmis, “Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God,” 118.

⁵¹⁷ Asmis notes how different Seneca’s spectacle of heroic conquest was to other Stoic thinkers. Epictetus, in particular, “seems to have devised his system of moral training as an antithesis to Seneca’s fervent call for moral heroism... Epictetus shows all of his heroes as consistently easy-going, comfortable with their moral choices. None of them acts the hero. In Epictetus’ imagery, the trope of the ball takes the place of a hostile fortune. Confronted with imprisonment, exile, drinking poison, losing wife and children, Epictetus tell us, Socrates played with these items like a ball—catching and throwing them smoothly, expertly, and with a sense of humor.” See Asmis, “Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God,” 136.

⁵¹⁸ Gunderson, *The Sublime Seneca*, 76.

⁵¹⁹ Asmis, “Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God,” 135.

⁵²⁰ The four pairs of participles, all modified by ἐν παντί, are either dependent on the finite verb ἔχομεν in v.7 or they are syntactically independent, standing in the place of the indicative. See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 254; Margaret E. Thrall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (2vols.; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 1.326.

Paul, in the verses just before this set of vivid images, self-identifies as a slave (δοῦλος [4:5]).⁵²¹ Heard in this agonistic context, Paul's language of slavery, like we have seen in Seneca, evokes the image of *auctorati* and their assimilation to the status of a slave through the gladiatorial oath.

Paul's vocabulary in verses 8-9, like Melanippus and Seneca above, could be read in both athletic and gladiatorial traditions. Ceslas Spicq, the NT scholar and lexicographer, was the first to engage extensively with the idea that Paul's articulation of suffering evoked athletic imagery.⁵²² He argued that the participles seem to allude to "*mouvements très rapides de la lutte*," with each set describing the various phases of a wrestling match.⁵²³ The first describes the grip that each wrestler makes in the opening stages of a bout, with Paul's opponent getting the upper hand. As the match develops, Paul finds himself in increasingly precarious positions. The final set of participles represent the climatic phase of the bout: Paul has been thrown down (καταβάλλω), but not yet defeated.

In his conclusion, Spicq tried to anticipate the critique that, other than the use of καταβάλλω, Paul does not supply technical terminology from athletic games.⁵²⁴ Spicq suggested that Paul's discourse reveals the blurring of *ordinary* and *technical* language, and that this happened as much within the sports themselves as it did within everyday life. Rather than a strict correlation of technical terminology with Paul's images, we should seek to identify in the discourse "*la cohérence de la figure avec la chose figurée*."⁵²⁵ There is something important then, as Spicq intuited, about how we understand discourse and the evocation of images through language. Spicq's analysis of

⁵²¹ See Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 27-29. The signifier of slave did not automatically evoke the humiliation and degradation we normally associate with slavery. The status of slaves, especially slaves of a god, in the ancient world, like gladiators, was ambiguous. See Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

⁵²² Ceslas Spicq, "L'image Sportive de II Corinthiens IV, 7-9," *ETL* 13 (1937): 209-229; also see, Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 44-49.

⁵²³ Spicq, "L'image Sportive," 215-217.

⁵²⁴ Despite his attempt to anticipate the critique, his article has been mostly consigned to footnotes by subsequent commentators, with a strong criticism from J.-F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens. Étude exégétique de 2 Cor 2:14-7:4* (Cambridge University Press, 1972), 144-160. In similar dismissal of Spicq, Margaret Thrall articulates the problem with hearing Paul's language in 2 Cor 4:8-9, and the images that emerge from this text, in their everyday sense. Thrall's rejection rests on a so-called "biblical" reading of both θλίβω and στενοχωρέω; in this framework, the athletic images that emerge are "highly improbable." The assumption here is that Paul's theological intent read from various uses in other biblical texts is the true reading of the text, rather than the striking images familiar to those who first heard the letter. See Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1.327n.943.

⁵²⁵ Spicq, "L'image Sportive," 228.

the image of a wrestler is not contingent on the individual deployment of *termini technici*, as if the reproduction or representation of athletic imagery could only occur in the minds of the audience when they heard technical, athletic terminology. Instead, it is exactly the ability of ordinary language to trigger these familiar images in the imaginations of the audience that establishes the text.

Spicq's analysis emphasises the importance of viewing Paul's participles as a sequence of images, representing some form of combat. While the athletic motif resonates with Paul's imagery, it does not fully capture the various features of the text. When we look again, a series of gladiatorial images emerge.⁵²⁶ Cavan Concannon, moving beyond Spicq, has recently argued that Paul's language reveals a blurring of the lines between athletes and gladiators.⁵²⁷ A wrestler, Concannon notes, "is not generally backed into a corner (στενοχωρέω), chased about (διώκω), or threatened with death (ἀπόλλυμι)."⁵²⁸

Paul, now competing in the Corinthian arena, begins by stressing that "on every side" (ἐν παντί) he is "pressured but not cornered" (θλιβόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐ στενοχωρούμενοι [2 Cor 4:8]). θλίβω simply means to press or crowd and is almost synonymous with στενοχωρέω: to crowd, restrict, narrow, or confine. While these two terms are contrasted here, their cognate nouns, θλίψις and στενοχωρία, are normally paired together like we find later in 2 Cor 6:4. Epictetus' drawn out discussion with his interlocutors regarding correct judgment in the face of apparent difficulties gives us a fascinating example of these terms paired together. The interlocutor pushes back on Epictetus' Cynic asceticism towards any ambition to move up the social ladder:

But I wish to sit where the senators do.—Do you realize that you are making close quarters for yourself, that you are crowding yourself? [ὅτι σὺ σαυτῷ στενοχωρίαν παρέχεις, σὺ σαυτὸν θλίβεις]—How else, then, shall I have a good view in the amphitheatre?—Man, do not become spectator and you will not be crowded [θλιβῆς]. Why do you make trouble for yourself? Or else wait a little while, and when the show is over sit down among the seats of the senators and sun yourself. For in general remember this—that we crowd ourselves [ἐαυτοὺς θλίβομεν], we make close quarters for ourselves [ἐαυτοὺς στενοχωροῦμεν], that is to say, the decisions of our will crowd us and make us close quarters [θλίβει καὶ στενοχωρεῖ]. (*Diss.* 1.25.26-28)

⁵²⁶ See Edgar Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (ed. J. Paul Sampley; Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003), 352-353.

⁵²⁷ Concannon, "'Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives,'" 193-214.

⁵²⁸ Concannon, "'Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives,'" 211.

While appropriating the language for a Stoic discussion about the will, Epictetus' use of *θλίβω* and *στενοχωρέω* (and their cognates) starts as a simple description of sitting among the senators that flocked to the amphitheatre. Here, the language of being pressured and crowded is used in its everyday sense before being adapted for a discussion about Stoic judgment.

As the fight continues, Paul, under pressure, offers an insight into his psychological state. His struggles have brought him to a point of confusion, almost despair. Paul does descend into despair, as he later discloses to the Corinthian community: “for we were so utterly, unbearably crushed that we despaired of life itself (ὅτι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὑπὲρ δύναμιν ἐβάρηθημεν ὥστε ἐξαπορηθῆναι ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῦ ζῆν [2 Cor 1:8]). Feeling the pressure and confused by his superior opponent, Paul runs away; only to be pursued (*διώκω*) throughout the arena.⁵²⁹ In the next instance, Paul has been finally overtaken (*ἐγκαταλείπω*) and thrown down (*καταβάλλω*) to the ground.⁵³⁰ At this climatic point, which was captured in every form of media, and under the heavy weight of his opponent, Paul awaits the decision of the *editor* and spectators. This text, like the commemorative monuments explored in Chapter 2, becomes interactive. Paul was seeking a response from his audience.

At first glance, we can acknowledge a shift in the type of spectacle Paul has exhibited. Unlike a criminal condemned to the beasts or sword (1 Cor 15:32, 4:9) or a captive displayed in a procession (2 Cor 2:14), the gladiator was an expert fighter, valuable and professional. This is a distinction between slaughter and struggle. A slaughter meant certain death, but a struggle afforded the opportunity to fight bravely and honourably, and even to be awarded *missio*. It took courage to fight in the arena, and so here new resonances begin to strike the spectators. The courage and endurance displayed in the struggles of Paul and Seneca could also be enhanced, like Melanippus, through an association with the heroic figure of Herakles/Hercules.

⁵²⁹ See LSJ s.v. *διώκω*; BDAG s.v. *διώκω*.

⁵³⁰ In translating *ἐγκαταλείπω* as “overtaken,” I am following Allo, *Saint Paul*, 115-116; Héring, *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*, 31-32. Allo and Héring view in Paul’s imagery a hunt and a race. These approaches to Paul’s text have the advantage of viewing throughout the participles an extended metaphor, rather than only recognising Paul’s striking imagery (military, athletic, gladiatorial, or all) in the last two pairs of participles.

The Heroic Gladiator

In the gladiatorial epitaph we introduced above, Melanippus boasted about his victories in the arena. “They say that Herakles completed twelve labours, but I completed the same and finished with thirteen.” This type of appropriation of Herakles was a common one. As G. Karl Galinsky notes, “[t]he traditional range of his qualities was varied and complex enough to be susceptible to ever new interpretations and thus to assure the hero survival and popularity.”⁵³¹ The image of Herakles was ideologically active and, therefore, pervasive in all forms of media. Given the nature of his labours, there was a strong connection between Herakles/Hercules and the arena.⁵³² Suetonius, at the end of his life of Nero, mentions the emperor’s ambition to emulate the achievements of Hercules. “They say that a lion was trained for him to kill naked in the arena, with the people watching, either by means of a club or with the force of his arms.”⁵³³

Hercules was also considered a sage in the Stoic tradition. Seneca, reproducing the Stoic view of Ulysses and Hercules, says, “For we Stoics have declared that these were wise men, because they were unconquered by struggles, were despisers of pleasure, and victors over all terrors.”⁵³⁴ Hercules’ twelfth and greatest labour was his capture of Cerberus, the conquest of death (figure 21).⁵³⁵ It is this labour and the conquest of death that comes to preoccupy Seneca.⁵³⁶ Using the tragic form, Seneca was able to explore a bleak reality in which monsters were to be overcome and death was all pervasive. As John G. Fitch notes, Seneca’s unusually bleak world surely reflected “the dark experience of his times, at least for those near the centre of power, where the weight of the entire Roman empire bore down on a few individuals and turned some of them into monsters.”⁵³⁷ The struggle against death was actually an internal struggle against the self. But this point will be picked up again in the next chapter.

⁵³¹ G. Karl Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century* (Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972), 2.

⁵³² The cult of Hercules in Rome was located in the *Forum Boarium*, the site of the earliest displays of gladiators in Rome.

⁵³³ Suet. *Ner.* 53. For the connection between Hercules and the arena, also see Mart. *Spect.* 17.

⁵³⁴ Sen. *Constant.* 2.1.

⁵³⁵ See Mark P. O. Morford and Robert J. Lenardon, *Classical Mythology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 425.

⁵³⁶ See generally Sen. *Herc.*

⁵³⁷ John G. Fitch, *Seneca VIII Tragedies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 26.

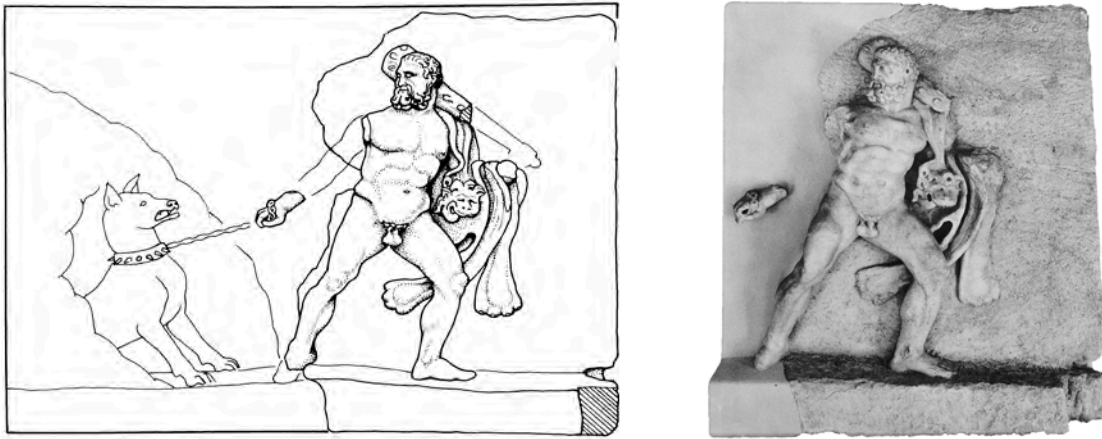


FIGURE 21. Herakles and the capture of Cerberus, from the theatre in Corinth

Immersed in the same bleak moment, Paul also encounters and boasts of his various struggles (1 Cor 4:9-13; 2 Cor 11:23-29, 4:8-9, 6:3-10). Given the pervasive presence of Herakles in this landscape, it remains a possibility that Paul's struggles may have been heard by some in Corinth in this broad context, especially in a site like the arena.⁵³⁸ But a direct comparison between Paul and Herakles is not the point. Rather, it is Paul's encounter with death, or his carrying about of death, which begins to mark his physical body (2 Cor 4:10) and occupy his psychological state (2 Cor 1:8). As the Corinthian spectators review the full scope of the arena fight, Paul insisted that his courageous performance as a gladiator was also a representation of the death of Christ. A spectacle to (re)interpret another spectacle. The focus of the gaze centres on the body of the apostle. It is a body that bears suffering and death, but also paradoxically manifests life (4:12).

It is difficult to get away from the profound political and ideological statement such a complex image would communicate. On one level, Paul's performance in the arena produced a series of images that may be viewed in line with the dominant ideology of the arena. The final and feature image of Paul, "thrown down but not destroyed," functions to commemorate and glorify God, the *editor* of these spectacles (2 Cor 4:15).⁵³⁹ But on another level, Paul's performance, viewed as an icon of the crucified

⁵³⁸ On the labours of Herakles and Paul's so-called *peristasis* catalogues, see Robert Hodgson, "Paul the Apostle and First Century Tribulation Lists," *ZNW* 74 (1983): 59-80; Also see, Malherbe, "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War," 143-173; idem, "Herakles," *RAC* 14 (1988): 559-583; Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*.

⁵³⁹ The suggestion that God, as *editor* of the spectacles, should be glorified as the benefactor emerges out of the vocabulary used in 2 Cor 4:15: the lavish gift (χάρις) of spectacles, ones that exhibited danger,

Christ (2 Cor 4:11, 12), subverts the structures of Roman power displayed in the arena and in many of its representations. In the words of Neil Elliott, “it is even more important for us to recognise that the fundamental ideological requirements of Roman imperialism are directly opposed in Paul’s representation of the body of the crucified and risen Christ in the world.”⁵⁴⁰ In beginning to tease out some of the ways Paul and Seneca contribute to the spectacle landscape—through their exhibitions of the crucified Christ and the heroic fighter against fortune—we are presented with counterideologies that resist and subvert the prevailing political and social expectations.

Conclusion

Paul claimed that his appearance and performance, while seemingly fragile and defeated, nevertheless could be read as courageous and actually revealed the power of God, that is the resurrection life of Jesus. In order to do this, he tied his own spectacle to that of the death of Jesus. Seneca, on the other hand, waged war against fortune. Both performances could be misunderstood by their spectators. We have yet to fully grasp the differences in the performances being exhibited by Paul and Seneca. Both were participating and contributing to the spectacle landscapes they inhabited, but their appropriations are complex reflections of their own political and social realities.

For Paul in particular, his deployment of spectacle imagery in 2:14-16 and 4:8-9 sought a response from his spectators. Seneca was less fussed about community opinion. The ambiguity of the image in 4:8-9 opened up space for Paul to persuade his audience that, given a particular reading of his body, he remained a competent minister of God. In the words of Margaret Mitchell, Paul is attempting “to force a hermeneutical choice on the Corinthians: either they see Paul and his gospel correctly—as the proper vehicle of the very ‘illumination of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God’ (4:4)—or they demonstrate that they have aligned themselves with ‘the perishing’ (*hoi apollymenoi*) or ‘the unbelieving’ (*hoi apistoi*), whose minds have been

courageous battle, and death, was to be reciprocated with thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) and honour to the glory (δόξα) of the benefactor. For the benefaction context reflected in Paul’s vocabulary, see James R. Harrison, *Paul’s Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003). See esp. 269-72 for the connection between *Charis* and *gratitude*. Also see F.W. Danker, *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field* (St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982); idem, *II Corinthians* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989); Calvin J. Roetzel, *2 Corinthians* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007), 72-73.

⁵⁴⁰ Elliott, “Ideological Closure in the Christ-Event,” 144.

blinded by ‘the god of this age’ (4:3-4; cf. 2:15-16) such that all they see (or smell) in Paul is shame, death and defeat (2 Cor 2:14-16; 4:8-12).”⁵⁴¹ However, this prompts the question, what kind of responses were expected from the performance put on by Paul? In the next chapter, we will explore possible judgments of Paul’s performance, as we continue our way through the spectacle elements of 2 Cor 2:14-7:4.

⁵⁴¹ Mitchell, *Paul, the Corinthians and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics*, 71-72.

CHAPTER 4

“In Honour and Dishonour”

Criticising Performances and Confronting Death

Still, a resolution was found for the deadlocked contest: equal they fought, equal they yielded. To both Caesar awarded the wooden sword and the palm: thus courage and skill received their reward. This has happened under no emperor except you, Caesar: two men fought and two men won.

Martial, *Liber spectaculorum*, 31.7-12

What therefore is required is the creation of counter-cultures that don't simply retreat into some pacifistic purity avoiding violence altogether, but engage the subject of violence with the ethical care and consideration its representation and diagnosis demand.

Brad Evans and Henry A. Giroux, *Disposable Futures*⁵⁴²

In the famous fight between Priscus and Verus in the epigram above and in Chapter 3, fought in the newly built colosseum, both gladiators were forced to continue their fight until one raised his finger (*ad digitum*; see plate 7). This was the sign of defeat. Yet, Martial tells us that the “struggle was evenly balanced,” so that no clear winner emerged. The spectators were so impressed by the evenly matched skill and courage on display, they unusually demanded a reprieve (*missio*) be awarded to both fighters. This was known as “released standing” (*stantes missi*).⁵⁴³ The request for both gladiators to

⁵⁴² Evans and Giroux, *Disposable Futures*, 41.

⁵⁴³ On *stantes missi*, see Potter, “Entertainers in the Roman Empire,” 307; Coleman, “*Missio* at Halicarnassus,” 487-500. In her article, Coleman examines the gladiatorial relief, now on display in the British museum (inv. 1847,0424.19), representing the fight between two women gladiators: Ἀμαζών and Ἀχιλλία. The relief presents them both facing one another ready for combat. The inscription above them reads ἀπελύθησαν, the plural for “release” (ἀπόλυσις/*missio*). The plural suggests that the fight between Amazon and Achillia ended in a draw and both were released, technically “released standing” (*stantes missi*). In an inscription from Sicily, the Syrian *secutor*, *Flamma*, is commemorated for having fought 34 times, won 21 times, drew 9 times (that is, released standing), and was released 4 times: *Flamma sec(utor), vix(it) an(nis) xxx; | pugna<vi>t xxxiiii, vicit xxi, | stans viiii, mis(sus) iiii, nat(ione) Syrus; hui<c> Delicatus coarmio merenti fecit* (CIL X 7297 = ILS 5113).

be released, we are told, broke the law (*lex*) of the fight set up by the emperor (as *editor*). One combatant had to raise his finger in defeat and the other be declared the winner. Because the fight was deadlocked and to get around this law, the emperor instead declared both gladiators' victors: "equal they fought, equal they yielded. To both Caesar awarded the wooden sword and the palm." And it is this generosity shown by the emperor that is the true reason for this panegyric epigram: "This has happened under no emperor except you, Caesar: two men fought and two men won."

This famous fight highlights the rules of engagement set by the *editor*, and the response of the crowd to the performances of the gladiators.⁵⁴⁴ Normally a fight would come to an end after a gladiator was wounded, exhausted, submitted to defeat by raising his finger, or, as we have seen, it could end in a draw. However, the emperor was sponsoring a rare form of spectacle, a *munus sine missione*, which required the fight to continue until a clear victor emerged.⁵⁴⁵ The palms awarded to both gladiators were a symbol of victory, also common in military and athletic spheres, and were often represented in the carved reliefs of gladiatorial monuments (see plates 8a and b, 9a).⁵⁴⁶ The awarding of wooden sticks (*rudes*), however, symbolised their release not just from the fight, but from gladiatorial service altogether. Another reminder that, despite their popularity, both Priscus and Verus, like all gladiators, held an ambiguous social status. What is emphasised, as a direct result of the crowd's perceptions of this fight, is the courage and skill of both gladiators. And this seems to be the intention, even the hope, of all the displays between highly skilled, professional fighters.

On one reading, as we explored in the previous chapter, Paul and Seneca's adoption of gladiatorial imagery could, like that of Priscus and Verus, be read as courageous, even heroic. The image of Hercules/Herakles struggling against opponents, beasts, and death loomed large, both in the landscape and specifically in the arena. But the appropriation of violence could also generate other readings among a group of people from diverse backgrounds. There is enough terminology deployed throughout the

⁵⁴⁴ On the rules, both established laws and etiquette, of the arena, see Carter, "Gladiatorial Combat," 91-114.

⁵⁴⁵ The term *munus sine missione* or combat without release has been taken to mean a "fight to the death." Though, this seems to mistake the way certain elite sources, as we shall see with Seneca below, adapted this more extreme form of gladiatorial combat to emphasise death, rather than what really happened. Here we see clearly the usefulness of making a distinction between representation and description. As Potter, "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," 307., has argued: "There was no such thing as a mandatory fight to the death between gladiators."

⁵⁴⁶ In the reliefs in plate 8a and b, the palm branches appear at the feet of both gladiators. The crowns displayed behind the gladiators also represented their victories. On the awarding of palms and other prizes, see Potter, "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," 316; Junkelmann, "*Familia Gladiatoria*," 69.

Corinthian correspondence to suggest the *ekklēsia* of Christ believers in Corinth, while primarily made up of people at or below subsistence levels (that is, the lower classes: the poor and slaves), also included “*some* who were not members of the lower class.”⁵⁴⁷ The Corinthian *ekklēsia* may even have had a named few out of the *some* who were not just liberated from the lower class, but may have been in or on the verge of the upper class in Corinth.⁵⁴⁸ Whatever the exact social locations of the *some* in Corinth, the distinctions between the poor majority and this wealthier minority, shaped by elite discourses—whether through participation in or mimicry of the upper class—would create differing assumptions and perceptions of spectacle performances.

Performances and Perceptions

Martial’s epigram of the Priscus and Verus fight was a celebration of “courage and skill” that redounded on Caesar, the *agonothetes* of the empire. In the last chapter, we explored the images produced by Paul and Seneca within a spectacle landscape. They were participating in the production and consumption of gladiatorial imagery; and, on one level, the appropriated imagery emphasised their heroic struggle. However, this heroic perception does not account for the full range of possible readings of spectacle performances. We have noted that spectacles were attended by people from every level of the social structures, seated hierarchically throughout the stands. Therefore, we might imagine multiple interpretations of the various performances. The images of the fights that Paul and Seneca deploy do not look like that of Priscus and Verus. The spectacle imagery of Paul and Seneca, beyond the struggle, theatricalise their sufferings and confrontation with death. While the gaze was firmly on the two performers, the interpretation of these performances was up for debate. Towards the end of 2 Cor 2:14-7:4, Paul openly admits that he was received “in honour and dishonour, in ill repute and good repute” (διὰ δόξης καὶ ἀτιμίας, διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας [2 Cor 6:8]), offering a fascinating glimpse into the diverse responses provoked by the apostle.

⁵⁴⁷ Dale B. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 61.

⁵⁴⁸ For a recent prosopography of the named few connected to the *ekklēsia* in the context of Corinthian demographics and increasing levels of inequality in Corinthian society throughout the Julio-Claudian period, see L. L. Welborn, “Inequality in Roman Corinth: Evidence from Diverse Sources Evaluated by a Neo-Ricardian Model,” in *The First Urban Churches 2: Roman Corinth* (eds. James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 47-84, esp. 67-74.

Returning to the popular fights between the armatures of the *retiarius* and the *secutor* that we explored in chapter 2, we will begin again with Paul's performance in the arena established in chapter 3. But now we will move beyond the generalised view of Paul's combat as a courageous, even heroic, struggle—simply by virtue of entering into single combat—and explore his place on the sand accustomed to the familiar features of armature, fighting styles, and tactics that excited gladiatorial fans. As Carlin Barton observes, the “spectator was, for the Romans, an inspector, judge, and connoisseur.”⁵⁴⁹ It is this familiarity that made gladiatorial spectacles a popular conversation topic at every level of society and this attention to detail that enabled gladiatorial imagery to be appropriated into elite discourses. We will then turn to Seneca, in light of this elite rhetoric, and explore both his adoption and adaptation of gladiatorial imagery, particularly his focus on the climactic moments of the (represented) fight. Finally, we will see how the differing gladiatorial performances of Paul and Seneca, both performances of death, cast alternate visions of life under, and even subverting, Roman power.

(Re)Viewing Paul Beyond the Podium, as a *Retiarius*?

Amidst various elitist complaints, we catch glimpses of people that enthusiastically discussed in their day-to-day lives and even dreamt about spectacle displays.⁵⁵⁰ These discussions were so ubiquitous Tacitus wondered whether “the passion for play actors, and the mania for gladiatorial shows and horse-racing” were roused in the mother's womb. There was no room, he grumbled, for “higher pursuits” because everyone was preoccupied with the arena.⁵⁵¹ The elite youth, and worst still their teachers, spent time in class discussing various entertainments and these discussions continued at home. In the satirical work of Petronius, a contemporary of Paul and Seneca, we find just these types of discussions between the guests of Trimalchio's banquet. Echion, one of the guests, mentions the forthcoming spectacles to be sponsored by a certain Titus:

Just think, we are soon to be given a superb spectacle lasting three days; not simply a troupe of professional gladiators, but a large number of them freedmen. And our good Titus has a big imagination and is hot-headed: it will be one thing or another. Something

⁵⁴⁹ Carlin A. Barton, “Being in the Eyes: Shame and Sight in Ancient Rome,” in *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body* (ed. David Fredrick; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 221.

⁵⁵⁰ On dreaming about gladiators, see Artem. 2.32.

⁵⁵¹ See Tac. *Dial.* 29. Also Epictetus, discussing the various conversations in social interactions, says: “For what are you going to do if he talks about gladiators, or horses, or athletes, or, worse still, about people: “So-and-so is bad, So-and-so is good; this was well done, this ill” (Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3.16.4).

real anyway. I know him very well, and he is all against half-measures. He will give you the finest blades, no running away, butchery done in the middle, where the whole audience can see it. (*Sat.* 45)

Note Echion's stress on the status of the gladiators and the expected performances. No running away (*sine fuga*) to the corners, the fights all take place in the centre of the arena where the spectators could best see the action. This area of the arena was even lit up, so to speak. Beyond protecting spectators from the scorching heat, as Jerry Toner notes, awnings "helped to spotlight the stage,"⁵⁵² that is the centre of the arena, focussing the heat of the sun and the attention of the spectators on the action. Echion also goes on to anticipate specific performers, including a female *essedaria* and the execution of a domestic accountant after being caught in adultery with the mistress of the house. Echion emphasises his excitement for the coming spectacles by disparaging an earlier *munus* presented by a certain Norbanus:

He produced some decayed twopenny-halfpenny gladiators, who would have fallen flat if you breathed on them; I have seen better ruffians turned in to fight the wild beasts. He shed the blood of some mounted infantry that might have come off a lamp; dunghill cocks you would have called them: one a spavined mule, the other bandy-legged, and the holder of the bye, just one corpse instead of another, and hamstrung. One man, a Thracian, had some stuffing, but he too fought according to the rule of the schools. In short, they were all flogged afterwards. How the great crowd roared at them, 'Lay it on!' They were mere runaways, to be sure. 'Still,' says Norbanus, 'I did give you a show.' (*Sat.* 45)

Echion's, and the crowd's, criticism of Norbanus and his failure to display any performers of note or skill reveals the anticipation and expectation of spectators.⁵⁵³ The *editor* was judged on both his ability to recruit the very best gladiators and on their performances.⁵⁵⁴ Of course, the gladiators were also judged, both by the sponsor and the spectators. On this occasion, their poor performances resulted in floggings to the crowd's approval, a reminder of the status of gladiators.⁵⁵⁵ Subjected to systemic power, if gladiators did not perform, they were beaten or sometimes executed.

This preoccupation with types of performers and their ability, discussed in everyday conversations, is an important factor in how we might imagine the various responses

⁵⁵² Toner, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome*, 152.

⁵⁵³ For a recent study on the anticipation and excitement of the crowd at arena performances, see Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena*.

⁵⁵⁴ In Cicero's correspondence with Atticus, Cicero says: "Oh, and you might let me know about the gladiators, but only if they give a good account of themselves. Otherwise I am not interested" (*Att.* 4.8.2). Also see this same emphasis on acquiring the best gladiators possible in the novel by Apuleius: *Apul. Met.* 10.18.

⁵⁵⁵ See Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions," 66-95.

provoked by Paul and Seneca's self-representations. Looking again at the apostle's performance in the arena, captured in four pairs of participles, Paul stressed that on all sides he was:

pressured but not cornered, at a loss but not in despair, pursued (διωκόμενοι) but not overtaken, thrown down (καταβαλλόμενοι) but not destroyed. (2 Cor 4:8-9)

The images that emerge of Paul's combat present him as an unskilled gladiator, facing both defeat and death.⁵⁵⁶ Paul's self-representation in the verses leading into his performance in verse 8-9 do not help matters. In v.5, Paul imagines himself as a slave (δοῦλος) and then in v.7 as a clay pot (ὄστράκινος σκεῦος). Both images work to emphasise his weakness, fragility, and his social-status amongst the lowest members of society. Both images also pick up, once again, the ambiguous imagery associated with the opening spectacle metaphor of the letter fragment back in 2:14-16.⁵⁵⁷

We have already noted in chapter 2 and 3 the importance of *auctorati*, contract gladiators, and their assimilation to slaves forced to fight in the arena.⁵⁵⁸ Paul's language of slavery, in close proximity to his gladiatorial imagery, may have been heard in this web of social relations connected to the arena. Despite their popularity, gladiators were social outcasts, existing beyond the margins of society.⁵⁵⁹ However, as Thomas Wiedemann notes, unlike the condemned criminals sent out to a massacre, performers with the training of a professional gladiator had the potential to save themselves through a demonstration of skill and courage.⁵⁶⁰ The fate of defeated gladiators was given to the sponsor of the games and often extended to the crowd to judge the performance. The crowd responded to the performance of the defeated gladiator with a gesture of the thumb, either to grant release (*missio*) or condemn to death.⁵⁶¹ So, as we find attested,

⁵⁵⁶ See Krentz, "Paul, Games, and the Military," 353.

⁵⁵⁷ See chapter 3 above. Also, Duff, "The Language of Processions," 158-165; Marshall, "A Metaphor of Social Shame," 302-317. The ambiguity inherent in Paul's selection of images—slave and clay pot—is also inherent in his vocabulary. See Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 176-177.

⁵⁵⁸ See especially Edwards, "Unspeakable Professions," 66-95. Also see Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 102-127; Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria," 31-74; Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World*, 29.

⁵⁵⁹ For the occurrence of amphitheatres located at the edge of the city or outside city walls, see Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 46. Also see Hazel Dodge, "Amusing the Masses: Buildings for Entertainment and Leisure in the Roman World," in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire* (eds. D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly; Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999), 228.

⁵⁶⁰ Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, 105.

⁵⁶¹ On the "turning of the thumb" (*verso pollice*, Juv. 3.36), see Anthony Corbeill, "Thumbs in Ancient Rome: *Pollex* as Index," *MAAR* 42 (1997): 1-21.

even defeated gladiators, provided they exhibited an ability to fight well, had a good chance of being awarded a reprieve to fight another day.⁵⁶²

Paul through the Corinthian letters so far has begun to shift the imagery deployed, from a criminal to contract fighter (cf. 1 Cor 4:9 and 2 Cor 2:14-16 to 4:8-9). But, this shift remains ambiguous. While Paul within two chapters of his Conciliatory Apology is transformed into a professional gladiator, he presents himself lacking skill and losing the battle to a superior opponent. Even worse, Paul depicts himself as a runaway, pursued throughout the arena, and eventually overtaken and thrown down to the ground. Overall, spectators observed in Paul's performance a gladiator cornered, despairing of life, chased about, and thrown down. We might ask how these images would have been received by an expectant audience familiar with various forms of fighting.

Beyond the satirical representations of Trimalchio's banquet guests, Garret Fagan's new study of the social-psychological dynamics of the crowds at arena spectacles draws on various texts, literary and inscriptional, to note spectator preferences for specific fighting styles.⁵⁶³ The perceptive viewers understood the logic of arena performances, and this inevitably resulted in "a connoisseurship of technique" among enthusiastic fans.⁵⁶⁴ There is some evidence that factions existed among fans supporting particular types of armature. Two are mentioned in inscriptions: the *parmularii* and *scutarii*, supporting Thracians and *murmillones*.⁵⁶⁵ Emperors, too, were said to have preferred certain types of gladiators. Caligula was a *parmularius* and even appeared as a Thracian; Claudius, grimly, liked to watch the helmetless *retiarii* killed; Nero was a *scutarius*, lavishing gifts on his favourite *murmillio*, Spiculus; Titus favoured Thracians; Domitian threw a spectator, probably a *parmularius*, into the arena after he spoke out in favour of Thracians over the emperor's preferred *murmillones*; and Commodus appeared in the arena on many occasions as a *secutor*.⁵⁶⁶ In addition to emperors and arena connoisseurs, armature and fighting styles were also important to gladiators themselves. In their epitaphs, gladiators regularly preferred to present themselves to

⁵⁶² See (CIL IV 2508) the stats of the gladiators that performed in Pompeii, including the number of fights, and whether the gladiators won, lost, were executed or released, in Cooley and Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum*, 78 (D37).

⁵⁶³ See Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena*, 189-229 and passim.

⁵⁶⁴ Fagan, *The Lure of the Arena*, 220.

⁵⁶⁵ The factions were named after the size of the shields carried by Thracians and *murmillones*. The *parmularii* favoured the Thracians carrying a small, round shield (*parma*). The *scutarii* favoured the *murmillones* carrying the large rectangular shield (*scutum*). On the armament, see Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria," 31-74. On the factions, see Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 79-80; Dunkle, *Gladiators*, 106.

⁵⁶⁶ See Suet. *Calig.* 54.1, 55.2; *Claud.* 34.1; *Ner.* 30.2; *Tit.* 8.2; *Dom.* 10.1; On Commodus as a *secutor*, see Dio Cass. 72.19, SHA *Comm.* 12.11-12.

travellers by their specific armament type.⁵⁶⁷ Given these clear distinctions, we may even begin to explore the possibility that Paul's self-representation may have been connected to a particular armament type, the *retiarius*, and the ideological significance associated with this figure.

We have already examined the *retiarius* as the most recognisable gladiator type. Fighting without protective armour, except for an arm guard, these gladiators carried a trident and net. Unburdened by the weight of a large shield and helmet, the athletic *retiarius* was swift and agile, using unique weaponry to attack from a distance. Their opponents, on the other hand, *secutores* (or *contraretiarii*), were modelled on Roman legionaries. They were heavily protected with helmets, arm guards, greaves, shields, and swords. The intention behind such pairings, lightweight versus heavyweight gladiators, trident and net versus sword and shield, was both to entertain and emphasise tactical skill and bravery in the arena.⁵⁶⁸ Spectators expected certain types of gladiators to fight in a specific way: "some gladiators pursued and others were pursued,"⁵⁶⁹ and they interpreted performances, tactics, and even armature within a web of Roman ideologies obsessed with martial virtue. Consequently, we find these figures and scenes of fighting adopted by elite writers in discussions on virtue and vice, masculinity and femininity.

In an important exploration of *some* elite attitudes towards this matchup of the *retiarius* and *secutor*, Michael Carter focuses on the texts of Juvenal and Artemidorus.⁵⁷⁰ Juvenal deploys the image of a *retiarius* as part of a "back-to-front roll call" of Roman nobility performing on stage and in the arena.⁵⁷¹ Citing a member of the famous Gracchi, who voluntarily entered the arena, Juvenal attacks the upper class for their "dishonourable" public displays:

And that's where you've got the disgrace of Rome: a Gracchus fighting, but not in a *murmillo*'s gear, and not with the shield or curving blade. He rejects that sort of get-up, you see: look, he's brandishing a trident. Once he has poised his right hand and cast the

⁵⁶⁷ See Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 83-97. For a description of the various classifications of gladiators, see appendix 2.

⁵⁶⁸ Significantly, the *secutor* was named after his fighting tactics. According to the etymological dictionary compiled by Isidore of Seville, the *secutor* was named 'pursuer' because he chased after the *retiarius*. See Michael J. Carter, "(Un)Dressed to Kill: Viewing the Retiarius," in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* (eds. Jonathan C. Edmondson and Alison Keith; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 116.

⁵⁶⁹ Carter, "Gladiatorial Combat," 104.

⁵⁷⁰ This reading of certain elite responses to the *retiarius* is indebted to the work of Carter, "(Un)Dressed to Kill," 113-135.

⁵⁷¹ See John Henderson, *Figuring Out Roman Nobility: Juvenal's Eighth Satire* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997). On elite members restrictions from performing publicly, see the *senatus consultum* on the bronze tablet found in Larinum in Levick, "Senatus Consultum," 97-115.

trailing net without success, he raises his bare face to the spectators and runs off, highly recognisable, all through the arena. (*Sat.* 8.199-206)⁵⁷²

Juvenal's barbed critique not only presents the performance of a Gracchus in the arena, but also emphasises the type of performance. It was bad enough that a member of the Roman upper class descended into the arena, the disgrace was compounded when he performed as a *retiarius*. Presuming a familiarity with arena performances, Juvenal sets up a somatic hierarchy, deploying particular types of gladiators as embodiments of honour and dishonour. On the one hand, heavily armed gladiators, fighting with a *scutum* and *gladius*, resembled Roman soldiers, martial virtue, and aggressive masculinity, while the *retiarius*, by comparison, fought with unusual weapons and mostly nude. Juvenal's description of the fight is also important to note. The Gracchus, having discarded his net, preceded to run away (*fugere*) from his opponent rather than fight in the centre of the arena. Instead of performing honourably with a display of technical excellence, the Gracchus as a *retiarius* cuts a shameful figure exposing his bare head for all the spectators to see throughout the amphitheatre.

Juvenal's inclusion of such a performance in the *Satires* was first deployed in his second satire as a response to the so-called effeminacy (*mollitia*) "infecting" the Roman elite. A disparaging Juvenal describes the grooming practices of these effeminate men before citing the Gracchus, who had just married a trumpeter and was the "new bride" (*nova nupta*) and "passive partner" in the relationship. However, according to Juvenal, the grooming and sexual "offences" of these effeminate men to the constructed forms of elite masculinity were surpassed by the decision of the Gracchus to fight specifically as a *retiarius*. This decision to fight in the arena as a *retiarius* was perceived as symptomatic of such social and sexual deviants.⁵⁷³

Juvenal was participating in a discourse of power that deployed constructs of masculinity, effeminacy, and certain aspects of the gladiatorial institution to structure society into the honourable and the dishonourable.⁵⁷⁴ Seneca too contributes to this

⁵⁷² Also see earlier in *Sat.* 2.143-148: "Yet this outrage is surpassed by Gracchus, wearing a tunic and with a trident in his hand, who as a gladiator traversed the arena as he ran away, a man of nobler birth than the Capitoli and Marcelli, than the descendants of Catulus and Paulus, than the Fabii, than all the spectators in the front row, even if you include the very man who staged that net-throwing show."

⁵⁷³ For the connection of this elite reception of the *retiarius* with social/sexual deviants, see Craig A. Williams, *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 125-159.

⁵⁷⁴ On Roman masculinity, as the impenetrable and penetrable body, see Jonathan Walters, "Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought," in *Roman Sexualities* (eds. Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner; Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 29-43; David Fredrick,

discourse of power in a similar way. Seneca presents a picture of the effeminacy of certain elite men, their desire for smooth bodies, makeup, jewellery, and special attention to their bodily movements. Even more extreme, acts of genital mutilation and submission to train in a gladiatorial school:

Daily we invent ways whereby an indignity may be done to manliness, to ridicule it, because it cannot be cast off. One man cuts off his genitals, another flees to an indecent part of a gladiators' school; and, hired for death, he chooses a disgraceful type of armament to practise his sickness in. (*QNat.* 7.31.3)

Here, too, Seneca uses the gladiatorial institution, somewhat surprisingly, as the climatic piece of evidence for the emergence of effeminate behavior. But, it is a specific element of the institution. The effeminate man subjects his body to the control of another through submission to the *ludus*. This submission is labelled a “sickness,” “disease” (*morbus*) and exacerbated by the seemingly inevitable choice to fight as a particular gladiator; one that carries the disgraceful type of armament (*infame armaturae genus*). Seneca does not state which type, but this is only because it is obvious to his readers: the *retiarius*.⁵⁷⁵ The contours of this discourse around masculinity, femininity, and sexuality, emphasised by elements of the gladiatorial institution, are outlined nicely by Craig Williams:

A man might lose his grip on masculine control, and thus be labeled *effeminate*, in various ways: by indulging in an excessive focus on his appearance or making himself look like a woman, by seeking to be dominated or even penetrated by his sexual partners, by subjugating himself to others for the sake of pleasuring or entertaining them, or by yielding to his own passions, desires, and fears. Masculinity was not fundamentally a matter of sexual practice; it was a matter of control.⁵⁷⁶

This elite construct of masculinity and sexuality, including the perception of the athletic *retiarius*, centred on control of one's body and reality also emerges, as Carter explores, in the Greek East. Artemidorus, the “dream-interpreter,” in his work on predictive dreams discusses the various armatures of gladiators and their meaning. According to Artemidorus, the armament type of gladiators symbolised what type of spouse the dreamer will marry. Putting the interpretation of dreams and marriage aside, Artemidorus' symbolic use of the different types of gladiators draws on the well-understood logic of arena imagery:

The Roman gaze : vision, power, and the body (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 236-264.

⁵⁷⁵ See Carter, “(Un)Dressed to Kill,” 125.

⁵⁷⁶ Williams, *Roman Homosexuality*, 141.

If a man fights with a *secutor*, he will marry a wife who is attractive and rich. But she will be very proud of her wealth and, because of this, disdainful of her husband and the cause of many evils. For the *secutor* always pursues (ἀεὶ διώκει). If the dreamer's opponent is a *retiarius*, he will marry a wife who is poor and wanton—a woman who roams about consorting very freely with anyone who wants her. (Artem. 2.32)⁵⁷⁷

The *retiarius*, like in Juvenal, is characterised by Artemidorus as an impoverished, suspect fighter who is always pursued by his opponent, the *secutor*. The poverty of the wife embodied in the figure of a *retiarius*—an allusion to the non-existent armour of the gladiator—is, here, also associated with suspicious and submissive sex. Again, we see this same complex constellation of ideas operative in the rhetoric: conceptions of masculinity, sexuality, and subjection. What is surprising is that these conceptions, surrounding and forming the *retiarius*, have emerged beyond the Roman perspective in the Greek East. As Michael Carter concludes, “Artemidorus’ dreamers seem to have thought the same thing of the *retiarius* as did the Romans, and that is remarkable. It is one thing for a Greek to watch gladiatorial combats. It is quite another for him to see and understand them like a Roman.”⁵⁷⁸

Finally, on the ground in Corinth, this fight between the *retiarius* and the *secutor* was frequently reproduced on small oil lamps. Gladiators generally were one of the most common motifs to appear on lamps in Corinth, often depicting fights at various stages of combat.⁵⁷⁹ In the scenes displayed in figure 22, we find a lightweight *retiarius* on the left against a heavily armed *secutor* on the right. In the first scene (T3438), the *retiarius* clings to his trident while the seemingly superior *secutor* advances. In the second, fragmented scene (L1061), the *retiarius* has been thrown down to the ground. The *secutor* stands over his defeated opponent ready to strike the *coup de grâce*.

⁵⁷⁷ Translation taken from Robert J. White, *The Interpretation of Dreams* (Park Ridge, NJ: Noyes Press, 1975), 111. Greek text from, Roger A. Pack ed, *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1963).

⁵⁷⁸ Carter, “(Un)Dressed to Kill,” 131.

⁵⁷⁹ For oil lamps in Corinth and the popularity of gladiatorial scenes as decoration, see *Corinth* IV.2, esp.101-102. For (fragmentary) lamps depicting *retarii* and *secutores*, see *Corinth* IV.2, 197-198 (nos. 630-643).



FIGURE 22. Oil Lamps, Corinth; Broneer Type XXVII; left T3438 (see pl.14f), right L1061. Scenes: both lamps present a fight between a lightweight *retiarius* on the left and a heavily armed *secutor* on the right. On T3438, the *retiarius* and *secutor* are in combat; on L1061, the *coup de grâce*, the *retiarius* has been thrown down by the victorious *secutor*.

Beyond the Corinthian oil lamps, an important gladiatorial epitaph has been recovered, depicting a named *retiarius*, Δραῦκος, holding both a trident and a palm.⁵⁸⁰ The name Δραῦκος is a *nom de guerre* that was occasionally adopted by athletes in the east who trained in the nude. It signified the speed and agility of a lightweight athlete, making it a natural choice for our *retiarius* in Corinth.⁵⁸¹ But, as Carter has noted, the name also carried significant sexual overtones in Martial. The young figure of an athlete (*draucus*) becomes the object of a certain Chrestus' sexual appetite and the implied passive partner.⁵⁸²

Emerging from these various representations of the arena, in Rome, Corinth, and beyond, were certain attitudes, both Roman and Greek, towards various gladiator types. While most spectators enjoyed the diverse range of armatures and skills on display in the arena, we have explored the way these same armatures could be appropriated into elite discourses on honour and dishonour. Now we can begin to see how Paul, willingly or not, enters this discussion. Given that the form and performance of the *retiarius*, as

⁵⁸⁰ On the gladiatorial epitaph (inv. I 2664) in Corinth and the significance of the name Δραῦκος, see Michael J. Carter, "A *Doctor Secutorum* and the *Retiarius* Draukos from Corinth," *ZPE* 126 (1999): 262-268.

⁵⁸¹ Carter, "A *Doctor Secutorum* and the *Retiarius* Draukos from Corinth," 267-268.

⁵⁸² Mart. 9.27.

figured by these elite representations, was being pursued throughout the arena, Paul's self-representation as a gladiator may have been interpreted by *some* in Corinth in light of this specific fighting type, carrying with it the disgrace and dishonour engendered by the *retiarius*' appearance and fighting style. Paul imagines himself in combat as being "pressured" (θλιβόμενοι), "pursued" (διωκόμενοι), "thrown down" (καταβαλλόμενοι) by his opponent (see figure 22). The activity involved in this representation seems to lend itself to a type of performance associated with the *retiarius*. Paul, who refuses to stand in the centre of the arena, is pursued throughout the arena by his superior opponent.

Apart from their caricatured fighting style, the *retiararii* were also despised by some for their appearance, in contrast to their heavily armed opponents. Paul's appearance too had been the subject of suspicion. In the previous letters of the Corinthian correspondence, Paul both incited and reproduced the accusations levelled against his appearance. He had presented himself and his colleagues as people condemned to death, foolish, weak, dishonoured, hungry and thirsty, naked, beaten, and homeless...like the refuse of the world, the scum of all things (1 Cor 4:9-13). These terms set by the dominant power, as Dale Martin has examined, identified Paul and the apostles with the lowest classes in society; in contrast with *some* in Corinth who selected for themselves the opposing markers of high status.⁵⁸³ They also evoked desperate and disparaging images, and were more than accidental appropriations inevitably misconstrued, arbitrarily rattled off for effect or to entertain. Paul positioned himself among the beaten, violated, marginalised, dispossessed. He inhabited a space beyond the social limits, beyond the podium wall. And, while confounding, it was intentional.

Predictably, some in Corinth responded to Paul with the script produced by the power structure itself; the same discourse of masculinity and sexuality we have been tracing. He was accused of appearing base, servile, or submissive (ταπεινός; 2 Cor 10:1) and weak (ἀσθενής).⁵⁸⁴ "For they say, 'His letters are weighty and strong, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech of no account'" (2 Cor 10:10). These judgments of Paul, common accusations levelled at people from the lower classes, were confirmed

⁵⁸³ See Martin, *The Corinthian Body*, passim.

⁵⁸⁴ See LSJ, s.v. ταπεινός; BDAG, ταπεινός. On the Corinthians', and in particular the wrongdoer's, charge of ταπεινός against Paul, see Welborn, *End to Enmity*, 67-80.

in Paul's own ironic boasting of the penetrability of his body.⁵⁸⁵ He had been repeatedly beaten and flogged, stoned once, and imprisoned. As Jonathan Walters notes, "To be of high status meant to be able to protect one's body from assault even as punishment; the mark of those of low status was that their body was available for invasive punishment."⁵⁸⁶

Inevitably, Paul's bodily integrity, according to the parameters of the discourse, was also connected to his moral integrity. "I was crafty, you say, and got the better of you by guile" (2 Cor 12:16).⁵⁸⁷ As briefly mentioned in the introduction to part two, Paul was publicly accused of attempting to defraud the wealthy few in the *ekklēsia* with his collection for the poor saints in Jerusalem.⁵⁸⁸ This type of deceptive behaviour was perceived to be part of the various cunning schemes utilised by those trying to survive at subsistence levels.⁵⁸⁹ The accusations thrown at Paul by a single individual, or small group, in the community, Paul's own use of suspect imagery, and his boasting of beatings all culminate in his paradoxical and subversive insight that "power is made perfect in weakness" (2 Cor 12:9; cf. 13:4).⁵⁹⁰ It is this insight, the conclusion to his letter of tears, that shapes and forms Paul's discourse throughout his Conciliatory Apology (2 Cor 2:14-7:4).

In this letter, the images of a *pompa*, slave, oil lamp, and a gladiatorial spectacle all emphasise weakness and subjection. Paul's performance as a *retiarius* continues to vividly represent this weakness, struggle, and suffering experienced in life, later disclosed by Paul as a psychological suffering that led him to grow tired of living, literally "to despair even of life" (ἐξαπορηθῆναι...καὶ τοῦ ζῆν [2 Cor 1:8]).⁵⁹¹ Arriving

⁵⁸⁵ On the penetrability of Paul's body and the complicated story that such a beaten body would communicate, see Glancy, "Boasting of Beatings," 99-135. Also see Jennifer Larson, "Paul's Masculinity," *JBL* 123 (2004): 85-97.

⁵⁸⁶ Walters, "Invading the Roman Body," 38.

⁵⁸⁷ On the connection between Paul's corporal and moral degradation, see Glancy, "Boasting of Beatings," 129.

⁵⁸⁸ For distinct moments in the Corinthian correspondence dealing with the "Jerusalem collection," see 1 Cor 16: 1-4; 2 Cor 8; 2 Cor 9. Also see, Betz, *2 Corinthians 8 and 9*. In the subsequent correspondence (2 Cor 2:14-7:4 and 2 Cor 1:1-2:13, 7:5-16), after being publicly accused of deceit and fraud on his second visit to Corinth (articulated by Paul himself in 2 Cor 12:16-13:2), Paul spills a lot of ink disavowing himself of these charges. See 2 Cor 2:17, 4:1-2, 6:8, 7:2, 1:12. Also see Welborn, *End to Enmity*, passim.

⁵⁸⁹ See Toner, *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome*, 26-53.

⁵⁹⁰ This is a paradox that first emerges in the early stages of the Corinthian correspondence in a shift in Paul's own proclamation: "For the message about the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God" (1 Cor 1:18). This paradoxical proclamation, as Paul will go on to reflect in the letter, arrives at a similar paradoxical image from the arena itself in 1 Cor 4:9-13.

⁵⁹¹ On the psychological aspects of Paul's suffering, see David E. Fredrickson, "Paul, Hardships, and Suffering," in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook* (ed. J. Paul Sampley; London: Trinity Press International, 2003), 172-197; L. L. Welborn, "Paul and Pain: Paul's Emotional Therapy in 2 Corinthians 1.1-2.13; 7.5-16 in the Context of Ancient Psychagogic Literature," *NTS* 57 (2011): 547-570.

at this point in the Corinthian correspondence, Paul deploys the *retiarius*, both a gladiator and, to some, the embodiment of effeminacy, to deliberately and more fully embrace the paradox of power in weakness.

At the climax of Paul's combat, he presents himself thrown down to the ground awaiting the *coup de grâce*. This famous image, as we have seen, was captured throughout the empire on monumental and funerary reliefs, mosaics, paintings, lamps and vases.⁵⁹² At this climatic moment of the fight, Paul turns to interpret his current crisis through the event of the crucified Christ. Paul is "carrying about the death of Jesus in his body," and being "handed over to death," (4:10-11); and, in looking back to the messianic event, Paul experienced a hope of deliverance from this moment of death (4:14). Paul's desire to be delivered from death, illuminated by the logic of the arena, casts God as the *editor* of the spectacle,⁵⁹³ offering his apostle *missio*. Filling out this moment of death, so to speak, Paul quotes the psalmist: "I believed, and so I spoke" (4:13). It is not immediately clear how this quote follows Paul's vivid imagery of suffering and death. Further examination of the Psalm(s)⁵⁹⁴ reveals the psalmist's cry immediately following Paul's citation: "I believed, and so I spoke: 'I am greatly abased'" (ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐταπεινώθην σφόδρα [Ps 115:1 LXX]). It is hard to imagine that the psalmist's cry "I am greatly abased," with the verbal form of ταπεινός, was not an important part of Paul's meditation on the accusations levelled against him, discussed above, and on his current crisis. The broader context of the Psalm(s) depicts a distressed and anguished character who has been ensnared by death. In this physical and psychological state, the abject character cries out to the LORD for deliverance from a moment of crisis, from the clutches of death.⁵⁹⁵

⁵⁹² See Brown, "Death as Decoration," 180-211; Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*, fig. 3, 5, 9-11, 13, 15. On spectacle representations on all forms of media, see Bergmann, "Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle," 9-35.

⁵⁹³ See 1 Cor 4:9. For God as the *editor* of a cosmic spectacle, see Welborn, *Paul, the Fool of Christ*, 59; V. Henry T. Nguyen, "God's Execution of His Condemned Apostles: Paul's Imagery of the Roman Arena in 1 Cor 4,9," *ZNW* 99 (2007): 45-47; Concannon, "'Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives,'" 193-214.

⁵⁹⁴ Paul reproduces word for word the LXX, Ps 115:1. The Hebrew texts that lies behind is in the middle of Ps 116, which has been divided in the LXX to include Pss 114 and 115.

⁵⁹⁵ Psalm 116:3-4, 8-10 [LXX 114:3-4, 8-9; 115:1]: "The snares of death encompassed me; the pangs of Sheol laid hold on me; I suffered distress and anguish. Then I called on the name of the LORD: "O LORD, I pray, save my life!"...For you have delivered my soul from death, my eyes from tears, my feet from stumbling. I walk before the LORD in the land of the living. I kept my faith, even when I said, 'I am greatly afflicted.'" This translation of the psalmist's cry is taken from the Hebrew. Furnish notes the translation of the Hebrew, which is rendered differently in the LXX, by Dahood, who provocatively, for our project, translates the cry: "I remained faithful though I was pursued." See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 258. On the broader context, see Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1.337-341.

Seneca's *Munus Sine Missione*

Rather than just describing the final scenes of the performance, Paul's climatic moment in his gladiatorial struggle, "thrown down but not destroyed," may also have been seen by some of Paul's contemporaries as dishonourable. In the introduction of this chapter, we noted the rule established by the emperor before the fight of Priscus and Verus. Both gladiators performed in a *munus sine missione*, meaning the fight could not end without a victor. However, this was an extreme form of combat that required special permission from the emperor, unless the spectacles were put on by the emperor himself, as was the case with Priscus and Verus.⁵⁹⁶ In Paul's fight, the final scene remains suspended. Paul's opponent stands over him awaiting the judgment of the *editor* and the spectators regarding his performance. We do not know whether Paul would be granted a reprieve and escape death. He seems to hope so (see 2 Cor 4:13, 5:11, 1:8-12).

The same climatic scene, however, appears in Seneca's *Letters*, yet he deploys it in a very different way. In *Letter 37*, Seneca innovates traditional Roman militarism to cast the life of the would-be philosopher as a gladiatorial combat.⁵⁹⁷ Seneca claims the philosopher, like the enlisted soldier or gladiator, has taken an oath; but this enlistment to the philosophical life is even more uncompromising:

There is no better way of binding yourself to excellence of mind than the promise you have given, the oath of enlistment you have sworn: to be an excellent man (*virum bonum*). Only as a joke will anyone tell you that this is a soft and easy branch of service (*mollem esse militiam et facilem*). I don't want you to be deceived. The words of this most honourable pledge are the same as that other most shameful one: "to be burned, to be bound, to be slain with the sword." Those who hire themselves out as gladiators, and pay in blood for their food and drink, are under contract to suffer those things even against their will; you are under contract to suffer them willingly and of your own volition. They have the option of lowering their weapons and testing the mercy of the crowd; you will not lower yours or beg for your life. You must die on your feet, unconquered (*Recto tibi invictoque moriendum est*). What is the use of winning yourself a few extra days or years? Once born, we have no possibility of reprieve (*sine missione*). (*Ep.* 37.1-2)

Blurring the oath of a soldier, a traditional figure of honour, and the oath of a gladiator, an embodiment of dishonour, allows Seneca to not only adopt but adapt

⁵⁹⁶ For permission to put on the more "extreme" *munus sine missione*, see Carter, "Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East," 256-260.

⁵⁹⁷ See Tommaso Gizzarri, "Res sine Nomine: A Study of the Theory and Practice of Metaphors in Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* (PhD diss., Yale University, 2010), 156-210, esp. 188-200; Mark Davies, "A Commentary on Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* Book IV (*Epistles* 30-41)" (PhD diss., The University of Auckland, 2010), 293-314.

gladiatorial imagery. Seneca acknowledges the dishonour of the gladiatorial oath, submitting one's control of their body and using it to earn a living. This was especially so for Seneca and his intended audience (other *viri*), who occupied the upper classes of Roman society.⁵⁹⁸ They were, to use Jonathan Walters' words, "the impenetrable penetrators."⁵⁹⁹ It is this ideological significance that made the account of the *eques*, thrown into the arena to the wild-beasts by Caligula, so terrifying.⁶⁰⁰ Seneca's body and the bodies of his friends were meant to be impenetrable. Yet, Seneca knew subjection to violent power could be a real possibility, especially at the time of writing his *Letters* in the final few years of his life.

Stoicism offered, through its rejection of externals—that is, its judgment of externals as "indifferents" (*indifferentia*, ἀδιάφορα)⁶⁰¹—the possibility of resisting these conditions of imperialism that inflicted violence and death, even on the so-called impenetrable class.⁶⁰² The practice of rejecting all externals wrested control back to an elite that had, at times, found itself vulnerable to imperial power. Control could now be exercised entirely in the interior life. Seneca imagines this interiority as a fortified citadel:⁶⁰³

All around us are external cares to deceive and oppress us; many more come boiling up from within, even in the midst of solitude. We must surround ourselves with philosophy, the one rampart that can never be stormed, that the siege engines of fortune can never breach. The mind that has abandoned external goods, that asserts its freedom within its own citadel, has taken up an impregnable position. Sling-bullets and arrows fall harmlessly as its feet. (*Ep.* 82.4-5)

In the opening of Chapter 1, I noted Seneca's attempts to retreat to places of solitude, to study. This was to take control, not of his body—for he was not allowed to retire from Nero's court—but of his mind. Recovering this control, all be it in a new arena, reclaimed the traditional rhetoric of masculinity so valued by Seneca and his audience.

⁵⁹⁸ Dio Cass. 61.17.3 mentions members of the upper classes performing in Nero's spectacles, becoming "like those without honour" (ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι).

⁵⁹⁹ Walters, "Invading the Roman Body," 41.

⁶⁰⁰ See this account of the unfortunate *eques* at the beginning of Chapter 2, *The Stands and the Sand*.

⁶⁰¹ See Cic. *Fin.* 3.16.53; Sen. *Ep.* 82.10. "Indifferents" here means those things without moral value, and make up one of three categories of things: good, evil, and indifferent. Cf. Diogenes Laertius: "Goods comprise the virtues of prudence, justice, courage, temperance, and the rest; while the opposites of these are evils, namely, folly, injustice, and he rest. Neutral (neither good nor evil, that is) are all those things which neither benefit nor harm a man: such as life, health, pleasure, beauty, strength, wealth, fair fame and noble birth, and their opposites, death, disease, pain, ugliness, weakness, poverty, ignominy, low birth, and the like" (Diog. Laert. 7.102).

⁶⁰² This is not necessarily to go as far as saying that Stoicism was against empire. But, rather, against a tyrant's abuse of power. On Seneca and the principate, see P. A. Brunt, "Stoicism and the Principate," *PBSR* 43 (1975): 7-35; Griffin, *Seneca*, 202-221.

⁶⁰³ Also see Veyne, *Seneca*, 46-58.

In the words of Shadi Bartsch, “Suffer the body to be penetrated, abused, flogged, mutilated: this is no violation of your *libertas*, which is now unyoked from the fate of body. As the philosopher gives up his body it is his *mental* impenetrability that is figured as the new sign of masculinity.”⁶⁰⁴ It was in this place of interiority where Seneca becomes most vivid.

We have already noted in the previous chapter Seneca’s perspective on torture. But it is his repetitive conjuring of horrific scenes of torture, many times taken directly from the arena, that reveal his use of Stoic meditation, or “spiritual exercises,” to develop courage and, therefore, virtue.⁶⁰⁵ Seneca was practicing a form of meditation known as *praemeditatio futurorum malorum*, which was “familiarizing oneself in imagination with misfortunes to come.”⁶⁰⁶ The ultimate test to prepare for was one’s confrontation with death, as Seneca says: “What will give you that stout heart is constant practice, rehearsing not your speeches but your mind and preparing yourself for death.”⁶⁰⁷ This spiritual exercise trained the would-be philosopher to recall that death, along with illness, pain, poverty, and exile, are all indifferents, neither good nor bad. They are strictly distinct from virtue and, therefore, have no bearing on pursuing the good. Nevertheless, even with this training, indifferents, death foremost, were still difficult prospects to overcome:

Why shouldn’t it be glorious to face death courageously, contending against those long-inculcated worries? Why shouldn’t it be one of the greatest achievements of the human mind? A person will never mount up toward virtue if he believes death is an evil; but if he thinks it is indifferent, he will. (*Ep.* 82.17)

Seneca takes us through this exercise, to attain virtue and to rise above suffering and death, in his most explicit letter on death, that is suicide: *Letter 70*.⁶⁰⁸ At this point, as Paul Veyne suggests, Seneca was already contemplating his own death at the hands of Nero. “The shadow of a probable and proximate punishment is clear in the *Letters*.”

⁶⁰⁴ Bartsch, “Senecan Metaphor and Stoic Self-Instruction,” 204.

⁶⁰⁵ Seneca claims: “That is the most beautiful, most admirable part of courage: refusing to yield to the flames, going to meet the wounds, sometimes not even ducking the arrows but taking them on the chest. If courage is desirable, then enduring torture patiently is desirable, for that is part of courage...For it is not suffering torture that is desirable but suffering it courageously. That is what I want, to act courageously—and that is virtue” (*Ep.* 67.6). On Stoic spiritual exercises, see Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault* (trans. Michael Chase; Oxford: Blackwell, 1995); idem, *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (trans. Michael Chase; Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2004).

⁶⁰⁶ Mireille Armisen-Marchetti, “Imagination and Meditation in Seneca: The Example of *Praemeditatio*,” in *Seneca* (ed. John G. Fitch; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 102-113.

⁶⁰⁷ Sen. *Ep.* 82.8.

⁶⁰⁸ On Seneca’s obsession with suicide, see Timothy Hill, *Ambitiosa Mors: Suicide and Self in Roman Thought and Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 145-182.

Letter 70 becomes “both his defense and the apologia for his suicide in advance.”⁶⁰⁹ Rather than recite in typically agonising detail the traditional *exempla*—the “Catos, Scipios, and the others whose deeds we habitually admire” (§21)—Seneca invokes the spectres of the *disposable* and the *déclassé* from the arena to rehearse confronting death (§18).⁶¹⁰ A hunter, condemned criminal, and a criminal forced to perform in a *naumachia* all found ways to “courageously” kill themselves rather than prolong their doomed lives. In Seneca’s opinion, these incidents made the spectacle worth watching, “since from it people learn that dying is more honourable than killing” (§26). Another barb at Nero or a generalised statement for spectators?

Either way, Seneca concludes:

If desperate characters and criminals have such spirit (*animi*), won’t people also have it who have been prepared against misfortune by long practice and by reason, the ruler of all things? Reason teaches us that there are many ways of getting to our fate, but that the end is the same, and that since it is coming, it does not matter when it begins. (§27)

What does matter for Seneca is how one confronts death and its inevitability. To return to his *munus sine missione* in *Letter* 37, unlike other gladiators who might get thrown down, lower their weapons, and plead for mercy, Seneca suggests the one committed to the life of a philosopher would neither stop fighting nor ask for mercy. Instead, they “die on their feet, unconquered” (§2).

Through these representations of the arena, Seneca reproduces existing, elite perceptions of beast hunters, criminals due to be executed in the arena, and gladiators as subjected bodies, while simultaneously appropriating these figures to challenge the power structures in which he was himself being subjected. As we explored in Chapter 2, “death was an obvious danger for inadequate performance, but it was not a necessary result,”⁶¹¹ even in a *munus sine missione*. What Seneca does is adapt this more extreme version of the *munus* and reimagine it as a pure death fight against fortune. All of life becomes a lesson on how to die.⁶¹² A lesson that even gladiators, untrained in philosophy, fail to truly learn.⁶¹³ These mediations on death reveal Seneca’s anticipation

⁶⁰⁹ Veyne, *Seneca*, 167.

⁶¹⁰ On Seneca’s close attention to the agony experienced by these figures, Cato most of all, before and at the point of death, see Hill, *Ambitiosa Mors*, 178–182.

⁶¹¹ Potter, “Gladiators and Blood Sport,” 78.

⁶¹² See Sen. *Dial.* 10.7.4.

⁶¹³ Seneca offers this opinion in *Letter* 30: I will tell you my opinion: I think the person who is at the point of death is braver than the one who is merely in the vicinity. For when death is at hand, it inspires even the untrained to face what cannot in any case be avoided. Thus the gladiator who has been terrified throughout the contest will offer his throat to his opponent and guide the wavering point home. But when death is only

of a coming catastrophe. He had already been alienated from Nero's court, though prevented from officially retiring. And, yet, Seneca was meditating on death so that he could rise above whatever physical suffering he may encounter:

The Stoics, having adopted the heroic course, are not so much concerned in making it attractive to us who enter upon it, as in having it rescue us as soon as possible and guide us to that lofty summit which rises so far beyond the reach of any missile as to tower high above all fortune. (*Constant*, 2.1)

The Performance of Death as an Alternate Way of Life

Seneca's obsession with death, and by extension suicide, becomes the focal point for an alternate way of life. Suffering and death represented the greatest test of one's rejection of or subjection to externals. It is at this site of death that Seneca, rather radically, collapses social-political structures into themselves. Traditional embodiments of honour and dishonour are exchanged and transformed. Seneca claims: "As far as I am concerned, the corpse drenched with perfumed unguents is just as dead as the one dragged off by the hook" (82.3). In yet another exhibition of arena imagery—criminals publicly executed were dragged out of the arena by hooks—it is difficult to overemphasise how shocking these Senecan representations would have been for an upper class audience. Given how the arena functioned in the landscape, these images cannot help but be politically subversive. Timothy Hill argues that Seneca's critique of Roman culture is even more radical: "according to Seneca there is simply no linear connection between political and ethical action."⁶¹⁴ Given Seneca's retreat into study and his emphasis on rejecting all externals, this might be true. But, this position itself is a political position and, as we have seen, cannot be abstracted from its social-political and ideological moment.

However, it is at this same moment that Seneca becomes less radical, less subversive. While Seneca evokes the vivid imagery of gladiatorial spectacles to relocate the traditional arena in which one might attain virtue, that is, the inward turn, this only reasserts the attainment of virtue for an upper class audience struggling with their own subjection to power. Thomas Habinek remarks, "throughout Seneca's writings, an aristocracy of virtue supplements, even as it purports to supplant, the age-old

near at hand, though sure to come, it requires an unyielding mental strength. This is less often found, and can only really be exhibited by the wise person (§8).

⁶¹⁴ Hill, *Ambitiosa Mors*, 152.

aristocracy of birth.”⁶¹⁵ Seneca’s spectacles were not a subversion of Roman political power structures as such, but of the abuse of power at the top of the structures under a madman or tyrant.

We can detect in Paul’s writing a similar shift toward an alternate way of life. One that is also located on a death scene. We left Paul suspended, his weak body thrown down to the ground by his superior opponent. Paul, in the verses following 4:8-9, viewed his tortured body as a spectre of Jesus’ death, but this is more than an abstracted (traditional) ‘theological’ idea about death and life. The marks and scars of a beaten body were a visual representation of the messianic event. Paul’s discussion on death and life was the beginning of a political theology or counter ideology, having a material effect on Paul’s social and political existence and that of the Corinthian *ekklēsia*. There was an ordering of life now, subversive to the traditional, elite understanding of masculinity, honour, and glory; not just a reassertion of another version of these same structures of power.

In the following section of the Conciliatory Apology, Paul makes a transition with something of a conclusion to this long drawn out spectacle:

Therefore, knowing the fear of the Lord, we try to persuade others; but we ourselves are well known to God, and I hope that we are also well known to your consciences. We are not commending ourselves to you again, but giving you an opportunity to boast about us, so that you may be able to answer those who boast in outward appearance and not in the heart. For if we are beside ourselves, it is for God; if we are in our right mind, it is for you. For the love of Christ urges us on, because we are convinced that one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, so that those who live might live no longer for themselves, but for him who died and was raised for them. (2 Cor 5:11-15)

This is Paul’s vision of an alternate life. One that he will describe as a “new foundation” (καὶνὴ κτίσις [5:17]). The term κτίσις, as Cavan Concannon notes, “was commonly associated with the foundation of a new colony, going back as far as the Archaic period. Perhaps what one might hear in this is the founding of a new colony, Christ serving as its patron, where new possibilities are available for colonists (ἄποικοι) ‘in Christ.’”⁶¹⁶ This new colony, where colonists no longer live for themselves finds its full theopolitical expression in Paul’s construction of “neighbour-love” in the letter to the Romans, penned in Corinth after the Corinthian correspondence.⁶¹⁷ But the first sparks

⁶¹⁵ Habinek, *The Politics of Latin Literature*, 150.

⁶¹⁶ Concannon, “*When You Were Gentiles*,” 80.

⁶¹⁷ For an exploration of Paul’s summons to this radical neighbour-love as articulated in Romans, see L. L. Welborn, *Paul’s Summons to Messianic Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

of this vision start here in this difficult moment of the Corinthian correspondence, Paul immersed in the pain and suffering of his experiences imagined as spectacle performances. Paul was displayed in a *pompa* stinking of death, to spread the “fragrance of the knowledge of [God] everywhere” (2 Cor 2:14); and then exhibited in the arena as a defeated *retiarius*, carrying around the “death of Jesus,” so that the life may also appear (4:10). These performances—abject as they were—so Paul maintains, were all for the sake of the Corinthians (4:15). But it is in this transition that the trajectory of the letter takes another turn with one last performance.

A final Performance, as a *Secutor*?

By the time we arrive at Paul’s ambassadorial imagery, (Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ οὖν πρεσβεύομεν) in 2 Cor 5:20, the tone and mood of the letter has changed. In the claim that Paul and his companions are known by God and, therefore, should be known by the Corinthians (2 Cor 5:11), Paul creates space for reconciliation in the community. This allows Paul to deploy images very different from what we have seen so far. Paul’s striking, yet somewhat surprising, initial turn to ambassadorial imagery has received a great deal of attention.⁶¹⁸ It is generally recognised that this imagery conveyed power, authority, and dignity. As Anthony Bash notes, “ambassadors were typically leading citizens, prominent in local politics and religion and generous benefactors, honoured in their local communities.”⁶¹⁹ Paul adopts the *persona* of an ambassador to voice his appeal to the Corinthians: “be reconciled to God!” (καταλλάγητε τῷ θεῷ [5:20]). Scholars have noted that Paul’s appeal, contained in this imperative, was also for the Corinthians to be fully reconciled to himself, the ambassador of God; an appeal made explicit in 6:11-13; 7:2-4.⁶²⁰ However, with Paul’s ambassadorial imagery arriving towards the end of the letter, the audience may have been slightly perplexed by the transformation of the apostle.

⁶¹⁸ See, among others, Cilliers Breytenbach, *Versöhnung: eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie* (WMANT 60; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989); Margaret M. Mitchell, “New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus,” *JBL* 111 (1992): 641-662; Anthony Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ: An Exploration of Ambassadorial Language in the New Testament* (WUNT 92; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997); John T. Fitzgerald, “Paul and Paradigm Shifts: Reconciliation and its Linkage Group,” in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide* (ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 241-262; Marquis, *Transient Apostle*.

⁶¹⁹ Bash, *Ambassadors for Christ*, 107.

⁶²⁰ Against, Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1.438. See Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 185; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 350, 367-371; idem, “Paul and Paradigm Shifts,” 257.

In an important article that also tracks the trajectory of the Conciliatory Apology, Paul Brooks Duff notes Paul's rhetorical strategy throughout the letter.⁶²¹ Identifying processional imagery through the letter, Duff suggests that Paul deploys the representation of a procession at the beginning of the letter because it images the accusations of his opponent(s); weak, submissive, dishonourable. But as the image is not wholly reducible, Paul can play with it to begin to view the dishonour associated with the image in a different way. Paul's strategy, according to Duff, is to describe himself using popular vivid imagery from the landscape, imagery his opponents would eagerly embrace, but throughout the letter return to this same imagery to subtly redefine the perception of these images.⁶²²

I agree with this observation, but think Paul's redefinition emerges more forcefully in the context of the arena. If, as I have argued, the language could be viewed as a procession entering the Corinthian arena, Paul has already begun to shift the view of his spectators from that of a condemned criminal—also appropriated in 1 Cor 4:9—to a professional gladiator. But even here, the image remains ambiguous. And it is in the ambiguity that Paul can meditate on the insight gained in his most distressed, depressed moments: “power made perfect in weakness” (2 Cor 12:9). The full reinterpretation of his opponent's accusations arrives at this late stage in the letter. Paul appropriates the representations of visually powerful characters: the ambassador and, as we shall see, the *secutor*, to make his final appeal for reconciliation. Paul has shifted from the pursued to the pursuer.

The ambassadorial metaphor that prefaces Paul's final catalogue in 2 Cor 6:3-10 stands in stark contrast to the image of an earthen vessel (ὀστράκινος σκεῦος) that preceded 4:8-9. Paul claims a powerful role for himself as a representative for Christ, clearly making a statement about his own perception of himself within the community. The polemical and apologetic statements that marked the earlier stages of the letter are now, as Fitzgerald rightly argues, secondary to his strong *paraenesis*.⁶²³ In 6:1, with the resumptive δέ and the repetition of παρακαλέω, Paul exhorts the Corinthians in the voice of a dignified ambassador of Christ, linking 5:20 and the entire previous section to the carefully crafted unit in 6:3-10. In fact, 6:3-10 is framed by references to speaking. In 5:20, Paul's appeal (δεόμαι) is made to the Corinthians, while in 6:11 Paul

⁶²¹ Duff, “Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning,” 79-92.

⁶²² Duff, “Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning,” 91.

⁶²³ Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 184-201, esp. 188.

claims: “We have spoken frankly to you, Corinthians (Τὸ στόμα ἡμῶν ἀνέωγεν ὑμᾶς, Κορίνθιοι). This confirms what Jan Lambrecht had noted:

within the exegetical discussion of 6, 1-10 major attention is devoted to the list of trials. The larger context, however, shows that Paul’s appeal in vv.1-2 is the main point of [this] pericope.⁶²⁴

The thrust of Paul’s appeal, surprisingly, is a self-commendation of his own endurance (ὑπομονή).⁶²⁵ While there are significant echoes of 2 Cor 4:7-15, both in syntax and vocabulary, the placement of ὑπομονή as a direct lead into the catalogue is a significant feature.⁶²⁶ This martial virtue, a key element in the courage developed in battle, was celebrated among the upper classes. Paul’s catalogue in 2 Cor 6, unlike the previous catalogues (1 Cor 4:9-13; 2 Cor 11:24-28, 4:8-9), is uniquely complicated by a list of virtues corresponding to the hardships. Paul’s list of virtues in v.6-7a, which counterbalance his hardships, connect back to his endurance in v.4, framing and transforming this particular catalogue. Furthermore, Paul completes his list of virtues by appealing much more explicitly to power than we saw in 4:7.

Paul’s connection to power opens one of his most robust military metaphors in the Corinthian correspondence.⁶²⁷ The structure and content of this verse has caused difficulty for commentators. The switch to διὰ in v.7b-8 marks an abrupt shift and has left some scholars to conclude that this so-called third “stanza” is the least coherent section of the entire unit.⁶²⁸ However, considering the trajectory of the letter that we have attempted to trace, the incoherency of this verse only serves to stress the importance of the image that emerges. In continuity with Paul’s ambassadorial image, his emphasis on martial endurance amongst other characteristics, and his explicit appeal to power, Paul now shifts his imagery to a heavily armed soldier. In complete contrast to a *retiarius* pursued throughout the arena, Paul now attacks, wielding “the weapons of

⁶²⁴ Jan Lambrecht, “The Favourable Time: A Study 2 Corinthians 6,2a in Its Context,” 519.

⁶²⁵ It is surprising because Paul has just stated in 2 Cor 5:12 (as well as in 3:1) that he is not commending himself. Commentators have puzzled at Paul’s inconsistency, which has led to awkward and strained attempts to separate exactly what Paul is and is not willing to boast about. However, these attempts still do not adequately resolve the problems, as Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1.456., points out.

⁶²⁶ Out of the six hardships listed in 6:5, five of them appear in 2 Cor 11:23, 27. Consider also the similarities between the catalogues in 4:8-9 and 6:3-10. Both catalogues begin with ἐν παντί, both open with θλιβόμενοι/θλίψις, and both place in close proximity to these items στενοχωρούμενοι/ στενοχωρίαίς. See Fitzgerald, *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel*, 192, for this emphasis. Outside of these formal, linguistic similarities, there are key differences.

⁶²⁷ See also 2 Cor 10:4.

⁶²⁸ See Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 356.



FIGURE 23. On the left, depiction of a Roman legionnaire, from Metope XVII of the Tropaeum Traiani, Civitas Tropaensium (Adamclisi); on the right, depiction of the gladiator Euplous, Aphrodisias.

righteousness in the right hand and in the left” (τῶν ὅπλων τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῶν δεξιῶν καὶ ἀριστερῶν [2 Cor 6:7]).

Most commentators are content to point to the image of a soldier as the source of this metaphor, possibly carrying both an offensive weapon in his right hand, and a defensive weapon in his left.⁶²⁹ However, this observation neglects the previous spectacle metaphors at the beginning and middle of the letter. A key element for further consideration, in light of the appeal throughout the letter to spectacle imagery, is the close connection, as outlined in Chapter 1, between militarism and gladiatorial spectacles. These two domains were practically and conceptually linked.⁶³⁰ Jon Coulston in a recent article has compared the activities of the *ludi* and the *castra*.⁶³¹ In his exploration of these sites, he also draws our attention to the broad similarities in the representations of soldiers and gladiators (see figure 23).⁶³²

⁶²⁹ See Barrett, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 188; Bultmann, *Second Letter to the Corinthians*, 172-173; Furnish, *II Corinthians*, 346; Thrall, *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, 1.462.

⁶³⁰ See Marcus Junkelmann, “Gladiatorial and Military Equipment and Fighting Technique: A Comparison,” *JRMES* 11 (2000): 113-117.

⁶³¹ See J.C.N. Coulston, “Gladiators and Soldiers: Equipment and Personnel in *ludus* and *castra*,” *JRMES* 9 (1998): 1-17.

⁶³² Also See Robert, *Gladiateurs*; Mann, “Gladiators in the Greek East,” 272-297.

Katherine Welch, in her recent study on Roman amphitheatres, stresses the importance of the Roman army in the Republican and early imperial period for understanding the development of gladiatorial games.⁶³³ Regular gladiatorial combat began in the mid-late Republic, during “Rome’s most active military expansion.”⁶³⁴ Many of the amphitheatres of the late Republican and early imperial period were in close proximity to legionary fortresses.⁶³⁵ Several ancient sources discuss the similarity of training methods of both soldiers and gladiators. Likewise, there seems to be some overlap in the evolution of Roman armature technology due to interaction with gladiators in this period.⁶³⁶

Conceptually, elite sources in this period often conflate the gladiator and the soldier.⁶³⁷ The marks that signify virtue on the battlefield, courage and contempt of death, are also represented in the arena.⁶³⁸ The stories of individuals, who not only refused to flee, but charge into battle, are recounted again and again as great examples of Roman virtue. It is in this arena of ideas, as we have seen, that Seneca frequently constructs his ideal: “the virtuous Roman as a fighter against fortune.”⁶³⁹ In these reconstructions, Seneca often blurs military, athletic, and gladiatorial images to emphasise the disciplined and fearless combat of the virtuous person against fortune. Seneca imagines fortune looking for just such a worthy opponent:

Why should I choose that fellow as my adversary? He will straightway drop his weapons; against him I have no need of all my power – he will be routed by a paltry threat; he cannot bear even the sight of my face. Let me look around for another with whom to join in combat. I am ashamed to meet a man who is ready to be beaten.

As we have seen throughout the last two chapters, Seneca features fortune as the ultimate combatant, seeking to unleash her full powers. In the continuation of the passage, Seneca finds an analogy in the arena:

A gladiator counts it a disgrace to be matched with an inferior, and knows that to win without danger is to win without glory. The same is true of *Fortuna*. She seeks out the bravest men to match with her; some she passes by in disdain. Those that are most stubborn (*contumacissimum*) and unbending (*rectissimum*) she assails, men against whom she may exert all her strength. (*Prov.* 3.3-4)

⁶³³ Welch, “Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy,” 59-80; eadem, *Roman Amphitheatre*.

⁶³⁴ Welch, *Roman Amphitheatre*, 10.

⁶³⁵ Welch, “Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy,” 64.

⁶³⁶ See M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1993), 65-108.

⁶³⁷ See Barton, *Sorrows of the Ancient Romans*, 16.

⁶³⁸ See Plin. *Pan.* 33.1

⁶³⁹ Asmis, “Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God,” 115-138.

Seneca's switch between military and gladiatorial metaphors was not unique, and this type of blurring in the literature opens up the possibility for Paul's audience to envision him both as a soldier and as a *secutor*, a heavily armed gladiator, now pursuing his opponent with a sword and shield. This was his final performance of the letter. Through these heavy-laden spectacle images, Paul can be placed among many voices that appropriated the arena in discussions on honour and dishonour. Paul admits to his Corinthian audience the reality behind their suspicions, but, ultimately, he recasts himself in an overtly honourable role within the arena, to characterise himself as both honourable and authoritative, ending the letter in a very different place than where he started.

Conclusion

Despite Paul's attempts to reinterpret seemingly dishonourable representations exhibited throughout the Corinthian correspondence, even trading in a trident and net for a sword and shield, the apostle and his colleagues could not fully escape the perception, from some, that they were "imposters..., unknown..., dying..., punished..., sorrowful..., poor..., and nothing" (2 Cor 6:8-10). Nevertheless, Paul developed a series of spectacle images throughout the letter that matched the evolving dynamics between himself and the Corinthian *ekklēsia*. These images, in their most immediate context, opened up a space for Paul to negotiate the power dynamics in Corinth by reproducing familiar imagery and playing with the ambiguities they contained. But, beyond this immediate context, this moment in the fraught relationship seemed to create the conditions for the emergence of a new way of life, a political-theology, that resisted the dominant ideology of the Roman world. Paul, in the struggle and the suffering, envisioned a new colony, where the colonists no longer lived for their own self-interest, but for him who died and was raised. Paul was participating in an act of writing, and in a performance, in the middle of the first-century that was radically subversive.

The discussion of Seneca's appropriation of spectacle metaphors presents another site for subversion. The protest of Seneca's oppositional writing explodes into gruesome scenes of torture, combat, and dissent, whether one's tongue has been cut out or simply muted. Seneca argued that the philosopher, unlike the gladiator, would never beg for *missio*, but fight to the death, upright and unconquered. The life of the philosopher was a *munus sine missione*. Seneca was writing to and for the upper classes, who would

have found much of his vivid gladiatorial imagery confronting. But, here, Seneca ultimately reproduced the same systems of power that had morphed into tyranny in the hands of bad emperors. Control was re-established, only through the relocation of virtue to a mental disposition, for an elite that had been and were subjected to violence under the weight of empire.

In their two performances, the normal logic of the arena was subverted. The audience that had become disgruntled at performances in the amphitheatre represented in Seneca's *Letter 7* would equally look upon these two figures with contempt. Paul most of all. He was weak, unskilled, and anxious about death. Seneca was indifferent towards the fight. If there was a way of seeking liberation (in suicide) before the fight, he would have taken it. His concern was the final and ultimate test; confronting death. Both performances presented ways of confronting the violence of the court of Nero and the power structures of Roman imperialism. Their struggles and deaths, in their own ways and in their own particular contexts, created countercultures which were formed by "counterideologies," represented in subversive spectacles.

CONCLUSION

Images of Life

But let us endure it calmly and take advantage of whatever opportunity fortune allots to us, until invincible happiness gives us release from our troubles.

Anonymous, *The Correspondence of Paul and Seneca*, 11

In the Introduction, we explored some of the work being done in the forged correspondence to bring Paul and Seneca together. The idea of death being “a release from our troubles” and to be endured calmly seems to reflect Senecan thought and traditions more than Paul. In the Tacitean account of Seneca’s death scene, a forced suicide by the command of Nero in 65 CE, the philosopher famously offered his friends the only possession he had left to give: “the image of his life.”⁶⁴⁰ Also in the second-century, a more mythologised death scene of Paul emerged where the apostle had a direct confrontation with Nero before being beheaded.⁶⁴¹ The tale describes an elaborate scene of milk splashing onto the executioner as he severed Paul’s head and the apostle coming back to life to pronounce punishments on Nero. These stylised accounts, varying degrees of fiction and representation, preserve images of the lives and deaths of Paul and Seneca in the traditions that contribute to their coming together within discourses of suffering in the first four centuries CE.

Of course, conceptual comparisons can be made between Seneca and Paul, and indeed seem to have been made not too long after their historical lives. But this thesis has aimed to explore popular sites in the landscape, sites of imperialism, ones that emphasised viewing and being viewed, and ones that were taken up by individuals

⁶⁴⁰ Tac. *Ann.* 15.62.

⁶⁴¹ See Wayne A. Meeks and John T. Fitzgerald eds, *The Writings of St. Paul: Annotated Texts, Reception and Criticism* (2nd ed.; New York: W.W. Norton, 2007), 224-227.

across the spectrum of society to express aspects of their own existence under Roman social-political structures. I have sketched the spectacle landscapes of Rome and Corinth in the first-century CE and discussed some of the ways individuals, located at various places within the superstructure, might adopt and adapt the arena to carve out a space in response to these power structures. I have attempted to identify in Paul and Seneca, not only their production of spectacle imagery, but possible ways these vivid representations may have been, or intended to be, consumed. In the complex social-political interactions between power and the powerless, rulers and the ruled at gladiatorial spectacles, responses to power varied. As Shadi Bartsch notes, “on one occasion the spectators may fall silent and on another not: the business of protest and control is a messy one.”⁶⁴²

Through their writings, we catch glimpses of both Paul and Seneca presenting their protests through performance. They both, radically, crossed the symbolical boundaries of the social-political structures by imagining themselves beyond the podium out on the sand. Through these performances, they cast visions of another way to live that pushed back against the dominant ideology on show at the gladiatorial spectacles. This was a way of engaging in the violence and entertainment prevalent in the society, but also a way of exploring and meditating on the struggle and suffering that inevitably followed from the emergence of such power structures.

Although I limited my reading of spectacle imagery to mostly Paul’s important Conciliatory Apology letter (2 Cor 2:14-7:4) in the Corinthian correspondence, peppering in portions of Seneca’s letters, we have observed just how pervasive spectacle imagery that “spoke across vast distances and to diverse segments of the population” truly was.⁶⁴³ This should provoke a reassessment by NT scholars who have been hesitant to relate Paul to these popular sites in the ancient landscape. It is actually in these tantalising and terrifying sites of violence where we see the really interesting thinking being done by various writers and performers across the empire on identity, social relations, and power; thinking that was for Paul and Seneca worked out materially, that is, in the shaping and interacting of new networks and forms of life among their immediate audience.

Like the tension between ancient and modern spectators, two possibilities for future study spring to mind immediately, one ancient and one modern. In the ancient world,

⁶⁴² Bartsch, *Actors in the Audience*, 2.

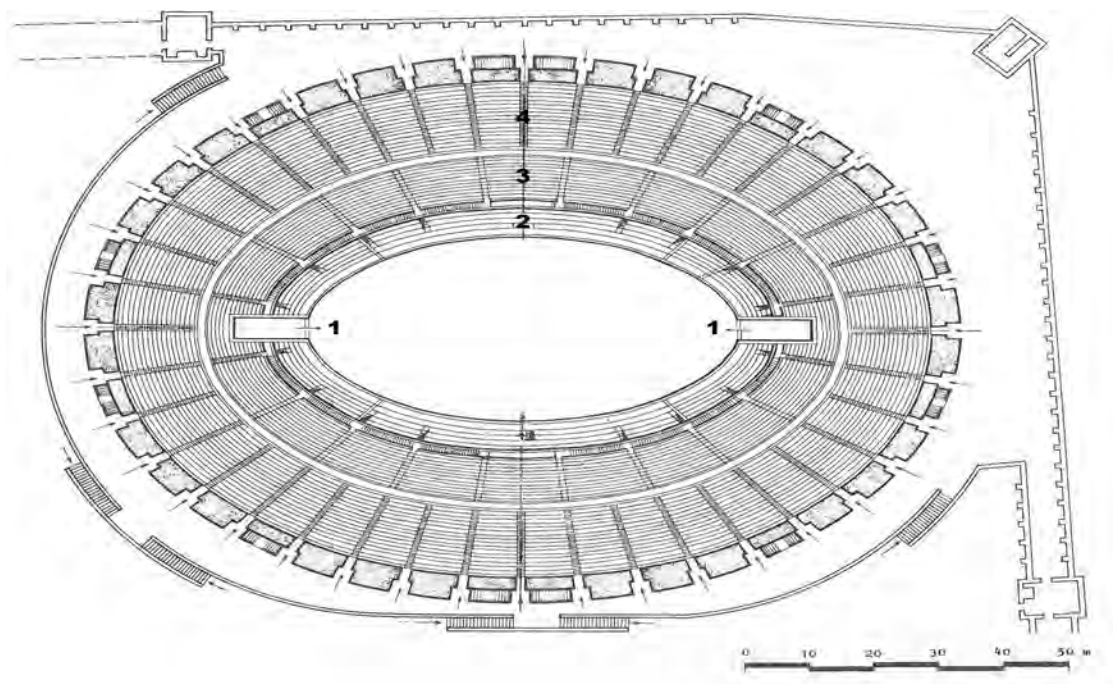
⁶⁴³ Bergmann, “Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” 25.

the study of violence inside and outside of the arena and the various NT and Post-NT writers' responses to violence would continue, in new locations and later centuries, the work of exploring the complex ways that, both in replication and subversion, power structures formed and shaped people through violence. Tertullian's frightening fantasy of an apocalyptic "Christian *munus*" found in the final chapter of *De spectaculis* offers a vastly different response to imperial power than both Paul's and Seneca's appropriations.

And in the modern. This thesis, in my opinion, functions as a kind of historical prequel to the conversations on Paul that have emerged among contemporary philosophers. These are conversations that are also grappling with class, power, and violence and where Paul, like Seneca, has re-emerged as surprisingly good to think with. In (re)viewing Paul in his spectacle landscape, I hope to have contributed to the recovery of a more marginal, radical figure that carried around in his body struggle and death in a performance that challenged the enforced social-political order. In a modern world both endlessly fascinated by ancient spectacle and itself saturated by spectacle, violence, and the abuses of power, these conversations remain as urgent in confronting our own dark moment as they were in the middle of the first-century CE.

Appendix

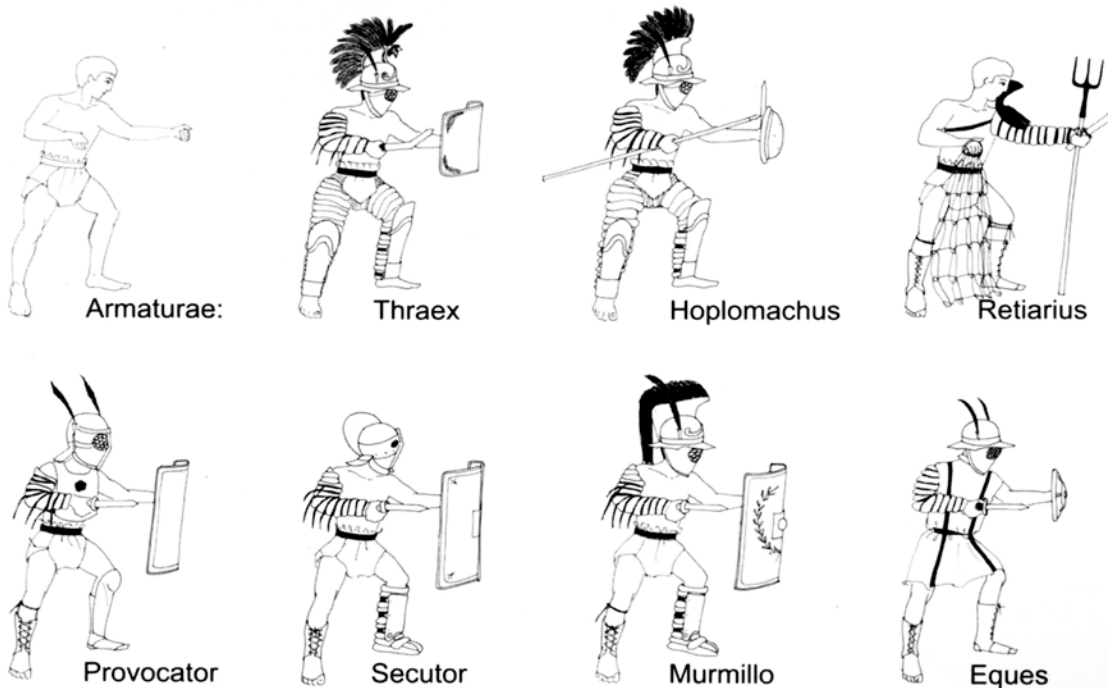
1. The *cavea* of an Amphitheatre



Plan of the Amphitheatre at Pompeii (adapted from Golvin, 1988, pl.23)

1. The *porta triumphalis* and *porta libitinensis*; the entry and exit tunnels to the arena.
2. The *ima cavea*; seats on the podium and in the *ima cavea* were reserved for the most important spectators. The seats were wide enough for *bisellia*.
3. The *media cavea*; seats for the citizens/colonists, possibly sat by tribe.
4. The *summa cavea*; seats for the rest of the population, with room at the top for the poor, women, and possibly slaves.

2. Types of Gladiator



Reconstruction of Armature (Fabian Kanz and Karl Grossschmidt, 2002, 45)

Thraex: (Thracian) a heavily armed gladiator that dates back to the late Republic, modelled on soldiers from Thrace. Thracians were protected with a broad-brimmed helmet, a *manica* on their right arm, and greaves on both legs. They carried the recognisable *sica*—curved sword—and a small rectangular shield. The Thracian was often pitted against a *murmillo* or *hoplomachus*.

Hoplomachus: not epigraphically attested in the east, the *hoplomachi* were equipped with similar armour to Thracians. However, they held a round shield, a spear, and a small dagger. The *hoplomachus* also fought against the *murmillo* and the Thracian.

Murmillo: *murmillones* were armed with a long shield and a medium length sword. They wore a large helmet, a *manica* on their right arm, and a greave on their left leg. Their name was based on a Greek word for a type of fish (μορμύρος) that appeared on their helmet.

Secutor: (pursuer) *secutores* were also heavily armed, equipped with a large rectangular shield, sword, *manica* on their right arm, and a greave on their left leg. The most distinctive aspect of their armament was their helmet. It was completely smooth with a metal crest, offering the best protection to the net and trident of their main opponents, the *retiarii*.

Retiarius: (net-man) appearing in the arena in the first century CE, the *retiarii* were the most recognisable gladiator. They did not wear helmets, greaves, or carry shields. They only wore a *manica* and a shoulder-guard (*galerus*) on their left arm. The *galerus* extended 12-13 cm above the shoulder, offering minimal protection for their head. In contrast to the heavily armed gladiators, *retiarii* moved around the arena with great speed and agility. They carried a weighted net (*rete*; thus, his name), trident, and dagger. The *retiarius* fought against the heavily armed gladiators, especially the *secutor*.

Provocator: (challenger) a heavily armed gladiator. Their helmet had feathers on either side without a plume in the middle. The *provocatores* also wore a *manica* on their right arm and a single greave on their left leg. However, noticeably, they also wore a leather-strapped breastplate. They also carried a large rectangular shield and a sword. *Provocatores* fought against each other.

Eques: (horseman) *equites* were usually the first on the programme to fight, duelling only against one another. They wore a long tunic, a *manica* on their right arm, and a helmet. They entered the arena on horses, but dismounted to fight. They carried a round shield, spear, and short sword.

Other types: there were various other gladiatorial types, including the *essedarius*, appearing in the arena in a chariot; the *dimachaeus*, fighting with two swords; and the *contraretiarius* and the *arbelas*-gladiator, specifically armed to fight the *retiarius*.

Further Reading:

Louis Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec* (Paris: E. Champion, 1940); Georges Ville, *La Gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981); Michael J. Carter, "The Presentation of Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East: Roman Culture and Greek Identity" (Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1999); Marcus Junkelmann, "Familia Gladiatoria: The Heroes of the Amphitheatre," in *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (eds. Eckart Köhne, Cornelia Ewigleben, and Ralph Jackson; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 31-74; Roger Dunkle, *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008); Hazel Dodge, *Spectacle in the Roman World* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011).

Bibliography

- Agamben, Giorgio. *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*. Translated by Patricia Dailey. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.
- Alcock, Susan E. "Nero at Play? The Emperor's Grecian Odyssey," Pages 98-111 in *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, & Representation*. Edited by Jas Elsner and Jamie Masters. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Allo, Ernest Bernard. *Saint Paul: Seconde épître aux Corinthiens*. 2nd ed. Paris: Gabalda, 1956.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes towards an Investigation)," Pages 121-173 in *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. London: New Left Books, 1971.
- Armisen-Marchetti, Mireille. "Imagination and Meditation in Seneca: The Example of *Praemeditatio*," Pages 102-113 in *Seneca*. Edited by John G. Fitch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Armstrong, David. "Stylistics and the Date of Calpurnius Siculus." *Philologus* 130.1 (1986): 113-136.
- Asmis, Elizabeth. "Seneca on Fortune and the Kingdom of God," Pages 115-138 in *Seneca and the Self*. Edited by Shadi Bartsch and David Wray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Auguet, Roland. *Cruelty and Civilization: The Roman Games*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1972.
- Badiou, Alain. *Saint Paul: The Foundation of Universalism*. Translated by Ray Brassier. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.
- Bailey, Donald M. *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 2: Roman Lamps made in Italy*. London: British Museum Publications, 1980.
- . *A Catalogue of the Lamps in the British Museum 3: Roman Provincial Lamps*. London: British Museum Publications, 1988.
- Baldwin, Barry. "Better Late than Early: Reflections on the Date of Calpurnius Siculus." *Illinois Classical Studies* 20 (1995): 157-167.

- Balzat, Jean-Sébastien and Benjamin W. Millis. "M. Antonius Aristocrates: Provincial Involvement with Roman Power in the Late 1st Century B.C." *Hesperia* 82.4 (2013): 651-672.
- Barrett, C. K. *A Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. Black's New Testament Commentaries. London: A & C Black, 1973.
- Barton, Carlin A. *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- . "Being in the Eyes: Shame and Sight in Ancient Rome," Pages 216-235 in *The Roman Gaze: Vision, Power, and the Body*. Edited by David Fredrick. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Bartsch, Shadi. *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994.
- . "Senecan Metaphor and Stoic Self-Instruction," Pages 188-217 in *Seneca and the Self*. Edited by Shadi Bartsch and David Wray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Bartsch, Shadi and Alessandro Schiesaro eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Seneca*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Bartsch, Shadi and David Wray. "Introduction: the self in Senecan scholarship," Pages ix, 304 p. in *Seneca and the Self*. Edited by Shadi Bartsch and David Wray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Bash, Anthony. *Ambassadors for Christ: An Exploration of Ambassadorial Language in the New Testament*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testaments. Second Series 92. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997.
- Beacham, Richard C. *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Beard, Mary, John A. North, and Simon R. F. Price. *Religions of Rome*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Bergmann, Bettina. "Introduction: The Art of Ancient Spectacle," Pages 9-35 in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. Edited by Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Bergmann, Bettina and Christine Kondoleon. *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.

- Betz, Hans D. *2 Corinthians 8 and 9: A Commentary on Two Administrative Letters of the Apostle Paul*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985.
- Bieringer, Reimund and Jan Lambrecht. *Studies on 2 Corinthians*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1994.
- Bird, H. W. *Aurelius Victor: De Caesaribus*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994.
- Bishop, M.C. and J.C.N. Coulston. *Roman Military Equipment: From the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1993.
- Bitner, Bradley J. *Paul's Political Strategy in 1 Corinthians 1-4*. Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 163. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Black, Max. "More About Metaphor," Pages 19-41 in *Metaphor and Thought*. 2nd ed. Edited by Andrew Ortony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Blouet, Guillaume-Abel, Amable Ravoisié, Achille Poirot, Félix Trézel, and Frédéric de Gournay. *Expédition scientifique de Morée, ordonnée par le gouvernement français*. 3 vols. Paris: Didot, 1831-1838.
- Bookidis, Nancy. "Religion in Corinth: 146 B.C.E. to 100 C.E.," Pages 141-164 in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen. *Harvard Theological Studies*, 53. Cambridge: Harvard Divinity School, 2005.
- Bornkamm, Günther. "The History of the Origin of the So-Called Second Letter to the Corinthians." *New Testament Studies* 8 (1962): 258-264.
- Bowen, A. and P. Garnsey. *Lactantius Divine Institutes*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003.
- Bradley, K. R. "The Chronology of Nero's Visit to Greece A.D. 66/67." *Latomus* 37 (1978): 61-72.
- . *Suetonius' Life of Nero: An Historical Commentary*. Brussels: Latomus, 1978.
- . "The Significance of the *Spectacula* in Suetonius' *Caesares*." *Rivista storica dell' Antichità* 11 (1981): 129-137.
- Breytenbach, Cilliers. *Versöhnung: eine Studie zur paulinischen Soteriologie*. Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 60. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989.
- . "Paul's Proclamation and God's 'Thriambos' (Notes on 2 Corinthians 2:14-16b)." *Neotestamentica* 24 (1990): 257-271.

- Brown, Shelby. "Death as Decoration: Scenes from the Arena on Roman Domestic Mosaics," Pages 180-211 in *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Edited by Amy Richlin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Brunt, P. A. "Stoicism and the Principate." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 43 (1975): 7-35.
- Bultmann, Rudolf. *Der Stil der paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910.
- . *The Second Letter to the Corinthians*. Edited by Erich Dinkler. Translated by Roy A. Harrisville. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985.
- Cagniard, Pierre. "The Philosopher and the Gladiator." *Classical World* 93 (2000): 607-618.
- Capps, Edward, Jr. "Observations on the Painted Venatio of the Theatre at Corinth and on the Arrangements of the Arena." *Hesperia Supplements* 8 (1949): 64-70.
- Carter, Michael J. "A *Doctor Secutorum* and the *Retiarius* Draukos from Corinth." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 126 (1999): 262-268.
- . "The Presentation of Gladiatorial Spectacles in the Greek East: Roman Culture and Greek Identity." Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 1999.
- . "Gladiatorial Ranking and the *SC de Pretiis Gladiatorum Minuendis* (CIL II 6278 = ILS 5163)." *Phoenix* 57 (2003): 83-114.
- . "Archiereis and Asiarchs: A Gladiatorial Perspective." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004): 41-68.
- . "Gladiatorial Combat: The Rules of Engagement." *The Classical Journal* 102 (2006/2007): 91-114.
- . "(Un)Dressed to Kill: Viewing the Retiarius," Pages 113-135 in *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*. Edited by Jonathan C. Edmondson and Alison Keith. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- . "Gladiators and Monomachoi: Greek Attitudes to a Roman 'Cultural Performance'." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009): 298-322.
- Cartledge, Paul and Antony J. S. Spawforth. *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*. London: Routledge, 1989.
- Cavanaugh, William T. *Torture and Eucharist: Theology, Politics, and the Body of Christ*. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998.
- Champlin, Edward. "The Life and Times of Calpurnius Siculus." *Journal of Roman Studies* 68 (1978): 95-110.

- . “History and the Date of Calpurnius Siculus.” *Philologus* 130.1 (1986): 104-112.
- . *Nero*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Clarke, John R. *Art in the Lives of Ordinary Romans: Visual Representation and Non-Elite Viewers in Italy, 100 B.C.-A.D. 315*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Coarelli, Filippo. “Gli anfiteatri a Roma prima del Colosseo,” Pages 43-47 in *Sangue e arena*. Edited by Adriano La Regina. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- . *Rome and Environs: An Archaeological Guide*. Translated by James J. Clauss and Daniel P. Harmon. Updated ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
- Coleman, Kathleen M. “Fatal Charades: Roman Executions Staged as Mythological Enactments.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 80 (1990): 44-73.
- . “Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 83 (1993): 48-74.
- . “*Missio* at Halicarnassus.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 100 (2000).
- . “Euergetism in Its Place: Where Was the Amphitheatre in Augustan Rome?,” Pages 61-88 in *‘Bread and Circuses’: Euergetism and Municipal Patronage in Roman Italy*. Edited by K. Lomas and T. Cornell. London: Routledge, 2003.
- ed. *M. Valerii Martialis Liber Spectaculorum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- . “Public Entertainments,” Pages 335-357. in *The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World*. Edited by Michael Peachin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- ed. *Images for Classicists*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015.
- Collange, J.-F. *Enigmes de la deuxième épître de Paul aux Corinthiens. Étude exégétique de 2 Cor 2:14-7:4*. SNTSMS 18. Cambridge University Press, 1972.
- Concannon, Cavan W. “‘Not for an Olive Wreath, but Our Lives’: Gladiators, Athletes, and Early Christian Bodies.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 133 (2014): 193-214.
- . *“When You Were Gentiles”: Specters of Ethnicity in Roman Corinth and Paul's Corinthian Correspondence*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Cooley, Alison E. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Cooley, Alison E. and M. G. L. Cooley eds. *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge, 2014.

- Corbeill, Anthony. "Thumbs in Ancient Rome: *Pollex* as Index." *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 1-21.
- Coulston, J.C.N. "Gladiators and Soldiers: Equipment and Personnel in *ludus* and *castra*." *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 9 (1998): 1-17.
- Crawford, Michael H. ed. *Roman Statutes*. 2 vols, Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement 64. London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1996.
- Crook, John A. *Consilium Principis: Imperial Councils and Counsellors from Augustus to Diocletian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.
- Damschen, Gregor and Andreas Heil eds. *Brill's Companion to Seneca: Philosopher and Dramatist*. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Danker, F. W. *II Corinthians*. ANTC. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1989.
- Danker, F.W. *Benefactor: Epigraphic Study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament Semantic Field*. St. Louis: Clayton Publishing House, 1982.
- de Grazia, Catherine. "Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies at Corinth: The Roman Portrait Sculpture." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973.
- de Grazia Vanderpool, Catherine. "Roman Portraiture: The Many Faces of Corinth," Pages 369-384 in *Corinth: The Centenary, 1896-1996*. Edited by C. K. Williams and N. Bookidis. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003.
- De Waele, Ferdinand J. *Theater en Amphitheater te oud Korinthe*. Utrecht: Dekker, 1928.
- Debord, Guy. *The Society of the Spectacle*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1995.
- Dodge, Hazel. "Amusing the Masses: Buildings for Entertainment and Leisure in the Roman World," Pages 205-255 in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*. Edited by D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- . "Amphitheatres in the Roman East," Pages 29-45 in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st -Century Perspective. Papers from an International Conference Held at Chester, 16th-18th February, 2007* Edited by Tony Wilmott. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.
- . *Spectacle in the Roman World*. Classical World Series. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.
- Dodson, Joey and David Briones eds. *Paul and Seneca in Dialogue*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

- Duff, Paul B. "Apostolic Suffering and the Language of Processions in 2 Corinthians 4:7-10." *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 21 (1991): 158-165.
- . "Metaphor, Motif, and Meaning: The Rhetorical Strategy behind the Image 'Led in Triumph' in 2 Corinthians 2:14." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 53 (1991): 79-92.
- Dunbabin, Katherine M. D. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Dunkle, Roger. *Gladiators: Violence and Spectacle in Ancient Rome*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2008.
- Edmondson, Jonathan C. "Dynamic Arenas: Gladiatorial Presentations in the City of Rome and the Construction of Roman Society during the Early Empire," Pages 69-112 in *Roman Theater and Society*. Edited by William J. Slater. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.
- . "The Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle in Rome and the Greek East, 167-166 BCE," Pages 77-95 in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. Edited by Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . "Public Spectacles and Roman Social Relations," Pages 41-63 in *Ludi Romani: Espectáculos en Hispania Romana*. Edited by T. Nogales Basarrate and A. Castellanos. Mérida: Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, 2002.
- Edwards, Catharine. "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in Ancient Rome," Pages 66-95 in *Roman Sexualities*. Edited by Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- . "The Suffering Body: Philosophy and Pain in Seneca's *Letters*," Pages 252-268 in *Constructions of the Classical Body*. Edited by James I. Porter. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- . *Suetonius Lives of the Caesars*. OWC. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- . *Death in Ancient Rome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.
- . "Self-Scrutiny and Self-Transformation in Seneca's *Letters*," Pages 84-101 in *Seneca*. Edited by John G. Fitch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- . "Free Yourself! Slavery, Freedom, and the Self in Seneca's *Letters*," Pages 139-159 in *Seneca and the Self*. Edited by Shadi Bartsch and David Wray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Egan, Rory B. "Lexical Evidence on Two Pauline Passages." *Novum Testamentum* 19 (1977): 34-62.
- Ehrman, Bart D. *Forgery and Counterforgery: The Use of Literary Deceit in Early Christian Polemics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

Elliott, J. K. ed. *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Elliott, Neil. *Liberating Paul: The Justice of God and the Politics of the Apostle*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006.

———. *The Arrogance of the Nations: Reading Romans in the Shadow of Empire*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2008.

———. “Ideological Closure in the Christ-Event: A Marxist Response to Alain Badiou’s Paul,” Pages 135-154 in *Paul, Philosophy, and the Theopolitical Vision: Critical Engagements with Agamben, Badiou, Žižek and Others*. Edited by Douglas Harink. Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2010.

Elsner, Jas. “Constructing Decadence: The Representation of Nero as Imperial Builder,” Pages 112-127 in *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, & Representation*. Edited by Jas Elsner and Jamie Masters. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.

Engberg-Pedersen, Troels. *Paul and the Stoics*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000.

———. *Cosmology and Self in the Apostle Paul: The Material Spirit*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Evans, Brad and Henry A. Giroux. *Disposable Futures: The Seduction of Violence in the Age of Spectacle*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2015.

Fagan, Garrett G. *The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Favro, Diane G. *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Fitch, John G. *Seneca VIII Tragedies*. Loeb Classical Library 62. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002.

———. “Introduction,” Pages 1-22 in *Seneca*. Edited by John G. Fitch. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Fitzgerald, John T. *Cracks in an Earthen Vessel: An Examination of the Catalogues of Hardships in the Corinthian Correspondence*. Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series 99. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988.

———. “Paul and Paradigm Shifts: Reconciliation and its Linkage Group,” Pages 241-262 in *Paul Beyond the Judaism/Hellenism Divide*. Edited by Troels Engberg-Pedersen. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.

Flaig, Egon. “Roman Gladiatorial Games: Ritual and Political Consensus,” Pages 83-92 in *Roman by Integration: Dimensions of Group Identity in Material Culture and*

- Text*. Edited by Roman Roth and Johannes Keller. *JRA Supplementary Series 66*. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2007.
- Fredrick, David. *The Roman gaze : vision, power, and the body*. Arethusa books. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
- Fredrickson, David E. "Paul, Hardships, and Suffering," Pages 172-197 in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*. Edited by J. Paul Sampley. London: Trinity Press International, 2003.
- Friedländer, Ludwig. *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*. Translated by J. H. Freese and L. A. Magnus. 4 vols. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965.
- Friesen, Steven J. *Twice Neokoros: Ephesus, Asia, and the Cult of the Flavian Imperial Family*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 116. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- . *Imperial Cults and the Apocalypse of John: Reading Revelation in the Ruins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . "The Wrong Erastus: Ideology, Archaeology, and Exegesis," Pages 231-256 in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 134*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Furnish, Victor P. *II Corinthians: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Yale Bible 32A. Garden City: Doubleday, 1984.
- Futrell, Alison. *Blood in the Arena: The Spectacle of Roman Power*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997.
- . *The Roman Games: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- Galinsky, G. Karl. *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Totowa, N.J.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1972.
- Gebhard, Elizabeth R. "The Isthmian Games and the Sanctuary of Poseidon in the Early Empire," Pages 78-94 in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*. Edited by Timothy E. Gregory. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 8*. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993.
- Glancy, Jennifer A. "Boasting of Beatings (2 Corinthians 11:23-25)." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123 (2004): 99-135.
- . *Slavery in Early Christianity*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.
- Golden, Mark. *Greek Sport and Social Status*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008.
- Golvin, Jean-Claude. *L'ampithéâtre romain: Essai sur la théorisation de sa forme et de ses fonctions*. 2 vols. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1988.

- Golvin, Jean-Claude and Christian Landes. *Amphithéâtres et gladiateurs*. Paris: CNRS Editions, 1990.
- Grant, Michael. *Gladiators*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1967.
- Graver, Margaret and A. A. Long. *Seneca: Letters on Ethics to Lucilius*. Edited by Elizabeth Asmis, Shadi Bartsch, and Martha C. Nussbaum. The Complete Works of Lucius Annaeus Seneca. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015.
- Gregory, Timothy E. "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth." *Hesperia* 48.3 (1979): 264-280.
- Griffin, Miriam T. *Seneca: A Philosopher in Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- . *Nero: The End of a Dynasty*. London: Batsford, 1984.
- Gunderson, Erik. "The Ideology of the Arena." *Classical Antiquity* 15 (1996): 113-151.
- . *The Sublime Seneca: Ethics, Literature, Metaphysics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Guthrie, George H. "Paul's Triumphal Procession Imagery (2 Cor 2.14-16a): Neglected Points of Background." *New Testament Studies* 61 (2015): 79-91.
- Habicht, Christian. *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Habinek, Thomas. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- . "Seneca's Renown: *Gloria*, *Claritudo*, and the Replication of the Roman Elite." *Classical Antiquity* 19 (2000): 264-303.
- . "Imago suae vitae: Seneca's Life and Career," Pages 3-31 in *Brill's Companion to Seneca*. Edited by Gregor Damschen and Andreas Heil. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Hadot, Pierre. *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*. Translated by Michael Chase. Oxford: Blackwell, 1995.
- . *What is Ancient Philosophy?* Translated by Michael Chase. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 2004.
- Hafemann, Scott J. *Suffering and the Spirit: An Exegetical Study of II Cor. 2:14-3:3 within the Context of the Corinthian Correspondence*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testaments. Second Series 19. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986.
- Harrison, James R. *Paul's Language of Grace in its Graeco-Roman Context*. WUNT 2/172. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003.

- Heath, Jane M.F. *Paul's Visual Piety: The Metamorphosis of the Beholder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Henderson, John. *Figuring Out Roman Nobility: Juvenal's Eighth Satire*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1997.
- . *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Héring, Jean. *The Second Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians*. London: Epworth, 1967.
- Hill, Timothy. *Ambitiosa Mors: Suicide and Self in Roman Thought and Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Hodgson, Robert. "Paul the Apostle and First Century Tribulation Lists." *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 74 (1983): 59-80.
- Hopkins, Keith. "Murderous Games," Pages 1-30 in *Death and Renewal. Sociological Studies in Roman History* 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hopkins, Keith and Mary Beard. *The Colosseum*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. "Cleaning Up Calpurnius." *Classical Review* 43.2 (1993): 267-270.
- . "Criteria for the Dating of Calpurnius Siculus." *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica* 125 (1997): 166-196.
- Horsley, Richard A. ed. *Paul and Empire: Religion and Power in Roman Imperial Society*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 1997.
- ed. *Paul and Politics: Ekklesia, Israel, Imperium, Interpretation, Essays in Honour of Krister Stendahl*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000.
- ed. *Paul and the Roman Imperial Order*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2004.
- Hrychuk Kontokosta, Anne C. "Gladiatorial Reliefs and Elite Funerary Monuments," Pages 190-229 in *Aphrodisias Paper 4: New Research on the City and its Monuments*. Edited by C. Ratté and R. R. R. Smith. *JRA Supplementary Series* 70. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2008.
- Hutton, William. *Describing Greece: Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*. Greek Culture in the Roman World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

- Inwood, Brad. *Seneca: Selected Philosophical Letters*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Jacobelli, Luciana. *Gladiators at Pompeii*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2003.
- Jacobs, Paul W. and Diane A. Conlin. *Campus Martius: The Field of Mars in the Life of Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- James, Sarah A. "The Last of the Corinthians? Society and Settlement from 146 to 44 BCE," Pages 17-37 in *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Sarah A. James, and Daniel N. Schowalter. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 155. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Jocelyn, H. D. "Diatribes and Sermons." *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 7.1 (1982): 3-7.
- . "'Diatribes' and the Greek book-title Διατριβαί." *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 8.6 (1983): 89-91.
- Johnson-Debaufre, Melanie. "Historical Approaches: Which Past? Whose Past?," Pages 13-32 in *Studying Paul's Letters: Contemporary Perspectives and Methods*. Edited by Joseph A. Marchal. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012.
- Jones, Tamara. "Seating and Spectacle in the Graeco-Roman World." Ph.D. diss., McMaster University, 2008.
- . "Pre-Augustan Seating in Italy and the West," Pages 127-139 in *Roman Amphitheatres and Spectacula: A 21st-Century Perspective*. Edited by Tony Wilmott. *British Archaeological Reports International Series 1946*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009.
- Judge, Edwin A. "St Paul and Classical Society." *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 15 (1972): 19-36.
- Junkelmann, Marcus. "Familia Gladiatoria: The Heroes of the Amphitheatre," Pages 31-74 in *Gladiators and Caesars: The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome*. Edited by Eckart Köhne, Cornelia Ewigleben, and Ralph Jackson. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- . "Gladiatorial and Military Equipment and Fighting Technique: A Comparison." *Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies* 11 (2000): 113-117.
- Kajava, Mika. "When Did the Isthmian Games Return to the Isthmus? (Rereading *Corinth* 8.3.153)." *Classical Philology* 97 (2002): 168-178.
- Keegan, Peter. *Graffiti in Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 2014.
- Keene, Charles H. *The Eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus and M. Aurélius Olympus Nemesianus*. Reprint of *Hildesheim: Olms, 1969*. London: George Bell & Sons, 1887.

- Kennedy, James H. *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians: With Some Proofs of Their Independence and Mutual Relation*. London: Methuen, 1900.
- Ker, James. "Nocturnal Letters: Roman Temporal Practices and Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2002.
- . *The Deaths of Seneca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- . "Outside and Inside: Senecan Strategies," Pages 249-272 in *Writing Politics in Imperial Rome*. Edited by W. J. Dominik, J. Garthwaite, and P. A. Roche. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- . "Seneca on Self-Examination: Rereading *On Anger* 3.36," Pages ix, 304 p. in *Seneca and the Self*. Edited by Shadi Bartsch and David Wray. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Kleiner, Diana E. E. *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Kolendo, Jerzy. "La répartition des places aux spectacles et la stratification sociale dans l'Empire Romain: A propos des inscriptions sur les gradins des amphithéâtres et théâtres." *Ktema* 6 (1981): 301-315.
- Krentz, Edgar. "Paul, Games, and the Military," Pages 344-383 in *Paul in the Greco-Roman World: A Handbook*. Edited by J. Paul Sampley. Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2003.
- Kyle, Donald G. *Spectacles of Death in Ancient Rome*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- La Regina, Adriano ed. *Sangue e arena*. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- Laird, Margaret L. "The Emperor in a Roman Town: The Base of the Augustales in the Forum at Corinth," in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 134. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Lampros, S. P. "Über das korinthische Amphitheater." *Mittheilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes in Athen* 2 (1877): 282-288.
- Larson, Jennifer. "Paul's Masculinity." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 123 (2004): 85-97.
- Lefaye, Georges. "Gladiator," Pages 2.2, 1563-1599 in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*. Edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio. Paris: Hachette, 1896.
- Levick, Barbara. "The *Senatus Consultum* from Larinum." *Journal of Roman Studies* 73 (1983): 97-115.
- Lightfoot, J. B. *St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1953.

- Lopez, Davina C. *Apostle to the Conquered: Reimagining Paul's Mission*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2008.
- Malherbe, Abraham J. "Antisthenes and Odysseus, and Paul at War." *Harvard Theological Review* 76 (1983): 143-173.
- . "Herakles." *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1988): 559-583.
- . *Paul and the Popular Philosophers*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989.
- . "Hellenistic Moralists and the New Testament," Pages 2.26.1, 267-333 in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992.
- . *Light from the Gentiles: Hellenistic Philosophy and Early Christianity, Collected Essays, 1959-2012 by Abraham J. Malherbe vol. 1 & 2*. Edited by Carl R. Holladay, John T. Fitzgerald, Gregory E. Sterling, and James W. Thompson. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Mann, Christian. "Gladiators in the Greek East: A Case Study in Romanization." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 26 (2009): 272-297.
- Manson, Thomas W. "2 Cor. 2:14-17: Suggestions towards an Exegesis," in *Studia Paulina (de Zwaan Festschrift)*. Edited by Jan N. Sevenster and Willem C. van Unnik. Haarlem: Bohn, 1953.
- Marquis, Timothy L. *Transient Apostle: Paul, Travel, and the Rhetoric of Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Marshall, Peter. "A Metaphor of Social Shame: θριαμβεύειν in 2 Cor. 2:14." *Novum Testamentum* 25 (1983): 302-317.
- Martin, Dale B. *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- . *The Corinthian Body*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Meeks, Wayne A. and John T. Fitzgerald eds. *The Writings of St. Paul: Annotated Texts, Reception and Criticism*. 2nd ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2007.
- Millar, Fergus. "The World of The Golden Ass." *Journal of Roman Studies* 71 (1981): 63-75.
- Millis, Benjamin W. "The Social and Ethnic Origins of the Colonists in Early Roman Corinth," Pages 231-256 in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum*, 134. Leiden: Brill, 2010.

- . “The Local Magistrates and Elite of Roman Corinth,” Pages 38-53 in *Corinth in Contrast: Studies in Inequality*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Sarah A. James, and Daniel N. Schowalter. *Novum Testamentum Supplements* 155. Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Mitchell, Margaret M. “New Testament Envoys in the Context of Greco-Roman Diplomatic and Epistolary Conventions: The Example of Timothy and Titus.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 111 (1992): 641-662.
- . “Paul’s Letters to Corinth: The Interpretive Intertwining of Literary and Historical Reconstruction,” Pages 307-338 in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen. *Harvard Theological Studies* 53. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- . *Paul, the Corinthians and the Birth of Christian Hermeneutics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Mitchell, Stephen. *Anatolia: Land, Men, and Gods in Asia Minor*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Mitchell, Stephen and David French eds. *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra): Vol. I from Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*. Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts München: Beck, 2012.
- Mitchell, Stephen and Marc Waelkens. *Pisidian Antioch: The Site and Its Monuments*. London: Duckworth with The Classical Press of Wales, 1998.
- Morford, Mark P. O. and Robert J. Lenardon. *Classical Mythology*. Sixth ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Moulton, J. H. and G. Milligan. *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1993. repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997.
- Murphy-O’Connor, Jerome. “The Corinth that Saint Paul Saw.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 47.3 (1984): 147-159.
- . *The Theology of the Second Letter to the Corinthians*. New Testament Theology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- . *St. Paul’s Corinth: Texts and Archaeology*. 3rd ed. Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2002.
- Newby, Zahra. “Greek Athletics as Roman Spectacle: The Mosaics from Ostia and Rome,” Pages 238-262 in *Greek Athletics*. Edited by Jason König. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010.
- Newman, Robert J. “In umbra virtutis: Gloria in the Thought of Seneca the Philosopher,” Pages 316-334 in *Seneca*. Edited by John G. Fitch. *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.

- Nguyen, V. Henry T. "God's Execution of His Condemned Apostles: Paul's Imagery of the Roman Arena in 1 Cor 4,9." *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 99 (2007): 33-48.
- . "The Identification of Paul's Spectacle of Death Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 4.9." *New Testament Studies* 53 (2007): 489-501.
- Östenberg, Ida. *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Pack, Roger A. ed. *Artemidori Daldiani Onirocriticon Libri V*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1963.
- Pfifner, Victor C. *Paul and the Agon Motif: Traditional Athletic Imagery in the Pauline Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 1967.
- Plass, Paul. *The Game of Death in Ancient Rome: Arena Sport and Political Suicide*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995.
- Potter, David S. "Review of T. E. J. Wiedemann, *Emperors and Gladiators*." *Journal of Roman Studies* 84 (1994): 229-231.
- . "Entertainers in the Roman Empire," Pages 256-325 in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*. Edited by D. S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.
- . "Gladiators and Blood Sport," Pages 73-86 in *Gladiator: Film and History*. Edited by Martin M. Winkler. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2004.
- Price, Simon R. F. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Rawson, Elizabeth. "Discrimina Ordinum: The Lex Julia Theatralis." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 55 (1987): 83-114.
- Reynolds, Joyce M. "New Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Aphrodisias." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 43 (1981): 317-327.
- . *Aphrodisias and Rome*. Journal of Roman Studies Monographs 1. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982.
- Rimell, Victoria. *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics: Empire's Inward Turn*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Ritti, Tullia and Salim Yilmaz. *Gladiatori e 'venationes' a Hierapolis di Frigia*. Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1998.
- Robert, Louis. *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*. Paris: E. Champion, 1940.

- . “Monuments des gladiateurs dans l’Orient grec.” *Hellenica* 7 (1949): 126-151.
- Robinson, Betsey A. “Playing in the Sun: Hydraulic Architecture and Water Displays in Imperial Corinth.” *Hesperia* 82.2 (2013): 341-384.
- Rodríguez-Almeida, Emilio. “Marziale in Marmo.” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Antiquité*. 106 (1994): 197-217.
- Roetzel, Calvin J. *Paul: The Man and the Myth*. Studies on Personalities of the New Testament. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1999.
- . *2 Corinthians*. ANTC. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2007.
- Rogers, Guy M. *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Roller, Matthew B. *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.
- Romano, David G. “Post-146 B.C. Land Use in Corinth, and Planning of the Roman Colony of 44 B.C.,” Pages 9-30 in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*. Edited by Timothy E. Gregory. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 8. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993.
- . “A Tale of Two Cities: Roman Colonies at Corinth,” Pages 83-104 in *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures*. Edited by Elizabeth Fentress. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 38. Portsmouth, R.I.: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000.
- . “City Planning, Centuriation, and Land Division in Roman Corinth: *Colonia Laus Iulia Corinthiensis* and *Colonia Iulia Flavia Augusta Corinthiensis*,” Pages 279-301 in *Corinth, the Centenary: 1896–1996*. Edited by Charles K. Williams II and Nancy Bookidis. Princeton, N.J.: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2003.
- . “A Roman Circus in Corinth.” *Hesperia* 74.4 (2005): 585-611.
- . “Urban and Rural Planning in Roman Corinth,” Pages 25-59 in *Urban Religion in Roman Corinth: Interdisciplinary Approaches*. Edited by Daniel N. Schowalter and Steven J. Friesen. *Harvard Theological Studies* 53. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Rose, Charles B. *Dynastic Commemoration and Imperial Portraiture in the Julio-Claudian Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Roueché, Charlotte. *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias in the Roman and Late Roman Periods*. *Journal of Roman Studies Monographs* 6. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993.
- Russell, Donald A. and Nigel G. Wilson eds. *Menander Rhetor*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981.

- Schneemelcher, Wilhelm ed. *New Testament Apocrypha II: Writings Relating to the Apostles, Apocalypses and Related Subjects*. Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992.
- Schneider, K. "Gladiatores," Pages cols. 760-784 in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Sup. III*. Edited by G. Wissowa. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler Buchhandlung, 1918.
- Scotton, Paul D. "The Julian Basilica at Corinth: An Architectural Investigation." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1997.
- . "Imperial Cult and Imperial Reconciliation," Pages 75-84 in *Roman Colonies in the First Century of their Foundation*. Edited by R. J. Sweetman. Oxford: Oxbow, 2011.
- Sevenster, Jan N. *Paul and Seneca*. Supplements to Novum Testamentum v. 4. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961.
- Shear, Theodore L. "Excavations at Corinth in 1925." *American Journal of Archaeology* 29.4 (1925): 381-397.
- . "Excavations in the Theatre District of Corinth in 1926." *American Journal of Archaeology* 30.4 (1926): 444-463.
- . "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1929." *American Journal of Archaeology* 33.4 (1929): 515-546.
- Smith, R. R. R. "The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias." *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987): 88-138.
- Spawforth, Antony J. S. "Corinth, Argos, and the Imperial Cult: Pseudo-Julian, Letters 198." *Hesperia* 63.2 (1994): 211-232.
- . "Roman Corinth: The Formation of a Colonial Elite," Pages 167-182 in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East: Social and Political Aspects*. Edited by A. D. Rizakis. Athens: Research Center for Greek and Roman Antiquity, 1996.
- . "The Early Reception of the Imperial Cult in Athens: Problems and Ambiguities," Pages 183-201 in *The Romanization of Athens*. Edited by Michael C. Hoff and Susan I. Rotroff. Oxford: Oxbow, 1997.
- Spicq, Ceslas. "L'image Sportive de II Corinthiens IV, 7-9." *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 13 (1937): 202-229.
- Stansbury, Harry A. "Corinthian Honor, Corinthian Conflict: A Social History of Early Roman Corinth and Its Pauline Community." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1990.

- Stevenson, Tom. *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*. London: Routledge, 2015.
- Stowers, Stanley K. *The Diatribe and Paul's Letter to the Romans*. Ann Arbor: Scholars Press, 1981.
- Swift, E. H. "A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth. II. Tiberius." *American Journal of Archaeology* 25 (1921): 248-265.
- . "A Group of Roman Imperial Portraits at Corinth. IV. The Four Torsos." *American Journal of Archaeology* 26 (1922): 131-147.
- Taubes, Jacob. *The Political Theology of Paul*. Translated by Dana Hollander. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004.
- Taylor, Lily R. "Augustales, Seviri Augustales, and Seviri: A Chronological Study." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 45 (1914): 231-253.
- Thrall, Margaret E. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians*. 2 vols., ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994.
- Toner, Jerry P. *Leisure and Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995.
- . *Popular Culture in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Polity, 2009.
- Townend, G. B. "Calpurnius Siculus and the Munus Neronis." *Journal of Roman Studies* 70 (1980): 166-174.
- Usener, Hermann and Ludwig Radermacher eds. *Dionysii Halicarnasei quae exstant*. Vol. 6. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1965.
- Versnel, H. S. *Triumphus: An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*. Leiden: Brill, 1970.
- Veyne, Paul. *Seneca: The Life of a Stoic*. Translated by David Sullivan. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Ville, Georges. *La Gladiature en Occident des origines à la mort de Domitien*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1981.
- Volk, Katharina and Gareth D. Williams. "Introduction," Pages xiii-xviii in *Seeing Seneca Whole: Perspectives on Philosophy, Poetry, and Politics*. Edited by Katharina Volk and Gareth D. Williams. Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Walbank, Mary E. Hoskins. "Pausanias, Octavia and Temple E at Corinth." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 84 (1989): 361-94.
- . "Evidence for the Imperial Cult in Julio-Claudian Corinth," Pages 201-213 in *Subject and Ruler: The Cult of the Ruling Power in Classical Antiquity*. Edited by

- Alastair Small. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series 17*. Ann Arbor, MI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1996.
- . “The Foundation and Planning of Early Roman Corinth.” *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 10 (1997): 95-130.
- . “What’s in a Name? Corinth under the Flavians.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 139 (2002): 251-264.
- . “Image and Cult: The Coinage of Roman Corinth,” Pages 151-197 in *Corinth in Context: Comparative Studies on Religion and Society*. Edited by Steven J. Friesen, Daniel N. Schowalter, and James C. Walters. *Supplements to Novum Testamentum, 134*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Walters, Jonathan. “Invading the Roman Body: Manliness and Impenetrability in Roman Thought,” Pages 29-43 in *Roman Sexualities*. Edited by Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Weiss, Johannes. “Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik,” Pages 165-247 in *Theologische Studien. B. Weiss*. Edited by C. R. Gregory. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897.
- . *Der erste Korintherbrief*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1910.
- . *Earliest Christianity: A History of the Period A.D. 30-150*. Translated by Frederick C. Grant. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1937.
- Weiss, Zeev. “Adopting a Novelty: The Jews and the Roman Games in Palestine,” Pages 23-49 in *The Roman and Byzantine Near East 2*. Edited by J. H. Humphrey. *JRA Supplementary Series 31*. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999.
- Welborn, L. L. *Paul, the Fool of Christ: A Study of 1 Corinthians 1-4 in the Comic-Philosophic Tradition*. Journal for the Study of the New Testament, Supplement Series 293. London: T & T Clark International, 2005.
- . *An End to Enmity: Paul and the “Wrongdoer” of Second Corinthians*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft 185. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011.
- . “Paul and Pain: Paul’s Emotional Therapy in 2 Corinthians 1.1-2.13; 7.5-16 in the Context of Ancient Psychagogic Literature.” *New Testament Studies* 57 (2011): 547-570.
- . “Towards Structural Marxism as a Hermeneutic of Early Christian Literature, Illustrated with Reference to Paul’s Spectacle Metaphor in 1 Corinthians 15.30-32.” *Bible and Critical Theory* 8 (2012): 27-35.
- . “The Corinthian Correspondence,” Pages 205-242 in *All Things to All Cultures: Paul Among Jews, Greeks, and Romans*. Edited by Mark Harding and Alanna Nobbs. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013.

- . *Paul's Summons to Messianic Life*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2015.
- . "The Polis and the Poor: Reconstructing Social Relations from Different Genres of Evidence," Pages 189-244 in *The First Urban Churches 1: Methodological Foundations*. Edited by James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015.
- . "Inequality in Roman Corinth: Evidence from Diverse Sources Evaluated by a Neo-Ricardian Model," Pages 47-84 in *The First Urban Churches 2: Roman Corinth*. Edited by James R. Harrison and L. L. Welborn. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016.
- Welch, Katherine E. "Roman Amphitheatres Revived." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 4 (1991): 272-281.
- . "The Roman Arena in Late-Republican Italy: A New Interpretation." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 7 (1994): 59-80.
- . "Greek Stadia and Roman Spectacles: Asia, Athens, and the Tomb of Herodes Atticus." *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 11 (1998): 117-145.
- . "The Stadium at Aphrodisias." *American Journal of Archaeology* 102 (1998): 547-569.
- . "Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World: Athens and Corinth," Pages 125-145 in *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. Edited by Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- . *The Roman Amphitheatre: From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- West, Allen B. "The Euryclids in Latin Inscriptions from Corinth." *American Journal of Archaeology* 30.4 (1926): 389-400.
- . "Notes on Achaean Prosopography and Chronology." *Classical Philology* 23 (1928): 258-269.
- White, Robert J. *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Park Ridge, NJ.: Noyes Press, 1975.
- Wiedemann, Thomas. *Emperors and Gladiators*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Williams, Charles K. "A Re-Evaluation of Temple E and the West End of the Forum of Corinth," Pages 156-162. in *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*. Edited by S. Walker and A. Cameron. London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1989.
- . "Roman Corinth as a Commercial Center," Pages 31-46 in *The Corinthia in the Roman Period*. Edited by Timothy E. Gregory. *Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series* 8. Ann Arbor: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1993.

- Williams, Craig A. *Roman Homosexuality: Ideologies of Masculinity in Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Williams, Frederick. "Polar Bears and Neronian Propaganda." *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 19 (1994): 2-5.
- Williams, Rowan. *The Edge of Words: God and the Habits of Language*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Windisch, Hans. *Der zweite Korintherbrief*. Reprint of 1970. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924.
- Wistrand, Magnus. "Violence and Entertainment in Seneca the Younger." *Eranos* 88 (1990): 31-46.
- . *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome: The Attitudes of Roman Writers of the First Century A.D.* *Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia* 56. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1992.
- Woodman, A. J. *Tacitus The Annals*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2004.
- Woolf, Greg. "Monumental Writing and the Expansion of Roman Society in the Early Empire." *Journal of Roman Studies* 86 (1996): 22-39.
- Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Translated by Alan Shapiro. *Jerome Lectures* 16. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988.
- Žižek, Slavoj. *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*. London: Verso, 1999.
- Žižek, Slavoj, Eric L. Santner, and Kenneth Reinhard. *The Neighbor: Three Inquiries in Political Theology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Zuiderhoek, Arjan. *The Politics of Munificence in the Roman Empire: Citizens, Elites, and Benefactors in Asia Minor*. *Greek Culture in the Roman world*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.