

MICHAEL CARTER

A DOCTOR SECUTORUM AND THE *RETIARIUS* DRAUKOS FROM CORINTH

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 126 (1999) 262–268

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*A DOCTOR SECUTORUM AND THE RETIARIUS DRAUKOS FROM CORINTH**

In 'Αρχαιολογική Ἐφημερίς for 1977, D. I. Pallas and S. P. Dantes published an important gladiatorial epitaph from Corinth.¹ The white marble stele, which is broken on the top and at the bottom corners, carries a shallow relief of a gladiator who stands facing the viewer. As J. and L. Robert observed, the gladiator is clearly a *retiarius*: he wears a *galerus* on his left arm and shoulder, and holds a dagger and trident in his left hand and a large palm branch in his right.² His head, along with the point of his trident, however, has been lost due to the break in the stone. The relief is framed by the inscription which runs down the left side of the stone, across the bottom beneath the relief, and then down the right side. The beginning of the inscription on both the left and right side is missing where the stone is broken, as is the end of the inscription on the right side. On the left we can read the name of the deceased in the dative, Δραύκω, along with the standard commemorative exhortation, μνείας χάριν (χάριν is written horizontally beneath the relief). Draukos is a curious name and invites further inquiry. We shall return to it below. On the right we read the end of the name of his commemorator in the nominative, -]ας, and the office or offices he held, ἐπιστάτης σεκ[.]υ[νδ]αρούδης. It is the restoration of this final word which concerns us here first.

1. Ἐπιστάτης Μονομάχων

The *editores principes* proposed the restoration, ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]υ[νδ]αρούδης] on the right side, so that, approximating the original line ordination, the inscription appears as follows in their publication:

[- - -]	[- - -]
Δρ-	ας
αύ-	ἐπι-
κω	στά-
μν-	της
εία-	σεκ[ο]-
ς	υ[νδ]-
χάριν	[αρο]-
	[ύδης]

With reference especially to the 1896 article on gladiators by G. Lafaye in Daremberg–Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, the editors explained that an ἐπιστάτης was the leader of a gladiatorial school and a referee for gladiatorial combats, and that the σεκουνδαρούδης was a retired gladiator and gladiatorial instructor.³ They therefore interpreted the inscription as a grave stele for the deceased gladiator,

* I am grateful to Dr. W. J. Slater, who read earlier versions of this paper and provided critical comment. Any faults which remain are entirely my own.

The following abbreviations have been used in this article: EAOR I = P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell' Occidente Romano I, 1988; Mosci Sassi = M.G. Mosci Sassi, Il linguaggio gladiatorio, 1992; Robert, Gladiateurs = L. Robert, Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec, 1940; Robert, Perpétue = L. Robert, Une vision de Perpétue martyre à Carthage en 203, CRAI 1982, 228–276; Ville = G. Ville, La gladiature en Occident, 1981.

¹ D. I. Pallas and S. P. Dantes, 'επιγραφές από την Κόρινθο, ArchEph 1977 [1979] 76–77 no. 21. The stele is now in the Corinth Museum, inv. no. 2664.

² J. and L. Robert, Bull. ép 1980, no. 230: 'Exactement l'image (tête disparue) est celle d'un rétiaire'.

³ Pallas and Dantes (above n. 1) 77. They refer to G. Lafaye, Gladiateur, in Dar.–Sag. 1590. Lafaye, however, does not mention an ἐπιστάτης.

Draukos, erected by his instructor. The restoration and interpretation proposed here were accepted and reprinted without comment by the Roberts in the *Bulletin épigraphique*,⁴ and by the editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.⁵

The restoration of σεκουνδαρούδης, however, is not without its problems. The first concern is aesthetic. Because each line of the inscription is generally only two or three letters long, the restoration of this word carries the inscription on the right side at least one line below the horizontal word, χάριν, which otherwise appears to have formed the bottom of the epigraphic frame around the relief. The second concern, however, is more significant. The apposition of ἐπιστάτης and σεκουνδαρούδης is unparalleled and suggests a unity or equivalence between the two offices for which there is no evidence.⁶ The σεκουνδαρούδης (Latin, *secunda rudis*) and the σουμμαρούδης (Latin, *summa rudis*) are widely attested terms and most probably refer to referees who supervised public presentations of gladiatorial combat.⁷ Unlike the σουμμαρούδης and σεκουνδαρούδης, however, the office of the ἐπιστάτης in a gladiatorial context is imperfectly understood because, before the publication of the present epitaph for Draukos, the term was attested in only one other gladiatorial inscription. Indeed, the present inscription merits further attention precisely because it offers valuable new evidence for this office in the context of Greek gladiation.

Before the publication of the present epitaph for Draukos, a Greek inscription now in Rome provided the only epigraphic testimony for the ἐπιστάτης in a gladiatorial context.⁸

Θ(εοῖς) Κ(αταχθονίοις)
 Μαργαρίτης πάλος πρώτος
 ἀσσεδαρίων εἶτα ἐπιστάτης
 4 Ἴαταλάντη εἰδίᾳ ἀπελευθέρᾳ
 μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς λυπηθῆς
 μνίας χάριν. Ἔζησε ἔτη
 ἡ μῆνας β' ἡμέρας γ'
 8 Εὐψύχι Ἴαταλάντη. Ὅσα γεννᾶτε τελευτᾷ

Margarites had been a successful *essedarius* (ἀσσεδαρίων = ἐσσεδαρίων) who then became an ἐπιστάτης. Having both achieved the rank of first *palus*,⁹ and acquired funds sufficient to buy at least one slave and free her (Atalante), it is clear that Margarites not only survived the arena, but also that he prospered as a gladiator. Although his subsequent duties as an ἐπιστάτης are not explicitly defined, the inscription does suggest a syntactic parallelism between the two nominative expressions, πάλος πρώτος

⁴ J. and L. Robert, *Bull. ép* 1980, no. 230. Their discussion, however, is brief and consists primarily of the identification and description of the accompanying relief as that of a *retiarius* rather than a heavily armed gladiator as suggested by the *edd. prr.*

⁵ SEG 24, 328.

⁶ E. Bouley and N. Proeva, *Un secunda rudis président d'un collège à Stobi en Macédoine romaine*, in C. Brixhe, ed., *Poikila Epigraphika*, 1997, 83–87 have published a new epitaph from Stobi: Αὐρήλιος Σεβή|ρος σεκουνδα|ρούδης προστά|της τοῦ κολληγίου Καυκάσφ τῶ | πρὶν στρατηγῶ ἐκ τοῦ κολληγίου καὶ τ[ῶ]ν ἑαυτοῦ | μνείας χάριν. But the apposition between σεκουνδαρούδης and προστάτης here does not represent one office. Instead, Aurelius Severus was a σεκουνδαρούδης who happened also to serve in an administrative position for a *collegium*.

⁷ Robert, *Perpétue* 262–263; Ville, 367–372.

⁸ IG 14,1832 = IGR 1,207 = IGUR 1,2,770 = EAOR I, no. 54. Cf. Robert, *Gladiateurs* 28 and Robert, *Perpétue* 263. Evidence for the ἐπιστάτης μονομάχων from the *Corpus Glossarium Latinorum* will be discussed below.

⁹ For the term *palus* / πάλος, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 28–31; Ville, 324; and Mosci Sassi, s.v. ‘palus primus’. Many gladiators from across the Empire belonged to either a first *palus*, second *palus*, third or fourth, thus indicating a probable ranking system. C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*, 1993, 64–65 suggests on the basis of a sixth and possibly eighth *palus* of gladiators at Aphrodisias that the *palus* system was not hierarchical but simply a means of organizing gladiators. I hope to return to this issue elsewhere.

on the one hand and ἐπιστάτης on the other. If this parallelism was intentional, then the genitive, ἀσσεδαρίων, properly belongs both to πάλος πρῶτος and to ἐπιστάτης. That is, Margarites was a πάλος πρῶτος ἀσσεδαρίων who then (εἶτα) became an ἐπιστάτης ἀσσεδαρίων. This is crucial because it would suggest that in a gladiatorial context the ἐπιστάτης appears to have been specific to armament type.

Although ἐπιστάτης is rarely attested in a gladiatorial context, Robert has demonstrated that in the context of Greek athletics, an ἐπιστάτης signified ‘un maître de gymnastique, un soigneur, un entraîneur’.¹⁰ Because Greek gladiation borrowed extensively from the terminology of Greek athletics,¹¹ the possible understanding of an ἐπιστάτης as a coach or instructor is significant and can help to explain the function of a ἐπιστάτης in the context of Greek gladiation. Gladiatorial instructors in the West were known as *doctores* and significantly were usually specific to type.¹² For example, there are attested the *doctor myrmillonum*,¹³ the *doctor oplomachorum*,¹⁴ the *doctor thraecum*,¹⁵ the *doctor velitum*,¹⁶ and the *doctor secutorum*.¹⁷

Diis Manibus sacr(um)
Q(uinti) Fabi Viatoris doctori (sic)
secutorum fecit Q(uintus) Fabius Castus
bene merenti.

The gladiatorial ἐπιστάτης, therefore, ought to be understood as the Greek word used to express a gladiatorial instructor: the Greek equivalent of the Latin *doctor*.¹⁸

The *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* provides further evidence equating the gladiatorial ἐπιστάτης with the gladiatorial *doctor*. *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* III 307 has: *lanista*, ἐπιστάτης μονομάχων while at IV 414,40 the *lanista* is instead explained in Latin as a *doctor gladiatorum* and at IV 104 as a *magister gladiatorum*, thus suggesting the equivalence between an ἐπιστάτης μονομάχων and a *doctor* or *magister gladiatorum*.¹⁹ While the *lanista* was especially the owner or manager of a

¹⁰ L. Robert, Un citoyen de Téos à Bouthrôtos d’Épire, CRAI 1974, 508–529, especially 520: “‘l’épistatès’ est un maître de gymnastique, un soigneur, un entraîneur; il a le même emploi que παιδοτρίβης, γυμναστής, ἀλείπτης, termes synonymes, malgré leur étymologie différente et bien qu’ils n’aient pas été introduits au même moment dans la langue”. Eustathius cites Aristophanes of Byzantium who argued that ἐπιστάτης could mean an athletic trainer, a παιδοτρίβης, and also a trainer or instructor more generally, a καθηγητής, of other specific skills. See W. J. Slater, Aristophanis Byzantii Fragmenta, 1985, 26–27, no. 35 for discussion.

¹¹ Robert, Gladiateurs 19–20; 251–253; 263.

¹² Ville, 304–305; Mosci Sassi, s.v. ‘doctor’. A gladiatorial trainer could also be known as a *magister*, as in Cic. de Orat. 3,86: *magister hic Samnitium*, or Quint. Inst. 2,17,33: *saepe gladiatores sub eodem magistro eruditi inter se componuntur*. See Mosci Sassi, s.v. ‘magister’.

¹³ CIL 6,10175 = ILS 5103 = EAOR I, no. 55: *A(ulus) Postumius | Acoemetus | doctor | myrmillon(um)*. Cf. CIL 6,10174: *Gratus | doctor murm(illonum) | v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVII*; and CIL 5,1907.

¹⁴ CIL 6,10181 = ILS 5099 = EAOR I, no. 58: *C(aius) Cassius | Gemellus | doctor | oplomacor(um)*. Cf. CIL 6,37842 = ILS 9341: *C(aius) | Hyacintus | doct(or) opl(omachorum)*.

¹⁵ CIL 6,10192 = ILS 5091 = EAOR I, no. 61.

¹⁶ ILS 9342.

¹⁷ CIL 6,4333 = ILS 5116 = EAOR I, no. 60.

¹⁸ E. Bouley and N. Proeva (above n. 6) suggest that a gladiatorial *doctor* could be expressed in Greek as a στρατηγός. There is no parallel description of a gladiatorial trainer as a στρατηγός. They cite only Aristotle (De mundo 6,398a,24) in support.

¹⁹ Cited with further examples by Robert, Perpétue 263.

gladiatorial *familia*, there is no reason why he could not double as a trainer, especially in smaller troops.²⁰

To return to the inscription from Corinth. The ἐπιστάτης who buried and commemorated the deceased *retiarius*, Draukos, was probably a gladiatorial instructor: a *doctor*. These instructors were usually specific to armament type and expressed the type of their specialty in the genitive following the term *doctor* or ἐπιστάτης. On this model, the phrase, ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]υ[τό]ρ[ων] on the right side of the inscription from Corinth suggests not the nominative σεκουνδαρούδης, but the genitive σεκουτόρων: thus ἐπιστάτης σεκ[ο]υ[τό]ρ[ων]. This represents a Greek translation of the technical Latin phrase, *doctor secutorum*, attested in the inscription from Rome for Quintus Fabius Viator, quoted above. Although the Greeks did not borrow the term, *doctor*, they did borrow the Latin technical terms for the different armament types. We have the ῥητιάριος (*retiarius*), the προβοκάτωρ (*provocator*), the μυρμίλλων (*myrtillo*), the ἐσσεδάριος (*essedarius*), and the σεκούτωρ (*secutor*).²¹ Furthermore, the use of a Greek word in conjunction with a Latin loan word to form one expression is paralleled in the context of Greek gladiation, for the Greeks commonly referred to a *familia gladiatoria* with the hybrid expression: φαμίλια μονομάχων.²² Finally, the restoration of the genitive σεκουτόρων here is also more satisfying aesthetically, since the inscription on the right side of the stone no longer runs below the bottom of the epigraphic frame around the relief. Approximating the original line ordination, the inscription thus appears:

[- - -]	[- - -]
Δρ-	ας
αύ-	ἐπι-
κω	στά-
μν-	της
εία-	σεκ[ο]-
ς	υ[τό]-
χ ά ρ ι ν	[ρων]

2. Δραύκος

Epitaphs and commemorative reliefs from the East provide us with a number of gladiator names. These names are not birth names, but rather are ‘stage names’ or ‘noms de guerre’, chosen presumably by the gladiators to identify and define themselves as public performers. They took these names especially to stress a particular attribute or quality, such as martial ability, beauty, or speed and agility. For example, names like Βίκτωρ, Ἀχιλλεύς, Πολυνίκης, or Ἀνίκητος suggest fighting skills and invincibility; names like Καλλίμορφος, Ναρκίσσος, Ὑάκινθος, or Χρυσόμαλλος suggest beauty; and names like

²⁰ Caes. B. Afr. 71,1: *ut lanista tirones gladiatores condocere*; Suet. Caes. 26,4: *tirones neque in ludo neque per lanistas sed in domibus per equites Romanos atque etiam per senatores armorum peritos erudiebat*; and Apul. Apol. 98,7: *in ludo quoque gladiatorio frequens visitur; nomina gladiatorum et pugnas et vulnera plane quidem ut puer honestus ab ipso lanista docetur*.

²¹ A. Cameron, *Latin Words in the Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor*, *AJPh* 52, 1931, 232–262; Robert, *Gladiateurs* 64–65; Mosci Sassi, *passim*. The Latin technical terms even appear occasionally in Greek literature, although authors felt compelled to apologize for their use. For example, Artemidorus 2,32 uses many of the Latin technical terms but explains that their use is unavoidable: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴη σαφῶς παραστήσαι τὰς ἀποδείξεις, χρήσομαι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν. Dio Cassius 73,19,2 also expresses his discomfort with the Latin word *secutor*: τοῦ σεκούτορος καλουμένου.

²² Robert, *Gladiateurs* 39; 55–59.

Ζέφυρος, Ὠκός, Ἀργούτος, or Πολύδρομος suggest speed and agility.²³ Δραῦκος, however, is both unusual and previously unattested as a gladiator name.

As L. Robert has shown, the proper name Δραῦκος is found sporadically in Asia Minor as well as in Egypt.²⁴ It was the adopted name of an athlete from Philadelphia who won the men's pancratium at Thespieae in Boeotia in the second century AD: Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Δραῦκος Φιλαδελφεύς.²⁵ The Latin form, Draucus, is better known.²⁶ But the noun, *draucus*, is best known from the works of Martial. At 14,48 we read: *Harpasta. Haec rapit Antaei velox in pulvere draucus / grandia qui vano colla labore facit*, and at 7,67,4–6, we read: *harpasto quoque subligata ludit / et flavescit haphes gravesque draucis / halteras facili rotat lacerto*. Martial also indicates that the *draucus* regularly trained in the nude, perhaps even infibulated in order to prevent sexual intercourse, an activity thought to impair athletic performance.²⁷ Thus at 1,96,11–13, we read: *una lavamur: aspicit nihil sursum / sed spectat oculis devorantibus draucos / nec otiosis mentulas videt labris*; at 11,72: *Drauci Natta sui vorat pipinam / collatus cui gallus est Priapus*; and at 9,27,10–12: *occurrit aliquis inter ista si draucus / iam paedagogo liberatus et cuius / refibulavit turgidum faber penem . . .* On the basis of Martial 14,48 and 7,67, A. E. Housman concluded that '*draucus* . . . simply means one who performs feats of strength in public'.²⁸ Perhaps we can improve upon this.

Drauci were clearly athletes of a sort, but the passages from Martial do not support Housman's idea of a *draucus* as a strongman. In most passages, the *draucus* is simply the object of sexual desire, but we do see the *draucus* as an athlete most clearly in 14,48 and 7,67. In 14,48, Martial describes the *draucus* as a participant in a ball-game, *harpasta*, the Greek ἄρπαστά: the *draucus* must be swift (*velox*) in order to snatch the *harpastum* from his opponent.²⁹ Ball-playing in the gymnasium was thought especially to impart grace and rhythm, εὐρυθμία. For example, Athenaeus explains that ball-players pay great attention to εὐρυθμία.³⁰ He quotes the third century BC poet, Damoxenus, who describes a young man playing ball and the shouts of those watching him: ἦ δ' εὐρυθμία, τὸ δ' ἦθος, ἡ τάξις δ' ὄση (What rhythm! What manners! What arrangement!). Damoxenus' speaker continues: ἐν τῷ τι πράττειν ἢ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο / τέρας τι κάλλους, ἄνδρες· οὐτ' ἀκήκοα / ἔμπροσθεν οὐθ' ἐώρακα τοιαύτην χάριν (In whatever he did or said he seemed a miracle of beauty, gentlemen. I have never before heard or seen such grace!).³¹ An epitaph from Amastris dating to AD 155 also indicates the relationship between ball-playing and gracefulness. The epitaph commemorates an athletic young man who claimed to have had proficiency in a number of sports, including all the rhythmical ball-games: καὶ γυμνασίων δὲ σεμνὸς ἐγενόμην, ἴδρις | πάλης, ἄκοντος, πανκρατίου, δίσκου, τροχοῦ, | ἄλματος, ἀπάντων εὐρυθμῶν σφαιρισμάτων.³² Plutarch compares the appropriate response of an audience member to a speaker with the receiver in a ball-game who moves rhythmically with the thrower: τῷ βάλλοντι δεῖ συγκινούμενον

²³ For a list of Greek gladiatorial names, see especially Robert, *Gladiateurs*, Index II.A, Noms grecs d'hommes et de femmes, with discussion, 297–302. Cf. Ville, 308–310.

²⁴ L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie mineure gréco-romaine*, 1963, 309 n. 5.

²⁵ IG 7,1772.

²⁶ TLL Onom. suggests that Draucus was possibly Celtic. To the CIL references provided there, we can now add AE 1991, 857.

²⁷ Cf. Pl. *Laws* 839e–840b; Galen 8.451 (Kühn).

²⁸ A.E. Housman, *Draucus* and Martial XI 8 I, CR 44, 1930, 114–116 = *Classical Papers*, vol. 3, no. 157, 1166–1167.

²⁹ See Ath. 1,14–15. In 7,67, Philaenis, the woman censured by Martial, plays with the *harpastum* with her clothing hitched up (*subligata*), probably in order to facilitate speed and agility.

³⁰ Ath. 1,15b: ἐφρόντιζον δὲ εὐρυθμίας οἱ σφαιρίζοντες.

³¹ Ath. 1,15b; R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*, vol. V, 1986, fr. 3.

³² Ch. Marek, *Katalog der Inschriften im Museum von Amasra*, EA 6, 1985, 137 no. 12 = SEG 35, 1327, lines 6–8. Cf. C. P. Jones, *Lucian and the Bacchantes of Pontus*, *Echoes du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 34, 1990, 53–63, who identifies σφαιρίσμοα as a ball-game.

εὐρυθμῶς φέρεσθαι τὸν δεχόμενον.³³ Ball-playing was recommended by Galen as an exercise especially suited for total physical conditioning; it exercised all parts of the body equally, but did not encourage excessive muscular development or bulkiness, a physical condition of which he did not approve.³⁴ The *halteres* (Greek, ἀλτήρες) mentioned in 7,67 were used in the gymnasium as weights held in the hand to aid the long jump.³⁵ In this epigram, Philaenis, the athletic woman attacked by Martial, easily swings *halteres* too heavy for the *drauci*. If Martial's *draucus* is a strongman, then Philaenis is indeed a muscular woman, perhaps unbelievably so. But Martial's satire is more subtle and effective if *draucus* is taken to signify a graceful, light-weight athlete who practiced ball-games and other games requiring speed and agility. Opposed to such an athlete, Philaenis' masculine qualities are exaggerated.

M. Dickie has shown that the gymnasium and palaestra was not only home to heavy athletic training and events, such as boxing, the pancratium, or wrestling, but also and perhaps more importantly to events intended to inculcate beauty of form and graceful, elegant movement in the youth.³⁶ This gracefulness was especially a feature of the Greek gymnasium and, according to Plutarch, roused the suspicions of the moral Romans:³⁷

τὸ γὰρ ξηραλομφεῖν ὑφερωῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι σφόδρα, καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν οἴονται μηδὲν οὕτως αἴτιον δουλείας γεγενῆσθαι καὶ μαλακίας ὡς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας πολὺν ἄλλον καὶ σχολὴν ἐντικτούσας ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κακοσχολίαν καὶ τὸ παιδεραστεῖν καὶ τὸ διαφθεῖρειν τὰ σώματα τῶν νέων ὑπνοῖς καὶ περιπάτοις καὶ κινήσεσιν εὐρύθμοις καὶ διαίταις ἀκριβέσιν.

'The Romans were exceedingly suspicious of rubbing down with oil, and believe that nothing has been so much the cause of the enslavement and effeminacy of the Greeks as their gymnasia and palaestrae, which engender listlessness and idleness in the cities and wasted time, as well as pederasty and the destruction of the bodies of the young through sleep and walks and rhythmic movements and strict regimens.'

In addition to this desire for elegance and rhythm, Greek athletics, unlike traditional Roman exercises, were practiced in the nude.³⁸ While its etymological origin is uncertain, Martial's *draucus* does not describe a strongman but rather an elegant, light-weight athlete who practiced games which developed speed and gracefulness instead of heavy musculature. Because the word implied quickness, *Draucus* could also be a name for a race horse.³⁹ Although a participant in a heavy event, the pancratiast Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Δραῦκος, mentioned above, perhaps adopted this second name to emphasize his quickness and agility. The gracefulness and nudity of the *drauci* made them a target for Martial's sexual jokes and stereotyping, just as Greek games in general were condemned by Tacitus and others for intro-

³³ Plut. Mor. 45e. For this and further examples, see M. Dickie, Παλαιστρῆς / 'palaestrita': Callisthenics in the Greek and Roman Gymnasium, *Nikephoros* 6, 1993, 118–120.

³⁴ Galen 5,906–907 (Kühn): Μάλιστα οὖν ἐπαινῶ γυμνάσιον, ὃ καὶ σώματος ὑγίειαν ἐκπορίζει, καὶ μερῶν εὐαρμοσίαν, καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν παρὰ τούτοις· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας ὑπάρχει . . . καὶ συμμετρίαν ἕξως ἐργάζεται, μήτ' ἄμετρον πολυσαρκίαν, μήθ' ὑπερβάλλουσαν ἰσχύνητα φέρον ('Accordingly, I especially approve of exercise which produces a healthy body and a balance between its parts, as well as an excellence of spirit. This is what arises through exercise with the small ball . . . and it brings about symmetry of the body, bringing neither excessive body-size nor slenderness beyond measure').

³⁵ Philost. Gymn. 55.

³⁶ M. Dickie (above n. 33) 105–151. See also W. J. Slater, Pantomime Riots, *CIAnt* 13, 1994, 133–134.

³⁷ Plut. Quaest. Rom. 40 = Mor. 274d.

³⁸ Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 7,72,2.

³⁹ CIL 6,10053: *Drauco Af(ro)*; CIL 6,10056,4: *Drauco r(usseo?) Andric(i)*.

ducing lax sexual morals.⁴⁰ The sexual connotations of *draucus* probably explain the feminine name Drauca which appears as the name of a prostitute in Pompeii.⁴¹ But there is no sexual connotation attached to the *draucus* in 14,48 nor to the name Draucus in general, and so it is probable that the word did not necessarily have sexual overtones in everyday Latin. Instead, it was a word used to describe graceful, light-weight athletes.

The speed and agility of the *draucus* were especially those qualities required by a *retarius*. Matched against a more heavily armed opponent, the *retarius* relied on his quickness and nimbleness to escape advances and to attack. Indeed, many *retarii* chose names which emphasized these qualities. The gladiators named Ζέφυρος and Ὠκύς mentioned above were both *retarii*.⁴² Many other known *retarius*-names similarly stress the speed and agility required by this gladiatorial type. For example, Σκίρτος,⁴³ Ὀξύπτερος,⁴⁴ Ἀργούτος,⁴⁵ and Πίννας,⁴⁶ are all names adopted by *retarii* and all emphasize speed and gracefulness. The nudity of the *draucus* was also characteristic of the *retarius* who wore only a *galerus* and *subligaculum*. The deceased *retarius* from Corinth, therefore, probably adopted the name Δραῦκος to emphasize his own speed and agility.

Hamilton, Canada

Michael Carter

⁴⁰ Tac. Ann. 14,20. Cf. Cic. Resp. 4,4,4; Hor. Carm. 3,24,51; Sat. 2,2,10; Plin. Pan. 13,6. This official position was somewhat hypocritical, for the same Romans could praise the graceful movements practiced in the gymnasium; see, for example, Cic. De Orat. 3,83; and 3,200. Much of this material has been collected and discussed by E. Muhl, *Gymnastik und Athletik im Denken der Römer*, 1974, and by M. Wistrand, *Entertainment and Violence in Ancient Rome*, 1992, 48–54.

⁴¹ CIL 4,2193: *Arphocras hic cum Drauca | bene fuit diinario*.

⁴² For Ζέφυρος, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 191 no. 191b. For Ὠκύς, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 214–215 no. 257.

⁴³ For Σκίρτος, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 104–105 no. 44; D. French and M. Ündemis, *EA* 13, 1989, 91–97 no. 1, line 14; and C. Roueché, *Performers and Partisans*, 1993, 69–70 no. 31.

⁴⁴ For Ὀξύπτερος, see L. Robert, *Monuments des gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, *Hellenica* 3, 1946, 137–138.

⁴⁵ For Ἀργούτος, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 105–106 no. 45, from Latin, *argutus*.

⁴⁶ For Πίννας, see Robert, *Gladiateurs* 129–130 no. 76, from Latin, *pinna*.