Gladiators in Caria. A brief overview

di Marius C. Streinu

Iasos, oil lamps from the votive deposit of the agora (© Archivi SAIA).

When it comes to the Roman Caria, we would never consider the gladiatorial phenomenon among the first aspects of its history that come to mind. However, like throughout the empire, here too these spectacles had a greater success among the locals than one would have expected. The first evidence of the gladiatorial presence in Caria has been collected by Louis Robert, in his masterful work *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec,* published in Paris in 1940, which brought into discussion epigraphic and iconographic discoveries related to gladiator fights known up to that time. Robert continued to periodically publish such discoveries in the *Hellenica* series and to update information. The inscriptions are reproduced in collective, regional, and site *corpora* of inscriptions and in subsequent studies and monographs, to which publications of new discoveries are added.

However, there isn't any study that specifically focused on the gladiatorial phenomenon in Caria and all the related aspects (organization, the gladiators involved, venue, etc). Thus, we undertook this endeavour and this article represents a preliminary stage of a broader study, which turned out to be much more extensive than initially expected. Thus, in this first article only some aspects shall be discussed, regarding the central characters of the arena shows, i.e. the gladiators.

The present study is far from being complete or to include all sources that refer to gladiator fights in Caria. It rather consists of a descriptive catalog of reliefs associated with inscriptions and epigraphic texts that refer to the presence and career of gladiators.

The sources taken into consideration are both epigraphic and iconographic monuments, such as funerary steles, the so-called altar-steles and other stone mediums that refer strictly to gladiators. Although the urban network of Caria is considerable, such monuments are found in six cities (Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Halikarnassos, Iasos, Mylasa and Stratonikeia), varying in number, type and complexity of the preserved information. The following pages do describe and briefly comment on each stone monument in the form of a catalogue, followed by conclusions.

Alabanda

1. Funerary stele mentioning Polyneikes, a gladiator whose category is not mentioned and it cannot be determined due to the poor state of preservation of the monument[1]. Polyneikes is depicted frontally, bare bust, holding a palm branch in his right hand, while his left hand rests on the helmet placed over the shield[2]. Undefeated in 20 fights, he was not knocked out by an opponent with superior skills, but by one whose advantage was his much younger age compared to himself[3].

2. An altar-stele discovered outside the city walls, mentioning two gladiators, Podenemus and Hermas[4]. The former belongs to the third rank (*palus)*, while Hermas belongs to the fourth rank. The category of the two gladiators is unknown, because the monument shows no traces of carving, leading Charlotte Roueché to state that the monument could have been painted[5]. The stele was placed by Hermas for his comrade in arms, Podenemus.
3. Another altar-stele discovered in the village cemetery depicts a heavily armed gladiator who, based on his short sword and large rectangular shield, could be a *secutor*[6]. Unfortunately, the monument is in a poor state of preservation, with the upper part of the representation being damaged, making the fighter's armor difficult to identify. The inscription mentions two gladiators named Unio and Pardalas. Unio belongs to the second rank, while Pardalas is part of the first rank. The stele placed by Pardalas is dedicated to Unio, so we can deduce that the image is a depiction of the latter. We do not know whether the two are friends or opponents, but if we are to consider them as opponents and accept that Unio is a *secutor*, by extension Pardalas could be a *retiarius*, his traditional opponent.
4. Narcissus is mentioned on an altar-stele where the depiction of the gladiator and the inscription are both damaged. Thus, it can only be seen that the character belongs to a heavily armed category, with a large rectangular shield[7]. The inscription follows the same formula as those that mention Podenemus and Unio[8], but unfortunately, in this case, the rank to which Narcissus belongs is not preserved, instead the name Chryso[-] is partially preserved for the dedicant of the monument, a member of the third rank[9].
5. A very special but fragmentary funerary stele, of an artistic quality worthy of the Aphrodisias school of sculpture, depicts a frontal figure, bare-headed, right arm protected by a *manica*, in the left hand holding a large rectangular shield with reinforcement on the edges and in the middle, on the right corner is rendered the letter Γ. The fighter wears the *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a broad belt (*balteus)*, while his chest is protected by the breastcoat (*cardiophylax*) of rectangular shape, decorated with a flower. On both sides of the head are represented two beautifully carved crowns (fig. 1)[10]. The fragmentary inscription preserves only a few letters from which we can gather that it mentions a character whose name is not complete and who belongs to the first rank. It fits into the pattern of the inscriptions of the previous monuments (nos. 2-4), so we can assume that the gladiator who erected the monument was from the first rank and that the character represented would belong to the third class as indicated by the

1. A provocator funerary stele (© Roueché 1993, pl. VII, no. 19).

2. Funerary stele of Eupithanus (© Rouechᴇ 1993, pl. VII, no. 21).

letter Γ positioned on the corner of the shield[11]. The two ribbon crowns on both sides of the gladiator's head represent the victories he had during his career[12]. As for the category to which the gladiator belongs, it is undoubtedly a *provocator* who has as his traditional opponent a gladiator belonging to the same category.

6. Another funerary stele whose relief is fairly well preserved mentions Euplous who belongs to the third rank[13]. He wears a large helmet with a wide brim and crest. The right arm is protected by the sleeve (*manica*), in the right hand he holds a short sword, and in the left hand he holds a large rectangular shield. The shins of both legs are protected by plates[14]. All these elements together indicate that the gladiator represented is a *murmillo*.
7. The funerary stele commemorating Eupithanus is the most complex in terms of the characters depicted. The gladiator is represented frontally, head uncovered, bust bare. In the partially damaged right hand, protected by the *manica,* he holds a palm branch, while his left hand rests on a large helmet that appears to have a crest ending in the *protome* of a griffin. The latter is placed on a concave-rectangular shield, partially overlapped in the lower part by a small winged figure (an Eros?). Eupithanus' shins are protected by high plates, *cnemis*. To his right, of the same size as the winged figure, is a gladiator who appears to have the same equipment as Eupithanus, except for the weapon that the protagonist lacks and the helmet that the miniature figure lacks[15]. The inscription, unfortunately incomplete, is placed on the upper and lower edges of the monument but preserves enough to know that Eupithanus belongs to the first rank[16]. We can attribute this fighter to either the *thraex* or the *murmillo* categories (fig. 2).
8. Calandio, a *retiarius*, is depicted on the funerary stele in a fighting stance, with his head uncovered, holding a dagger in his right hand, while the *fuscina* is thrown to the ground. The inscription is positioned on the upper edge of the stele mentioning the protagonist who belongs to the sixth rank. Although the left arm is damaged, we believe that it was protected by the *manica*, as the shoulder and part of the chest are protected by it. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a wide *balteus*. The inscription is positioned on the upper edge of the star mentioning the protagonist who belongs to the sixth rank class[17].

9. A fragmentary funerary stele depicting a gladiator from the bust down. The bust is bare, he wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*, and in his right hand he holds a dagger with a curved tip[18].The fragmentary inscription is carved on the lower edge of the monument. The last part is preserved and mentions a gladiator named Pheropes who belongs to the eighth rank[19]. The piece was first published by Roueché, previously discussed by Carter who classifies the figure represented in the *retiarius* category noting that the *fuscina*, the traditional weapon of this category is held by the gladiator in his left hand[20]. We believe that the attribution to the *retiarius* category to the gladiator represented on the monument is correct, taking into account the lack of protective equipment, but we do not believe that the *fuscina* is represented in the left hand, but rather it is the border that frames the representation. At the same time, the inscription follows the pattern of the previous ones (nos. 2-8) where the names of two gladiators are mentioned, the first in the nominative and the second in the genitive, each of them being assigned to their respective rank[21]. Therefore, as preserved in the last part of the inscription, we do not believe that Pheropes is the name of the gladiator depicted, but like that of the dedicant or the adversary. We do not know if the two were friends or adversaries, but if we are to consider the two as adversaries, Pardalas could be a *secutor*, the traditional opponent of the *retiarius* gladiator.
10. The altar-stele was discovered north of the stadium and represents a *retiarius* gladiator in a fighting position, above which is carved his name, Xanthus. The head is uncovered, the right hand is protected by the *manica,* and his shoulder is protected by what appears to be a shoulder plate (*galerus*), while both hands hold the *fuscina*[22].
11. The altar-stele was found in the same place as the one commemorating Xanthus and belongs to Patroclus[23]. The inscription is carved above the depiction, which is partially damaged[24]. However, we have enough elements to identify the type of gladiator as *murmillo*. The gladiator is in an attack position, on his head he wears a large helmet with a broad and curved brim, ending in a robust crest (*crista).* He wears a long *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a wide belt (*balteus*). The shin of his left leg is protected by a plate (*ocrea*), while the right leg is damaged. The shield and the right arm holding the weapon are also damaged, but the arm was certainly protected by a *manica*, while the weapon was positioned over a rather large shield[25].
12. A vanished altar-stele whose only evidence of its existence is a drawing, comes to complete the overall picture of the gladiator phenomenon in Aphrodisias[26]. The inscription is fragmentary, therefore the interpretation of the name Thersites raises doubts[27]. The gladiator is depicted in an attack position. He wears a crested helmet, *cnemis* protects both his shins, he wears the *subligaculum*, in his right hand he holds a short sword, and in his left hand he holds a large shield over which the sword is positioned. We do not believe that the drawing faithfully reproduces the monument, but we can assume that a *murmillo* is represented.
13. Altar-stele discovered by the famous engineer and archaeologist Paul Gaudin during his research of the stadium, now lost. The heavily armed fighter is depicted wearing a smooth helmet with wide flared lower edges. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, in his hand he holds a short sword, and in the right hand he holds a large rectangular shield. The left leg appears to be protected, while the right leg is not preserved. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The inscription is above the representation and records the name Caestillus[28]. Even if the relief is damaged, we can determine that it belongs to the *provocator* category by the crestless helmet, the horizontal border above the visor, and the flared lower edges.
14. Altar-stele, in the upper part is an inscription recording the name of the depicted gladiator, Fortis. The relief depicts a *retiarius*, in a resting position. The head is uncovered, the right arm rests on the hip, and the net (*rete*) hangs over it[29]. In his left hand he holds his upright trident and a rarely represented dagger like the

one on the funerary stele of Skirtos Dakesis from Tomis[30]. This weapon consists of a handle and the blade is replaced by three or four pointed teeth capable of inflicting serious wounds as demonstrated by anthropological studies carried out on the remains of gladiators from Ephesus[31].

15. Altar-stele, in the upper part is an inscription recording the name of the depicted gladiator, Anicetus. Below is a depiction of a *secutor* in a fighting stance. The helmet is compact and without sharp edges, the top ends with a semicircular crest and the base is flared. A *balteus* can be distinguished at the waist. In his right hand he holds a short sword and in his left a large rectangular shield[32].
16. Altar-stele, in the upper part is an inscription recording the name of the depicted gladiator, Skirtos. Below is a *retiarius* in a resting position. In his right hand he holds a dagger, a secondary weapon that is used, among other things, to brake free from the net when captured by the opponent. The left arm is protected by a *manica* that also protects his shoulder, without having a *galerus* to protect his neck, and with his right hand resting on the *fuscina*[33].
17. Altar-stele, now lost. At the top is an inscription recording the name of the depicted gladiator, Margaretes. The only known image of the fighter, in the form of a drawing, rather a sketch, is published by L. Robert in *Hellenica V*[34]. The gladiator is part of the heavily armed category. He wears a compact, smooth, crestless helmet with broadly flared lower edges. On his right arm he wears no *manica*, and in his hand he holds a short sword or a larger dagger. In his left hand he holds the large, rectangular-shaped, long shield that covers his body from the neck to the upper area of the left shin[35]. His shins are protected by plates, the right one of reduced dimensions compared to the left one. Although it is a drawing that lacks detail, the helmet and leg plates are the elements that indicate that the gladiator is a *provocator*[36].
18. Altar-stele with a precarious state of conservation. The right corner is missing, making the inscription partially preserved. The inscription records the name of the depicted gladiator, Secundus. The relief is also damaged but can be identified as a gladiator. He wears a large helmet, flaring on the back, and at the top it has an elongated end towards the front that seems to be a protome. The rendering of the large shield is also damaged. The right arm and legs are badly damaged and we cannot distinguish what kind of weapon he had, or whether the arm and lower limbs had protection or not[37]. Due to the damaged depiction, we can't be sure what category he would belong to, but based on the helmet we could suggest the *thraex* category.
19. Altar-stele with a damaged relief depicting a figure impaling a wild animal that is about to attack him. Above the relief is the inscription recording the individual's name, Menander who is a *venator*[38].
20. Altar-stele with an extremely poor state of conservation. It features a figure identified as a *venator*, above which is a partially preserved inscription that most likely preserved the fighter's name[39]. The relief is quite damaged and it is not possible to determine exactly whether it is a *venator* or not, but according to the position of the individual, the orientation to the right positions him face to face with a silhouette that could be a feline or a bear, could indicate that this interpretation is correct.
21. Funerary stele, poor state of preservation, placed by Trophime to Eirenion, *essedarius*. The relief represents a gladiator facing the viewer, he has a bare head, in his right hand he holds a palm branch which he rests on the ground, his left hand is supporting a shield positioned vertically on the ground. He wears the *subligaculum*, and the legs appear to be protected by plates. A helmet appears to be placed behind the left hand above the shield[40]. M. Carter attributes this representation to the *thraex* or *secutor* categories on the grounds that no chariot is represented[41]. The lower part of the stele, where the inscription is found, is broken, preserving an incomplete text.
22. Altar-stele of poor state of preservation, in the upper part is an inscription recording the name of the depicted gladiator, Melanippos. Below, a *retiarius* in a resting position

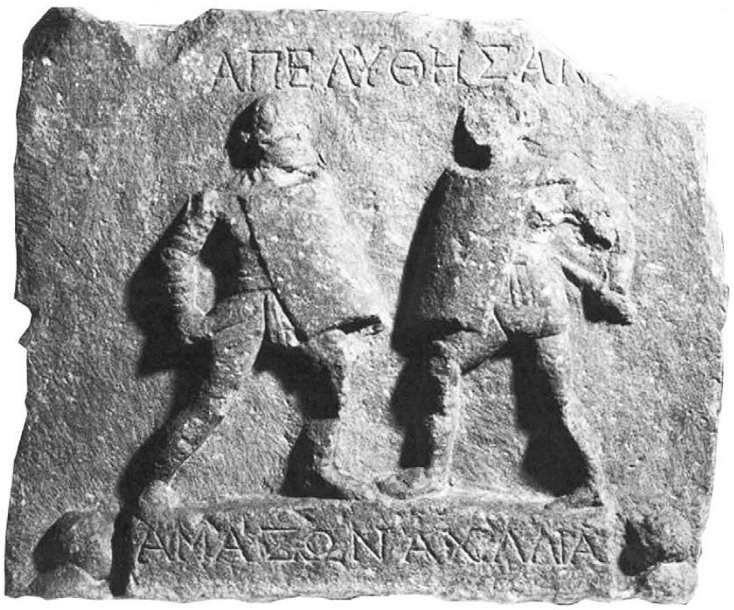
3. Altar-stele of Eurotas (© Kontokosta 2008, fig. 14, no. 13).

is represented from the front. In his right hand he holds what appears to be a *pugio*. The left arm is protected by a *manica* that also protects his shoulder, without a *galerus* to protect his neck, and in his hand he holds the *fuscina* in a vertical position, resting on the ground. He wears a high *subligaculum*, fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The head is uncovered, but the face is not preserved[42].

23. Alter-stele with a well-preserved relief. A gladiator belonging to the *murmillo* type is depicted in a fighting position. On his head he wears a large size helmet, with a crest, grid-shaped visor and wide flared lower edges. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in his right hand he holds a short sword. In his left hand, he holds the large, rectangular shield that protects his body from the neck to above his left knee. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a wide *balteus*. The left leg is wrapped in textiles, and the shin is protected by *ocrea* The inscription mentions the name Eurotas and is placed above the gladiator's head, probably added at a later date (fig. 3)[43].

Halikarnassos

24. Stephanos, *retiarius*, dedicates a monument to the goddess Nemesis. He describes his career as being of the first rank, victorious eight times in arena engagements, and was honored with five crowns[44].
25. Another fragmentary inscription dedicated to the goddess Nemesis was placed by a certain Jason, son of Nikanor. Two gladiators are mentioned, Zmaragdos a victorious *murmillo* who had five recorded victories, honored with five crowns, and Marius Strenos, a *thraex* who had one victory and was honored with a crown. Both gladiators belonged to Asiatikos, certainly a *lanista*[45]. J. Carlsen is of the opinion that Zmaragdos and Strenos were opponents[46].
26. Depiction of a *secutor* discovered at Halikarnassos, today in the British Museum. The gladiator is in a fighting stance, wearing a smooth helmet with a flared base, semicircular crest, and eyeholes. In his right hand he holds a short sword, and in his left he holds the large shield that covers his body from neck to knees. He wears the *subligaculum* and a plate protects his left shin. The inscription runs on both sides of the head recording the gladiator's name, Hilaros[47]. Most probably the relief is part of a larger monument.
27. A very special and unique relief, which is now in the collection of the British Museum, depicts two gladiators sitting face to face in a fighting position. They are depicted bareheaded, each holding a short sword in their right hand and, due to the partial damage, only one of them can see the *manica* that protects the arm in which the weapon is held. The rectangular shields have the same dimensions, and the helmets are found at the base of the platform on which the gladiators are represented. The shins of the left legs are protected by the *cnemis.* The text of the inscription is carved above the two figures and below, on the platform on which they stand. From the text on the platform we find out that the two gladiators are named Amazon and Achillia, indicating that they are women, and from the inscription above mentions that they were freed[48]. The special character of this piece is given by the uniqueness



4. Relief with the representation of two female gladiators, Amazon and Achillia (© Usunaslan 2010, p. 132, pl. 27).

of the representation of women fighting as gladiators. This feature, along with the mythological perspective, opens a completely new approach in the study of this relief, but now is neither the time nor the place to expand on the subject. Jasper Carlsen identifies the category for the two women fighting as gladiators as *provocator* (fig. 4)[49].

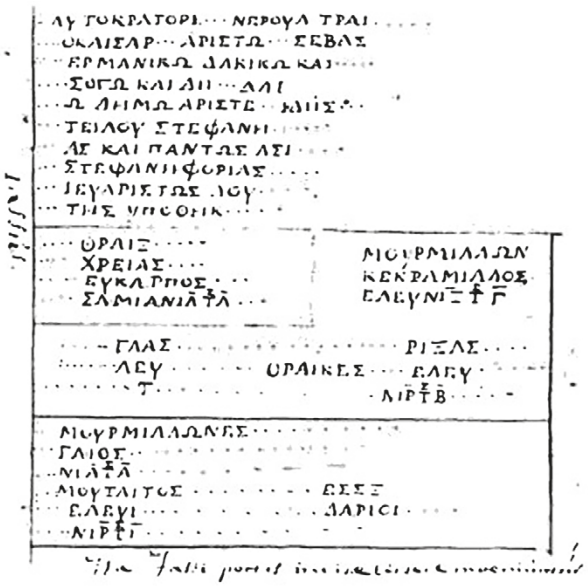
Iasos

28. Inscription mentioning Tyrannus, the *murmillo* who won his freedom. During his career, he recorded 28 victories and was honored with 28 crowns[50].
29. Inscription mentioning Halyces, *essedarius* who won his freedom. Throughout his career, he was honored with 20 crowns. Due to the fact that the inscription is fragmentary, we do not know the number of fights he had, but their total cannot be less than 20[51].
30. Inscription where eight gladiators are mentioned[52]. These are:
    a. Gaius, the *murmillo*, recorded a victory and was honored with a crown,
    b. Ceramyllus, *murmillo*, freedman, scored five victories and was honored with as many crowns,
    c. Eucarpus, *thraex*, left-handed, scored a victory and was honored with a crow,
    d. Mutatus, *essedarius*, a freedman, won 10 victories and was honored with as many crowns,
    e. Peplos, *murmillo*, freedman, won 13 victories and was awarded 12 crowns,
    f. Dracon, *thraex*, recorded two victories and was honored with as many crowns,
    g. Glas, *thraex*, freedman, the mention of the number of victories and crowns has not been preserved,
    h. Rixas, *thraex*, freedman, scored two victories and was honored with as many crowns.

Two of these, Eucarpus and Dracon, belong to Samiarius, the *lanista* (fig. 5).

Mylasa

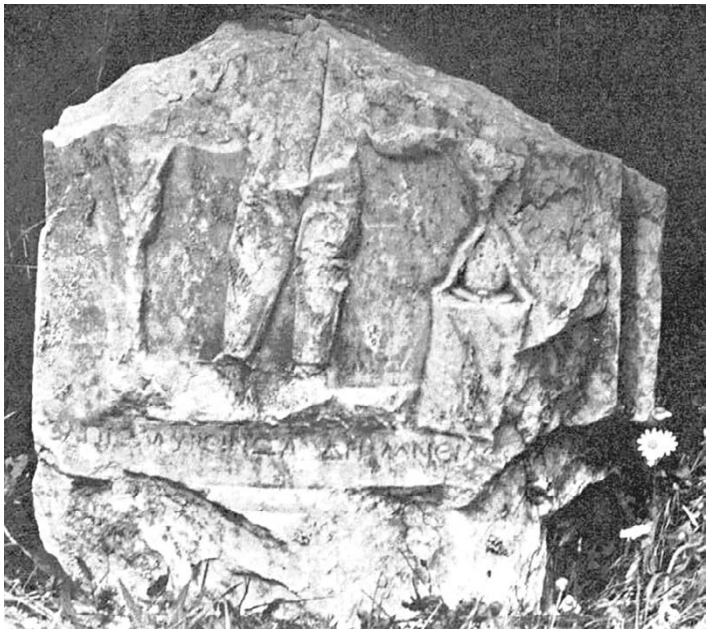
31. The funerary stele, now lost, discovered south of the present-day city of Milas. The gladiator represented is Myrsinus, *thraex* and his tombstone was placed by his wife, Elpis. The funerary stele was fragmentary and damaged at the time of discovery, only the lower half was preserved. The gladiator is represented frontally, on his right we can distinguish the lower part of a palm branch that we assume he was holding with his right hand, his left hand is touching the helmet resting on the shield, and his feet



5. Drawing of the inscription by D. Cosson (© Petzl 1996, p. 51, fig. 7).

are protected by *cnemis*. The helmet is also represented from the front, sketched in the form of a triangle, the visor gives the impression of being made of a grid, and its wide edges are outlined at the base. The shield is simple, rectangular, and small in size (fig. 6)[53].

32. The fragmentary funerary stele is of unknown origin. The gladiator depicted is Aurigas, *retiarius* whose real name was Neoteros, his tombstone placed by his wife Charmosyne. Only a small part of the relief is preserved. The gladiator is depicted frontally, bareheaded, and holding a palm branch in his left hand. His right arm is protected up to the shoulder by a *manica* attached to his chest by means of a strap. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. A crown seems to be represented behind the left hand[54].
33. Funerary stele discovered during construction works. The gladiator Kallimorphus, *murmillo*, who was honored throughout his career with five crowns depicted around his head, is represented in a fighting position. His head is protected by a large, crested helmet with a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica* and he holds a short sword. In his left hand, he holds a large, rectangular shield. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*, and his left shin is protected by *ocreae*[55].



6. Funerary stele of Myrsinus (© Akarca 1971, pl. XXIV).

7. Mucro's funerary stele (© Robert 1948, pl. VII, no. 2).

34. Funerary stele discovered during construction works. Depicted in fighting stance is the gladiator Kaptialus, a *provocator* who was honored throughout his career with eight crowns. Six crowns are positioned in the upper part of the monument, above the name, and two are arranged on both sides of the head. On his head he wears a smooth helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in the hand he holds a short sword, and the large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax,* he wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The left shin is protected by the *cnemis*. A small palm branch is represented in front of the gladiator[56].
35. Funerary stele discovered during construction works. Depicted in fighting stance is the gladiator Euprepes, a *provocator* who was honored throughout his career with 11 crowns, three arranged behind the helmet and eight on the right edge of the stele. On his head he wears a helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in the hand he holds a short sword, and the large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax,* he wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The left shin is protected by the *cnemis*[57].
36. Relief depicting the gladiator Chrysopetasus*, essedarius*. His helmet and shield are represented, the inscription is positioned at the bottom of the relief[58].
37. Epitaph fragment of the gladiator Mucro. The lower part of the monument is preserved where it can be seen that his right arm is protected by a *manica*, and in his hand he holds what appears to be a *pugio* rather than a short sword. The shield that descends to the *cnemis* protecting his left tibia and the *subligaculum* attached to the waist with the *balteus* is represented. Behind the gladiator is a small palm branch, and on the edge of the relief two crowns and a small part of a third can be distinguished[59]. It resembles all the epitaphs belonging to gladiators of the *provocator* type, so we believe that Mucro belonged to this category (fig. 7).

Stratonikeia

38. Funerary stele discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. It belongs to the gladiator Droserus, *provocator*, third rank. On his head he wears a helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. Behind the helmet, in the right corner of the relief, three crowns are represented. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in his hand, he holds what appears to be a *pugio* rather than a short sword. The large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax*,

8. Funerary stele of Droserus (© Aidaş 2006, p.105, no. 36).

9. Funerary stele of Chrysopterus (© Aidaş 2006, p. 107, no. 38).

he wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The left leg is wrapped in strips of textile material and the shin is protected by the *cnemis*. The relief is framed in a border on the upper and lower edges where the text of the inscription is found. On the sides, crowns are deployed in a row, six on the right side and eight on the left side, which, together with the other three, add up to 17 crowns, representing as many victories. Droserus was killed in battle by Achilleus[60]. It was erroneously identified as *murmillo* by Murat Aydaş and in *SEG* LVI (fig. 8).

39. Funerary stele discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. This belongs to the gladiator Chrysus, *provocator*, eighth class. On his head he wears a helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in the hand he holds a short sword. The large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax*, wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The left leg is wrapped in strips of textile and the shin is protected by the *cnemis*. All around are represented 10 crowns representing as many wins[61]. He was erroneously identified as *murmillo* by Murat Aydaş and in *SEG* LVI.
40. Funerary stele discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. This belongs to the gladiator Chrysopterus, *secutor*, fifth rank. He is depicted in a fighting stance. The helmet is smooth with a semicircular crest and flared lower edges. The right arm is protected by the *manica* attached to the body by a belt, and in his hand he holds what appears to be a *pugio* rather than a short sword. In his left hand he holds a large rectangular shield. His left leg is wrapped in strips of fabric and the shin is protected by *ocrea*. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a broad *balteus*[62]. He was mistakenly identified as *murmillo* by Murat Aydaş (fig. 9).
41. Funerary stele, damaged on the right side, discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. This belongs to the gladiator Vitalius, *murmillo*, first rank. The gladiator is facing the viewer, bare-headed, right arm protected by *manica*, holding a palm branch, left arm bent, and holding a crown. Under the left arm is the helmet with a crest, wide brims and a visor in the shape of a grill. The helmet is placed over the large rectangular shield on which is inscribed πά(λος) α΄. He wears the *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*, the left leg is wrapped in strips of textile material, and the shin is protected by *ocrea*. The relief is delimited by a frame, within and on its edges there are

16 crowns. Vitalius was killed in battle by Polydeukes[63]. There must have been more information, but it vanished when the monument was damaged.

42. Funerary stele discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. This one belongs to the gladiator Amaraios, *provocator*, third rank. On his head he wears a helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, and in the hand he holds a short sword. The large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax*, he wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. The left leg is wrapped in strips of textile and the shin is protected by the *cnemis*. Eight crowns are depicted all around[64]. It was erroneously identified as a *murmillo* by Murat Aydaş and in *SEG* LVI.
43. Funerary stele discovered in the necropolis of the ancient city. This one is also fragmentary and belongs to the gladiator Eumelos, *retiarius*. The gladiator is represented from the neck down in a fighting stance, with both hands holding the trident which is mostly gone. The left arm is completely protected by the *manica*. He wears a *subligaculum* fastened at the waist with a *balteus*. His legs are not protected. Nine crowns are arranged all around the gladiator[65].
44. Fragmentary stone depicting the upper part of a *provocator* type gladiator. Above the representation is inscribed the name of the gladiator, Leandros. On his head he wears a smooth helmet with flared lower edges and a grid-shaped visor. The right arm is protected by the *manica*, he holds a short sword, and the large rectangular shield is held in the left hand. His chest is protected by *cardiophylax*[66].

* * *

There is a total of 44 monuments that commemorate and depict 60 gladiators. Thus, 3 *secutores*[67], 9 *retiarii*[68], 10 *provocatores*[69], 10 *murmillones*[70], 6 *thraeces*[71], 4 *essedarii*[72], 1 *venator*[73], 11 gladiators whose category is uncertain[74] and 7 gladiators whose category cannot be established[75]. A series of 13 inscriptions mention the word πάλος (*palus*)[76] indicating a class hierarchy based on progress, a frequent element in inscriptions of the second-third centuries AD[77]. There were four hierarchical categories of *palus* for each armour, thus a gladiator could succeed through all categories from the fourth *palus* to the first *palus*, the lower the number the higher the rank of the gladiator, rank gained based on victories in the arena[78]. In Caria there are 16 examples of gladiators, whose rank is mentioned, four gladiators belong to the first rank, one gladiator belongs to the second rank, six belong to the third rank, one belongs to the fourth rank, one belongs to the fifth rank, one belongs to the sixth rank and two belong to the eighth rank. What is interesting are the four exceptional cases where the inscriptions mention gladiators having fifth, sixth and even eighth *palus*. C. Roueché, M. Carter and C. Mann are of the opinion that the *lanista* could have divided his band according to its size and/or the needs of the organizer, but the discussion is still ongoing[79]. An analysis of the provenance of the funerary *stelae* where the gladiator ranks are mentioned shows that, with one exception (no. 24), all come from Aphrodisia and Stratonikeia, representing about 27% of the total number of gladiators.

The number of crowns of 17 gladiators is mentioned in 15 inscriptions[80] representing 28% of the total number of gladiators. These come from Halikarnassos, Iasos, Mylasa and Stratonikeia. They appear depicted on the funerary monuments of gladiators and their number varies between 1 and 28 crowns. The principles underlying the granting of these symbols are not known, but M. Carter hypothesizes that they were granted in the context of a regular *munus* celebrating the imperial cult[81]. We do not rule out this hypothesis, but we believe that they could probably also have been awarded on the occasion of winning an important or difficult battle, a certain number of battles or even a regular *munus*, not necessarily in the context of the imperial cult.

The number of victories is mentioned in the case of 12 gladiators, in 5 inscriptions[82], representing 20% of the total number of gladiators. The latter were discovered, with one

exception (no. 1), at Halikarnassos and Iasos. Their number is either equal to that of the crowns or greater. Eight of the funerary monuments contain depictions of large palm branches being held by gladiators and miniature branches associated with the relief[83]. The palm branch is used in this context as a symbol of the victories that the gladiator achieved throughout his career[84]. They appear from place to place on the gladiator funerary monuments of Alabanda, Aphrodisias, Mylasa and Stratonikeia.

Perhaps the most important aspect is that of free gladiators. Here we have nine free gladiators attested on four monuments, representing 15% of the total number of gladiators[85]. L. Robert suggests that free gladiators had wives who took care of their burial[86]. In this sense, the epitaphs of the gladiators Eirenion (no. 21), Myrsinus (no. 31) and Aurigas (32) were placed by their wives, thus there is the possibility that three more gladiators might have been free. Unfortunately, the state of conservation of the stones, but especially of the epitaphs, is fragmentary, unable to tell from the remaining texts if they were freedmen, but their actual status remains questionable.

Analyzing the aspects related to armor, *pali*, crowns, victories, palm branches, and free gladiators, which we have addressed in the lines above, we can draw some conclusions regarding the gladiatorial activity in Caria by means of the monuments dedicated to gladiators. Thus, we notice that the gladiators with *pali* are predominantly found in Aphrodisias (10 gladiators), Stratonikeia (5 gladiators) and only one at Halikarnassos. Instead, representations and mentions of the number of crowns and victories are found in all cities except Aphrodisias.

As for the free gladiators, they represent a small percentage compared to those in a servile status and appear mentioned mainly on stones that most likely would have been parts of some public monuments intended to commemorate certain *munera*-type[87] performances and only two remember their free condition, ἐλεύθερος, in epitaphs. A telling case in this regard is the commemorative inscription for a *munera*, discovered in Iasos, which mentions eight gladiators, five of whom are free.

As a result, we note that in terms of information about gladiators that can be found on lithic monuments, those discovered at Aphordisias contain the least details. One reason would be that up to this point, no stone has been discovered that contains such information as funerary steles with epitaphs or commemorative inscriptions such as the one from Iasos, but only the so-called altar-steles. We are of the opinion that they did not have a funerary role but rather were intended for display as part of a public monument or an arrangement of a space where gladiator fights were held.

If in 1940, when L. Robert published for the first time in a monographic volume all the epigraphic and iconographic discoveries on stone, 14 monuments had been discovered or identified in Caria that had representations of gladiators with inscriptions, today their number is almost four times greater. This allows us to sketch a wider overview, far from comprehensive, of the gladiatorial phenomenon in this area of the empire, where it becomes obvious that the gladiators were diverse (e.g. rank, armor, status), implying that the fight must have been entertaining for a large audience, making this phenomenon part of the social culture.

Acknowledgment:

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[1] Laumonier 1934, pp. 299-300, fig. 3; Robert 1940, p. 173, no.169.
[2] Carter 1999, p. 372, no. 387; Mann 2011, p. 144, pp. 221-222, no. 87.
[3] Carter 1999, p. 220; Mann 2011, p. 150.
[4] Robert 1940, p. 171, no. 162; *SEG* 1993, 698; Roueché 1993, p. 65, no. 16; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 369; Kontokosta 2008, p. 213, p. 215, no. 19, fig. 20.
[5] Roueché 1993, p. 65, no. 16.

[6] Roueché 1993, pp. 65-66, no.17, pl. VIII; Carter 1999, pp. 369-370, no. 372; Kontokosta 2008, p. 215, p. 217, no. 21, fig. 21.
[7] Roueché 1993, pl. VIII.
[8] Roueché 1993, p. 65.
[9] Roueché 1993, p. 66, no. 18; Carter 1999, p. 370, no. 373; Kontokosta 2008, p. 215, no. 20, fig. 21.
[10] Roueché 1993, pl. VII, no. 19; Carter 1999, p. 370, no. 374; Kontokosta 2008, p. 217, no. 22, fig. 23.
[11] Roueché 1993, p. 66.
[12] Roueché 1993, p. 66; Carter 1999, p. 101.
[13] Roueché 1993, p. 67, no. 20, pl. VII.
[14] Roueché 1993, p. 66, no. 20; Carter 1999, p. 370, no. 375; Kontokosta 2008, p. 218, no. 24, fig. 25.
[15] Roueché 1993, p. 67, no. 21, pl. VII; Carter 1999, p. 370, no. 376; Mann 2011, p. 223, no. 88a.
[16] Roueché 1993, p. 67, no. 21; Carter 1999, p. 370, no. 376; Kontokosta 2008, p. 219, no. 27, fig. 28; Mann 2011, pp. 222-223, no. 88a.
[17] Roueché 1993, p. 67, no. 23, pl. VII; Carter 1999, p. 106, p. 371, no. 378; Kontokosta 2008, p. 218, no. 25, fig. 26.
[18] Roueché 1993, pl. VIII, no. 24.
[19] Roueché 1993, p. 68, no. 24; Carter 1999, p. 106, p. 371, no. 379.
[20] Roueché 1993, pp. 68-69, no. 24; Carter 1999, p. 371, no. 379; Kontokosta 2008, pp. 217-218, no. 23, fig. 24.
[21] Roueché 1993, p. 65.
[22] Robert 1940, pp. 170-171, no. 158; Roueché 1993, p. 68, no. 25, pl. IX; Carter 1999, pp. 368-369, no. 365; Kontokosta 2008, p. 206, no. 4, fig. 5.
[23] Robert 1940, pp. 170-171, no. 159; Roueché 1993, p. 68, no. 26; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 366; Kontokosta 2008, pp. 206-207, no. 5, fig. 6.
[24] Roueché 1993, pl. IX, no. 26.
[25] Roueché 1993, p. 68, no. 26; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 366.
[26] Robert 1940, pp. 170-171, no. 160; Robert 1948, p. 95, fig. 1; *SEG* 1993, 698; Roueché 1993, pp. 68-69, no. 27; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 367; Kontokosta 2008, p. 212, no. 15, fig. 16.
[27] Roueché 1993, p. 69, no. 27; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 367.
[28] *BE* 1968, 507; *SEG* 1993, 698; Roueché 1993, p. 69, no. 28; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 371; Kontokosta 2008, p. 212, no. 14, fig. 15.
[29] Roueché 1993, p. 69, no. 29, pl. IX; Carter 1999, p. 371, no. 380; Kontokosta 2008, p. 207, no. 6, fig. 7.
[30] Stoian 1962, p. 199, no. 2.
[31] Kanz, Grossschmidt 2002, pp. 44-45.
[32] Roueché 1993, p. 69, no. 30, pl. IX; Carter 1999, p. 371, no. 381; Kontokosta 2008, p. 207, no. 7, fig. 8.
[33] *SEG* 1980,1257; Roueché 1993, pp. 69-70, no. 31, pl. IX; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 370; Kontokosta 2008, p. 207, p. 209, no. 8, fig. 9.
[34] Robert 1948, p. 95, fig. 4.
[35] Robert 1940, p. 171, no. 161; Robert 1948, pp. 94-95, p. 97, fig. 4; *SEG* 1993, 698; Roueché 1993, p. 70, no. 32; Carter 1999, p. 369, no. 368; Kontokosta 2008, pp. 212-213, no. 16, fig. 17.
[36] Funerary steles depicting *provocatores* were discovered at Stratonikeia, see Aubriet 2011, p. 598, pl. III, p. 599, pl. IV, p. 600, pl. V.
[37] Roueché 1993, p. 70, no. 35, pl. X; Carter 1999, p. 371, no. 384; Kontokosta 2008, p. 209, no. 9, fig. 10.
[38] Roueché 1993, pp. 70-71, no. 36; Carter 1999, p. 368, no. 363; Kontokosta 2008, p. 209, no. 10, fig. 11.
[39] Roueché 1993, p. 71, no. 37; Carter 1999, p. 368, no. 364; Kontokosta 2008, p. 209, p. 211, no. 11s.
[40] *SEG* 1993, 698; Roueché 1993, pp. 72-73, no. 43, pl. XII; Carter 1999, p. 372, no. 385; Kontokosta 2008, pp. 227-228, no. 39, fig. 40; Mann 2011, p. 222, no. 88.
[41] Carter 1999, pp. 95-96.
[42] Kontokosta 2008, p. 211, no. 12, fig. 13.
[43] Kontokosta 2008, pp. 211-212, no. 13, fig. 14.
[44] Robert 1940, pp. 182-183, no. 179; Hornum 1993, pp. 289-290, no. 241; Carter 1999, p. 376, no. 408; Poulsen 2011, p. 429; Carlsen 2014, pp. 441-442.
[45] Robert 1940, pp. 183-187, no. 180; Hornum 1993, pp. 290-291, no. 242; Carter 1999, pp. 376-377, no. 409; Carlsen 2014, p. 442.
[46] Carlsen 2014, p. 442.
[47] Robert 1940, p. 188, no. 183, pl. VII; Carter 1999, p. 377, no. 412; Poulsen 2011, p. 429; Carlsen 2014, p. 442.
[48] Robert 1940, pp. 188-189, no. 184, pl. XII; Golvin, Landes 1990, p. 169; Carter 1999, p. 377, no. 413; Uzunaslan 2010, p. 132, fig. 27; Poulsen 2011, p. 429; Carlsen 2014, pp. 442-445.
[49] Carlsen 2014, p. 442.
[50] Robert 1940, pp. 179-180, no. 176; *BE* 1940, no. 151; *I.Iasos*, no. 412; Carter 1999, p. 372, no. 389.
[51] Robert 1940, pp. 179-180, no. 177; *BE* 1940, no. 151; *I.Iasos*, no. 413; Carter 1999, p. 372, no. 390.
[52] Robert 1940, pp. 180-182, no. 178; Petzel 1996, pp. 49-53, fig. 7; *I.Iasos,* no. 414; Carter 1999, pp. 372-373, no. 391.
[53] Akarca 1971, p. 37, pl. XXIV; *BE* 1972, 418; Carter 1999, p. 374, no. 396; Mann 2011, p. 223, no. 90; Aubriet 2011b, pp. 27-28.
[54] Carter 1999, p. 374, no. 397; Mann 2011, pp. 223-224, no. 91; Aubriet 2011b, p. 28.
[55] Zülkadiroğlu, Içten 2002, p. 80; *BE* 2004, 312; Mann 2011, p. 224, no. 92; Aubriet 2011b, p. 2.
[56] Zülkadiroğlu, Içten 2002, p. 79; Mann 2011, p. 224, no. 93; Aubriet 2011b, p. 28.
[57] Zülkadiroğlu, Içten 2002, p. 81; Mann 2011, pp. 224-225, no. 94; Aubriet 2011b, p. 28.
[58] Robert 1940, pp. 177-178, no. 172; *BE* 1940, 149; Carter 1999, p. 374, no. 394; Aubriet 2011, p. 589. I did not have access to any image of the relief.
[59] Robert 1948, pp. 95-96, pl. VII, no. 2; Carter 1999, p. 374, no. 395; Aubriet 2011b, pp. 26-27.
[60] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1209; Aydaş 2006, pp. 105-106, no. 1; Staab 2007, pp. 39-44; Jones 2007, pp. 46-47, no. II; Mann 2011, p. 225, no. 95; Aubriet 2011a, pp. 590-591.

[61] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1210; Aydaş 2006, p. 106, no. 2; Mann 2011, pp. 225-226, no. 96; Aubriet 2011a, pp. 590.
[62] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1211; Aydaş 2006, pp. 106-107, no. 3; Mann 2011, p. 226, no. 97; Aubriet 2011a, p. 592.
[63] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1212; Aydaş 2006, pp. 107-108, no. 4; Staab 2007, pp. 44-45; Mann 2011, pp. 226-227, no. 98; Aubriet 2011a, pp. 587-589.
[64] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1213; Aydaş 2006, pp. 107-108, no. 5; Mann 2011, p. 227, no. 99; Aubriet 2011a, p. 597.
[65] Küçükçoban 2002, pp. 255-256, p. 262, fig. 7; *AE* 2002, 1422; *SEG* LVI, 1214; Aydaş 2006, pp. 107-108, no. 6; Staab 2007, p. 46, no. 3; Jones 2007, pp. 47-48, no. III; Mann 2011, pp. 227-228, no. 100; Aubriet 2011a, pp. 592-593.
[66] *I.Stratonikeia* 1016, pl. XIV; Carter 1999, p. 376, no. 406.
[67] See nos. 15, 26 and 40.
[68] See nos. 8, 9, 10, 14, 16, 22, 24, 32 and 43.
[69] See nos. 5, 13, 17, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 42 and 44.
[70] See nos. 6, 11, 23, 25, 28, 30 (three gladiators), 33 and 41.
[71] See nos. 25, 30 (four gladiators) and 31.
[72] See nos. 21, 29, 30 and 36.
[73] See no. 19.
[74] See nos. 3 (two gladiators), 5, 7, 9, 12, 18, 20, 27 (two gladiators) and 38.
[75] See nos. 1, 2 (two gladiators), 4 (two gladiators), 13 and 41.
[76] See nos, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 24, 38, 39, 40, 41 and 42.
[77] Carter 2003, for a discussion on gladiatorial ranking.
[78] Robert 1940, pp. 28-31; Ville 1981, p. 324; Carter 1999, p. 105; Mann 2011, pp. 100-102.
[79] Roueché 1993, pp. 64-65; Carter 1999, p. 106; Mann 2011, p. 102.
[80] See nos. 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42 and 43.
[81] Carter 1999, p. 103.
[82] See nos. 1, 24, 25, 28 and 30.
[82] See nos. 1, 7, 21, 31, 32, 34, 37.
[83] See nos. 1, 7, 21, 31, 32, 34, 37 and 41.
[84] Carter 1999, p. 98; Mann 2011, 171.
[85] See nos. 27, 28, 29 and 30.
[86] Robert 1940, p. 287.
[87] Coleman 2000, p. 495.

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Corpora

*AE = L'Année épigraphiqu*e
BE = Bulletin épigraphique
I.Iasos = W. Blümel, *Die lnschriften von lasos* (*IGSK* 28 1/2, Bonn 1985)
I.Stratonikeia = M.Ç. Şahin, *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia*, I-II 1/2 (*IGSK* 21-22 1/2, 68, Bonn 1981-2010)
SEG = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum