

What do depictions of gladiators on Gaulish samian tell us about how gladiatorial combats were staged in the Roman arenas?

Timothy Edward Jones

tejgeoarch@outlook.com

(MPhil Humanities, University of South Wales; MA in Classical Studies

Open; MA Historic Landscape Studies, Wales; MA Scientific Methods on Archaeology, Bradford;

BSc Science, Open; BSc Geological Oceanography, Wales; BA Archaeology, Wales)

Submitted in part fulfilment for the degree of MA in Classical Studies, Open University

September 2015

ABSTRACT

This work is a revised version of a thesis for the Open University's MA in Classical Studies presented originally in September 2015. It undertakes a detailed analysis of a small sample of the gladiatorial images published by Oswald (1936-37) and uses them to present a new model of how the *Ludus* was staged. This is done by comparing the figures selected by Demarolle (2002) with those depicted in Medieval and Renaissance fencing manuals in order to show how the potters illustrated valid representations of real, effective techniques. The methodology used is heavily dependent on my own experience of martial arts- this spans over 40 years and is something that I have successfully used to interpret ancient and medieval images of combat for conference papers in the fields of archaeology and history every year since 2007, although only two have so far been published in hard copy (Jones, 2009; 2012) other material is available through Research Gate.

This work has three main chapters. In the first I subject the figures themselves to a detailed analysis of their stances in which the Roman artistic depictions are compared with depictions from later time periods that are known to have been used to teach sword and shield fencing and also with practical experience acquired through over 40 years of martial arts training. The second chapter analyses the equipment depicted in order to look for any trends that might be related to contemporary events (this is approached in much the same manner as OU students are urged to interpret Athenian theatre in terms of what was occurring when it was performed). The most important observations here are that the various manifestations of the *sica* carried by the different versions of the gladiator type we call Thracian *Thrax*, can be divided into genuine Thracian, Etruscan, Jewish, Dacian and possibly Germanic types and that combats rarely involved the use of a trident and net. Finally, the third chapter examines how the potters used the same images in different ways in order to illustrate different aspects/stages of arena combat utilising the methodology Joanna Bird (2012) used for her analysis of samian depictions of bullfighting and supports her conclusions that samian images could use coherent realistic images that were tailored to specific audiences.

For those interested I have also included a paper written in 2014 on the value of Greek vase paintings for reconstructing the staging of Greek Tragedy. The methodology of which has relevance for anyone intending to use artistic representations in order to reconstruct any ancient activity that involve physical actions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page 2 Abstract

Page 4 Table of Contents

Page 5 Introduction

Page 7 Chapter 1: Discussion of Individual Images

Page 9 Figure 1: Demarolle's (2002, 202, figure 1) sample of Oswald's (1936-37) gladiator images

Page 23 Figure 2: Demarolle's (2002, 204, figure 2) selection of Oswald's' (1936-37) samian images showing pairs of gladiators.

Page 35 Chapter 2: Discussion of Weaponry

Page 40 Chapter 3: Staging

Page 58 Conclusion

Page 60 Bibliography

Page 72 Appendix 1: Glossary

Page 78 Appendix 2: how do the physical remains of the Greek theatre add to our understanding of Greek theatre performance?

INTRODUCTION

This thesis samples gladiatorial images from samian in order to improve our models of the fighting techniques, equipment and rules used in the arena in the 1st and 2nd centuries C.E.. It compares figures selected by Demarolle (2002) with later fencing manuals and currently practiced martial arts in order to ascertain whether samian depicts real techniques. The methodology used relies on forty years of martial arts experience and is one that I have previously used to interpret representations of combat (Jones, 2009; 2012). The approach relies on acquiring a skill set that enables the interpreter to appreciate, and thus describe, what is being shown in a way not available to those without this experience. This methodology is new to samian studies but has previously been used to reconstruct ancient Greek dance (Smith, 2014) and is in fact the way fencing manuals were historically used (Forgeng, 2003, 7ff). Indeed, it is how martial artists use manuals to reconstruct ancient fighting methods. That this has hitherto been a neglected resource is shown by Auguet's (1994) work on the games which largely ignores the relevant samian images.¹ In part this may be because (with certain exceptions e.g. Bird, 2012) samian specialists generally only use these images to model trade links and date sites (Webster and Webster, 2012, 195). This thesis shows that we can expand our knowledge of the Roman world by treating samian images as a resource in themselves rather than merely as a source of dating.

The interpretation of artwork is problematic. In part this is caused by difficulties in understanding the art of a different culture and epoch. This is summed up by Woodford's (1993, 53) lament; "we cannot always understand every detail that appears in ancient representations". The implication of this is that we will always have disagreement over the significance of artistic representations in particular as to the degree to which an image reflects reality rather than artistic convention.

¹ Approximately 2.5% of samian figures depict gladiators (Webster and Webster, 2012, 196, table 20.1, 203).

If we consider images of combat then this problem of interpretation is more apparent than real since here the problem is often caused by the interpreter's lack of expertise causing them to dismiss the details of an image as conventionalised representations (Lindholm and Svaerd, 2003, 2-4). In contrast commentators with experience of what they are commenting on often judge the images differently. Personally I find it very rare that if I apply my 40+ years of martial arts experience to interpreting an image of ancient combat I cannot understand and recreate the techniques being used. The reason for this is that, contrary to what is usually said about different martial arts using different techniques, when one acquires sufficient martial arts experience one discovers that there are no such thing as martial arts merely one martial art that has many different paths to the higher levels of understanding. This is important because it allows the use of later period martial arts to interpret Roman images of combat. Indeed, this is routinely done to reconstruct ancient techniques by comparing artwork, manuals and 'modern' techniques (Short, 2009).

The thesis itself is broken down into three main sections. Chapter 1 describes the individual images and discusses details relevant to the question of whether the images depict realistic or conventionalised arena scenes. The second chapter explores the implications of two unusual forms of weaponry; firstly, the various blades that may be regarded as subcategories of the *sica* and secondly the trident. A third chapter analyses how samian images can be used to model the mechanics of staging gladiatorial events.

CHAPTER 1: DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL IMAGES.

This chapter describes for each image both the equipment depicted and the poses adopted and discuss what these poses tell us about arena combat. The intention is to establish whether the figures depict real combat or are stylised images selected for artistic criteria. The argument is that if the poses show workable techniques then it undermines the hypothesis that these show conventionalised images rather than the realities of combat. If the images are realistic then they can be used to model the staging of arena combats since if the combat depicted is real, it becomes more likely that other details are too.

Figure 1: Demarolle's (2002, 202, figure 1) sample of Oswald's (1936-37) gladiator images.



Figure 1a: O997. *Thrax* (Alvarez, 2010, 65), SG, Flavian, Oswald (1936-37, 76).

This figure wears either a crested or plumed broad brimmed helmet, *manica* on his right arm and a large greave on his left leg. He also appears to be wearing leather *fasciae*, a common *Thrax* armour (Baker, 2000, 55). He carries a small shield and what appears to be a short tapered stabbing sword that may be ancestral to the *maekir*, such blades are often labelled as ‘Germanic’ (Nicolle, 1984a, 15, E). It is unfortunate that an Arretine variant of this figure (Alvarez, 2010, 66, figure 40.5) is broken just above his sword since figure 1a is the closest samian representation to the Pompeii images depicting a very narrow blade (Jacobelli, 2003, 58 figure 48, 74 figure 60a-b, 94 figure 77) and it would be instructive to learn whether this was a feature inherited from samian’s Arretine predecessors or whether it is a later adoption. This has importance beyond samian studies since it may evidence earlier the use of *maekir* and also mean it is not a diagnostically ‘German’ weapon. This is a long lived figure type since Rheinzabern potters used a variant in the 2nd century C.E. (Alvarez, 2010, 65).

The forward facing position of both feet shows him to be advancing on his opponent and the deep bend of his leading leg suggests that he is doing so using cross steps. His shield is held tight to his body which is consistent with the location of his armour while his sword arm is held back. This refused guard offers a good compromise between protection, mobility and offensive capability since the sword arm is perfectly poised to thrust while bringing the rear leg forward; an attack common to *Karate*, *Aikido* and Western fencing. This is significant since only six of Oswald’s (1936-37) two hundred and two images of gladiators are in advanced as opposed to a refused guard positions.

Figure 1b: O999. *Thrax*? SG, Flavian, Oswald (1936-37, 76).

This figure wears a broad brimmed full-face helmet with a medial crest of the sort later associated with military officers (Heath, 1976, 76). His only other armour is the *manica* protecting

his sword arm since he appears to be wearing boots of the sort that Greek art associated with Thracians (Head, 1982, 124). The *manica* is interesting since it only covers the outside of his arm; D'Amato's (2009, 150) suggestion that this might reduce weight while still offering adequate protection has been experimentally proven by the re-enactment group Britannia. He carries a *gladius* and a hexagonal shield as used by 1st century C.E. 'Thracian' (Anderson, 1984, 62, plate 24) and German (Barker, 1981, 75) auxiliaries.

The L-stance strongly suggests that this figure is stationary. The best interpretation is that he is awaiting his opponent; an impression strengthened by a slight bend in his legs and a slight crouch which produces a strong stance while retaining the capability of movement as necessary. The position of his shield suggests that his opponent is outside fighting distance otherwise he would need to extend his shield arm to protect his thigh and throat; figure 2a illustrates the consequences of not doing so. This latter observation reinforces the view that he is stationary since a static man has more chance of avoiding the fatal mistake shown in figure 2a.

Figure 1c: O1007. *Murmillio*, SG, Flavian, Oswald (1936-37, 77).

This figure wears a crested helmet characteristic of the *Murmillio* (Demarolle, 2002, 203) in addition to knee length greaves on both legs and *manica* on his sword arm. He carries an ornately decorated small round shield² and appears to be armed with a *maekir*.

The position of his legs suggests that he is moving forward, indeed the degree of flexion in both feet suggest that he is running. His sword arm is held back as described under figure 1a, doubtless for the same reasons, while his shield has its face turned inwards. If Oswald (1936-37, 77) is correct that he is usually depicted fighting the left-handed O1008 then this is consistent with a realistic depiction of how a right-handed gladiator would hold his shield.

Figure 1d: O1020. *Thrax*, SG, Claudius to Domitian, Oswald (1936-37, 77).

² The shape suggests that some of Rogers's (1974) rosettes are actually shields which would expand the corpus of gladiatorial images used in samian.

This figure wears an elaborately crested helmet with *manica* protecting his sword arm and high greaves on both legs. He has a small rectangular or cylindrical shield and a long deeply curved *sica* of Jewish type (Barker, 1981, 121).

The leg positions are broadly similar to those of figure 1b suggesting that this figure is also stationary. The shield position is interesting since the angle with the lower rim pushed forward suggests two possibilities; either it has been pushed forward in order to keep an opponent's weapon from reaching his unarmoured areas or he has just used it in an offensive action striking either an opponent's weapon or his shield. The first of these has a long history appearing in Greek depictions of single combat at least as early as the 5th century B.C.E. (Oakeshott, 1994, figure 1d) while the second is a common stratagem in sword and shield fencing with both strikes against an opponent (Brown, 1996, 172) and the use of the shield in a *prise de fer* being recorded (Anglo, 2000, 126). If, as here, this figure is depicted on his own then it is impossible to determine which action is being undertaken; this only becomes clear if a pair of figures is depicted, which, following Oswald (1936-37, 77), appears to be the usual way potters used this figure.

Figure 1e: O1044. *Thrax?* SG, Claudius to Vespasian, Oswald (1936-37, 78).

This figure wears a low crested, broad brimmed helmet although the drawings are not clear enough to determine if the helmet has a face mask. He is also wearing the high greaves and *manica* on the sword arm of a typical *Thrax*. This figure is, however, unusual in that the potter is clearly trying to depict some form of body covering, perhaps scale or lamellar armour as worn by figure 1g, who is also a *Thrax* (Demarolle, 2002, 203). The shield is similar to others carried by *Thrax*, e.g. figure 1a, although the straight sword is unusual. This maybe another barbarian weapon since the blade swells near the point rather than having parallel sides like the Roman *gladius*. This blade form, known from archaeological finds from Ireland (Nicolle, 1984a, 15, G, H) to India (Rawson, 1968, 2), is primarily designed to slash rather than thrust and is therefore in keeping with the majority of *Thrax* blade types.

The leg positions suggest that he is moving towards an opponent although at a slower pace than figures 1a and 1c are doing since he appears to be using a more measured gait.

Figure 1f: O1028. SG, Claudian (Alvarez, 2010, 106) to Flavian Oswald (1936-37, 78).

This figure defies attempts to place it into a known category of gladiator. He is wearing *Thrax* style high greaves and carries the *maekir* that other *Thrax* carry, this, together with Dacian use of similar blades (Rossi, 1971, 124 figure 35, xi), may suggest a subclass of *Thrax* that represented Dacians. However, either his helmet lacks the usual broad brim or he may be bareheaded and he also lacks any form of arm protection, although this may be an artefact of survival since other vessels do show *manica* on O1028's forearm (Henig, 1998, 62 figure 6). Furthermore, he is carrying a deeply concave round shield that is atypical of gladiatorial depiction; the closest parallel is the Zliten mosaic spearman of c. 200 C.E. (Jacobelli, 2003, 23, figure 20). The solution to his identity may lie in his cloth garments since he appears to be wearing either britches or trousers which may suggest he is representing either an easterner or a Dacian/German. The blade form favouring the latter. The combination of equipment justifies the creation of a subclass of gladiator that we may term Dacian/German.

The closeness of the feet, the straight legs, the upright stance and the strange shield position, held high and off to the side of the body, could suggest that this does not represent on-going combat. The similarities of this figure's stance to that of the victor depicted on the Stabian Gate, Pompeii (Jacobelli, 2003, 95, figure 77) supports Demarolle's (2002, 204) interpretation of this as showing a victor's pose.

Figure1g: O1071. *Thrax* (Demarolle, 2002, 203), SG, Vespasian,³ Oswald (1936-37, 80).

This figure is wearing body armour, either a scale or lamellar cuirass and *pteruges*, along with the high greaves of the *Thrax*. These greaves and the broad brimmed headgear caused Demarolle

³ Although Oswald assigns this figure a Vespasianic date figures O164 and O164A, both Claudian (Oswald, 1936-37, 26), suggests this figure may be in use earlier.

(2002, 203) to classify him as a *Thrax*. His round shield with a series of concentric ridges is unusual for a samian depiction of a gladiator. Indeed, this is the only gladiator so depicted by Oswald (1936-37), although figures with similar shields do appear as warriors (Oswald, 1936-37, 26) it is therefore probable that only the presence of the trident, an arena weapon, caused this figure to be classified as a gladiator. The shield form is consistent with Pompeian depictions of gladiators (e.g. the amphitheatre frescoes (Jacobelli, 2003, 58, figure 48), Umbricius Scaurus's tomb (Jacobelli, 2003, 90, figure 75) and the Stabian Gate relief (Jacobelli, 2003, 94, figure 77)) which supports the identification as a gladiator.

However, Demarolle's (2002, 204) *Thrax* attribution may be incorrect. This style of cuirass was described by Head (1982, 169) as Etruscan. He also (1982, 171) describes a broad brimmed hat as being an "occasional item of Etruscan dress, especially for the lower classes". The origin of gladiatorial games in triumphal mockery of defeated enemies (Auguet, 1994, 77) suggests that the Etruscan associations of this figure's equipment may mean that we should call this figure Etruscan rather than Thracian. A possibility strengthened by the Roman belief that the games were borrowed from the Etruscans (Duncan, 2006, 203) which might lead us to suspect there was an 'Etruscan' type of combatant. This may add another subtype of *Thrax*.

The similarity of this figure's stance to the attention posture of a hoplite (Travis and Travis, 2014, 118) suggests that he is not engaged in combat. However, the presence of a figure in a similar stance on the Zliten mosaic (Jacobelli, 2003, 23, figure 20) demonstrates that he may still be in the arena, just not currently fighting.

Figure 1h: O1062. *Thrax*, SG, Claudian (Alvarez, 2010, 106) to Flavian (Oswald, 1936-37).

This figure wears the characteristic broad brimmed crested helmet and high greaves of the *Thrax* although, unusually, the face appears unprotected. In addition, he wears *manica* protecting the sword arm but only below the elbow rather than the more common hand to shoulder worn by figures 1a to 1e. This saves weight on the sword arm thereby increasing his speed and the length

of time for which he can fight; re-enactment experience shows that in a refused guard this arrangement is acceptable. This would allow for longer fights thereby prolonging the spectacle, arguably the over-riding consideration of the promoters (Auguet, 1994, 25-26). The figure's only armament is an unusually shaped *sica* since he has lost his shield.

The overall impression given by his stance is that he is static but poised to deliver a step through attack with his blade. The position of the empty hand at first sight seems strange but experience suggests that he is using it to attempt to control an opponent. One possibility is that he is pushing an opponent's weapon or shield away to open him up to a blow, a technique common to *Escrima*, *KravMaga*, *Kung Fu* and pre-sport fencing (Hutton, 1891, 127ff). This is supported by a Claudian Dr30 (Alvarez, 2010, 106 figure 110, 2) which shows O1062's attempt to control O1028's shield being countered by lifting it.

Figure 1i: O1065. CG and EG, Hadrianic⁴ Oswald (1936-37, 80).

This figure lacks clear attributes of any known type, a very common problem (Auguet, 1994, 73; Demarolle, 2002, 201). The similarities of this figure's crest with that of figure 1c along with the *manica* protecting his sword arm and his *gladius* all support this figure being a *Murmillio* variant. The difficulty with this attribution is that he is too lightly armoured lacking both greaves and possibly face protection, although the existence of Roman helmets whose masks imitate a human face worn for ceremonial combats (Coulson, 2008, 84; Robinson, 1976, 12) renders this far from certain. The small cylindrical shield, very reminiscent of a smaller version of a legionary's shield, is undiagnostic since it was carried by more than one category of gladiator, c.f. figures 1j and 1l.

This figure is moving using cross-over steps; however, the shield position is unusual since it does not appear to be protecting the body. The most obvious explanation is that his shield is being used

⁴ Oswald (1936-37, 80) restricts this figure to Hadrianic Dr 37s from Lezoux and La Madeleine. The similarity of this figure to O1064, noted on both Dr 30 and Dr 37 produced at both Lezoux and Vichy spanning the Trajanic to Antonine periods, and to O1067, produced in the Antonine period at Rheinzabern (Oswald, 1936-37, 80) suggests that Oswald was too parsimonious.

to keep an opponent at bay, a technique well known from Classical vases, where it has been taken as evidence for pre-first century B.C.E. gladiatorial contests (Welch, 2009, 2, 7). The problem with this interpretation is the position of the head. This is turned towards the direction of movement and therefore involves losing sight of any opponent to his left. This only makes sense if he is facing multiple opponents, something seemingly not a feature of gladiatorial combats (Potter, 2008, 393). There is, however, one category that routinely faced multiple opponents, the *bestiarius* a similarly equipped example of which appears on a 1st century C.E. terracotta tile (Jacobelli, 2003, 16, figure 14) fighting two big cats. It is therefore possible that O1065 depicts a *bestiarius*.

Figure 1j: O1001. *Thrax*,⁵ SG, Trajan-Antonine Oswald (1936-37, 77).

This figure displays all the attributes of a 2nd century C.E. *Thrax*; the *manica* on the sword arm, high leg greaves and deep, crested helmet with a narrower brim than on earlier depictions. The brim, unlike earlier depictions which show a straight brim, e.g. figure 1a, curves upwards over the eyes thereby improving neck protection without restricting vision. This may show a delay in the adoption of new equipment outside the empire's core since, although samian does not depict this helmet type until the 2nd century C.E., there are 1st century C.E. Italian examples (Jacobelli, 2003, 15, figure 12). The figure carries a long curved version of the *sica* and a short cylindrical shield.

The leg positions of this figure suggest that he is in a braced stance. The reason for this becomes apparent when it is realised that he is invariably depicted in what looks like a close quarters shoving match with O1002 (Oswald, 1936-37, 77) for which such a stance would be necessary to avoid the results shown in figure 2e. This close quarter shield pushing, undoubtedly what is described in Vegetius 3.4, explains the unusually far forward position of the weapon which is perfectly positioned to stab his opponent in the back once his shield has been pushed aside, a situation shown in the Zliten mosaic (Jacobelli, 2003, 23, figure 20).

⁵ This figure illustrates the difficulties of assigning artistic images to known categories of gladiator since O1003 is functionally identical in terms of equipment to O1001 and should therefore be a *Thrax*. However, he is armed with a *gladius* not a *sica*.

Figure 1k: O1047. CG, Oswald (1936-37, 79) restricts this figure's use to the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. However, a similar figure on the Zliten mosaic of c. 200 C.E. (Jacobelli, 2003, 23, figure 20) suggests this figure may continue in use post-138.

This figure wears a crested helmet that extends forward of the face. He is also protected by knee high greaves and *manica* covering the upper part of both arms. The figure's only offensive weapon is a *pugio* of 2nd century C.E. form (D'Amato, 2009, 97, figure 93) derived, via Caesarienne types (Sievers, 1996, 72), from Bronze Age originals.

The unusual stance leads to the conclusion that he is appealing for clemency, a viable interpretation given the Zliten figure (Jacobelli, 2003, 23, figure 20) depicting this. However, he should have dropped his dagger to appeal for clemency (Auguet, 1994, 50); therefore, other interpretations may be possible. Indeed, the frequency with which samian images violate this rule⁶ requires alternative explanations to be found. The obvious one is that since he is raising his whole hand then he is using it to parry an attack, either a thrust as in smallsword play (Angelo, 1763; Girard, 1740) or an overhead blow as in *KravMaga*.

Figure 1l: O1023. CG and EG, Hadrian, Oswald (1936-37, 78).

This figure wears a full faced, crested helmet of a sort worn by Parthians (Wilcox, 1986, 17) and has *manica* protecting his sword arm. He is carrying a *gladius* and a long cylindrical shield similar to a legionary's. It is unclear what type of gladiator he represents although the cylindrical shield and *gladius* combination suggest he is representative of civilised types, an impression reinforced by his being habitually opposed at Lezoux to O1024 a *Thrax* (Oswald, 1936-37, 78). This may reflect Duncan's (2006, 204) view that gladiators were divided into civilised and uncivilised types.

The stance appears awkward but is explained by his pairing with O1024. The crouched stance with the shield pulled in close and held high increases the level of protection for the neck and

⁶ O1012, O1013D, O1047.

shoulders but leaves the unarmoured lower legs vulnerable to a slash. The specific conditions of the pairing do mean that this is practical, and therefore a realistic depiction. The first thing to note is that O1023 is countering the *Thrax*'s forward momentum by adopting a crouched stance in order to brace for impact. This posture also negates the *Thrax*'s main advantage, his curved blade can reach around a shield to strike unarmoured areas (Webber, 2011, 69), since by crouching behind his shield O1023 limits the opportunities for such an attack. Further in the O1023/O1024 pairing O1023's legs are not as vulnerable as they might be in another situation since the position of O1024's blade means an attack on O1023's calves can be easily countered by moving the lower rim of the shield forward as per figure 1p. The ability to provide a practical explanation based on martial arts practice means that it is unnecessary to invoke Demarolle's (2002, 203) explanation that key bits of armour have been omitted. This is an example of how experience affects how art is interpreted.

Figure 1m: O1039. *Thrax*, EG, Antonine, Oswald (1936-37, 79).

This *Thrax* is similar in terms of stance and equipment to figure 1j; his CG contemporary. The main differences are that, like his habitual opponent O1038 (Oswald, 1936-37, 79), he only wears a greave on his shield side and also that his *sica* is angled like a *kukri*. The wearing of a single greave on the shield side was common practice in the ancient world (Head, 1982, 158) and is therefore reasonable in this case where the small shield leaves the leg vulnerable and the short weapon means it cannot be used as a low guard.

Figure 1n: O1013R. *Thrax*, EG, Hadrianic (Oswald, 1936-37, 82).

This *Thrax* is one of a series of figures Oswald (1936-37) classified as variants of O1013 despite most of them being unrelated by way of appearance, chronology, provenance, potter or artistic composition. This figure's posture and equipment can be seen as a combination of figures 1j and 1l and comments regarding those figures also apply here. There is, however, one significant difference; this figure is best interpreted as launching an attack. The front foot fencing suggests

that he is driving his body weight forward by straightening the back leg while lifting the front foot thereby moving his front foot forward. Fencers call this attack a lunge and this depiction suggests its usage predates either Capo Ferro (1610) or Giganti (1606) Castle's (1885, 62) candidates for its invention.⁷ The position of his weapon arm, carrying another *kukri* like *sica*, suggests that it is being brought forward from a position similar to that of figure 1m to strike around a shield. This explains why his *manica* only covers his forearm, a feature also seen in figure 1h, since this is adequate if he is using a refused guard. Both aspects of this attack reflect the O1013R/O1013Q pairing where the latter's forward movement has left him vulnerable, this feature is the only link between the O1013 subgroup since O1013C/O1013D, O1013E/O1013F and O1043/O1013H pairings all show an 'attack on preparation'.

Figure 1o: O1026. *Thrax*, EG, Hadrianic and Antonine (Oswald, 1936-37, 78).

This figure epitomises the popular portrayal of a *Thrax*. He wears the same high fronted helmet with a face guard, and an even higher and more elaborate crest, as figure 1n along with *manica* protecting the entire sword arm and a pair of very high greaves at least one of which is decorated. His armament consists of a short curved *sica* and a small square shield. The usage of similar shields by defeated barbarians on triumphal artwork contemporary to O1026 (e.g. the Bridgeness slab (Laing and Laing, 1994, 12, figure 5)) suggests the *Thrax* provided a catch all category for different barbarians.

The depiction of the legs suggest that this figure is advancing confidently with his weapon ready to strike or perhaps actually in the process of striking. His shield position is unusual since if he is moving to the left then it is held too wide to protect him. The best explanation is that he is moving slightly towards us rather than in the plain of the pot/paper, the difficulties of portraying this have bedevilled artists across the ages (Anglo, 2000, 44ff). In this case the shield would still be in a usable position given that small shields such as this are parrying devices reliant on movement for

⁷ Roman familiarity with this technique is confirmed by the mid-third century Smirat mosaic (Matthews, 1986, 762), which shows two *venatores* using lunges comparable with Danet's (1767) *passato sotto*.

effectiveness rather than larger shields, such as figure 1l's, which can act as armour. This assumes that he is an experienced fighter; it is possible that he is a *tiro* who genuinely is moving towards his opponent, usually O1025 (Oswald, 1936-37, 78) a variant of figure 1l, in the manner depicted. In this case the potters immortalised his last moments since on the next step he was undoubtedly stabbed in the abdomen, a mortal wound that, even if not immediately fatal, terminates a fight (Fairbairn, 1942, 91). If this is the case, then O1026 is an O1013 variant since it also depicts a figure that has carelessly entered his opponent's range.

Figure 1p: O1053. EG, Antonine (Oswald, 1936-37, 79).

The loss of detail means this figure is difficult to categorise. The only certainty is that his armour covers both his upper arms, shoulders and upper torso. In terms of individual combat this arrangement makes little sense unless his combat style is to rush in quickly and fight at very close quarters against unskilled opponents who tend to cut downwards against the head and shoulders (Gilkerson, 1991, 72-73). That this may be the case is suggested by the fact that his dagger means that, as per Spartan training (Anderson, 1993, 27), he needs to close quickly. If this is true, then he must be helmeted to protect against head strikes. His only other definitely identifiable piece of equipment is a large rectangular shield that has either a rim or a decorative border. The size and shape of the shield combined with the body armour, reminiscent of *lorica segmentata*, and *pugio* suggest that this figure represents a legionary; indeed, it may depict one rather than a gladiator to which category he has doubtless been assigned because of his *manica*. Although formerly regarded as gladiatorial equipment only issued to soldiers in the Dacian wars (Barker, 1981, 64) *manica* is now known to have been widely issued (D'Amato, 2009, 149). If he is a legionary then this may still be an arena scene since events in military areas could feature legionaries fighting as amateurs before their colleagues (M.G. Jarret, pers comm).

In terms of stance his feet show that he is moving forward confidently, supporting my comments regarding the layout of his protection, while holding back his weapon arm to deliver a last minute thrust. This is typical of samian images and is probably what Vegetius 1.11 warns recruits must be

20

taught to do to avoid leaving their opponent an opening. He is also holding his shield at an angle that serves to both protect his legs and restrict an opponent by threatening an attack against his knees or shins with the lower rim, a technique familiar to Roman soldiers (Travis and Travis, 2014, 122) and commonly depicted on Classical vases (Oakeshott, 1994, figure 1d). This use of the shield shows the practicality of the upper arm defences which facilitate offensive use of the shield and enhance protection to the legs by enabling the shield to be held lower since this armour prevents a blow over the shield disabling the shield arm.

This discussion of individual gladiator images enables several conclusions to be made that are relevant to how these images can be used to enhance our understanding of arena combat. The first is that since these images show realistic combat techniques and equipment then it is likely that they are far less conventionalised than is often assumed by those not trained in HTH combat. This supports the possibility that details of combat style and staging depicted on these vessels owe more to reality than to artistic licence. This means that we can now mine these images for what they can tell us about the games.

Figure 2: Demarolle's (2002, 204, figure 2) selection of Oswald's' (1936-37) samian images showing pairs of gladiators.

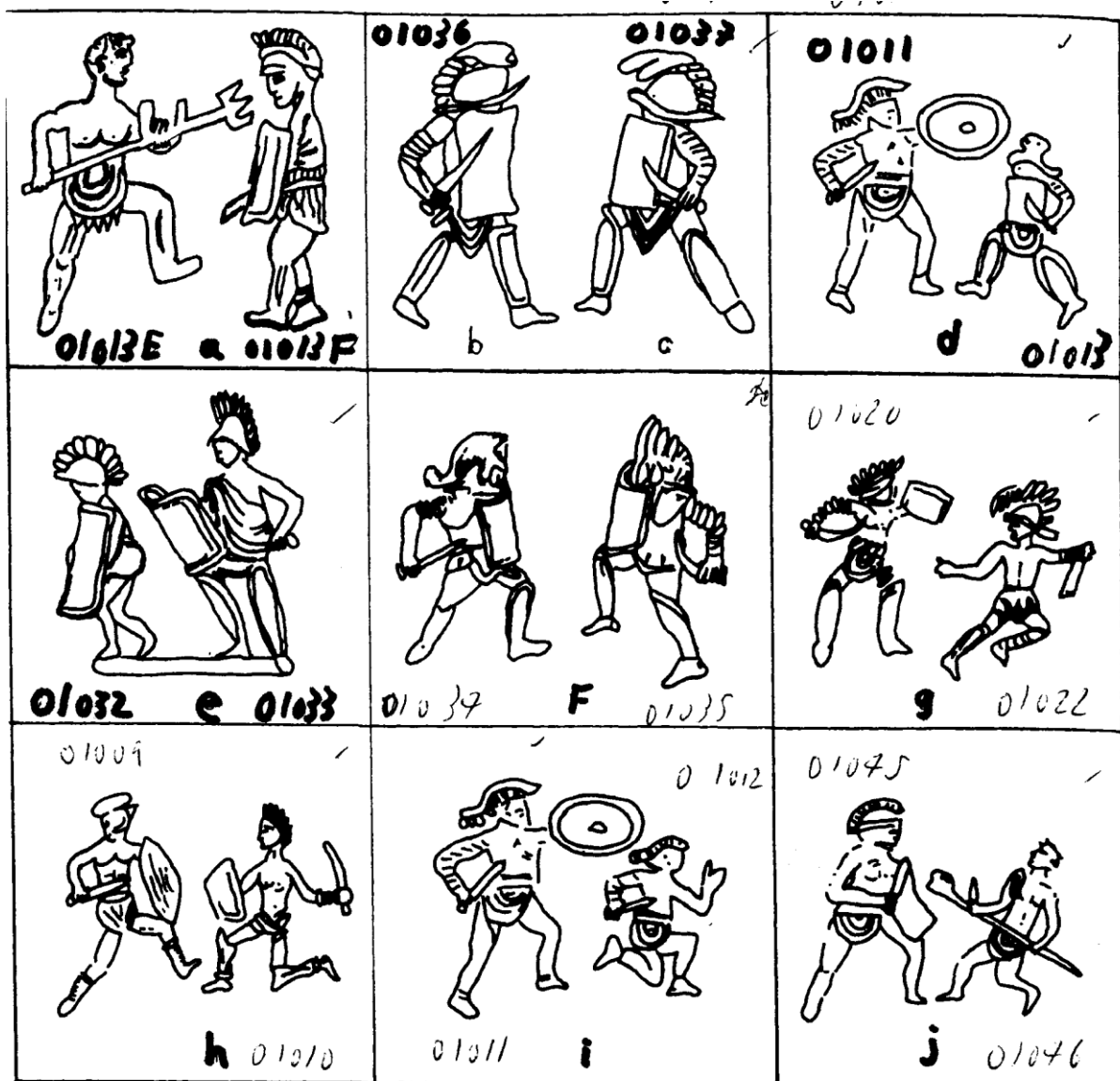


Figure 2a: O1013E vs. O1013F. SG, c. 70-90 C.E. (Zienkiewicz, 1993, 88-90, fig. 8).

This shows a pair of lightly equipped gladiators at the end of their fight. The victor is unarmoured and carries a trident and a u-shaped device similar to one depicted on a Pompeian fresco showing gladiatorial arms (Jacobelli, 2003, 67, figure 55). Indian depictions (Head, 1982, 139) suggest this is a combination shield and sword catcher, although another possibility, suggested by O1055, is that it is attached to the trident. This would impede the weapon's offensive capability by reducing the range to which it could be thrust forward and also, by rendering it unusable single handed, would rule out the use of a net.

The loser is wearing an open faced, crested helmet and is carrying a small cylindrical shield and a bladed weapon the exact identity of which is obscured by his shield. However, it does appear to be single-edged which suggests he is a *Thrax* variant rather than the *murmillio* Demarolle (2002, 203) calls him.⁸ The open-faced helmet is often considered unusual for gladiators (Duncan, 2006, 207); this is another hypothesis that samian contradicts. However, in this case the hypothesis was always weak since it is based on the premise that full-faced helmets were used to hide gladiators' identities from each other thereby making it easier for them to kill someone they may know. This idea is untenable since personal experience has shown that a fighter can be identified by their mannerisms.

The swordsman is depicted at the moment of defeat, a defeat caused by his own carelessness. His feet show that he is off balance while moving, a serious mistake in combat, and has misjudged his opponent's reach. In addition, he has committed an error by holding both weapon and shield too low and too close into his body to protect him from sudden assault. This suggests either he is a novice, among whom such errors are endemic, or that we see the end of prolonged fighting

⁸ While this seems trivial today it would have had great significance since whether he is *Thrax* or *murmillio* is the difference between civilisation and barbarism (Duncan, 2006, 204).

when fatigue has spoiled his technique; something every experienced martial artist will understand. His opponent's stance is equally interesting since it shows the raised front foot and straightening back leg that I described under figure 1n further evidencing precocious use of the 'modern' lunge.

Figure 2b/c: O1036 vs. O1037. *Hoplomachus* versus *Thrax* (Demarolle, 2002, 203), EG, Antonine (Oswald, 1936-37, 78) or SG c. 70-90 C.E. (Zienkiewicz, 1993, 90, fig. 8).

This vignette shows a combat between two heavily armoured gladiators. In terms of equipment 2c is a variant of figure 1m differing, in practical terms, only by shape and size of the *sica* and by his wearing two greaves. His opponent is similarly equipped although differing in detail. Both wear the same helmet and carry similar cylindrical shields and both wear greaves although 2b's is the shorter, flat topped Hellenistic infantryman's variety (Webber, 2011, 48). The sword arms of both are heavily protected; 2b's is a composite arrangement of a pauldron, *manica* on his upper arm and a single piece vambrace protecting the lower arm which, based on personal practical experience, offers slightly less protection but more flexibility than 2c's. The biggest difference between the two is their weapons since 2b uses a *maekir* while his opponent uses a shorter blade primarily, but not exclusively (McLemore, 2012), used for slashing.

2b is clearly advancing on his opponent who has adopted a strong stance to await his adversary. The stance of the latter, whose slight backwards lean caused by the partial straightening of his lead leg is betrayed by the angle of his shield, is highly reminiscent of the defensive postures used in *TaiChiJian*. This suggests that the potter has captured the beginning of a real combat. However, there are problems with interpreting this scene since a variant of the 2b/2c pairing (Demarolle, 2002, 208, figure 4f) shows the latter carrying a blade similar to that of figure 1k. This raises two possibilities, either this technique was common enough to appear in different representations or the potter has altered a figure for artistic reasons. The tendency in martial arts to use a common training technique for different weapons is sufficient to argue for the first interpretation.

A final thing to observe about this pairing is that the *Thrax* is stationary. This runs counter to literary evidence since Auguet (1994, 48) considered that Artemidorous's *Oneirocritica* 2.32 indicated that the *Thrax* was always the aggressor. The existence of images such as figure 2b/c shows this to be untrue and that *Thrax* were as cautious as other types.

Figure 2d: O1011 vs. O1013. CG, Hadrianic (Oswald, 1936-37, 77).

O1011 is protected by a plumed helmet, which may have a face mask, and full length *manica* on his sword arm. He is carrying a *gladius* and a large round shield with a central boss. The position of the shield laid flat along his arm with the face turned inwards suggests this is gripped behind the boss in the Roman manner rather than with the double grip associated with earlier Greek and Hellenistic shields. This conclusion was reached following experimental work with the two types of shield. That some gladiators carried shields that could be laid flat along the arm is confirmed by Artemidorus of Ephesus' (Auguet, 1994, 48).

O1013 is another *Thrax* variant judging by his greaves which are of typical *Thrax* form. His other diagnostic features are a variant of the *sica*, albeit an unusual one that has similarities to later Lombard blade forms (Nicolle, 1984b, 13, 1), and his helmet that appears to be a badly rendered variant of the one worn by figure 1j. He also carries a small cylindrical shield and is wearing *manica* on at least his upper sword arm.

O1011's stance is capable of several interpretations in that it is unclear from his back foot whether he is stationary or moving. His upper body posture is, however, informative. The sword arm is held back out of range in the manner previously noted as typical for gladiators on samian. In contrast his shield arm is pushed forward and *karate* experience suggests that there is a distinct twisting motion to his body meaning that he is almost delivering a *kizamizuki*, the parallels between this figure's posture and Sahota's (2003, 10 figure 2) are striking. This is reasonable since the effect of a twist would be to increase the reach and power of the strike that, like Sahota, he is seemingly delivering to his opponent's face. O1013 seems to be advancing towards his

opponent and, if my interpretation of O1011's posture is correct, this has resulted in him receiving a strike to his head; this suggests a careless gladiator defeated by an 'attack on preparation'. This figure is discussed further under staging since the depiction of O1011's shield is key evidence for the frequency of left-handed fighters and also the reuse of this figure in other scenes, c.f. figure 2i, has important implications for artistic technique.

Figure 2e: O1032 versus O1033. CG, Trajanic (Oswald, 1936-37, 78).

O1033 is clearly a *Thrax* since he has long greaves, a curved *sica* and the cylindrical shield also carried by figure 1j. However, he is lighter armoured than most since he lacks arm protection and his helmet seems to be open-faced. The other unusual feature of this figure is that he is wearing an *exomis*, a Classical Greek garment (Head, 1982, 95). His opponent has a similar crested helmet and also a similar shield although it has a prominent *umbro*; comparison with Trajan's Column (Coarelli, 1975, 118-127) suggests this is a version of the contemporary legionary shield.

In terms of postures the best interpretation, at least given the way the figures are arranged here, is that this represents the climax of shield wrestling. This is how Vegetius 1.27 and 3.4 (Davies, 1989, 83) describes Roman recruits training in shield work to dominate an opponent. The results of this training are described by both Livy and Aulus Gellus (Pleiner, 1993, 29) as the deciding factor in duels against barbarian opponents. This view is supported by other samian pairings such as O1001/O1002, O1003/O1004, O1004A/O1004B and probably O999/O1000 all of whom depict a close quarters shoving match. Although no surviving classical manuals detail this form of combat medieval manuals illustrate its mechanics (Talhoffer, 1467, plates 128-150; *Walpurgis Codex*, plate 36). Despite the difference in date HEMA experience shows that these techniques are applicable to Roman style equipment and indeed these find echoes in other Roman artwork. In particular the Zliten mosaic (Jacobelli, 2003, 23 figure 20) shows the end of just such a use of the shield and bears close comparison with Talhoffer (1467, plates 130, 131 and 132) justifying my interpretation of this scene.

Figure 2f: O1034 versus O1035. EG, Antonine (Oswald, 1936-37, 78).

This is another pairing that involves a *Thrax*, O1035. This figure carries a short *sica* that is similar, although more curved, to figure 2c's, and also a similar shield to 2c. In common with other *Thrax* his two greaves cover his knees, a distinguishing feature of this class (Baker, 2000, 210), and has the full length of his sword arm protected by *manica*. This *manica* is slightly unusual in that it apparently includes a pauldron. In addition, he may have body armour since the two lines at his waist, along with the shoulder piece, suggest a cuirass. This is not without precedent since figure 1g certainly wears body armour. The details of his helmet are obscured by the enormous crest making it difficult to judge what he is wearing. However, the position of his shield, pulled close in to his body, suggests a full-face helmet otherwise his face would be left vulnerable to an attack since a shield held this close to the body cannot be raised to protect the face from a sudden attack without causing a potentially fatal unsighting.

His opponent is very similar to figure 2c's opponent. He also wears a single greave, although in this case of the round topped variety that protects the knee. The difference in greaves between these figures probably results from O1034's smaller shield making his leg more vulnerable thereby requiring extra armour. The same comments apply about his helmet as for his opponent including the probability, for the same reasons, that it is full-face. His sword arm is only protected above the elbow. This explains the position of his sword which, even by the standards of samian images, is held back a long way behind his shield; a posture consistent with how a combatant lacking forearm protection fights against a curved blade which can reach around the shield. Like his opponent he also seems to have a pauldron protecting the shoulder of his sword arm and also has the same vertical lines at his waist that together suggest body armour. He is also carrying a short stabbing sword with a flat pommel, just like O1036 although in this case the artwork suggests a *gladius*.

In terms of composition this vignette is the opposite of figure 2b/c since the leg positions clearly show a *Thrax* advancing on a stationary opponent. In common with most such images their

shields are held tight to the body in order to retain maximum control in what looks like it will develop into another shield baring contest while their weapons are held out of the way in order to avoid being entangled while still being available to deliver an opportunistic strike.

Figure 2g: O1020 versus O1022. SG, Domitian (Oswald, 1936-37, 77).

O1020 is described above and therefore only his opponent is discussed here. The figure is wearing a high, probably open-face, helmet both the design of which and the crest have affinities with that worn by O1032, figure 2e left, although the latter is Central Gaulish. He has some form of covering on his legs although it is unclear whether these are greaves, as worn by most gladiators, or boots as figure 1b may be wearing. The horizontal lines on one leg suggest that this leg is not protected by metal, however, this does not mean it is unprotected since fabric 'greaves' are attested on a 4th century C.E. Spanish mosaic (Jacobelli, 2003, 11 figure 7).⁹

This figure's lack of arms and his overall posture suggest he is defeated. The exact significance of this posture is unclear with Bird (2012, 140) suggesting that he is already dead. On artistic grounds this is a possibility since the Egyptians had used similar postures to depict slain opponents (Davis, 1992, 122 figure 34, 127 figure 35, 162-3 figure 38). However, it is equally possible that he is appealing for clemency since his raised thumb is suggestive of an appeal.

Figure 2h: O1009 versus O1010. CG, Hadrianic (Oswald, 1936-37, 77).

This is another vignette that contradicts previous models of arena combat. The first problem is identifying the types of gladiators involved since the equipment worn is unusually sparse.

The figure on the right, O1010, is undoubtedly a *Thrax* variant. This is shown by his knee high greaves and curved *sica*. However, his other equipment is unusual since, apart from a few bands around the wrist of his sword arm, he lacks other armour. In particular he is highly unusual in that

⁹ A 2nd century bronze statuette (Jacobelli, 2003, 12 figure 8) shows this style of leg armour, however, it is less conclusive than the mosaic since it is unclear whether or not this is metal. In contrast the white colour on the mosaic colouring suggests fabric protection.

he seems to be helmetless, an uncommon thing for a swordsman. It is possible that this figure is wearing an ornate helmet fashioned to imitate a human head, a common find in central Gaulish graves (Feugere, 1996, 169-171), and the monochrome nature of samian makes him appear bare-headed.¹⁰ This view is supported by the way the 'hair' is depicted which has more in common with the helmet crest of O1033, figure 2e right, than it does with the hair shown on other CG depictions of bare-headed fighters such as figure 2j right.¹¹ In contrast the fact that his shield is held far forward of the body suggests that he needs to defend his head/face and inclines me to accept that this figure genuinely is bare-headed. A final detail is suggested by the amount of his shield arm that we can see and that is that he is using a punch grip shield.

In contrast his opponent is probably helmeted although the exact form is unclear due to the poor quality of the image at this point [indeed it may not be possible to rule out some form of ethnic Thracian headgear as shown on the Kazanluk Tomb (Webber, 2011, 64 figure 20)]. The image does suggest that it has some form of crest and may also have a face mask; certainly no facial details can be made out. This may be his only armour since he appears to wear boots as suggested for figure 1b. It is, however, possible that he is wearing the same lower leg protection as the *secutor* depicted on a 2nd century C.E. bronze statuette in Musee de l'Arles Antiques (Jacobelli, 2003, 12 figure 8). If this is correct then it is also possible that figure 1b is similarly equipped. There are further similarities between these two figures in that both are armed with a *gladius* and both seem to carry a hexagonal shield. This suggests that both, despite O1009's lack of *manica*, depict the same type of gladiator. In the discussion of figure 1b I described him as a *Thrax*; however, this suggests they may be *secutors*.

¹⁰ A similar confusion exists over whether Sassanian artwork depicts open-face or masked helmets (Wilcox, 1986, 38).

¹¹ This illustrates the problems of interpreting ancient images based on published drawings since comparing figure 2h with Oswald's (1936-37) original suggests that Demarolle interpreted this figure as bare-headed and shaded the hair/crest in a manner that causes the reader to subconsciously accept this figure as bare-headed.

It is not only the equipment in this vignette that is unusual the postures are too. The unusual feature is that the *Thrax* appears to be kneeling; this presents problems of interpretation since a kneeling posture is associated with a defeated combatant (Demarolle, 2002, 204). This is obviously not the case here since not only is he fully armed but his arm positions show that he is still active, as indeed is his opponent who shows no indication of being in a post-combat celebratory pose but rather is behaving as if the combat is on-going. This may be solved in several ways. The first is that he is actually kneeling but that in Gaulish artistic conventions such a posture does not indicate defeat; this is discussed further under staging. The second and third possibilities are that this is one of the few depictions that would actually support the modern reconstructions of gladiatorial combats as involving a great deal of movement. In the first of these the *Thrax* is running at his opponent, who has adopted a braced stance to receive this. The final possibility is that the *Thrax* is neither kneeling nor running but has adopted a low stance in order to cut up under his opponent's guard; a common *Kung Fu* technique. This interpretation is supported by a final strangeness of this vignette; the *sica* is shown in a posture that implies a swinging attack rather than the quick, short range attacks of most gladiators on samian.

Figure 2i: O1011 versus O1012.

In terms of equipment there is little further to say about this vignette since O1011 has already been discussed in detail under figure 2d and from the details that can be seen his opponent is identical. The most obvious feature is that the victor's shield is turned inwards in a manner that might be considered unnecessary if the fight is over. This may be an artistic convention since Pompeian art shows shields similarly raised in triumph (Jacobelli, 2003, 94, figure 77), however, depictions of soldiers standing over fallen opponents (D'Amato, 2009, 158 figure 217; Coarelli, 1975, 123 figures 71 and 72) suggest this indicates the victor is uncertain as to whether the combat is over and therefore he remains vigilant. The important details in this scene relate to staging since it clearly shows that the defeated gladiator has lost his shield but has kept his

weapon, something Auguet (1994, 50) regarded as illegal, and also that pairs of the same type could be matched.

Figure 2j: O1045 versus O1046. CG, Trajanic (Oswald, 1936-37, 79).

Although Demarolle (2002, 204) thought this shows the classic pairing of *murmilio* and *retiarius* close inspection suggests this is incorrect. Despite being lighter armoured than most (the characteristic *manica* on his leading arm (Jacobelli, 2003, 14) is absent and his *galerus* appears far smaller than both artwork and excavated examples (Jacobelli, 2003, 13 figure 9, 14) suggest was considered necessary it is possible that O1046 is a *retiarius* who has lost his net since, unlike other samian depictions; his equipment would not impede the use of the net. O1045 also has equipment that is inconsistent with his being a *murmillo*. The first peculiarity is his helmet which bears no resemblance to that Jacobelli (2003, 15 figure 12) believed characterised the *murmillo*. Indeed, the helmet appears far closer to that worn by figure 1b; either *Thrax* or *secutor*. The absence of other armour, however, makes it unlikely that he is a standard form of either of these types. The scarcity of protective equipment on both combatants in comparison to what is expected leads me to wonder whether this illustrates some special contest between two lightly equipped figures. These peculiarities extend to the arms both men carry.

The *pugio* of the *tridentarius* is consistent with this identification as is his opponent's *gladius* to his being a lightly armoured *Secutor*, another regular pairing (Jacobelli, 2003, 10). However, it is unclear what his primary weapon is since if it is a trident its head is very small compared with other examples, e.g. figure 2a. It is possible that this is a spear, another weapon used in arena combat (Jacobelli, 2003, 13 figure 9) or, more exotically, it could be a firebrand. The latter might explain the *secutor*'s lack of armour since his opponent's intention would be burn him causing him to flinch so that he can be finished off with the *pugio*. However, while the Roman love of novelty means we cannot entirely rule out this possibility, the use of firebrands seems restricted to man versus beast combats (Bird, 2012, 140); therefore, the simplest explanation is that the *retiarius* is really a spearman. Another oddity is the shape of the shield. The concave form of which is

something I have never seen among classical shields although it is a well-known medieval form (Heath, 1982, 93).

In terms of posture both figures are also unusual. The first oddity is the position of the sword. This is unusual both because it has been brought forward to the extent that his hand is no longer protected by his shield and because it is clearly positioned to deliver a cut rather than the usual stab. The spearman is also unusual in that he is off-balance and therefore vulnerable. These factors allow this illustration to be deconstructed. The first thing is that the use of a cut suggests that the lack of armour is real and not, as sometimes believed (Auguet, 1994, 74-75; Giuntoli, 2001, 68), something omitted by the artist. If this scene is deconstructed with a fencer's eye then the reason he is cutting rather than thrusting is that the swordsman is attacking the spearman's unarmoured forearm; for this purpose, a cut is preferable (Hutton, 1889, 104ff) and, in the absence of armour, is either disabling (Styres, 1952, 54) or fatal (Fairbairn, 1942, 92). The strong, slightly forward leaning, posture of the swordsman when combined with the off-balance backwards lean of the spearman suggests that the spearman has been careless and allowed his opponent to strike the spearhead with his shield in such a way as to knock him off balance, the likeliest cause of this is the spearman's failure to maintain a strong rear leg which has collapsed knocking him off balance. This is something *Karateka* are warned against, indeed experience with this martial art suggests that the spearman's collapse may have resulted from his striking the shield without bracing his back leg, if his opponent then pushed forward, as he apparently has, this would produce the effect seen in this vignette. This means that when viewed with an experienced eye this scene is entirely compatible with being a depiction of what is probably the closing phase of a real combat and, judging from the use of similar sequences in SG (Zienkiewicz, 1993, 90 figure 28.10), CG (Oswald, 1936-37, figure 1046) and EG (Demarolle, 2002, 207 figure 4) potteries as well as its depiction in a 4th century C.E. Spanish mosaic (Jacobelli, 2003, 10-11, figure 7), one that was probably very common. Indeed, the frequency of such off balance postures

being shown in a manner implying a fatal mistake supports my interpretation of figures 1b, 1j and 1m as showing such braced stances.

These vignettes support the conclusions I reached regarding the individual figures in that they all contain details that strongly suggest they are showing realistic combat. This is important because it means that we can now accept the way the figures are used as being indicative of real arena events. Therefore, it becomes possible to use these figures to model other aspects of the arena such as how the fights were staged and also to consider how the limited repertoire of images were used by the potters to illustrate events.

CHAPTER 2: DISCUSSION OF WEAPONRY

This chapter discusses two weapons that appear on samian that were not used by Roman soldiers: the *sica* and the trident. The first is a barbarian weapon and understanding when it was used may show which barbarian groups were being represented and when. The second is purely an arena weapon and is discussed here because samian images challenge previously held ideas as to how the games were staged.

The *sica*

The *sica*, as depicted on samian, may be divided into seven categories: an angled blade, a curved blade with the cutting edge on the outside, a curved blade with the cutting edge on the inside, a double curved blade, a straight backed blade with a curved cutting edge, a straight edged weapon with the blade longer than the back and a short 'broken-backed' blade. The grouping of these different types under the label *sica* may seem questionable to those scholars who endlessly subdivide ancient artefacts. I have chosen to categorise based on usage; in this I am following Oakeshott (1994, 238) who regarded the falchion, the *seax*, the *kopis* and the *khepesh*, all of which have similarities to the weapons I categorise under *sica*, as the same weapon. Although this runs counter to Auguet (1994, 46) who regarded the *sica* as being curved/angled Oakeshott's usage based classification is more in keeping with the experiential approach of this thesis.

The most straightforward of these is the angled blade. This is the weapon most commonly carried by *Thrax* in modern reconstructions. It has the further advantage of being carried by Thracians, e.g. the Kazanluk Tomb paintings (Webber, 2011, 64, figure 20). This makes this weapon a *Thrax's* natural armament. The curved blades are more problematic.

I noted above that there are two main kinds of curved weapons, one with the cutting edge on the inside of the arc and one with the edge on the outside. The problem is identifying which is illustrated since the different ethnic associations of the two types mean this has implications regarding the staging of events. It is therefore unfortunate that such identification is impossible

from artwork alone. This is best illustrated by discussing figure 1o who is carrying a short curved *sica* that may be usefully compared with a *tanto* on the grounds that their similar dimensions and morphology mean it is used in HEMA as a proxy for the former. If we consider the case of this posture being used by a modern martial artist then what this depicts would depend on his style; if he comes from *Aikido* then this weapon will probably be sharp on the outside arc, if from *Escrima* on the inside. The presence of blades sharpened on the inside arc is unsurprising since such were common weapons being used by Etruscans (Head, 1982, 171), Greeks, Dacians and Thracians (Webber, 2011, 68-69). The use of weapons with the outside arc sharp is diagnostically Jewish (Barker, 1981, 121), and, given the two major Jewish revolts, the defeat of at least one of which was celebrated in the arena (Josephus, 377), it is unfortunate that we cannot identify this weapon since this might help to model arena events based on current triumphs. Since the Romans trained to get under an opponent's blow and strike up (Pleiner, 1993, 26 citing Dionysius of Halicarnassus)¹² analogies with Japanese techniques where the blade is held edge uppermost in order to thrust upwards suggests that the majority of these images show the blade edge upwards. This view is strengthened by the tendency to illustrate the angled *sica* (figures 1m and 1n) thus.

A further important deduction that might be made from the images of curved blades is that it enables Swansea Egypt Centre's W113 to be identified as a gladiator's *sica*. This solves the mystery of its identity but opens up new possibilities since it is made of bronze. If, it is a gladiatorial weapon it means that we may need to reconsider the origin of the small bronze shields such as Ashmolean AN1980.212 which are curated as Bronze Age. If gladiators used bronze weapons then the similarities between these shields and that of figure 1g suggest that some of them are Romano-British. The third type of curved blade (figure 1h) is ethnically Thracian; similar double curved blades appearing in Classical Greek Period Thracian artwork (Webber, 2011, 60).

¹² Jacobelli (2003, 8 figure 3) illustrates this move.

The blade carried by figure 2d right is probably a smaller version of the Greek *machaira* and is morphologically very similar to one shown on a gold rhyton from Panagyurishte (Webber, 2011, plate 21). The Svetitsata tumulus (Webber, 2011, plate 18) shows this was used by ethnic Thracians and therefore we cannot rule it out as a form of gladiatorial *sica*, the pronounced edge curve fits the criterion of the *sica* as a sneaky weapon since the bulge changes the characteristics of its usage rendering a narrow parry insufficient against it. However, its widespread use means it is not ethnically diagnostic.

This leads on to the two possible variants of the *seax*. These are important both in terms of staging and for dating of stray finds. The first of these is carried by O1013F (figure 2a right) and appears to be a short single edged sword with the cutting edge longer than the back, although this may be a *machaira* carried edge upwards the overall posture suggests this is unlikely. This is important in terms of staging in that it suggests that 'German' weapons were being carried by gladiators in southern Gaul as early as the reign of Claudius. The apparent shape of this blade has wider archaeological implications since Wheeler's (1935, 177) characterising it as 7-8th century C.E. 'Norwegian' is still followed by scholars (Harrison, 1993, 54). If O1013F's weapon is of this form, then this attribution needs to be reconsidered. The '*sica*' depicted by Saturninus-Satto at Mittelbronn (Demarolle, 2002, 208 figure 4e) has a similar significance since it is best described as a variant on the broken/angle back *seax*, supposedly a 7th century C.E. *Englisc* development (Gale, 1989, 71). This is not the only depiction of such a weapon at too early a date since Head (1982, 124-125 figure 65) reconstructs one of the 4/3rd century B.C.E. Kazanluk figures with a similar broken back '*sica*'. Taken together these are enough to suggest that the dating scheme for *seaxs* needs to be reconsidered since many stray finds may be Roman. This problem is highlighted in my work on spearheads (Jones, 1994) which noted that too much dating work is carried out by period specialists who lack appreciation of possible uses of a morphologically similar artefact outside their own period of interest.

Since many of the variations of *sica* were associated with distinct ethnic groups it is reasonable to postulate that these may relate to what was currently regarded as the barbarian threat. This harks back to the origin of the games in a triumphal spectacle using the equipment of the defeated (Auguet, 1994, 77). The usage of 'barbarian' equipment would be facilitated by sentencing P.O.W.s to the arena, as occurred with Jewish prisoners post-70 (Josephus, 377), in which context it seems significant that some gladiators are depicted with Jewish style weapons, c.f. figure 1d.

The trident

The samian depictions of this weapon indicate that a rethink of how gladiatorial combats were staged is required. The received wisdom is that anyone armed with a trident also used a net and therefore they are termed *retiarii*, e.g. Demarolle's (2002, 203) description of figure 2a as "*le retiaire est oppose au myrmillon a la Graufesenque*". *Retiarius* is therefore being used in a misleading manner since *rete* references a hunting net and not a trident, and, while there is evidence for combatants combining net and trident (Jacobelli, 2003, 10-11 figure 7), samian images suggest that not every lightly armoured combatant with a trident should be called a *retiarius*.

The first problem is the rarity of depictions of genuine *Retiarii*, i.e. net fighters (Auguet, 1994, 75-6) in contrast with the number of depictions, across multiple media, of tridents. The depictions of *rete* in hunting scenes (e.g. Deschieter *et al*, 2012, 101 figure 10.6) demonstrates that neither technical nor artistic reasons explain this unwillingness to portray gladiatorial *rete* while the popularity of *tridentarii* negates the possibility that this absence supports Baker's (2000, 56) suggestion that *retiarii* were unpopular. A close examination of the available samian suggests that the absence of the nets is not because they have been omitted, contra Auguet (1994, 74ff), but because the combatant never carried one. The most obvious image supporting this is figure 1g, a *Thrax* carrying a trident (Demarolle, 2002, 203), who cannot have carried a net in addition to his shield. Therefore, unless he has acquired the weapon of his defeated opponent,

38

something that is not otherwise attested, it is clear that not all men with tridents also carried nets. In part the problem is caused by scholars misidentifying the arc shaped shield carried by these figures, e.g. figure 2a, as armour. Once this is recognised as a shield then the number of *retiarii* falls dramatically since the awkwardness of the trident makes it unlikely that a man with a shield also carried a net.

Therefore, samian images demonstrate that we must cease using *retiarius* to describe trident armed figures unless it can definitely be shown that they have/had a net. Instead the more accurate term *tridentarius* should be used. In addition, we must change our understanding of how shows were organised and regard the use of nets in gladiatorial combats as the uncommon novelty that artwork suggests them to have been, contra Potter (2008, 393) who regarded matches involving a *retiarius* as “the most popular pairing” in the games.

CHAPTER 3: STAGING

This chapter explores what samian can tell us about how gladiatorial events were staged, at least in Gaul where the material was made and with which the artists were presumably most familiar. In particular this chapter focuses on how different images were combined and how this enables us to refine our ideas of how gladiators were matched and what rules they fought under.

Thrax

An interesting aspect of samian images is how depictions of this category of gladiator changed. In instances where close dating is possible this suggests that they were used to reflect contemporary concerns/events and that the *Thrax* acted as the generic barbarian.¹³ In general terms this is suggested by the way gladiators are matched, both on samian and other art forms, where a trend can be seen that pits the *Thrax*, with his slashing weapon, against an opponent whose weapon is primarily intended for stabbing. This matchup can be seen as representing the clash of civilisation, stabbing, versus barbarism, slashing. This is also reflected in their shields, in general the *Thrax's* shield covers less of his body than does his civilised opponent's, judging from Livy's (XXXVIII.19-29) account of the Battles of Mount Olympus and Mount Magaba in 189 B.C.E. this was the popular perception of barbarian equipment.

A Trajanic version of this is shown in figure 2e. If this figure is compared with Trajan's Column (Coarelli, 1975, 118-127) then the figure on the left has affinities with that of a Roman soldier, in particular his shield is of the same size and shape as that of contemporary legionaries. In contrast his opponent appears to be carrying a Dacian weapon (c.f. Coarelli, 1975, 123 figure 72), Rome's then newsworthy barbarian enemies, although admittedly none of his other equipment seems to match. Since Trajan celebrated his Dacian victory with games involving 10,000 participants (Auguet, 1994, 30) it is likely that some used Dacian weapons.

¹³ If the *Thrax* represents generic barbarians this explains why the matching of two *Thrax* was acceptable (Auguet, 1994, 51) since it was expected that barbarians had no sense of unity.

The *Thrax* category was introduced by Sulla (Auguet, 1994, 46, 77) who borrowed them from the Etruscans (Baker, 2000, 54). It is tempting to speculate that this was connected to Sulla's victories in the Mithridatic war since a large number of Thracians fought for Mithridates; indeed, many Thracian cities joined him (Webber, 2011, 18-19). If gladiators were a triumphal expression over a defeated enemy (Auguet, 1994, 77) then Sulla's introduction of *Thrax* has a precedent.¹⁴ This may also explain their continued usage in the arena. If Auguet (1994, 46-7) is correct that the *Samnite* disappeared because it was regarded as insulting a loyal people then continual redefining of the *Thrax* as the current 'other' would overcome this problem and allow their continued appearance at the games.

The foregoing raises an important point about Caligula. If the *Thrax* represented barbarism and his opponent civilisation then Caligula's support of them (Auguet, 1994, 44 citing Suetonius) represents more than a sports fan's choices- Suetonius is commenting on his fitness to rule. Suetonius is telling his readership that Caligula was unfit to rule a civilised people. Shakespeare undermines Richard III's legitimacy with a similar technique by equipping him with a falchion and a buckler, this portrays Richard as a thug unfit to rule since by Shakespeare's day no nobleman would carry such a combination (Wise, 1971, 119). This also explains Domitian's actions in executing "a Thracian supporter who spoke evil of his emperor" (Baker, 2000, 57 citing Suetonius) since he was effectively supporting barbarians against the emperor, something to which the on-going Dacian wars may have rendered Domitian particularly sensitive. In this context Suetonius's lack of chronological precision is unfortunate since Domitian's Dacian campaigns resulted in Roman defeats and a humiliating armistice (Rossi, 1971, 22). This suggests a refinement of our dating of samian since it is unlikely that soldiers or officials would buy pottery depicting *Thrax* in a

¹⁴ D'Amato (2009, 35 figure 21) shows an Etruscan urn combining these elements since it is supposed to represent the Theban cycle but be inspired by Sulla's victories. This clearly shows many elements of the arena including both *manica* and the typical crested helmet of a *murmillo* (Jacobelli, 2003, 15, figure 12) or *Thrax* (Jacobelli, 2003, 10, figure 6).

positive light at this period. The conclusion must be that such Flavian period images are unlikely to postdate 85, the date these campaigns started, although this needs further testing.

Left-handed gladiators

One of the most intriguing aspects of gladiatorial images on samian is how frequently left-handed fighters appear, 10 of the 32 figures described above. This is a high percentage that requires explanation. The first consideration, following Demarolle (2002, 205), is the possibility that this is actually an artistic convention since the left-handed gladiator is always facing left and therefore has his chest facing the audience. The continuation of such pairings in medieval artwork probably was done for artistic reasons (Jones, 2012, 132). However, we know from inscriptions that left-handed gladiators existed (Coleman, 1996; Jacobelli, 2003, 50) and therefore we must ask if we can determine from the pottery which images genuinely show left-handed combatants. In the case of figure 2d it is certain that the figure on the right is genuinely left-handed, a fact made apparent by the facing of his opponent's shield. If we look at this figure it is clear that this shield is turned with the face inwards. This is explainable by the gladiator wishing to maximise the protection for the inner part of his arm while, in this vignette, striking his opponent in the head with the rim. The left-handed gladiator's blade is too short to reach any vulnerable spot on his opponent, if, however, the face was turned outwards then he would be able to cripple his opponent's shield arm. The turning of a shield inwards to face a blow from one's inside line is a universal feature of surviving sword and buckler manuals (*Walpurgis Codex*, plates 27, 29, 31, 32). This strongly supports this image as depicting right-handed versus left-handed fighters.

This leaves the question as to the frequency of such matching. Previous works on gladiators assume that this was uncommon: Auguet (1994, 64 figure 7) calls it "a peculiarity always dreaded in combat", Demarolle (2002, 203) calls the left-handed '*retiarius*' in figure 2j an innovation, Jacobelli (2003, 50) describes Albanus as possessing "an unusual trait: he is left-handed". This cannot be determined from the available evidence, whether artistic or written. However, it may

42

be more common than previously thought, despite Commodus's pride in mastering this skill (Baker, 2000, 125); since it is unnecessary for a person to be left-handed in order to fight left-handed only that they have been trained to do so. In 16th to 18th century C.E. stage combat, perhaps the closest analogy to gladiatorial combats, fighters trained to use either hand (Hutton, 1892, 55). This is also a feature of self-defence fencing to the present day; *Escrima*, *Kempo*, *KravMaga* and *Kung Fu* all teach the use of weapons in both hands since one never knows when one may need to fight with an injured primary arm. Another consideration is that gladiators were not solely used for arena fighting but also served as bodyguards (Baker, 2000, 142 citing Suetonius). In this situation *KravMaga* training suggests that weapon use in either hand would have been useful. The most important evidence, however, is the artwork that shows that at least some gladiators could use both hands since they are shown simultaneously using two weapons, e.g. O1046, figure 2j, O188 and O196. Although this is not the same as fighting with the wrong hand it does make it easy to transfer through extra training. This is something that I discovered when an injury prevented my fencing right-handed for two years; however, my experience of two weapon fighting enabled me to quickly retrain to use my left hand.

The next question to address is the reason why the organiser would want a right-handed to left-handed matchup. It is possible that this was not selected for but was the result of the available gladiators, given the frequency of scenes showing a left to right pairing this seems unlikely. It is equally unlikely that it was introduced for novelty effect, indeed the samian images suggest that a pairing of two same handed fighters would be the novelty. This may suggest that these pairings enable something to be said about gladiatorial fights as staged in Gaul. If these images are not an artistic composition, and the fact that samian representations sometimes show the back of a gladiator (Demarolle, 2002, 205) makes this unlikely, then there must be some reason for these match ups.

The answer may lie in modern sport fencing. There when a left-handed fighter faces a right-handed one the lefty is always placed so that both the president and the audience can see the

chest which is where the majority of hits land. This is regarded as more exciting for the audience. If one remembers that the typical on-guard posture in Roman times is a refused one, then for the same reasons the left-hander would be placed on the right of the audience as they are on samian. Gladiatorial combats are normally modelled with two combatants circling looking for advantage; this would render such an initial positioning pointless and, since this pairing is depicted so regularly, this needs to be accounted for. If the reader refers back to the descriptions of the images in chapter 2 then it will become apparent that this problem does not apply since the images suggest that such fights were usually relatively static affairs. This suggests that gladiators could be positioned to show their chests to the most important spectators, a real possibility given the rank conscious seating arrangements (Welch, 2009, 103), with everyone else getting an inferior view; indeed, Baker (2000, 77) implies that amphitheatres were elliptical for just this purpose. A further possibility is that the majority of combats in Gaul did not take place in purpose built arenas but rather in restricted settings where the audience was only arranged on one side and therefore could obtain the ideal view. This may be the result of the small size of the average performance (Potter, 2008, 393) not requiring a large arena. If this is correct it suggests that Gaulish combats continued the Italian tradition of staging events either at funerals or in market places (Auguet, 1994, 23, 24). It must, however, be noted that while this is fully in keeping with the paucity of specialist facilities in the eastern provinces that resulted in non-specialist buildings being used (Dodge, 2008, 45) it is peculiar since samian is a western pottery form where amphitheatres were common (Dodge, 2008, 393).

A further point that must be addressed is the question of adversary selection. Auguet (1994, 43) argued that these were selected by lot at the last minute. If the samian images reflect reality, then this hypothesis is problematic for Gaul. It will be remembered how many images show left-handed fighters and the one combination that never appears on samian is a matching of two left-handers. This is unlikely to be the result of chance. There are three possible resolutions to this problem. The first is that Auguet was wrong and, at least in Gaul, gladiators were not matched by

lot but selected to ensure a good show. This is my preferred option since it requires less special pleading in order to fit the artistic evidence and indeed is implied by Baker (2000, 184). A second possibility is that gladiators were selected by lot but that left and right handers were selected from different draws. This is supported by the observation that certain categories never seem to face each other; therefore, unless there was only a single combatant of each type per arena slot, some amount of fixing must have occurred meaning the match ups cannot have been entirely random. A final possibility is that combatants may have been matched by lot but their fighting style was then decided upon. This would mean that gladiators may not have known what weapons they were using or whether they were to fight right or left-handed until just before the fight. If this seems unlikely it is a tactic that was later used by duellists (Wise, 1971, 43); further it is known that some gladiators were capable of fighting as different varieties (Auguet, 1994, 162 citing Martial) most commonly '*retiarii*' who were aware of their unpopularity (Baker, 2000, 56) and therefore chances of survival if defeated at least at the time of Claudius (Auguet, 1994, 49).

Rules

Multiple opponents

The given understanding of the rules of the arena is that it was strictly one on one (Potter, 2008, 393), indeed so entrenched is this notion that it appears in the 1967 *Star Trek* episode 'Bread and Circuses'. It is undoubtedly true that many combats were one on one; however, samian hints that this was not always so. In particular figure 1i is, as discussed previously, moving in such a manner as to suggest that he is expecting attacks from multiple opponents. Indeed, his overall demeanour suggests he is involved in a serious version of the re-enactment training technique known as circle of treachery without honour. In these the combatants form a circle and then are free to use any technique to ensure that they are last man standing, including backstabbing. In the discussion of figure 1i I noted that his equipment may suggest that he is a *bestiarius*, in which case he would have to be more peripherally aware since he would be facing multiple adversaries.

This means that we require more than these images to argue for multi-participant combats being staged in Gaul.

The written record, including programmes at Pompeii (Rocca et al, 1976, 253-4), overwhelmingly supports gladiatorial combats as individual affairs. There are, however, some vessels that may contradict this view, interestingly most of which seem to be variants of figure 2a and show a *tridentarius* being opposed by two swordsmen. A common feature of these that suggest that it genuinely shows one against two is that the trident is often angled such that the lead gladiator is taking the thrust on his shield (e.g. Tilhard, 2012, 166, figure 17.6:13). In this instance I consider that this outweighs the possibility that the poor production standards of La Graufesenque by this period (Webster, 1996, 3) have resulted in a mistaken double stamping of O1013F although in other cases (Dickinson and Webster, 2002, 254 figure 6.D22; Zienkiewicz, 1993, 90, figure 28.8) the overall quality of the images suggests this may be the case. Therefore, I must conclude that at least some vessels evidence the existence of group combats but, as Baker (2000, 52-54) noted, they were rare. It is possible that these one versus two were restricted to certain dates since Demarolle (2002, 203) assigns figure 2a a Claudian date whereas the multiple figures seem to be Flavian (Dickinson and Webster, 2002, 252; Tilhard, 2012, 172; Zienkiewicz, 1993, 88-90, fig. 8).

Ending a fight

Samian images also contradict our notions as to when a fight ended. The usual view is that when a fighter was disarmed he appealed for clemency by raising his finger and was only killed if judged unworthy (Potter, 2008, 393). There are few samian images compatible with this model, indeed of the pairings analysed in this thesis only figure 2g can be interpreted as showing such a denouement, and only then if the defeated is not already dead.

The first point of departure from the model is shown in figure 2a. This vignette shows a *tridentarius* going straight for a probably fatal blow to his opponent's head. A brief reflection

suggests that the usual model is untenable since a man fighting for his life rarely honours the niceties of the rules but will preserve his own life by taking every opportunity to win, as Charles McGraw's Marcellus teaches in the film *Spartacus*. A good parallel is Aztec combat where the intention was to capture opponents for sacrifice rather than killing (Wise, 1980, 22). However, faced with an armed and dangerous adversary Aztecs ignored these strictures and killed despite the priesthoods frequent orders to the contrary (Heath, 1999, 37). If the Aztecs, whose advancement depended on captives not corpses (Wise, 1980, 21-23), ignored instructions to capture their adversaries, despite it also being a religious duty essential for society's survival (Anon, 1975, 71); it is unlikely that gladiators were any more observant of such niceties. A second point to remember in this context is the armour worn by most combatants, in contrast to military armour which protected the vitals but left the extremities exposed (Barker, 1979, 68) gladiatorial armour left the vital areas unprotected but protected very well those areas where a lucky blow could be disabling bringing the combat to an unsatisfying early end. This makes it unlikely that the majority of fights could have ended without a fatal blow being landed since often only these areas were left unprotected, as can be seen by a comparison of the images in this thesis with Fairbairn's (1942, 93 figure 112) chart of the best areas to ensure a kill.

There are, however, two situations where such an ending may be contemplated. In the first the shield is used to strike a heavy blow to the head. The result of this, even allowing for full-face helmets, is likely to be a severe enough concussion to end the fight without necessarily being fatal. This has the advantage of allowing the victor the luxury of time to await a verdict; the parallels to the count in modern boxing are obvious. In terms of artistic representations this is a reasonable interpretation of figures 2d, 2g and 2i so Samian does support this. It does, however, not fully explain how combat rules worked since such techniques were apparently illegal (Auguet, 1994, 52 quoting Seneca). The second involves the accepted condition to define defeat.

The usual belief is that it is possible to identify a defeated opponent because he is both kneeling and unarmed. This has no support from Samian since the majority of figures that are apparently

appealing for clemency, e.g. figures 1k and 2i, are still carrying offensive arms, according to Auguet (1994, 50) a violation of the rules, and, as per figure 1k are often standing.¹⁵ The one feature that links the majority of the defeated is that they no longer carry a shield. This is not just a feature of Gaulish samian but also occurs in other art forms. This, despite the problem of how to account for fights involving men who started unshielded, suggests that a gladiator could be regarded as defeated when he lost his shield. It is probable that, assuming the artwork does evidence this to have been the general case, confusion has resulted from a linguistic imprecision. The Latin *arma* can mean a shield (Morwood, 2005) therefore references to the defeated having lost his 'arms' can signify the loss of a shield. This hypothesis is strengthened by the disgrace involved in such a loss as shown by the Spartan injunction to 'return with your shield, or on it' (Oakeshott, 1994, 63); it may also be linked to the Roman use of the shield offensively (Travis and Travis, 2014, 122). It may also be supported by the use of shields as images in their own right, e.g. Rogers (1974) U209, which often seem to have been discarded by combatants (Bird, 2012, 138).

There is a further possibility that might explain some of the images that seem to violate the rules of the arena and that is that we have depictions of two different kinds of events. Auguet (1994, 60-61) notes the existence of something called "*munera sine missione*" which was always to the death. It is possible that images such as figures 2a and 2d represent this kind of combat in which, by definition (Hartley-Leather, 1942, 7-9), anything goes while images such as figure 2i represent a fight in which clemency was possible. If this is true then it has important implications for how artists composed their image since the same figure, O1011, is apparently used to depict both types of contest. It also has important implications for the nature of combats since combatants in a fight to the death are more likely to exhibit caution than someone who expects to be spared if defeated. The frequency of cautious fighters on samian images implies gladiatorial combats were more lethal than frequently suggested (Duncan, 2006, 204; Potter, 2008, 393) and

¹⁵ Figure 1k may support Baker's (2000, 84-85) view that the defeated only knelt after clemency had been refused; this may explain Claudius's habit of condemning those who fell accidentally (Auguet, 1994, 48 citing Suetonius).

that Baker's (2000, 10) figure of an average 'career' of the two to three fights may be correct. They may not, however, be showing *munera sine missione* since these were either banned by Augustus (Welch, 2009, 6) or strictly regulated (Duncan, 2006, 204), the samian imagery may suggest the latter.

Opening engagements versus continued combat

Perhaps the most noticeable aspect of modern representations of gladiatorial combat is how spectacular they are. Indeed, Duncan (2006, 204) characterises gladiatorial combats as a mix of stage fighting and boxing. This is something that is repeated time and again from the engagements at the run and shield throwing of the re-enactment group Britannia to the jumping and sword swinging of films such as *Spartacus* and *Gladiator*. While this is undeniably spectacular the images on samian suggest that this is not how gladiators fought, at least in Gaul. If we consider the images in Oswald (1936-37) only two pairs, O1007/O1008 and O1018/O1019, seem to fit this stereotypical image while a third pair, O1009/O1010 (figure 2h), is not incompatible with it. If we expand this to consider individuals, then only O1027 shows any indication of such a wild advance. The overwhelming majority of samian depictions show either a cautious advance, usually with one combatant standing to await the arrival of his opponent as in figures 2b/c and 2f, or have both figures engaged in a close quarters shoving match. This impression of a generally staid affair is reinforced by the refused guard posture of most samian figures which implies a very cautious approach to combat dominated by an over-riding concern not to offer one's opponent an opening, the fatal results of which are graphically shown on the early 1st century C.E. Stabian Gate from Pompeii (Jacobelli, 2003, 8 figure 3, 95 figure 77) and the Zliten mosaic of c. 200 C.E. (Jacobelli, 2003, 23 figure 20). The significance of this has previously been misunderstood leading to suggestions that samian images mostly showed the opening stages of a fight (Demarolle, 2002, 203). In actuality these images support Potter's (2008, 393) belief that the average bout lasted between 10 and 15 minutes since experience suggests that such a duration requires the majority

of combat to be low energy. This is another instance of art contradicting literature which claims cautious fighting was unpopular (Baker, 2000, 49, 187-88).

Perhaps the best, albeit indirect, evidence for the ubiquity of this very close quarters shield based fighting style is provided by a variant of figures 2 b/c (Demarolle, 2002, 208 figure 4f). In this version one combatant has a *maekir* but his adversary has been depicted with the same *pugio* as figure 1k. This changes the dynamics of the fight since the dagger man has no choice but to heed the Spartan advice of adding to his weapon's length one step towards his opponent (Anderson, 1993, 27). This increases the likelihood of very close quarter fighting the outcome of which is primarily determined by the result of shield wrestling since either the dagger man closes to this range or his opponent picks him off as he closes.

This latter outcome is the theme of the O1013 subset of figures; the majority of which illustrate the risks of an incautious advance. This is depicted as resulting in a quick end to a contest as a result of one combatant leaving himself open by misjudging his opponent's effective attack distance. The seriousness of such actions explains the generally cautious approach to combat that seems to be depicted in the majority of cases and indicates that the fighting principles of *Shotokan's* founder Gichin Funakoshi "do not think that you have to win, rather think that you do not have to lose" (Sahota, 1994, ix) applied in the Roman arena as well. It is likely that these show the true reasons for caution rather than Auguet's (1994, 13) contention that their armour was too restrictive to allow rapid, fluid movements, a contention that seems to be made whenever scholars who lack combat experience comment on ancient combat techniques (Lindholm and Svaerd, 2003, 2-4).

The depiction of a cautious form of combat emphasising the shield over the sword may be explained by the market for samian. It may also explain the reason why samian apparently depicts less spectacular combats than literature suggest we should be seeing given that Cicero's complaint that ever more novelty had to be introduced (Auguet, 1994, 25) pre-dates the late Augustan date (Genin, et al, 2002, 55-56) of the earliest samian images. The samian supports

50

Auguet's (1994, 25) belief that the need for novelty was driven by the mob which no longer had military experience (Goldsworthy, 2007, 107). In the provinces things were different since here samian was marketed to serving soldiers, veterans and local elites (King, 2013, 113, 114, 131) who still had a military role (Goldsworthy, 2007, 24).¹⁶ These are Auguet's (1994, 73) audience well acquainted with the techniques of combat. It is therefore not surprising that their taste in images was different since, unlike the Roman mob, they understood the nuances of combat. The semi-luxury nature of samian (King, 2013, 116; Vertet, 1998, 129) suggests that Henig (1998, 62) is wrong to suggest that gladiatorial images only appealed to the uneducated although this may have been true in Italy which is where the accounts used to suggest this originate.

Who fought who in the arena?

Samian shows a greater variety of matching than is generally assumed and contradicts the usual ideas regarding who fought who. The biggest change required is in our understanding of the role of the *secutor*. If figures 1b and 2h left have been correctly identified as these then Jacobelli's (2003, 10) contention that he generally fought a *retiarius* is unlikely since in figure 2h he faces a *Thrax* while O999, figure 1b, is normally depicted fighting another swordsman. Indeed, the one opponent potential *secutors* are never depicted as fighting on samian, as opposed to mosaics which do show such combats (Jacobelli, 2003, 10-11, figure 7), is a *retiarius*.¹⁷

The possibility that O999/O1000 pairing shows that similarly equipped combatants may have been matched more frequently than we usually believe (Potter, 2008, 393) is supported by other samian images. In particular the vignette shown in figure 2i strongly suggests the matching of gladiators from the same categories since, although we cannot be certain since we do not know

¹⁶ Suetonius's (Auguet, 1994, 27, 160) comment that Caesar used knights and senators to train gladiators shows how high up the social scale skill at arms extended. This explains why Roman officers could win individual combats with barbarian opponents (Pleiner, 1993, 28-31).

¹⁷ Although Demarolle (2002, 207, figure 4) illustrates an EG vessel showing a *secutor* against a *tridentarius* the latter's equipment is incompatible with his carrying a net.

what shield the defeated was originally carrying, this scene does seem to show a matchup between two identical gladiators, neither of whom are *Thrax*.

Artistic considerations

This section discusses the way potters used the same figures in order to illustrate different events. It particularly draws attention to the way that the small number of stamps were arranged to show different aspects of combat.

The first thing to be noted about the composition of samian images is the posture of the sword arms; overwhelmingly these illustrate a controlled fighter rather than the swinging motions derided by the Romans (Pleiner, 1993, 35) that are so common among the inexperienced and the overenthusiastic (Gilkerson, 1991, 72-73). This is significant because it suggests that, with a few possible exceptions, mainly from the O1013 subgroup which may show novices making a mistake that they never got the chance to repeat, the images are of experienced combatants. This contrasts with depictions of wild swings in military contexts, e.g. Trajan's column (Coarelli, 1975, 123 figure 72), which indicates that something different is being shown on samian. If we consider other representations of arena combat, whether wall paintings (Jacobelli, 2003, 75 figure 62), glass ware (Jacobelli, 2003, 78, figure 65), mosaics (Jacobelli, 2003, 27, figure 23) or graffiti (Jacobelli, 2003, 49-51), this is likely since the majority of other artistic depictions of gladiators show named, experienced individuals. It is therefore noticeable that only rarely (Demarolle, 2002, 205) are individuals identified on samian.

If it were not for the case of Tetrates and Prudes this might simply be a case of market forces since mosaics, stelae, wall paintings and graffiti are all static works of art that only need to appeal to a specific audience whereas samian was marketed throughout the empire. However, these two worthies are also depicted on glass vessels discovered in England, France and Hungary and, according to Petronius's *Satyricon*, also appeared on silver cups (Jacobelli, 2003, 79). These vessels are, as evidenced by their find spots, mobiliary and therefore it seems also marketed

widely meaning that the lack of names on samian cannot simply be a case of the conventions of static versus mobiliary art. The probable explanation here is not artistic but relates to the nature of the media in which the art is expressed; pottery, even samian, was a relatively mass market commodity (Ferris, 2012, 17-18) and it might not make commercial sense to tie a pot to too specific a market. In contrast both glass and silver vessels were used by a higher socio-economic group who were in a position to buy pieces that interested them, and indeed may also have wanted to suggest how networked they were by being able to display works that could be attributed to specific events. This makes it likely that while the potter's inspiration was a specific combat, as discussed in chapter 2 the depictions are too realistic to think otherwise, he used images that would suggest to a potential buyer fights the buyer had experienced. This may also explain the reluctance to illustrate the ending of a fight since this is often much more specific to a given combat than the earlier stages.

In the case of figure 2h the depiction is arranged to imply that one figure is kneeling and the other is kicking. The possibility that O1009 is kicking is easily dealt with, he probably is. The use of such kicks to the knee in Roman Gaul is evidenced by depictions of pankratists whose legs are similarly positioned to O1009 (Olivova, 1984, 193; Poliakoff, 1987, 60 figure 60), and this is certainly the impression that is given by the way this figure has been angled although had he been angled differently it would give the impression that he was moving. The use of such kicks to leave an opponent vulnerable to a weapon is well known across martial arts, it was a particular favourite of the 16th century C.E. Emperor Maximillian (Anglo, 2000, 175). The more problematic is the depiction of a combatant apparently kneeling. The key here may be the 2nd century C.E. date. If this was a Claudian depiction then this could depict a defeated combatant (Auguet, 1994, 48). However, this is more likely to represent a gladiator kneeling to await his opponent as described by Ammianus (Auguet, 1994, 79-80). This is supported by his light armour since it was just such soldiers who used this technique.

This may suggest a cultural difference that is reflected in art since Greek art often shows the defeated kneeling¹⁸ and the same may have been true in some parts of Italy. It is certain that Claudius regarded kneeling as synonymous with defeat (Auguet, 1994, 48) and there are numerous illustrations at Pompeii (Jacobelli, 2003, 51, 74, 90) which make this correlation. However, samian was generally marketed to an audience that, unlike both Claudius and the civilians of Pompeii, was familiar with military affairs (King, 2013, 131). In battle it was normal to kneel to await an attack, Livy (Head, 1982, 159) and Ammianus (Auguet, 1994, 79) both record the practice. It is therefore probable that soldiers would not necessarily associate kneeling with defeat in the same way civilians would.

A second way that the artists used the images is by arranging them in different ways as can be illustrated by comparing figures 2d and 2i. This tendency has previously been noted by Bird (2012, 144) who observed that potters used “considerable ingenuity in adapting figure-types to different uses” when depicting bullfights.

A further method of using artwork to suggest different outcomes is achieved by altering the spacing of figures. This sometimes results in overlapping parts of a figure (e.g. Polak et al, 2012, 282 figure 27.14:D90) which has the effect of emphasising the close quarter pushing match especially to a military audience whose own training and experience in individual combat (Travis and Travis, 2014, 122) would precondition them to expect this. Indeed, at times these overlaps suggest that one gladiator is stepping on his opponent’s foot (e.g. Zienkiewicz, 1993, 90, figure 28.8), still a common martial arts technique. A Dr30 from Baelo Claudia, Spain, (Alvarez, 2010, 106, figure 110.2) illustrates this perfectly since it positions figure 1f, interpreted by Demarolle (2002, 204) as raising his shield in triumph, to imply he is using his shield to punch figure 1h in the face. Figure 1f is used in another way on a Dr30 from Richborough (Henig, 1998, 62 figure 6). In this scene 1f is in his usual posture while his opponent is kneeling, fully armed some distance

¹⁸ This may be the result of the Greek love of wrestling in which a single knee touching the floor indicated inevitable defeat (Poliakoff, 1987, 25).

away. This suggests that 1f is here acknowledging the crowd/sponsor while his opponent awaits the start of the combat. This illustrates a third distinct way of using the same image to show different phases of a combat.

A further way of rearranging poincons is shown by the variants of figure 2a. In figure 2a O1013E faces a single O1013F and the figures are arranged to suggest a victory for O1013E. In a variation of this (Tilhard, 2012, 166 figure 17.6:13), however, the tables appear turned since the trident is now striking the centre of the shield in a manner that suggests it may be turned aside leaving its wielder vulnerable either to the man whose shield he is striking or to a second opponent who is following the first. This may again be an artefact of marketing with victorious *tridentarii* being sold to areas that had a popular local combatant of this type. It may also demonstrate Gallo-Roman usage of the strip cartoon effect, as later used by Agrippa (Anglo, 2000, 50); since the arrangement in Zienkiewicz's figure suggests that the *tridentarius* may have caught the leading *murmillio* in the face as per figure 2a. This opens up at two further interpretations of this image. The first is that he has defeated one and must now fight another *murmillio*, alternatively that there is a single *murmillio* and the effect of showing two is to imply that the defeated man lost through being careless, a similar effect can be seen in one of Brown's (1996, 168-169) teaching illustrations in which only the victor moves. It is unfortunately impossible to separate these possibilities either from each other or from a third possibility which is that the potter stamped O1013F twice by mistake, a possibility consistent with the poor standards of later SG wares (Webster, 1996, 3).

The final method by which the artist produces variants in effect is by using slightly variant figures. This is best shown by considering a variant of figure 2g. In the form shown here the kneeling figure is clearly defeated since in addition to being on his knees he is unarmed. Figure 2g is thus a rare samian image supportive of Auguet's (1994, 50) idea that the defeated could not touch his weapon. However, there is a variation on this from La Graufesenque (Bird, 2012, 139, figure 14.5:13). In this version the fallen combatant still carries a weapon. This alters the

interpretation of this image since it no longer supports the view that defeated gladiators must drop their weapons. A close examination of this figure also reveals the possible traces of a shield on the ground behind him that is very similar in shape to that of his conqueror supporting the view that the loss of shield was what determined defeat.

The result of these slightly variant images is to produce different effects that may be suggestive of different marketing areas, something implied by Bird's (2012, 146) observation that samian bullfighting scenes used subtle variations between potteries to increase their relevance to local markets; again this is illustrated by the variants of figure 2g. These present a situation where a *Thrax* opposes a generic type whose defeat is shown by his being unarmed. However, in one variant of 2g (Bird, 2012, 139) the *Thrax*'s victory is over another *Thrax* since close inspection of his weapon suggests that he is carrying a *sica*. In other words, despite slight differences in kit, we now have a situation where two gladiators of the same type were matched, although for *Thrax*s this may not be that unusual (Auguet, 1994, 51), whereas in other versions they are not recognisably of the same type.

The usual explanation for such variants is either loss of detail during copying or the use of a broken stamp (P.V. Webster, pers comm). The level of clarity in figure 2g makes this interpretation unlikely since every detail is clearly visible. It is far more likely that different potters have chosen to use variant images. The exact reasons for this cannot now be determined, however, given that at this period La Graufesenque was exporting throughout the empire it is at least possible that the two variant images were intended to be marketed to different consumers who were used to different rules in their local games. This would further support the notion of localised staging variations that Bird (2012, 142ff) identified in her study of samian depictions of bullfights.

This chapter has explored various aspects of how samian suggests arena combats were staged and has noted the many instances in which it contradicts accepted models. The first conclusion relating to that barbarian par excellence the *Thrax* is that it seems to be constantly redefined to

56

suggest the latest barbarian enemy. This puts the actions of both Caligula and Domitian in a new light since their recorded actions can now be seen to have symbolic meaning to Suetonius's readers. The second conclusion is that the usual match up involved left-handed versus right-handed fighters and that these were often of the same type and further that fights may have involved multiple opponents. Finally, samian images suggest that a complete rethink of how arena combat was conducted is required; contrary to the usual view these combats seem to have been very cautious with each combatant looking for a single opening to land a decisive blow and until then relied on the shield far more than the sword. In other words, what the audience would have seen was not the spectacle of modern reconstructions but something far more akin to how legionaries were taught to fight.

CONCLUSION

Examination of samian depictions of arena combat suggests a major rethink of how we model gladiatorial games is required. The same considerations also suggest the need to alter some of our thoughts on the use of these images on samian. The research for this thesis, supplemented by work undertaken on both the samian images and Medieval and Renaissance fencing manuals for the purposes of teaching authentic fighting techniques to martial artists, re-enactors and for television documentaries, suggests that samian images contain enough detail to reconstruct practical and effective combat techniques. These techniques are not the showy, athletic techniques of modern reconstructions rather they are cautious, close range low energy affairs where each combatant's priority was not to expose himself to an attack while looking for the opportunity to land a decisive blow of his own.

This leads to two further conclusions: firstly, that these probably show techniques that were used in the arena and with which the purchasers of the pottery would have been familiar and secondly that the details of equipment are also likely to be real. The latter finding means that it is valid to draw wider conclusions based on the equipment in these images. These conclusions mean that our ideas of how combats were staged and the rules of combat need to be revised. Dealing with the first point it seems that the most common match involved a left-handed versus a right-handed fighter who were more commonly of the same type than has hitherto been appreciated and that the least common involved a man with a net. The most significant thing about rule changes is that samian suggests anything goes military style combat was the norm rather than the conventionalised combats usually modelled; one corollary of this is that arena combats were probably more dangerous than academics usually model them. Indeed, the body count of populist depictions may be more accurate.

An important conclusion of this thesis is that Henig's (1998, 63) view, repeated by Webster and Webster (2012, 200-201), that samian rarely shows consistent iconography is wrong. In contrast this thesis supports Bird's (2012, 145) contention that the potters could and did produce scenes

with “a degree of thematic coherence”. This present work expands the corpus of images that possess such coherency to include man versus man combats as well as man versus bull. This thesis also shows that a second proposal by Henig (1998, 59) that samian art styles were derived from silverware is untenable since, at least in the case of gladiatorial images, they are not derivative but image real combats. These images, like the bullfighting images (Bird, 2012, 142ff), reflect localised variations, again contra Henig (1998, 62) and, contra Demarolle (2002, 205), also suggest some association with contemporary events.

Another assumption that seems to be questioned by the samian images is the idea that gladiatorial games were less commonly staged than chariot racing (Auguet, 1994, 17-18). The higher percentage of gladiatorial as opposed to circus images on samian (Webster and Webster, 2012, 203) suggests the opposite is true. In many ways this is unsurprising since chariot races required substantial resources whereas a gladiatorial show can be staged with a small number of participants in a makeshift arena, as modern re-enactments demonstrate. This may represent another instance of our placing too much reliance on sources from the core areas of the empire, where such resources were readily available, to model society across the whole of the Roman world.

The final conclusion from this research is that archaeologists need to reconsider the dates attributed to certain artefacts since equipment forms appear on samian at dates that would not be assigned to them if they appeared as stray finds. The realism of the samian combat techniques suggests that equipment is also realistically depicted and therefore the possibility has to be entertained that several weapon types assigned an Early Medieval or Bronze Age date are actually Roman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources: Martial art manuals.

Agrippa, C., (1604) *Trattato di Scienza d'Arme*, Venice.

Angelo, D. (1763) *L'Ecole des Armes*, London.

Capo Ferro, R. (1610) *Gran Simulacro dell'Arte dell'Uso della Scherma*, Siena.

Danet, G. (1767) *L'Art des Armes*, Paris.

Fabris, S. (1606) *Scienza e Practica d'Arme*, Copenhagen

Fairbairn, W.E. (1942) *All-in Fighting*, publisher and place of publication unknown.

Giganti, N. (1606) *Teatro*, Venice.

Girard, P.J.F. (1740) *Traite des Armes*, La Haye.

Grassi G. di (1594) *His True Arte of Defence*, London.

Hartley-Leather, E. (1942) *Combat without Weapons*, publisher and place of publication unknown.

Hutton, A. (1889) *Cold Steel: A Practical Treatise on the Sabre*, Academy of Historical Fencing
reprint, Newport, Swordworks.

Hutton, A. (1891) *The Swordsman: A Manual of Fence and the Defence Against an Uncivilised
Enemy*, NMP Reprint, Uckfield, NMP.

La Jeu de la Hache, 15th century C.E. martial arts manual, authorship, exact date and place of
publication unknown.

Lebkommer, H. (1529-36) *Der Allten Fechter gruendliche Kunst*, Frankfurt am Main.

Marozzo, A. (1550) *Opera Nova*, Venice.

McLemore, D.C. (2012) *The Fighting Kukri: illustrated lessons on the Ghurkha combat knife*, Boulder, CO, USA, Paladin.

Meyer, J. (1570) *Gruentliche Beschreibung der freyen Ritterlichen und Adelichen kunst des Fechtens in allerley gebzeuchlichen Wehren mit vil schoenen und nuetzlichen Figuren geziert und fuergestellet*, Strassburg.

Sahota, G. (2003, 4th edition) *The Shotokan Karate Handbook: Beginner to Black Belt*, Luton, White Crescent.

Silver, G. (1599) *Paradoxes of Defence*, London.

Styres, J. (1952) *Cold Steel: Technique of Close Combat*, Boulder, Colorado, USA, Paladin.

Sutor, J. (1612) *Kuenstliches Fechtbuch*, Frankfurt am Main.

Talhoffer, H. (1467) *Fechtbuch, aus dem Jahre 1467*.

Thibault, G. (1628) *Academie de l'Espee*, Leyden.

Walpurgis Codex, Royal Armouries M.S. I. 33.

Yun, Z. (1998) *The Art of Chinese Swordsmanship: A manual of Taiji Jian*, New York, Weatherhill.

Primary Sources: Ancient texts.

Ammianus Marcellinus, *The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354-378)*, trans. W. Hamilton (1986), London, Penguin Classics.

Herodotus, *The Histories*, trans. A. de Selincourt, revised A.R. Burn (1972), London, Penguin Classics

Josephus, *The Jewish War*, trans. G.A. Williamson, revised. Smallwood (1981), London, Penguin Classics.

Livy, *The War with Hannibal*, trans. A. de Selincourt (1972), London, Penguin Classics.

Livy, *Rome and the Mediterranean*, trans. H. Bettenson (1976), London, Penguin Classics.

Livy, *Rome and Italy*, trans. B. Radice (1982), London, Penguin Classics.

Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, trans R. Graves, revised J.B. Rives (2007), London, Penguin Classics.

Vegetius, Flavius Renatus, *Epitoma rei militaris*, ed. C. Lang (1885), Leipzig.

Secondary sources: Commentaries on martial art manuals.

Anglo, S. (2000) *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Brown, T. (1997) *English Martial Arts*, Norfolk, Anglo-Saxon Books.

Castle, E. (1885) *Schools and Masters of Fencing from the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century*, London, G. Bell.

Forgeng, J.L. (2003) *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship: A Facsimile and Translation of Europe's Oldest Personal Combat Treatise Royal Armouries MS. I.33*, Union City, CA, USA, Chivalry Bookshelf.

Hutton, A. (1892) *Old Sword-Play: The Systems of Fence*, Academy of Historical Fencing reprint, Newport, Swordworks.

Jones, T.E. (2009) *Thomas Matthewson's 1805 Fencing Familiarised: a transcription with commentary and notes on its use in Historical Fencing*, Newport, Swordworks.

Lindholm, D. and P. Svaerd (2003) *Sigmund Ringeck's Knightly Art of the Longsword*, Boulder, Colorado, USA, Paladin Press.

Mondschein, K. (2011) *The Knightly Art of Battle* Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.

Poliakoff, M.B. (1987) *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence and Culture*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press.

Rector, M. (2000) *Medieval Combat*, London, Greenhill.

Short, W.R. (2009) *Viking Weapons and Combat Techniques*, Yardley, Pennsylvania, Westholme Publishing.

Wise, A. (1971) *The History and Art of Personal Combat*, London, Hugh Evelyn.

Secondary sources: Combat equipment and the arena.

Auguet, R. (1994) *Cruelty and Civilisation: The Roman Games*, London, Routledge.

Baker, A. (2000) *The Gladiator: The Secret History of Rome's Warrior Slaves*, London, Ebury Press.

Barker, P. (1981, 4th edition) *The Armies and Enemies of Imperial Rome*, Worthing, WRG.

Bishop, M.C. and J.C.N. Coulson (2006, 2nd edition) *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the Fall of Rome*, Oxford, Oxbow.

Coarelli, F. (1975, 2nd edition) *Guida Archeologia di Roma*, Verona, Arnold Mondadori.

Coleman, K. (1996) A left-handed gladiator at Pompeii, *Zeitschrift fuer Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, **114**, 194-6.

D'Amato, R. (2009) *Arms and Armour of the Imperial Roman Soldier from Marius to Commodus, 112 BC-AD 192*, London, Frontline.

Duncan, A. (2006) *Performance and Identity in the Classical World*, Cambridge, CUP.

Feugere, M. (1996) 'Les tombes a armes et l'aristocratic Gauloise sous la Paix Romaine', in M. Redde (ed.) *L'Armee Romaine en Gaule*, Paris, Edition Errance, 165-176.

Gale, D.A. (1989) 'The Seax', in S.C. Hawkes (ed.) *Weapons and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No. 21, 71-84.

Harrison, M. (1993) *Anglo-Saxon Theng AD 449-1066*, Oxford, Osprey Warrior.

Head, D. (1982) *Armies of the Macedonian and Punic Wars 359 BC to 146 BC*, Worthing, WRG.

Heath, I. (1976) *Armies of the Dark Ages 600-1066*, Worthing, WRG.

Heath, I. (1982) *Armies of the Middle Ages, volume 1*, Worthing, WRG.

Jacobelli, L. (2003) *Gladiators at Pompeii*, Rome, L'Erma di Bretschneider.

Nicolle, D. (1984a) *Arthur and the Anglo-Saxon Wars*, London, Osprey MAA.

Nicolle, D. (1984b) *The Age of Charlemagne*, London, Osprey MAA.

Oakeshott, E. (1998, paperback edition) *Records of the Medieval Sword*, Woodbridge, Boydell.

Olivova, V. (1984) *Sports and Games in the Ancient World*, London, Orbis.

Pleiner, R. (1993) *The Celtic Sword*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Rawson, P.S. (1968) *The Indian Sword*, London, Herbert Jenkins.

Robinson, H.R. (1976) *What the Soldiers Wore on Hadrian's Wall*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Frank Graham.

Robinson, H.R. and R. Embleton (n.d.) *The Armour of the Roman Legions*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Frank Graham.

Siever, S. (1996) 'Armes Celtiques, Germaniques et Romaines', in M. Redde (ed.) *L'Armee Romaine en Gaule*, Paris, Edition Errance, 67-81.

Sim, D. and J. Kaminski (2012) *Roman Imperial Armour: The Production of Early Imperial Military Armour*, Oxford, Oxbow.

Travis, H. and J. Travis (2014) *Roman Shields: Historical Development and Reconstruction*, Stroud, Amberley.

Travis, H. and J. Travis (2014a) *Roman Helmets*, Stroud, Amberley.

Webber, C. (2011) *The Gods of Battle: The Thracians at War 1500 BC-AD 150*, Barnsley, Pen & Sword Military.

Welch, K.E. (2009, paperback edition) *The Roman Amphitheatre from its Origins to the Colosseum*, Cambridge, CUP.

Wheeler, R.E.M. (1935) *London and the Saxons*, London, London Museum.

Wilcox, P. (1986) *Rome's Enemies 3: Parthians and Sassanid Persians*, London, Osprey MAA175.

Secondary sources: catalogues.

Alvarez, M.B. (2010) *El Comercio de Terra Sigillata altoimperial en el Circulo del Estrecho: Balance historiografico y lineas de investigacion*, BAR International Series 2148, Oxford, Archaeopress.

Dannell, G.B. (1991) 'Decorate samian', in N. Holbrook and P.T. Bidwell (eds.) *Roman Finds from Exeter*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 55-71.

Dickinson, B. and P.V. Webster (2002) 'A group of Flavian samian from Caerleon', in M. Genin and A. Vernhet (eds.) *Ceramiques de la Graufesenque et autres productions d'époque romaine: Nouvelle recherches, Hommages a Bettina Hoffman*, Montagnac, Editions Monique Mergoil, pp. 247-258.

Easson, A.H. (1988) *Central and East Gaulish Mould-Decorated Samian Ware in the Royal Ontario Museum: A Catalogue*, Toronto, ROM.

Hopkins, R. (2012) 'New Central Gaulish poincons', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 184-194.

McKenzie-Clarke, J. (2012) *Vesuvian Sigillata at Pompeii*, London, Archaeological Monograph **20** of The British School at Rome.

Oswald, F. (1936-37) *Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata ("Samian Ware")*, Supplement to *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*.

Polak, M., R. Niemeijer and E. van der Linden (2012) 'Alphen aan den Rijn-Albaniana and the dating of the Roman forts in the Rhine delta', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 267-294.

Rogers, G.B. (1974) *Poteries sigillees de la Gaule central: 1- Les motifs non figures*, Paris, Gallia supplement XXVIII.

Tilhard, J.-L. (2012) 'Vases moules avec marque intradecorative du groupe D'Espalion (Aveyron, France)', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 158-177.

Zienkiewicz, J.D. (1993) Excavations in the *Scanum Tribunorum* at Caerleon: The Legionary Museum Site 1983-5, *Britannia*, **XXIV**, pp. 27-140.

Secondary sources: Commentaries on samian.

Bird, J. (2012) 'Arena scenes with bulls on South Gaulish samian', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 135-148.

Demarolle, J.-M. (2002) 'Images simplifies et stylistique iconographique: la gladiature sur les Drag. 37 au Haut Empire', in M. Genin and A. Vernhet (eds.) *Ceramiques de la Graufesenque et autres productions d'epoque romaine: Nouvelle recherches, Hommages a Bettina Hoffman*, Montagnac, Editions Monique Mergoïl, pp. 201-10.

Deschierter, J., W. De Clercq and F. Vilvorder (2012) 'Balancing between tradition and innovation: the potter EBARAS and the mould-decorated beakers from the Argonne', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 92-106.

Genin, M., Hoffman, B. and A. Vernhet (2002) 'Les productions anciennes de La Graufesenque', in M. Genin and A. Vernhet (eds.) *Ceramiques de la Graufesenque et autres productions d'epoque romaine: Nouvelle recherches, Hommages a Bettina Hoffman*, Montagnac, Editions Monique Mergoïl, pp. 45-104.

Henig, M. (1998) 'Romano-British art and Gallo-Roman samian', in J. Bird (ed.) *Form and Fabric: studies in Rome's material past in honour of B.R. Hartley*, Oxford, Oxbow Monograph 80, 59-67.

Johns, C (1971) *Arretine and Samian Pottery*, London, British Museum.

King, A.C. (2013) *Coins and Samian Ware*, BAR International Series 2573, Oxford, Archaeopress.

Vertet, H. (1998) 'Lezoux-La Graufesenque et la Romanisation', in J. Bird (ed.) *Form and Fabric: studies in Rome's material past in honour of B.R. Hartley*, Oxford, Oxbow Monograph 80, 127-132.

Webster, P. (1987, 3rd edition) *Roman Samian Ware: Background Notes*, Cardiff, Department of Extra-Mural Studies University College, Cardiff.

Webster, P. (1996) *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain*, York, CBA.

Webster, J. and P. Webster (2012) 'Is your figure less than Greek? Some thoughts on the decoration of Gaulish samian ware', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire: Essays in Honour of Brenda Dickinson*, Oxford, Oxbow, 195-215.

Secondary sources: Ancient Art.

Davis, W. (1992) *Masking the Blow: the scene of representation in late prehistoric Egyptian art*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press.

Green, R. & E. Handley (2001, reprint) *Images of the Greek Theatre*, London, British Museum Press.

Jones, T.E. (2012) 'a lame man can ride...a deaf man can kill...a dead man is of no use to anyone'. When was a deformity not a disability in Early Medieval Europe?' in R. Breitwieser (ed.) *Disability and Impairment in Antiquity*, BAR International Series 2359, Oxford, Archaeopress, 131-135.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2004) Material evidence: vase painting and iconography, in A861 SUP576626, I: 18-23.

Perry, E. (2005) *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome*, Cambridge, CUP.

Small, J.P. (2008, paperback edition) *The Parallel Worlds of Classical Art and Text*, Cambridge, CUP.

Smith, T.J. (2014) 'Revel without a cause? Dance, performance and Greek vase-painting', in K. Soar and C. Aamodt (eds.) *Archaeological Approaches to Dance Performance*, BAR International Series 2014, Oxford, Archaeopress, 85-94.

Tanner, J. (2003) Finding the Egyptian in Early Greek Art, in R. Matthews & C. Roemer (eds.) *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, London, UCL Press, 115-144.

Taplin, O. (2012) The pictorial record, in P.E. Easterling (ed.) *CCGT*, Cambridge, CUP, 69-90.

Trendall, A.D. (1989) *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London, Thames & Hudson.

Woodford, S. (1993) *The Trojan War in Greek Art*, London, Duckworth.

Secondary sources: General.

Anderson, A.S. (1984) *Roman Military Tombstones*, Princes Risborough, Shire.

Anderson, J.K. (1993) 'Hoplite weapons and offensive arms', in V.D. Hanson (ed.) *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London, Routledge, 15-37.

Anon. (1968) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Anon. (1975) *Encyclopaedia of World Mythology*, London, Peerage.

Barker, P. (1979) *Alexander the Great's Campaigns*, Cambridge, PSL.

Bedoyere, G. de la (1989) *The Finds of Roman Britain*, London, Batsford.

Bourke, J. (1999) *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare*, London, Granta Books.

- Coulson, J.C.N. (2008) 'Arms and armour', in G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly and L. Foxhall (eds.) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilisation*, Cambridge, CUP, 82-85.
- Crowley, J. (2012) *The Psychology of the Athenian Hoplite: The Culture of Combat in Classical Athens*, Cambridge, CUP.
- Davies, R.W. (1989) *Service in the Roman Army*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Dodge, H. (2008) 'Amphitheatre', in G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly and L. Foxhall (eds.) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilisation*, Cambridge, CUP, 43-45.
- Ferris, I.M. (2000) *Enemies of Rome: Barbarians through Roman Eyes*, Stroud, Sutton.
- Ferris, I. (2012) *Roman Britain through its Objects*, Stroud, Amberley.
- Fowler, P. (2003) 'The next problem', in M. Ecclestone, K.S. Gardner, N. Holbrook and A. Smith (eds.) *The Land of the Dobunni*, Kings Lynn, Heritage, 32-3.
- Gilkerson, W. (1991) *Boarders Away with Steel: Edged Weapons & Polearms*, Lincoln, RI, Andrew Mowbray.
- Goldsworthy, A. (2007) *Roman Warfare*, London, Phoenix.
- Giuntoli, S. (2001) E. Pauli (translator) *Art and History of Pompeii*, Florence, Casa Editrice Baneck.
- Heath, I. (1999) *Armies of the Sixteenth Century, volume 2*, Worthing, WRG.
- Izzet, V. (2007) *The Archaeology of Etruscan Society*, Cambridge, CUP.
- Jackson, A.H. (1993) 'Hoplites and the gods: the dedication of captured arms and armour', in V.D. Hanson (ed.) *Hoplites: The Classical Greek Battle Experience*, London, Routledge, 228-249.
- Jones, T.E. (1994) *Problems in Dating Pagan Saxon Spearheads by Typology and Manufacturing Techniques, Together with an Updated Gazetteer of Examples from Wessex*, unpublished MA dissertation, Bradford University.

Laing, L. & J. Laing (1994, paperback edition) *The Picts and the Scots*, Stroud, Sutton.

MacMullen, R. (2000) *Romanisation in the Time of Augustus*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Matthews, J. (1986) 'Roman life and society', in J. Boardman, J. Griffin and O. Murray (eds.) *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, London, Guild, 748-770.

Morwood, J. (2005) *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, OUP.

Oakeshott, E. (1994) *The Archaeology of Weapons: Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry*, Woodbridge, Boydell.

Ogilvie, R.M. (1976) *Early Rome and the Etruscans*, Glasgow, Fontana.

Potter, D.S. (2008) 'Gladiators', in G. Shipley, J. Vanderspoel, D. Mattingly and L. Foxhall (eds.) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Classical Civilisation*, Cambridge, CUP, 392-3.

Rocca, E. La, M. de Vos and A. de Vos (1976) *Guida archeologia di Pompei*, Verona, Arnold Mondadori Editore.

Rossi, L. (1971) translator J.M.C. Toynbee) *Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars*, London, Thames and Hudson.

Wise, T. (1980) *The Conquistadores*, London, Osprey MAA.

APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY

Advanced guard: a fighting stance with the hand that holds the weapon held forward of the body. This is primarily an attacking stance since it leaves the weapon arm vulnerable to an opponent's attack but enables one's own attack to be delivered faster than from a refused guard.

Aikido: Japanese martial art emphasising combat with sword, staff and *tanto*.

Arretine: the immediate precursor to samian ware named for the town of Arrezzo in Italy.

Attack on preparation: an attack delivered while one's opponent is still moving into position to deliver their own attack, in unarmed combat sometimes called a counterpunch.

Barbarian: for the purpose of this thesis anyone who is outside the Roman Empire; sociologists would refer to this as the external other.

Bestiarius: a category of arena fighter who fought animals instead of humans.

Braced stance: a static stance with legs bent designed either to exert force in a pushing contest or to avoid being knocked over by an opponent running into you.

CG: Central Gaul.

Cuirass: ancient body armour.

Dacian/German: a proposed new subclass of *Thrax* based on samian images. This is not an ancient category but is used for convenience to subdivide a large category into usable subtypes for modern study.

Dr: Dragendorff, this gives the catalogue number that enables specialists to quickly describe samian ware.

EG: East Gaul.

Englisc: the ethno linguistic group that spoke Old English in areas of the modern UK.

Escrima: Philippine martial art emphasising close range work with swords, knives and sticks.

Exomis: off the shoulder tunic commonly worn by soldiers and work men in Classical Greece.

Falchion: heavy single edged medieval 'sword'.

Falx: curved single edged weapon carried by Dacians and related groups.

Fasciae: banded armour protecting the thighs.

Fencing: the art of fighting with weapons.

Flash card: the use of single images as an *aide memoire*.

Galerus: metal plate protecting the upper arm and sometimes neck of an unshielded 'gladiator'.

German: for the purpose of this thesis those people living in the areas of Germany not occupied by Rome.

Gladius: the short sword of the Roman infantryman.

Greave: metal armour protecting the shin and sometimes knee and calf.

HEMA: Historic European Martial Arts; a catchall term for fighting styles practised in Europe prior to c. 1900.

Hoplomachus: category of gladiator who fought with a sword and shield, opinion is divided as to how heavily armoured he was.

Inside line: the direction faced by the chest when a fencer is in an advanced guard.

Karate: Okinawan martial art emphasising unarmed strikes and blocks as a method of self-defence.

Karateka: one who practices *Karate*.

Kempo: Japanese version of *Kung Fu* the western version of which downplays the use of weapons in the interests of modern self-defence.

Khepesh: curved 'sword' carried by the Egyptians and their neighbours in the Bronze Age.

Kizamizuki: *Karate* technique; a straight punch with lead hand performed by twisting the body to enhance power and striking range.

Kopis: curved single edged Classical Greek 'sword'.

KravMaga: modern Israeli martial art designed purely for no holds barred self-defence.

Kukri: angular bladed Nepalese fighting knife.

Kung Fu: traditional Chinese martial art covering all aspects of armed and unarmed combat.

La Graufesenque: site near the modern Millau (Aveyron), the most important SG samian production centre of the 1st century.

Lezoux: CG samian production centre near Vichy, France, most active in the 2nd century C.E..

LMdV: Les Martres-des-Veyre, CG samian production centre near the modern Clermont-Ferrand, most active between c. 100 and 120.

Lorica segmentata: the armour of overlapping plates associated with the Roman legionary of the 1st and 2nd centuries C.E..

L-stance: martial arts stance with the rear foot perpendicular to a line drawn through the toes and heel of the leading foot. It is usually adopted by fighters who are not moving.

Low guard: a stance with the weapon held below the waist in order to intercept an attack to the legs.

Lunge: fencing attack involving lifting the front foot and quickly straightening the rear leg in order to propel the body forward; the fencing is prevented from falling by the foot of the lead leg striking the ground. This move greatly increases the speed, range and power of the attack.

Machaira: single edged, straight bladed Classical Greek 'sword'.

Maekir: short bladed weapon with a tapered blade optimised for stabbing typically associated with Germanic and Nordic peoples of the Late Antique and Early Medieval Periods.

Manica: arm protection worn by Roman soldiers and gladiators.

Murmillio: armoured Gladiator type using shield and *gladius*.

Narrow parry: a parry that intercepts the attack close to one's own body.

O: Oswald number; prefixes the number identifying the figure in Oswald (1936-37).

Pankratist: practitioner of the Greek unarmed style of *Pankration*.

Passata sotta: fencing term for a defensive move that involves adopting a very low stance so that the attack passes over the defender.

Pauldron: metal shoulder armour.

Pugio: triangular bladed Roman fighting dagger.

Prise de fer: using a weapon or a shield to push aside the opponent's weapon in order to make way for an attack.

Pteruges: leather straps attached to the bottom of body armour in order protect the groin or to the arm holes in order to protect the upper arm.

Punch grip: a type of shield held by a single grip behind the boss so called because the boss is frequently used to punch an opponent in the face. The other main type of shield is held by straps at the elbow and a hand grip near to the rim.

Refused guard: a guard posture with the weapon hand held behind the body. It is primarily a defensive posture since it keeps the weapon hand protected from enemy attack while the combatant awaits an opening to launch his own attack.

Rete: Latin term for hunting net.

Retiarius: commonly a term used to describe all gladiators using a trident, in this thesis the term is restricted to those combatants where a net can either be demonstrated or at least reasonably inferred. In all other circumstances these fighters are referred to in this thesis as *tridentarius*.

Rheinzabern: East Gaulish (EG) samian production centre.

Roman: as used in this thesis anything pertaining to the Roman Republic or Empire, does not imply that those so described were actual citizens.

Samian: a form of red terracotta ware manufactured in Gaul, Germany, Austria and Britain.

Scutum: large Roman military shield.

Seax: single edged Early Medieval Germanic bladed weapon.

Secutor: armoured Gladiator fighting with sword and shield, usually heavier armoured than *murmillio*.

SG: South Gaul.

Shield wrestling: a fighting technique in which the opponents use their shields to push aside their opponent's shield in order to leave them vulnerable to attack.

Shotakan: a style of Karate.

Sica: Roman 'sword' carried by *Thrax*, usually curved or angled.

Smallsword: lightweight European sword used purely for thrusting, the techniques of which developed into modern sport fencing.

TaiChijian: Chinese sword fighting style.

Tanto: curved bladed Japanese fighting knife used in many Japanese martial arts and also, due to the ready availability of safe training blades, as a proxy for other weapons in most other martial arts styles as practiced in the West.

Thracian: for the purpose of this thesis used to separate what is ethnically Thracian from the 'Thracian' gladiator type which is always referred to in this thesis as *Thrax*.

Thrax: Latin term meaning Thracian, used in this thesis to distinguish the 'Thracian' gladiator type from someone or something pertaining to the Thracian culture.

Tiro: Latin term meaning a novice.

Tridentarius: in this thesis this term is used to replace *retiarius* when a figure is carrying a trident but the image does not suggest that he also has a net

Umbro: Roman shield boss.

Unighting: martial arts term; occurs when a move causes a fighter to block his own line of sight thereby obscuring his opponent.

Venator: alternative name for *bestiarius*.

Appendix 2: how do the physical remains of the Greek theatre add to our understanding of Greek theatre performance?

Introduction:

The greatest difficulty with answering the title question is selecting from the available source material a valid sample that can be adequately addressed within the restrictions of a short paper such as this. In order to do this I am limiting my consideration to vase paintings of the Classical period, although with small quantities of both earlier and later material appearing where necessary to illustrate a point. This is not to say that I do not think that other physical remains such as marble statues, terracotta figurines, dedicatory inscriptions and the remains of the theatres themselves are not valid to this discussion nor does it mean that I do not realise that Greek theatre had a lifespan of approximately 1000 years (Green & Handley, 2001, 11; Taplin, 2012, 69); the decision is purely one of convenience.

This paper is split into two sections. In the first it deals with the problems associated with the use of Greek vase paintings as a source of evidence; these are: dating, attribution of manufacture, forgeries and difficulties of interpretation. The second part analyses the contribution that these images can make to our understanding of: stage scenery, costume and the actual mechanics of staging the plays.

Problems of material:

Dating:

Trendall (1989, 15-16) noted the lack of a reliable chronology for red-figure vessels since “earlier finds were not well documented” making them of limited value for establishing a chronology while recently excavated material contains little useful material for comparative dating.¹⁹ The result of this is that dates tend to be assigned based on what the vessels are thought to represent

¹⁹ Isserlin (2012, 28) noted that at least 5-10 vessels are required per context to establish a valid site chronology and the painted vases have rarely provided this.

rather than secure archaeologically derived dating evidence. This is unlikely to be any more accurate than the attempts to redate Dragendorff 37 based on excavations at Colchester which Dannell (2012, 59) noted was probably the result of the report's compiler re-interpreting "the specialist evidence to fit in with a pre-conceived idea". The dangers of such occurring with a dating scheme based on which play we think the artist is depicting is obvious and indeed Green (1994, iv:72) falls into this trap since his discussion of the development of satyr plays seemingly forgets that we only have a single surviving example of this genre (Vandiver, 2000, lecture 1).

A lack of a reliable chronology is particularly problematic for this paper relying as it does on visual imagery to reconstruct something that was constantly changing. This introduces the risk of anachronistic reconstructions whereby we use material from the wrong time period to reconstruct, erroneously, theatrical processes (Green, 1994, iv:56).²⁰ Csapo and Slater (1994, 55) also warned against this possibility although in the context of using the plentiful Hellenistic/Roman illustrations to address the inadequacies of the sparse Classical period data.

The foregoing has been raised by way of warning since a project to redate the vases I am citing as evidence is beyond the scope of this paper. Therefore, I will, of necessity, follow the published dates for the purposes of discussion with the caveat that any conclusions drawn may be invalid if the vase has been incorrectly dated.

Attribution of manufacture:

The problems of this are closely related to those of dating since the market value of complete vessels, by 1988 such vases were fetching over \$1 million (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 313), precludes the use of destructive techniques for establishing location of manufacture that pottery specialists routinely use. This has resulted in the acceptance of the art historical method pioneered by JD Beazley (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 44-5) whereby characteristics of styles are

²⁰ Green (1994, iv:59, figure 2.5) gives a possible example of this with his discussion of Andromeda as a bride (Berlin inv. 3237) which he suggested showed a change in imagery of the myth associated with Euripides' play.

used to assign vessels to a given 'master'. Although this is a standard technique in archaeological pottery analysis for the present purpose the sample that it is based on is far too small compared with the hundreds of thousands of samples that have been used to compile the reference works for samian (c.f. Oswald, 1936-7; Rogers, 1974). In fact, Green (1994, iv:78) suggests that such art historical techniques may not be appropriate since later vases may in fact copy earlier ones based on the popularity of restaging of old tragedy.

A further weakness of this method as applied to art treasures, the Getty Museum's description of Greek painted vases (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 116), is that insufficient on-going research based on scientifically excavated examples is taking place to refine such attributions by correcting earlier mistakes; this again is a necessity as can be shown by reference to the changing attributions of works by South Gaulish potters (Webster, 2005, 93-5).²¹ In large measure this is due to the lack of properly excavated material available since most of this material that has 'appeared' since the 1970s has "no provenance whatsoever" (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 301; c.f. also Trendall, 1989, 15-16).²² Indeed the problems are so great that Watson and Todeschini (2006, 307) question whether we can even attribute any vessels to ancient masters. Despite this, given the self-imposed limitations of this paper, I will be assuming that the published provenances are correct and using them for my analysis.

Forgeries:

The scale of forgeries cannot be understated; at one point approximately 40% of antiquities that were analysed by the Oxford Thermoluminescence laboratory proved to be modern fakes (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 304). The problem is large enough to potentially undermine any use

²¹ This is a problem of which I have personal experience since in 2008 while working on pottery from Caerwent under the direction of Cardiff University's Peter Webster I was able to show that 2nd century Lezoux fabrics were fired to a high enough temperature to produce conchoidal fractures, something which had previously been accepted as diagnostic of 1st century South Gaulish wares (Webster, 2005, 14).

²² The following figures will illustrate the scale of the problem: 92% of the Fleischman Collection, acquired by the Getty Museum in 1986 has no provenance (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 115); auction catalogues between December 1994 and July 1997 unprovenanced Classical antiquities varied between 67% and 98%; 1990 New York Met exhibition *The Glories of the Past* had 90% of its exhibits totally unprovenanced and a further 6% had only a vague provenance (Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 300-303).

of art treasures as evidence. Indeed, if Watson and Todeschini (2006, 307) are correct, whole categories of artefacts in museums as well as private collections may be fakes which obviously endangers the validity of using art as a modelling tool since any conclusions based on forgeries must be invalid. Despite the high probability that at least some vessels will be fakes in order to have a discussion I will proceed on the assumption that they are genuine.

Difficulties of interpretation:

This is perhaps the trickiest problem of all since, in contrast to the other problems with using vase paintings to enhance our understanding of Greek theatre which are largely technical; there is an intrinsic difference between the works of a poet and the works of a painter. This means that art is never going to be an exact depiction of the written/spoken word (Woodford, 1993, 7). It follows from this that we are always going to be uncertain about how to fully interpret a given painting in terms of its significance to Greek theatre.

A major problem with using vase paintings as a source for Greek theatre performance is the difficulty of differentiating a mythical scene from a tragedy depicting that myth (Trendall, 1989, 12). Trendall's (1989, 263) conclusion was that in the absence of any overt connection with the stage we should not conclude that any painted scene can tell us anything about the theatre since it is most likely to depict the myth directly. This minimalist approach may be connected to Trendall's (1989, 262) view that the reason drama so rarely features on surviving Attic vases is not due to any sociocultural reason but due to them being produced for export to areas he proposed that at time did not highly value Greek drama. A similar argument is Taplin's (2012, 69-70) assertion that tragedy was not particularly popular in Athens either, a conclusion he reached based on his contention that only two Attic vessels actually depict tragedy; although he did admit a larger corpus of vessels had "productive connections with tragedy" (Taplin, 2012, 84, 88-9).

Green (1994, IV:60-61) introduced a further complication with his discussion of Berlin-Charlottenburg inv. 3223 *Maenad before Piper*, which he identified as a composite scene; part

theatrical and part 'realistic'. The piper was identified as from a "performance in the theatre" however the *maenad* is depicted as a real woman. This suggests that we may need to expand the corpus of material that can be used to inform our understanding of Greek theatre since, if correct, it means that not all of a theatrical image need explicitly depict theatrical approaches. This has obvious implications for fragments where we lack the full image and certainly questions whether Taplin's (2012, 69-70) statement that we only have two images of tragedy from Attic vases can be accepted. There is a second implication in that an alternative interpretation is that the presence of theatrical elements is insufficient to characterise a scene as representing a play and therefore a fragmentary scene cannot advance our understanding of Greek theatre because the missing portion(s) may show it had nothing to do with the theatre. This danger is heightened by Green's (1994, iv:61) observation that such admixture, while rare, is not unique occurring also on the Basle dancers' vase (Basle Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS415) and, in part, on the *Pronomos* vase (Green, 1994, iv:95). He explained such admixtures as a part of the ancient belief process whereby these events were real to the audience therefore it was acceptable to portray the real theatrical piper alongside the 'real' *maenad* since to the audience this wasn't a mixture of genres (Green, 1994, iv:62). A further related consideration was addressed by Taplin (1986, IV:105) who raises the possibility that any depiction of Dionysus may be metatheatrical and therefore the corpus of mixed genre depictions of plays would have to be enlarged.

Unfortunately, even if true, the only way in which this advances our understanding of Greek drama would be if it enabled us to identify stories that are otherwise unknown as having been performed since if all other elements of the vase painting other than Dionysus are depicted as imagined not as performed this does not add to our knowledge of set details or costumes.

Following from Green's (1994, iv:80) observation that given the funerary contexts of most known painted vases the choice of scenes may tell us more about ideas/hopes for an afterlife than it does about the staging of the play it seems to represent then it is possible that a correct interpretation of these vessels is that they do not advance our understanding of Greek theatre because they were specialist funerary goods with no relationship to real life. This is a frequent

argument in interpreting funerary goods across all disciplines of archaeology *e.g.* Haerke's (1990, 35) comments on 'Saxon' weapon burials.

The problems of identifying depictions of theatre on vase paintings are likely to increase in the post-classical periods. This can be illustrated by considering the series of masks illustrated by Freund (2003, between p.256 & p.257). The earliest of these dating to the 5th century B.C.E. is highly stylised and if depicted in a painting it would be easily recognisable as such. However, the first Hellenistic period mask is extremely realistic and if appropriately painted, an innovation attributed to Aeschylus (Freund, 2003, 124), would be difficult to certainly identify on a painted vase scene as depicting a play rather than a real scene. Earlier versions of such lifelike vases may be responsible for much of our confusion over what an image depicts such as the lack of consensus over whether Naples inv. 81673 (H3240) depicts real dancing girls or a male chorus impersonating same (Green & Handley, 2001, 20).

This section can, perhaps, best be summed up by Woodford's (1993, 53) comment that "we cannot always understand every detail that appears in ancient representations". The implication of which is that we will always have disagreement over the significance of artistic representations.

Themes that vase paintings may help our understanding:

Stage scenery:

Trendall (1989, 12) suggested that certain of the structures shown on vase paintings may represent the stage background of actual plays and further suggested that the frequent use of rocks as props in South Italian vases may indicate what sort of mobiliary props were used as seats, footrests *etc.* (Trendall, 1989,13). Taplin (2012, 82) makes a similar point suggesting that the Choregos vase shows the door to the *skene* and that the "windows, ceilings, porticos and other architectural features" of later 4th century B.C.E. Paestan vessels may illustrate stage scenery. In contrast to this Green (1994, IV:60) suggests that similar small props were often added by the painter to fill in space and do not therefore illustrate actual stage sets. Trendall (1989, 262) does,

however, consider that the frequent depictions of stages on South Italian vases does enable us to say that they were usually impromptu platforms accessed by either moveable steps or a short ladder the low height of which is attested by NY MMA 24.97.104 (Csapo & Slater, 1994, 66). This suggests that at least South Italian comedies lacked a permanent staging in the 4th century B.C.E.; although the art may support this changing later (Taplin, 1999, iv:29; 2012, 82). If our extant representations are of temporary sets, and possibly in the case of the Athenian vases representations of peripatetic troupes (Taplin, 1999, iv:33), this may explain why we have no extant representations of either the *ekkyklema* or the *mechane* (Vandiver, 2000, lecture 4) since they may have been inappropriate for travelling groups.

Green (1994, IV:79-80) and Taplin (2012, 77-8) both suggested that the single Athenian, five Tarantine and three Campanian representations of *Iphigenia in Tauris* all demonstrate that the temple was represented on set. In similar vein the Lucanian depiction of Odysseus and Diomedes ambushing Dolon (Woodford, 1993, 75, figure 67) of 390-380 B.C.E. strongly suggests that stylised woods were a frequent feature of stage sets. It may be argued that this incident does not relate to any known play and is therefore more likely a mythical scene, however, the details; stylised trees, footwear, the appearance of the characters that seem to show comic exaggeration of expression and movement and finally the fact that two of the characters face the audience rather than each other; all argue for this being a representation of a lost play.

An intriguing possibility is suggested by the numerous representations of Achilles' pursuit of Troilus where a broken hydria is used to prefigure spilt blood (Woodford, 1993, 58-9). Although some of these may be too early to represent known dramas, Woodford's examples date to: 570, 525-500, 20-510 and c. 480 B.C.E. compared to a traditional date of 534 B.C.E. for the first tragedy (Vandiver, 2000, lecture 2), they may illustrate an early theatrical technique to tell the audience when someone was about to be killed. It is noteworthy that the later examples of this technique in art overlap with early tragedies.

Costume:

Several vases do show aspects of choral costume that suggest we may be able to recreate how they looked (Berlin F1697; an Attic black-figure hydra of c. 550 B.C.E. in private collection (Green, 1994, figures 2.7, 2.8); J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83). In this case Green (1994, IV:62-64) is undoubtedly correct that we can accept the chorus members as being dressed to a theme rather than identically. Berlin F1697 may be important in filling in gaps in our knowledge of costumes since it may suggest that the chorus in 'Old Comedy' was never attired as normal citizens (Green, 1994, iv:62); an important contribution to our understanding of theatre. Indeed, costume is probably the aspect of Greek drama that is best represented in vase painting since, while actual production scenes may be rare, we do have unambiguous portrayals of 5th century B.C.E. actors showing their costumes, albeit depicted in offstage moments, e.g. Boston MFA 98.883-II (Csapo & Slater, 1994, 69).

A potentially important vase for enhancing our understanding is NY Coll. Fleischman F93 (Green, 1994, figure 2.21). This vase suggests that masks were colour coded to represent characters' ages; white hair for older individuals, dark hair for younger. A second important possibility is that it, uniquely (Taplin, 2012, 75), evidences mixed costuming since Aigisthus is depicted as if in tragedy while his three associates are in full comic apparel. This has two possible significances; either Aigisthus is so depicted because he was a real person thus falling into the mixed tradition noted by Green (1994, iv:61) or if this does evidence a lost parody of the *Oresteia* it may mean that in these instances the characters from tragedy were costumed as if they were in a tragedy rather than a comedy. It is regrettable, given the potential importance of this vessel, that it is associated with the Fleischman collection given that the provenances of so much of this are so unreliable (Green, 1994, iv:87; Watson & Todeschini, 2006, 115) which undermines the usefulness of this piece for understanding Greek theatre.

The presence of an "old balding man" on so many Tarantine vases in contexts that suggests the delivery of a 'messenger speech' (Green, 1994, iv:82; Taplin, 2012, 82) may allow us to reconstruct the costume appropriate for such a messenger. If this is correct then Syracuse 66557

showing a scene from *Oedipus Tyrannos* (Green, 1994, iv:83; Green & Handley, 2001, 43, figure 20) means that we can extend the convention to Sicilian productions as well. The same sherd also confirms the convention that children on stage were not masked (Green, 1994, iv:83). If we can extrapolate this back to the 5th century B.C.E., Syracuse 66557 dates to 3rd quarter of 4th century B.C.E. (Green & Handley, 2001, 43), this is an important advance since we have no written record of the potential forms masks took at that time (Green, 1994, iv:91) and terracotta figurines, as well as masks, may be related to non-theatrical themes as in Roman times (Ferris, 2012, 28, 61).

One aspect of theatrical costume that we can reconstruct from vase paintings is the use of shortened spears on stage as shown on an Apulian wine krater showing the *Phylax* play Daidalos and Eryaios (Freund, 2003, between 256 & 257). This appears so frequently as to suggest that actors did genuinely carry such short weapons and since it also occurs on Attic vessels *e.g.* 1836.2-24-28 (E.382) (Green & Handley (2001, 37, figure 15) removes the objection that Italian vases may be depicting local Italian Hoplites who often carried shorter spears than their Greek equivalents (Head, 1982, 165). The most likely interpretation is that, contra the usually stated idea that there was no violence on the Greek stage (Green, 1994, iv:82), that some combat was actually enacted as part of the play for which shortened weapons would enable more spectacular combat to be performed as happened in 18th century C.E. London (Brown, 1997, 65). If this seems unlikely then I must point out that the martial art dances of the *Hoplomachia* would, from personal experience of staging martial arts displays- I am a 2nd Dan Black Belt in Karate with 40 years of re-enactment combat experience, provide the necessary choreography. The presence of stage combat may also explain why participants are often armoured since, again from personal experience; the more protection the actors can wear the more spectacular the fight scene possible and this protective aspect may extend to the padded costumes that BM 1867. 8-5.860 (B42) show had appeared by the 6th century B.C.E. (Green & Handley, 2001, 15 figure 1, 16). This further raises the question as to whether or not vase paintings enable us to model which plays had such combat in them since unarmoured, or unpadded, figures may suggest no combat was required in which case protection

would be superfluous. Unfortunately, I am unable to pursue this further at this juncture, it would, however, be an interesting line of future research since it could significantly advance our understanding of aspects of the staging of Greek theatre.

Just as vase painting suggests the weaponry may have been modified to fit the needs of theatre vase painting also suggests that other small props could be so altered. If BM 1947.7-14-18 can really tell us anything about a staging of Euripides' *Cyclops* (Green & Handley, 2001, 29), whether in Lucania or elsewhere, then the method of blinding depicted is at variance with Homer's (*Odyssey*, IX, 319 ff.) description. A comparison with later Roman depictions (Demarolle, 1979) that do follow Homer's description suggest that doing so would not be effective to a theatre audience, however, the action on BM 1947.7-14-18 could be effectively conveyed to an audience. This raises the possibility that artistic depictions that seem to diverge from known forms of a myth may not be evidence of unattested literary variants but artefacts of how an event was staged for the benefit of an audience and vase paintings may therefore be evidence of this staging- from experience I can confirm that the same processes frequently affect modern choreography whereby actions are exaggerated for the benefit of more distant audience members that may look ludicrous close up.

A further understanding of Greek theatre can be accomplished by comparing costumes on vase paintings with literary accounts of ethnic costumes. Sekunda (1992, 13) noted an Attic vase of c. 440 B.C.E. (University of Tübingen, Institute of Archaeology E.67) depicting the raising of Darius' ghost from Aeschylus' *Persians* confirmed extant literary accounts of Persian royal dress. If this has been correctly interpreted it suggests that the exotic costumes often worn in tragedy, and mythological scenes on vases (Taplin, 2012, 74), may not be theatrical ones but may be representations of different ethnic groups although whether this represents the adoption of Persian customs into art (Tanner, 2003, 123) during the 5th and 6th centuries B.C.E. or whether it is a form of ethnic labelling for the audience's benefit, as Sekunda implies, is often unclear. However, in certain cases we may reasonably infer that it is used as an ethnic identifier since

apart from the aforementioned ghost scene we also have the use of special ornate costumes to identify characters as Trojan, at least in paintings, such as Paris in *The Judgement of Paris* hydria in the Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe (Woodford, 1993, figure 10, 20). This suggests that vase paintings may give us a good idea of at least the ornate foreign costumes used on stage, although not a full understanding since the colours used on the paintings are those that would withstand firing and do not necessarily reflect the full elaboration of the originals (Woodford, 1993, 121). It also suggests that the depiction of Iphigenia in “the elegant style of contemporary Athenian ladies” (Llewellyn-Jones, 2004, I:19) in contrast to the foreign garbs that surround her is deliberate.

The *Pronomos* (Naples MN.3240) vase further assists our understanding of Greek theatre by allowing us to reconstruct some of the masks and costumes used in Athens c. 400 B.C.E. (Csapo & Slater, 1994, 69; Taplin, 2012, 73). Its importance goes beyond this, however, since, if it does represent a satyr play as opposed to a play that happens to feature satyrs, it demonstrates that these used the same styles of masks and costumes as did the tragedies with which they were performed. Taplin (2012, 75) also notes that the masks depicted in Italiote art are “indistinguishable from those on Attic vases” which suggests a common tradition of costuming.

Staging:

Two early aspects of staging that it seems accepted can be reconstructed from vase paintings are the chorus and the raising of a ghost; both of which appear on the Basle vase²³ of c. 490 B.C.E. (Green, 1994, figure 2.1). Green suggests that this shows the form that the summoning of Darius’ ghost would have taken in Aeschylus’ *Persians*. That the chorus “danced with a uniform step” (Green, 1994, iv:62) can also be reconstructed from: The Basle dancers; Berlin F1697; an Attic black-figure hydra of c. 550 B.C.E. in private collection (Green, 1994, figures 2.7, 2.8); J. Paul Getty Museum 82.AE.83. This latter is particularly important since it shows a continuing tradition

²³ Basle Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig BS415.

suggesting that classical and late archaic choral dances may took similar forms (Csapo & Slater, 1994, 53).

Green (1994, IV:78) argued that vase paintings allowed us to conclude that the lost plays of *Erechtheus*, Euripides, and *Stheneboia*, Aeschines, remained popular. If we may extrapolate from this it is possible that a statistical analysis of vase paintings may give us an insight into what was being produced at any given time in a given area and, indeed, where we have well provenanced assemblages such as the Policoro vases this is possible (Taplin, 1999, iv:30) ²⁴. This would be a great advance on our understanding of Greek theatre and it is therefore unfortunate that this is unlikely to be possible. The first objection is caused by the vagaries of survival since it is unlikely that we have a representative sample usable for such analysis given that we probably have less than 1% of the original population (Taplin, 2012, 69). A second objection comes from Samian ware analysis where it has been demonstrated that themes can remain popular even in regions where it is unlikely that the original significance was understood (Bird, 2012, 144-5; Webster & Webster, 2012, 197-8). The final objection is that the provenance of too high a percentage of 'Greek' vase paintings is too poor to allow even a realistic sample of what we do have to be reliably dated as to manufacture let alone final usage, indeed, we rarely even know the findspots with any degree of certainty (Green, 1994, iv:87; Trendall, 1989, 15-6). It is as Green (1994, IV:78) said 4th century B.C.E. vase paintings are "fraught with difficulty" as a "possible source".

Green (1994, IV:86) is undoubtedly correct in surmising that Wurzburg H5697 shows *Thesmophoriazousai* "as it was performed at Taranto" in the early 4th century B.C.E., a point also made by Taplin (1999, IV:29). It follows from this that since this comedy relies for effect on parodying earlier tragedy then this "is a strong piece of evidence" for Tarantine staging of said tragedies. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that where we can identify vase paintings

²⁴ In particular these evidence how rapidly such performances became accepted in the 'provinces' judging by the representation of the punishment of Dirke, a detail invented by Euripides c. 409 B.C.E., in an assemblage of c. 400 B.C.E. (Taplin, 1999, iv:30). In similar fashion BM 1947.7-14-18, a Lucanian red-figure calyx c. 415-410 B.C.E. evidences that the full package including satyr plays was exported from Athens (Green & Handley, 2001, 29).

depicting the staging of comedy this acts as evidence for the prior staging of any tragedy that it parodies. Despite my earlier scepticism on whether or not images related to tragedy were enough to confirm its continuing staging in this case the argument seems to hold. He is, however, on weaker ground with his interpretation of St Petersburg B201 (St. 1538), an Attic red-figure hydria of c. 490-480 B.C.E., where he suggests that the nervousness of the chorus members on approaching Dionysus is indicative of the newness of this form of theatre and thus we can conclude that this aspect of staging was a recent phenomenon when the vase was painted (Green, 1994, iv:95). If true this would also advance our understanding of theatre, unfortunately an alternative explanation suggests itself; the mortals are understandably apprehensive about approaching a god given how frequently in literature such interactions end badly for the mortal. This suggests that we should interpret this as no more than the performers/author/director showing proper reverence to whichever immortal is represented.

One important detail about Greek theatre that seems to be confirmed by vase paintings is that Attic drama was still being staged by Athens' bitterest enemies even during the Great Peloponnesian war (Taplin, 1999, iv:31). This confirms the later written accounts alluding to this: Aristotle, Satyros and Plutarch (Taplin, 1999, iv:31). While these paintings do add to our understanding by confirming how widespread the popularity of Attic drama was it also raises a concern that the reason for this popularity may impede our understanding of ancient theatre. This continuing reverence of Athenian plays may imply that, like the truces covering the Olympic Games, the art was less important than the religious aspects and if so this means that an element crucial to understanding Greek theatre will never be understood since their religion is now extinct something both Woodford (1993, 15) and Vandiver (2000, lecture 3) imply. The expense of these productions that vase paintings confirm (Taplin, 1999, iv:37) that seems an incredible extravagance during wartime would be explicable by such an interpretation; it was the Greek expression of the observation that there are 'no atheists in foxholes' and suggests the enemy states, and the Athenians for that matter, were staging drama as a means of retaining the support

of various deities during the conflict. This enhances our understanding of theatre, if true, by undermining the contention that theatre had no religious aspect and that its only connection with religious festivals was that they provided a readymade audience (Vandiver, 2000, lecture 2) and may help to explain the acceptance, indeed prominence, of foreign performers such as the Theban Pronomos.

Conclusions:

To conclude while the extant examples of vase painting do enhance our understanding of aspects of Greek theatre particularly with respect to fine details of staging and costuming these reconstructions are less valuable than they might otherwise be. The reason for this statement is due to the difficulties posed by the nature of the evidence. In the first instance although we can undoubtedly point to examples that do theatrical features in all probability there are far more sherds that do so but because of conventions of genre have not been recognised as such. This, however, is not the primary reason for caution; this is provided by the lack of provenance of the majority of the available 'evidence'. The lack of provenance is in general so bad that, as a finds specialist and museum archaeologist, it is unlikely that I would be able to use any of the artworks quoted in a professional report or a peer reviewed paper relating to dating a site or reconstructing some aspect of ancient culture. Therefore, I must conclude that while vase paintings do have the possibility to enhance our understanding of Greek theatre a lot more work needs to be done to eliminate those items of questionable provenance for an archaeologist, as opposed to an art historian, to accept the validity of any models derived from vase paintings as a general category.

References:

Primary sources:

Homer, *Odyssey*. (trans.) R. Lattimore (1975) *The Odyssey of Homer*, NY, Harper & Row.

Secondary sources:

Bird, J. (2012) Arena scenes with bulls on South Gaulish samian, in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxbow, 135-148.

The four papers in this volume were used for background detail on pottery analysis.

Brown, T. (1997) *English Martial Arts*, Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Anglo-Saxon Books.

I used this for his information on stage adaptations of martial arts techniques.

Csapo, E. & W.J. Slater (1994) *The Context of Ancient Drama*, Anne Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Dannell, G.B. (2012) The origins of the samian form Dragendorff 37, in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxbow, 58-69.

Demarolle, J.-M. (1979) La legend de Polypheme dans la sigillee ornee, *Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautorum Acta*, **XIX/XX**, 111-20.

Ferris, I. (2012) *Roman Britain through its Objects*, Stroud, Amberley.

Freund, P. (2003) *The Birth of Theatre*, London, Peter Owen.

This work provided illustrations of many important vessels and discussion of their significance.

Green, J.R. (1994) *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*, London, Routledge, OU reprint in A861 SUP576543, IV:56-101.

Green, R. & E. Handley (2001, reprint) *Images of the Greek Theatre*, London, British Museum Press.

This work provided illustrations of many important vessels and discussion of their significance.

Haerke, H. (1990) "Warrior Graves?" The background of the Anglo-Saxon weapon burial rite, *Past & Present*, **126**, 22-43.

Head, D. (1982) *Armies of the Macedonian and Punic Wars 359 BC to 146 BC*, Worthing, WRG.

Isserlin, R.M.J. (2012) Calibrating ceramic chronology, in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxbow, 28-40.

Llewellyn-Jones, L. (2004) Material evidence: vase painting and iconography, in A861 SUP576626, I:18-23.

Oswald, F. (1936-7) *Index of figure types on Terra Sigillata*, University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology supplement.

Rogers, G. (1974) *Poteries sigillees de la Gaule Centrale. I. Les motifs nonfigures*, Paris, 28th supplement to *Gallia*.

Sekunda, N. (1992) *The Persian Army 560-330 BC*, London, Osprey.

Tanner, J. (2003) Finding the Egyptian in Early Greek Art, in R. Matthews & C. Roemer (eds.) *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt*, London, UCL Press, 115-144.

Taplin, O. (1986) Fifth-century tragedy and comedy: a *synkrisis*, *JHS*, **106**, 163-74, OU reprint in a861 SUP576543, IV:102-114.

Taplin, O. (2012) The pictorial record, in P.E. Easterling (ed.) *CCGT*, Cambridge, CUP, 69-90.

This work provided illustrations of many important vessels and discussion of their significance.

Trendall, A.D. (1989) *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily*, London, Thames & Hudson.

This work provided illustrations of many important vessels and discussion of their significance.

Vandiver, E. (2000) *Greek Tragedy*, Chantilly, VA, The Teaching Company.

Watson, P. & C. Todeschini (2006) *The Medici Conspiracy*, NY, PublicAffairs.

This work provided me with the raw material to cast doubt on the provenance of 'Greek' painted vases and thus to question our reliance on them for historical information.

Webster, P.V. (2005) *Roman Samian Pottery in Britain*, York, CBA.

Webster, J. & P.V. Webster (2012) 'Is your figure less than Greek?', in D. Bird (ed.) *Dating and Interpreting the Past in the Western Roman Empire*, Oxford, Oxbow, 195-215.

Woodford, S. (1993) *The Trojan War in Greek Art*, London, Duckworth.

This work provided a large number of illustrations of representations of the Trojan War.