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A Doctor Secutorum and the Retiarius Draukos from Corinth


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In 'Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς for 1977, D. I. Pallas and S. P. Dantes published an important gladiatorial epitaph from Corinth. 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. 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, Δράκων, along with the standard commemorative exhortation, μνεών 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[ο]-[ό]-. 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]-[ντάρωνδής] on the right side, so that, approximating the original line ordination, the inscription appears as follows in their publication:

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[ - - - ] [ - - - ]
Δρ- αζ
κω- στά-
μν- της
ει-σεκ[ο]
ζ χάρωνδής
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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 σεκοντάρωνδής was a retired gladiator and gladiatorial instructor. They therefore interpreted the inscription as a grave stele for the deceased gladiator,

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* 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.


3 Pallas and Dantes (above n. 1) 77. They refer to G. Lafaye, Gladiator, 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*, and by the editors of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. 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. 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. 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.

Θ(εοὶς) Κ(αταχθονίοις)
Μαργαρίτης πάλος πρώτος
ἀσσεδαρίων εἰτα ἐπιστάτης
4 'Αταλάντη εἰδίς ἀπελευθέρα
μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς λυπηθής
μίνια χάριν. Ἐξῆς ἔτη
5 τῆ’ μήνας β’ ἡμέρας τ’
8 Εὔνυψι Ἀταλάντη. Ὅσα γεννάτε τελευταί

Margarites had been a successful essedarius (ἀσσεδαρίων = ἀσσεδαρίων) who then became an ἐπιστάτης. Having both achieved the rank of first palus, 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

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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: Αὐρηλίως Σεβήρῳ σεκουνδαρούδης προστάτης τοῦ κολλητίου Κακωσάφῳ τῷ πρὶν στρατηγῷ ἐκ τοῦ κολλητίου καὶ πλὴν ἑοιτοῦ | 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.
8 IG 14,1832 = IGR 1,207 = EAOR I, no. 54. Cf. Robert, Gladiateurs 28 and Robert, Perpétue 263. Evidence for the ἐπιστάτης monomaxvn from the Corpus Glossiarum 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 ἑπιστάτης on the other. If this parallelism was intentional, then the genitive, ἀσσεδαρίων, properly belongs both to πάλος πρώτος and to ἑπιστάτης. That is, Margarites was a πάλος πρώτος ἀσσεδαρίων who then (εἶτα) became an ἑπιστάτης ἀσσεδαρίων. This is crucial because it would suggest that in a gladiatorial context the ἑπιστάτης appears to have been specific to armor type.

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

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

The gladiatorial ἑπιστάτης, therefore, ought to be understood as the Greek word used to express a gladiatorial instructor: the Greek equivalent of the Latin doctor. The Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum provides further evidence equating the gladiatorial ἑπιστάτης with the gladiatorial doctor. Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum III 307 has: lanista, ἑπιστάτης μονομάξων 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 ἑπιστάτης μονομάξων and a doctor or magister gladiatorum. While the lanista was especially the owner or manager of a

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10 L. Robert, Un citoyen de Téos à Bouthrōtos 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 παιδοτρῆτας, γυμναστῆς, ἀλέπτης, 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 ἑπιστάτης could mean an athletic trainer, a παιδοτρῆτας and also a trainer or instructor more generally, a καθηγητῆς, 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(tus) Postumius / Acoemetus / doctor / myrmillōn(um). Cf. CIL 6,10174: Gratus / doctor murr(illōn) / v(ixit) a(nnis) XXVII; and CIL 5,1907.

14 CIL 6,10181 = ILS 5099 = EAOR I, no. 58: C(aius) Cassius / Gemellus / doctor / oplomachorum. Cf. CIL 6,37842 = ILS 9341: C(aius) / Hyacinthus / 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 στρατηγὸς. There is no parallel description of a gladiatorial trainer as a στρατηγὸς. 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.\(^2^0\)

To return to the inscription from Corinth. The ἔπιστάτης 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 ἔπιστάτης. On this model, the phrase, ἔπιστάτης σεκουτόρων on the right side of the inscription from Corinth suggests not the nominative σεκουνδαροῦθης, but the genitive σεκουτόρων: thus ἔπιστάτης σεκουτόρων. This represents a Greek translation of the technical Latin phrase, *doctor securorum*, 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 προβοκατόρ (provocator), the μυρμῖλλων (myrmillo), the ἐσσεδάριος (*essedarius*), and the σεκουτόρ (secutor).\(^2^1\) 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 μονομάξων.\(^2^2\) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\Delta\rho & \alpha \\
\alpha\nu & \epsilon\pi \\
\kappa\rho & \sigma\tau\alpha \\
\mu\nu & \tau\iota \\
\epsilon\iota\alpha & \sigma\varepsilon\kappa\o\iota \\
\zeta & \upsilon\tau\omicron \\
\chi \acute{a} \rho \iota \nu & \rho\omicron \nu
\end{array}
\]

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 Βήκτωρ, Ἀχιλλέως, 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 condoccefacere*; 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 pugnae 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: ἐπεδή δὲ ἄνευ τῶν ἀνώματων αὐτῶν ἢν ἢν ἐπὶ σωφῆς παραστῆσαι τὰς ἀποδειξεῖς, χρῆσομαι καὶ τοῖς ἀνώμασιν. Dio Cassius 73,19,2 also expresses his discomfort with the Latin word *secutor*: τοῦ σεκουτόρος καλομένου.

Zeφυρος, Ωκός, Αργούτος, or Πολύδρομος suggest speed and agility.23 Δραύκος, however, is both unusual and previously unattested as a gladiator name.

As L. Robert has shown, the proper name Δραύκος 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 Thespiae in Boeotia in the second century AD: ‘Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ καὶ Δράυκος Φιλαδέλφειος.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: Harpast. 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 haphe 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 pipinnam / 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, harpastas, the Greek ἅρπαστα: 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, εὕρυθμία. For example, Athenaeus explains that ball-players pay great attention to εὗρυθμία.30 He quotes the third century BC poet, Damoxenus, who describes a young man playing ball and the shouts of those watching him: ἡ δ’ εὕρυθμία, τὸ δ’ ἥθος, ἡ τάξις δ’ ὁση (What rhythm! What manners! What arrangement!). Damoxenus’ speaker continues: ἐν τῷ τι πράττειν ἡ λέγειν ἐφαίνετο / τέρας τι κάλλους, ἄνδρες’ οὔτ’ ἀκήκοα / ἐμπροσθεν οὔθ’ ἐφ’ ἔφαρκε τοιοῦτην 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 γυμνοσίων δὲ σεμνῶς ἐγένειμ’ ἵππῃς | πάλλεις, ἄκοντας, πανκράτιοι, δίσκοις, τροχοῖς, ἀλάμπος, ἀπάντες εὕρυθμοι σφαίρες: 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 δὲι συγκινούμενον

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).
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: ἐψάλλετε ζων ἐπ’ εὐρυθμίαις οἱ σφαιρίζοντες.
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. The *halteres* (Greek, ἀλτηρές) mentioned in 7,67 were used in the gymnasium as weights held in the hand to aid the long jump. 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. This gracefulness was especially a feature of the Greek gymnasium and, according to Plutarch, roused the suspicions of the moral Romans:

In addition to this desire for elegance and rhythm, Greek athletics, unlike traditional Roman exercises, were practiced in the nude. 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. Although a participant in a heavy event, the pancratiast *‘Απολλάνιος ο και Δράκων*, 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-

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33 Plut. Mor. 45e. For this and further examples, see M. Dickie, Παλαιστρήτης / ‘palaestrita’: Callisthenics in the Greek and Roman Gymnasium, Nikephoros 6, 1993, 118–120.
34 Galen 5,906–907 (Kühn): Μᾶλλον ὡς ἐπικεφαλέα γυμνασίων, ὡς καὶ σώματος ὑπέρεξεν ἐκπορίζει, καὶ μερῶν εὐαρ-

muστίων, καὶ ψυχῆς ἄμετρα τοῦτος τοῦτο δέ το διὰ τῆς μικρᾶς σφαίρας ὑπάρχει . . . καὶ συμμετρῶν ἔξως ἑρμάξεται, μήτ’ ἄμετρον πολυσμαρκές, μήθ’ ὑπερβαλλόμενον ἴσχυττα πέρον (‘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, ClAnt 13, 1994, 133–134.
37 Plut. Quaest. Rom. 40 = Mor. 274d.
39 CIL 6,10053: *Drauco Affro*; CIL 6,10056,4: *Drauco r(usse?) Andric(i).*
ducing lax sexual morals. The sexual connotations of *draucus* probably explain the feminine name Drauca which appears as the name of a prostitute in Pompeii. 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 *retiarius*. Matched against a more heavily armed opponent, the *retiarius* relied on his quickness and nimbleness to escape advances and to attack. Indeed, many *retiarii* chose names which emphasized these qualities. The gladiators named *Zéphiros* and Ὄκυς mentioned above were both *retiarii*. Many other known *retiarius*-names similarly stress the speed and agility required by this gladiatorial type. For example, Σκύρτος, Ὄξυπτερος, Ἀργοῦτος, and Πίννας are all names adopted by *retiarii* and all emphasize speed and gracefulness. The nudity of the *draucus* was also characteristic of the *retiarius* who wore only a *galerus* and *subligaculum*. The deceased *retiarius* from Corinth, therefore, probably adopted the name Δραυκος to emphasize his own speed and agility.

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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 as been collected and discussed by E. Mahl, 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: *Arphorbas hic cum Drauca / bene futuit diinario*.

42 For *Zéphiros*, see Robert, Gladiateurs 191 no. 191b. For Ὄκυς, see Robert, Gladiateurs 214–215 no. 257.


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

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

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