

**COLLECTING VIOLENCE. REVISITING THE ROMAN ARTEFACTS WITH
GLADIATORIAL ICONOGRAPHY FROM THE “MARIA AND DR.
GEORGE SEVEREANU” COLLECTION**

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Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to revisit three Roman lamps with gladiatorial decorations from the Maria and Dr. George Severeanu collection in order to properly integrate them to the established typologies, discuss their provenance and elaborate on the iconography. The lamps originate at Tomis, Romula and Constantinople, three different regions of the empire and depict several types of gladiators: secutor, murmillo, thraex and retiarius. The fourth item discussed in the paper is novel and unique to the collection: the marble head of a secutor gladiator, depicted in an oriental manner and with analogies in the eastern provinces.*

Rezumat: *Scopul lucrării este de a rediscuta trei lămpi romane cu iconografie gladiatorială din colecția Maria și dr. George Severeanu, în vederea integrării lor în mod corespunzător în tipologiile cunoscute, de a discuta proveniența lor și temele iconografice. Lămpile provin de la Tomis, Romula și Constantinopol, trei regiuni diferite ale imperiului și înfățișează gladiatori de tipul secutor, murmillo, thraex și retiarius. Cel de-al patrulea obiect discutat în lucrare este inedit și unic în colecție: capul de marmură al unui gladiator secutor, înfățișat în manieră orientală și cu analogii în provinciile de est.*

The paper presents four artefacts related to the gladiatorial phenomenon, specific to Roman entertainment: three lamps and the head of a statue. Two of the lamps are fragmentary, but all three preserve the *discus* with its iconography: depictions of weapons used during fights, a single gladiator, respectively a pair of them during a fight. The lamps were previously published by George Severeanu himself¹. The same publication featured another lamp (discovered at Tomis) of the same type, with the possible depiction of yet another gladiator, rendered frontally and holding a weapon². None of the lamps are stamped, but two lack their bases. One opinion states that these unstamped lamps were the products of minor workshops with a limited ability to

* National Heritage Institute.

** Bucharest Municipality Museum.

¹ Severeanu 1936, p. 66, no. 64; p. 70, no. 76 and p. 70-71, no. 75.

² Severeanu 1936, p. 68, no. 71. The lamp is no longer part of the collection, present location is unknown.

distribute their merchandise (on the local market only, or perhaps in the territory).³ Lamps decorated with gladiators peaked in popularity during the reign of Augustus as images of power spread all over the empire and thus the iconography was copied and reproduced by several workshops.⁴

Methodology

The three lamps featured in this article come from Romula, Tomis and Constantinople, respectively. The fourth item with gladiatorial iconography, the head of a statue, is of unknown provenance. In order to fully render all the details of the decoration, RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging) technology was used. RTI is a photographic method that catches the surface, colour of a given object, and allows the controlled lighting of the item from all angles. The software that accompanies the method increases the quality of each feature of the object. The equipment used included: a DSLR camera, lens with focal length between 24 mm and 50 mm, a tripod as stable as possible, two reflective balls (can be found in the RTI KIT from the Cultural Heritage Institute - CHI), a flash or continuous light source, a remote control to trigger the camera and, optionally, a computer. The RTI technique involves obtaining ca. 40-50 photographs of the item from a fixed position of the camera. During the photography, the light source moves from one point to another to obtain a light hemisphere. The flash must be positioned so that it forms an imaginary dome or an umbrella with 12 spikes. We can imagine a clock whose hours represent the initial positions from which the light source moves. Along the spikes of the imaginary umbrella the light source moves, maintaining the same distance to the centre of the object, towards the camera. For example, if four photographs (four positions of light) are taken along each spike, 48 pictures result for the surface of an object.

The last item, the head of statue, was analysed using photogrammetry, a technique that determines exactly the shapes, dimensions and positions in space of fixed or moving objects in the field. Obtaining a three-dimensional digital model of an object using the photogrammetry technique involves photographing the item from several angles so that the photos overlap at 70-80%. There are two methods by which an object can be photographed: by using a rotary table on which the object is placed and is photographed from fixed points or by photographing around the object (in the case of large objects or archaeological sites). In order to take quality photographs, studio photo equipment is necessary, such as: a tent with light source, a tripod, continuous light or flashes, umbrellas, a rotary table, a graded scale, a DSLR type device, lenses that do not deform the object (focal length not be smaller than 24 mm and larger than 70 mm). It is necessary to use the camera's manual settings using an aperture between $f / 5.6$ and $f / 11$, ISO as low (100-200), adjusting the balance of white.⁵ Creating the three-dimensional digital model in AgiSoft involves several stages: uploading the photos and

³ Benea 2008, p. 308. This opinion concerns the workshops in Dacia, where, at Romula, there was an anonymous lamp production. The stamped lamps from Romula were traded with other centers from the province and from Moesia Inferior, Moesia Superior and Pannonia (p. 324).

⁴ Koutoussaki 2015, p. 181, Fig. 6 – a gladiator pair fighting.

⁵ Matthews 2008, p. 33-35; Mudge *et alii* 2010; <http://culturalheritageimaging.org/Technologies/RTI/>.

their processing to remove the background behind the object, aligning the photos (Align Photos) to create a sparse point cloud, creating a dense point cloud (Dens Cloud). The first steps involve creating the geometry of the object, followed by the following two steps to create the texture of the object: generating the triangulation (Build Mesh) and creating the texture (Build Texture). The 3D object can be then exported in different formats such as FBX, Wavefront OBJ, PDF, Stanford PLY, U3D etc.

Typology

Lamps nos. 1 and 2 belong to the same type: Loescke IV-Bailey type B group II or the the Deneuve type V A, dated most likely to Augustan -Claudian times up to the early Flavian⁶. The third lamp preserved only the *discus* making its integration to a certain type very difficult, but could fit into the same typology as the other two. In the Augustan period, this type of lamps appeared mostly in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic provinces, later spreading east.⁷ There are several variants of these lamps, starting from the nozzle shapes, but the *discus* is almost always decorated, hence the name *Bildlampen* also given to them.⁸ The shape was imitated by Pontic workshops during the 1st century AD. The motif of gladiatorial weapons also appears on other types of lamps, for instance on the Loeschcke type I – Bailey A group III, with a triangular nozzle; an example is to be found in the Getty museum collection.⁹ The same collection also holds two lamps of the Loeschcke IV type similar to our nos. 2 and 3, from the point of view of the renditions: one shows a gladiator depicted from the frontal view, with the head turned towards the right¹⁰, the second shows a pair of gladiators during fight.¹¹ Lamps similar to the ones in our collection were discovered at Tomis¹², Măcin¹³ and Barboși¹⁴ and were dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD. The lamp discovered at Barboși is fragmentary, but preserves still part of the depiction of a gladiator. It was discovered in the *castellum*, dated to the 2nd century AD and thought to have originated in a workshop in Knidos.¹⁵ Another lamp from Dacia, of the same type, was discovered at Prolisum, also a military camp, depicting a *thraex gladiator*, and was dated to AD 106–118.¹⁶ Although made with a mould, lamp no. 2 preserves on the interior of the discus the fingerprints of the artisan preparing the clay (Pl.II.5).

⁶ Leibundgut 1977, p. 171, no. 236; Bussiere 2017, p.121, during the reign of Trajan, maybe even Hadrian.

⁷ Liușnea 2016, p. 309. Many types are also present in the Athens, Athenian Agora VII, nos. 38-40, 147, 170, 249, 320, 325, 835-843.

⁸ Bailey, Wohl 1975; II, 1980; III, 1988.

⁹ Bussiere, Wohl 2017, p. 76, no. 93. The collection also comprises other lamps with various depictions of gladiators (in pairs - nos. 107,108, 199, 227, 346, 403, 407, 418, 440; single – no. 132, 419; helmet – no. 134). Categories of gladiators depicted: *essedarius* 132, 199; *hoplomachus* 108, 346, 403, 440; *lanista* 107; *myrmillo* 107, 227; *retarius* 407; *samnit* 346, 440; *secutor* 407; *thraex* 89, 107, 168, 403, 418; *venator* 485.

¹⁰ Bussiere, Wohl 2017, p. 123, no. 168.

¹¹ Bussiere, Wohl 2017, p. 149, no. 217.

¹² Iconomu 1967, type XI, p. 12, Fig. 23, p. 58-60.

¹³ Harțușche, Bounegru 1984, p. 222, 223, 224, Pl. II.4.

¹⁴ Liușnea 2016, type Loeschcke IV, but not with gladiatorial depictions.

¹⁵ Liușnea 2016, p. 313-314, Fig. 3.

¹⁶ Roman 2005, p. 173, 232, Fig. 62 and Pl. 9, no. 71.

At Tomis, there are workshops indicated by the discovery of moulds. Of the finds from Tomis, one seems to represent a similar item to our no. 1, with depictions of weapons, but it was made of coarser fabric and shows a cruder rendition.¹⁷ Another lamp, of a different type and with no stamp, depicts the sketchy image of a fighter next to an altar, rendered from the profile, holding up a shield.¹⁸ Five such items of the same type, were found in a storage facility near the Mosaic Edifice in Tomis and were dated to the 5th–6th centuries AD. Considering these finds and corroborating them with the existence of an amphitheatre¹⁹, we may assume that the lamp from the Severeanu collection is of local production. From Callatis we know of two other lamps, classified as Loeschke type VIII, both with a fragmentary discus, but still preserving the obvious depiction of gladiators in the attack position and marching. Both are dated largely to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD and considered west-Pontic products, possibly from Tomis.²⁰

Outside the fortification at Romula a *villa suburbana*, a workshop and five kilns were discovered and investigated, the latter considered to have been connected to the production of lamps.²¹ The production of lamps at Romula is attested by the discovery of a mould, and of a lamp dated to the 3rd century AD manufactured with the mentioned mould²²; there was also another fragmentary mould for lamps with an elongated nozzle, dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.²³ A perfect analogy for the Severeanu lamp no. 1 has not been found at Romula and the dating is earlier than the Roman settlement, raising questions as to the origin of the artefact.

Lamp no. 3, with the depiction of a *murmillo*, came into the collection from Constantinople and has analogies in Italy and Asia Minor, as we shall see.

Catalogue²⁴

1. *Inv. no. 18902.* Mould-made lamp with a flat base, round basin, concave discus surrounded by two fine grooves, narrow shoulder, central filling hole, round nozzle with two side volutes. Fragmentary handle with round section. Fabric 5Y6/1 light olive grey, covered with a dull reddish brown slip. *Dimensions:* Lp – 9.4 cm; W – 6 cm; Hp – 3.3 cm (handle), 2.7 basin. *Iconography:* gladiatorial weapons depicted around the filling hole. *Provenance:* Romula *Bibliography:* Severeanu 1936, p. 70-71, no. 77; Băluță 1994, p.204, no. 32, Pl. III.3.
2. *Inv. no. 20458.* Mould made lamp with only the round, concave discus preserved, with a filling hole slightly off-center and trace of a handle. On the interior surface preserves traces of hand modelling.

¹⁷ Iconomu 1967, p. 61, Fig.91, no. 182.

¹⁸ Iconomu 1967, p. 128, Fig. 140, no. 650, dated to the 3rd century AD.

¹⁹ Streinu 2016.

²⁰ Topoleanu, Croitoru 2015, p. 136-138, nos. 36-37.

²¹ Popilian 1976, Fig. 11. Several moulds were discovered.

²² Benea 2008, p. 305.

²³ Benea 2008, p. 305.

²⁴ Lp = length preserved; W = width; Hp = height preserved.

Fabric 5YR5/8 yellowish red, covered with a dull light red slip. The interior of the discus preserves traces of fingertips from the preparation of the clay, before the insertion into the mould.

Dimensions: Lp – 6.8 cm; Wp – 6.1 cm.

Iconography: a pair of gladiators – a *secutor* and a *murmillo*, facing each other, rendered from the profile, caught during a fight.

Provenance: Tomis.

Bibliography: Severeanu 1936, p. 66, no. 64; Băluță 1994, p.207, no. 55, Pl. V.7.

3. *Inv.no. 18906.* Mould-made lamp with a fragmentary flat base, round and concave discus surrounded by three fine grooves, narrow shoulder, filling hole on the lower right side of the field, missing the nozzle, but preserving traces of two side volutes. Trace of a handle.

Fabric 2.5YR6/6 light red, covered with light red slip.

Dimensions: Lp – 9.7 cm; W – 7.8 cm; Hp – 3 cm (réservoir).

Iconography: a gladiator – *murmillo* - rendered frontally, with the head turned towards his left.

Provenance: Constantinople.

Bibliography: Severeanu 1936, p. 70, no. 76; Băluță 1994, p.203-204, no. 31, Pl. III.7.

4. *Inv. no. 19082.* Fragmentary head of a statue, carved out of marble and depicting a gladiator's helmet - *secutor*. One side is fully carved, the second side only on a quarter of the surface. The front is perforated with numerous small orifices.

Dimensions: Hp – 11.5 cm; W – 8.2 cm.

Iconography: Gladiator helmet - *secutor*.

Provenance: Unknown.

Gladiatorial iconography – a discussion

The first featured lamp depicts several weapons, specific to gladiatorial fights, rendered on both sides of the discus (Pl. I). Starting from the handle, we see the representation of the armour plating for the feet, *ocrea*, placed one on top of the other. The next items, displayed on both sides, are two helmets, *galea*, wide-brimmed and with tall ridges ending with a *protoma*. Under each helmet are placed two swords, a *gladius* to the left and a *sica* to the right, the latter typical for a *thraex* gladiator. Under the swords, on the same axis with the armour, are depicted two rectangular shields, perpendicular one to the other, the one from the left slightly larger than the one from the right. Having already mentioned that the weapons depicted on the right side are typical for a *thraex* gladiator, the ones to the left are particular for a *murmillo* gladiator. This type of fighter was usually paired with a *retiarius*, *hoplomachus* or *thraex*²⁵. Although erroneously interpreted as belonging to a *hoplomachus*²⁶, these weapons are particular to the *murmillo*. The difference between the *murmillo* and the *hoplomachus* consists of their shields. The *hoplomachus* uses a small, circular shield, *parmula*, while the *murmillo* defends himself with a large, rectangular shield. Given the depictions on the

²⁵ Carter 1999, p. 88; Teyssier, Lopez 2005, p. 62; Kazek 2012, p. 144; Janković 2014, p. 51; Streinu 2015, p. 80.

²⁶ Leibundgut 1977, p. 171, no. 236; Goethert-Polaschek 1985, no. 561 (M. 114), p. 231.

lamp, we ascertained that the reference is made to a *murmillo* gladiator and not to a *hoplomachus*. Moreover, the rendering is faithful as it even depicted the correct dimensions of the shields, as it is known that the *thraex* had a smaller *scutum*. A close analogy is found at Vindonissa²⁷, with small differences: the Vindonissa lamp lacks the handle and has one smaller orifice at the base of the nozzle. Another similar find is in Vienna, which seems to be a local production.²⁸ Its general aspect seems unfinished, rough, the main filling hole is blocked and a second one was made on the right side of the discus, under the *sica*. Just like the Vindonissa lamp, it has no handle. A third analogy is in the Trier museum, in a fragmentary state, lacking the nozzle and part of the discus.²⁹

The pair of gladiators depicted on lamp no. 2 represent the *secutor* (left) and *retiarius* (right) categories (Pl. II). The *secutor* holds a large, rectangular and concave shield, *scutum*, wears a typical smooth, wide-brimmed helmet, *galea*, with a sharp ridge running from the front to the back³⁰. The lower part of the body is covered by a *subligaculum*. In his right hand there should be a *gladius*, but the poor state of conservation only allows for the assumption. The manner in which the fighter displays his right arm and shield, exposing himself to an imminent threat, is only justified if he was also wearing a *manica* for protection. Furthermore, the way he holds the shield leaves the left leg exposed, which can also indicate further protective gear, perhaps an *ocrea*, typical for this type of gladiator. His position - with flexed lower limbs, slightly bent forward upper body, the shield on the knees and the elevated weapon - indicates a defensive pose while waiting for a window of attack. All of the above features clearly indicate that the fighter belongs to the *secutor* category of heavily armed gladiators. An analogy for this battle position of a *secutor* can be seen in the mosaic discovered in a *villa* at Nenning, Germany, and was dated to the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.³¹

The opposing fighter is even less well preserved, but certain characteristics are visible. The gladiator holds with both hands the lever of a trident, *fuscina*. On his shoulder is preserved a protection belt that runs towards his back, *galerus*, and continues with a protective gear for the entire arm, *manica*. The lower part of the body is also covered by a *subligaculum*. All of the above elements point to a light armed fighter from the *retiarius* category. His flexed lower limbs, the straight upper body and the way he holds the trident indicate an offensive position within this particular fight depiction. Another lamp depicting a pair of gladiators is currently in the custody of the Bucharest Municipality Museum, unfortunately of unknown provenance.³² Although this lamp belongs to Loeschke type VIII, the iconography is almost identical to the one on our no. 3, with the exception that it is a mirror rendition. From epigraphical sources we know of two *retiarrii* at Tomis, Skirtos³³ and Argutos³⁴. Also at Tomis there is another

²⁷ Leibundgut 1977, p. 171, nr. 236, pl. 43.

²⁸ Vertet 1983, p. 111, 113-fig. 1.

²⁹ Goethert-Polaschek 1985, p. 231, Tafel 65, 561 (M. 114).

³⁰ The helmet is barely visible with the naked eye, but it was made clear using RTI technology.

³¹ Robert 1949, p. 136.

³² Popescu, Rațiu 2016, p. 149, Pl. I, no. 6- similar to the Tomis find and a mirror image of the Severeanu lamp.

³³ ISM II, 344 (180).

³⁴ ISM II, 343 (179).

mention of this category on the funerary stele of the gladiator Dio[doros?].³⁵ This type of gladiator was popular in all provinces of the empire due to its simple equipment as well as to its particular fast and free style of fighting. The traditional adversary of the *retarius* was the *secutor*³⁶, also known as *contraretarius*, first appearing in the 1st century AD and mentioned by Suetonius at the beginning of the 2nd century AD when discussing the order given by Emperor Caligula that *secutores* were compelled to kill their opponents, the *retarii*³⁷. Although there was a dangerous time to be a *retarius*, most combat depictions render this couple of fighters, which means their bloody spectacles were popular among the Romans. A lamp with a mirror rendition of the pair was discovered at Tomis, another similar lamp is in the custody of the Bucharest Municipality Museum.³⁸ The lamp from the archaeology collection depicts the gladiator *retarius* from the front, while the *retarius* from the Severeanu lamp is depicted from the back. Both gladiators are represented in an attack position. The *secutor* gladiator on the Severeanu lamp is represented in defensive poses, the one from the Archaeology collection is represented with the light shield lowered, an exposed chest area - the area aimed by the opponent's trident, which suggest the depiction of the moment when the *secutor* gladiator is injured. The shoulder of the Severeanu lamp is undecorated, while the one from the Archaeology collection has its shoulder garnished with plant motifs.³⁹ Both lamps lack their handles.

The last lamp depicts a single gladiator, a *murmillo* (Pl. II). Compared to the previous representations, this one is much more schematic, consisting of straight lines. The *murmillo* is one of the heavily armed gladiators. A particular feature is his wide-brimmed helmet, *galea*, with a massive, tall ridge, reminiscent of a fish, hence the name *murmillo*, depicted here with straight lines, similar to spikes.⁴⁰ For defence he used a *scutum murmillonicum*, large, rectangular and concave, depicted to the left, fallen at his feet, decorated with two oblique lines. A protective *manica* strapped on his weapon wielding arm is depicted by three oblique lines.⁴¹ This type of gladiator has a particular armour plating for his feet, *ocrea*, that protected the exposed tibia when in attack position. The defensive armour protected most of his body and the usual offensive weapon was a simple *gladius*.⁴² The sword held by our gladiator in his right hand is of a small size, probably a dagger, *pugio*. The pelvic area is covered by a *subligaculum*, strapped to his hip by a wide belt, *balteus*, rendered using horizontal and vertical lines as well as a convex line. A close analogy for the lamp with this representation is found in the archaeological collection of Museo Teatrale alla Scala, and was dated to the 1st

³⁵ ISM II, 341.

³⁶ Streinu 2015, p. 78.

³⁷ Suetonius *Caligula*, 30; Carter 1999, p. 88–89; Streinu 2015, p. 80.

³⁸ Popescu, Rațiu 2016, p. 149, pl. I, no. 6.

³⁹ Popescu, Rațiu 2016, p. 149.

⁴⁰ Robert 1940, p. 69-70; Teyssier, Lopez 2005, p. 80; Futrell 2006, p. 96; Wisdom, McBride 2003, p. 30; Kazek 2012, p. 163–164; Streinu 2015, p. 81.

⁴¹ Robert 1940, p. 69 - 70; Teyssier, Lopez 2005, p. 80; Futrell 2006, p. 96; Wisdom, McBride 2003, p. 30; Kazek 2012, 1p. 63-164; Streinu 2015, p. 81.

⁴² Teyssier, Lopez 2005, p. 80; Streinu 2015, p. 81.

century AD.⁴³ Our lamp is a copy of both the shape and the iconography, of a lower quality. The Milanese lamp gives a more careful rendition of the gladiator, with natural, curved lines and very detailed equipment. From the morphological point of view, the Milanese lamp has the filling orifice behind the right foot, while in our case, the orifice is next to the left foot. Another analogy is to be found also in Asia Minor, at Kibyra. The lamp is of the same type, the sketchy rendering similar, with the notable difference that the *murmillio* is depicted from the back, holding the shield and turning his head to the left⁴⁴. All of the first three depictions show the gladiator in the same position. The *murmillio* type of gladiator appears within the empire and replaces the *gallus*. He was the usual opponent of the *retiarius*, *thraex* and *hoplomachus*.⁴⁵

The last item from the collection with gladiatorial iconography is the head of a marble statue depicting the helmet of a *secutor* (Pl. IV). The sharp ridge follows the upper part from the nose to the back of the head. The ridge is partially preserved. The front of the helmet is divided by the ridge into two registries, perforated and ending with a border. The helmet is smooth except for the upper part of the right half that is decorated with two relief lines forming an X and creating four registries with relief orifices. The depiction gives the appearance of a breach in the helmet, held together with two straps. The head is damaged at the lower part making it impossible to say if the helmet was wide brimmed. The *secutor* usually wore a smooth helmet, wide brimmed, stopping on the shoulders, with a sharp crest. Some of the helmets only had two orifices for visibility and breathing, of about 3.5 cm in diameter.⁴⁶ The advantage was a higher level of protection, while the disadvantages included limited visibility, insufficient air, as well as very poor hearing.⁴⁷ Different from the usual features, the item in the Severeanu collection has a helmet with numerous perforations, similar to the one worn by the *thraex* and the *murmillio*, which would allow for better visibility and airing, thus offering further advantages to the fighter. Similar helmets are depicted on a statue discovered in Lyubimets, Haskovo district, Bulgaria, from the 2nd – middle of the 3rd centuries AD⁴⁸, a *balsamarium* shaped as a gladiator helmet from Odessos, from the 3rd century AD⁴⁹, the funerary stele of a *secutor* gladiator in Izmir and another⁵⁰, the depiction of a *secutor* fighting a *retiarius* also from Izmir⁵¹, depictions of *secutores* from Kibyra⁵² and Ephesus.⁵³ It becomes clear that the Severeanu artefact is similar to the oriental representations of *secutores* which feature a different type of helmet for these gladiators, that could might as well have represented an adaptation or an improvement of the equipment in order to diminish the obvious disadvantages of the helmets with only two perforations. These adapted helmet is also

⁴³ Mori 2004, p. 27–28.

⁴⁴ Uzunaslán 2010, p. 152. The gladiator is identified as a *hoplomoachus*, but the size and shape of his shield are better suited for a *murmillio*.

⁴⁵ Carter 1999, p. 88; Teyssier, Lopez 2005, p. 62; Kazek 2012, p. 144; Janković 2014, p. 51.

⁴⁶ Carter 1999, p. 89; Wisdom, McBride 2003, p. 41; Streinu 2015, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Futrell 2006, p. 98–99; Nossov 2009, p. 67, Streinu 2015, p. 79.

⁴⁸ Vagalinski 2009, p. 206, nr. 128.

⁴⁹ Vagalinski 2009, p. 208, nr. 136

⁵⁰ Uzunaslán 2010, p. 102 and another featured at p. 136.

⁵¹ Uzunaslán 2010, p. 196.

⁵² Uzunaslán 2010, p.104–105, 168.

⁵³ Büyükkolancı 2002, p. 87–88.

called of the Tralles type, after a discovery made in this city of Asia Minor⁵⁴. Junkelmann identified another variant of the *secutor* helmet on a terracotta figurine from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, with a grille instead of circular orifices and called it *eiförmigen Helms*, and dated it to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.⁵⁵ The latter shows an obvious resemblance to the head in the Severeanu collection, but the latter cannot be integrated to the *eiförmigen Helms* type because of the constriction in the neck area and the wide brim, a standard feature of the *secutor*. The helmet from the din Fitzwilliam Museum shows no constriction and is flared at the end.

The closest analogy comes from Tatarevo, Bulgaria (Pl. IV.12). The find there is a statuary marble ensemble (measuring 1.5m) of a referee placed between two gladiators, wearing a tunic and holding a *rudis* in his left hand, while using his right hand to stop the attack of a *secutor* about to give the final blow to his adversary, a *retiarium*, fallen to the ground.⁵⁶ Behind them is a rectangular block that depicts a hydraulic pipe organ, *hydraulus*, and at each end an organ player, *hydraularii*.⁵⁷ As a brief mention, the fact that the *secutor* was about to kill his opponent would seem to confirm the story of Suetonius about the edict of Caligula. However, the fact that the referee is stopping him, tells a different story, which can be related to the high cost of organizing such events and of the gladiators themselves. During the second century, a gladiator received between 1000 and 15.000 sesterces for an event depending on the gladiator's class and the size of the event.⁵⁸

Gladiator spectacles are characteristic for the Roman world and were exported to all regions of the empire. The most lavish spectacles probably took place in Rome, but their popularity reveals itself by means of all the artefacts left behind. Lamps are probably the most numerous objects with gladiatorial iconography, followed by funerary steles and figurines. The lamps in the Severeanu collection come from three regions of the empire, Tomis in Moesia Inferior, Romula in Dacia and Constantinople in Asia Minor, and reflect the wide spread popularity of this bloody entertainment.

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⁵⁴ Junkelmann 2000, p. 68–69, Abb 96.

⁵⁵ Junkelmann 2000, p. 58–59, Abb 74.

⁵⁶ Bouley 2001, p. 228; Carter 1999, p. 112, footnote 172; Vagalinski 2009, p. 188; Streinu 2015, p. 107.

⁵⁷ Bouley 2001, p. 232; Vagalinski 2009, p. 188; Streinu 2015, p. 109.

⁵⁸ Carter 1999, p. 108; Carter 2004, p. 61; Nossov 2009, p. 131; Uzunaslán 2010, p. 129–130.

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List of illustrations / Lista ilustrațiilor

Plate I. Lamp from Romula: **1.** Photo and profile drawing; **2-3.** Specular enhancement using RTI.

Planșa I. Lampa de la Romula: **1.** Fotografie și desen de profil; **2-3.** Redare speculară folosind RTI.

Plate II. Lamp from Tomis - *secutor* and *retiarius*: **4.** Photo and profile drawing; **5.** Specular enhancement of the interior using RTI; **6-7.** Specular enhancement of the discus using RTI.

Planșa II. Lampa de la Tomis *secutor* și *retiarius*: **4.** Fotografie și desen de profil; **5.** Redare speculară a interiorului, folosind RTI; **6-7.** Redare speculară a discului, folosind RTI.

Plate III. Lamp from Constantinople: **8.** Photo and profile drawing; **9-10.** Specular enhancement using RTI.

Planșa III. Lampa de la Constantinopol: **8.** Fotografie și desen de profil; **9-10.** Redare speculară folosind RTI.

Plate IV. **11a-e.** Marble head of a *secutor* statue; **12.** Sarcophagus from Bulgaria (Vagalinski 2009).

Planșa IV. **11a-e.** Capul din marmură al unui *secutor*; **12.** Sarcofag din Bulgaria (Vagalinski 2009).



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3.

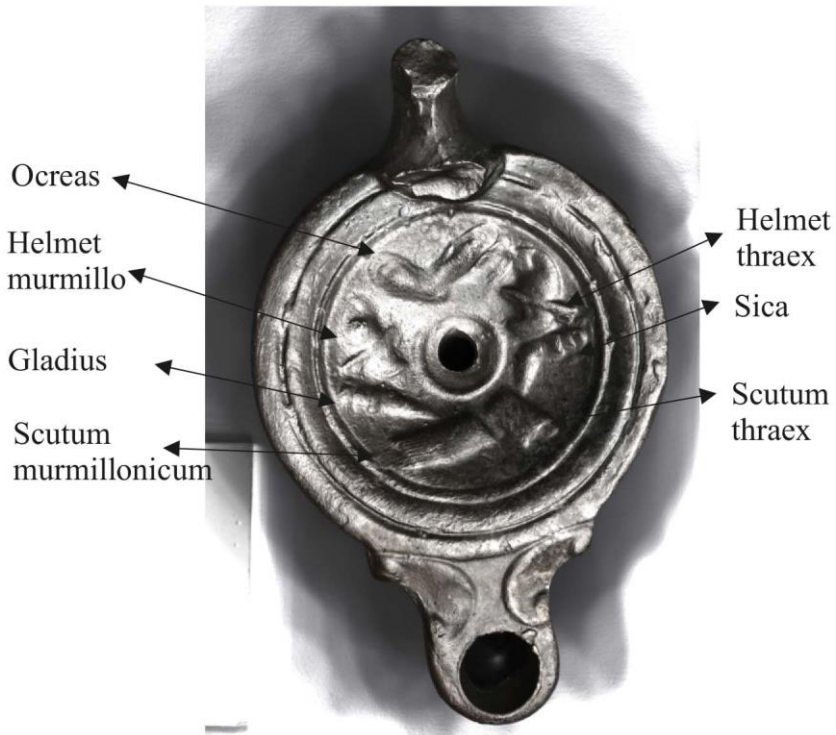
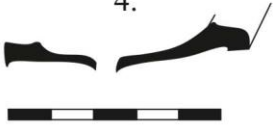


Plate I. Lamp from Romula: 1. Photo and profile drawing; 2-3. Specular enhancement using RTI.



4.



5.



6.

Galea

7.



Galerus

Fuscina

Scutum

Subligaculum

Plate II. Lamp from Tomis - *secutor* and *retiarium*: 4. Photo and profile drawing; 5. Specular enhancement of the interior using RTI; 6-7. Specular enhancement of the discus using RTI.



9.



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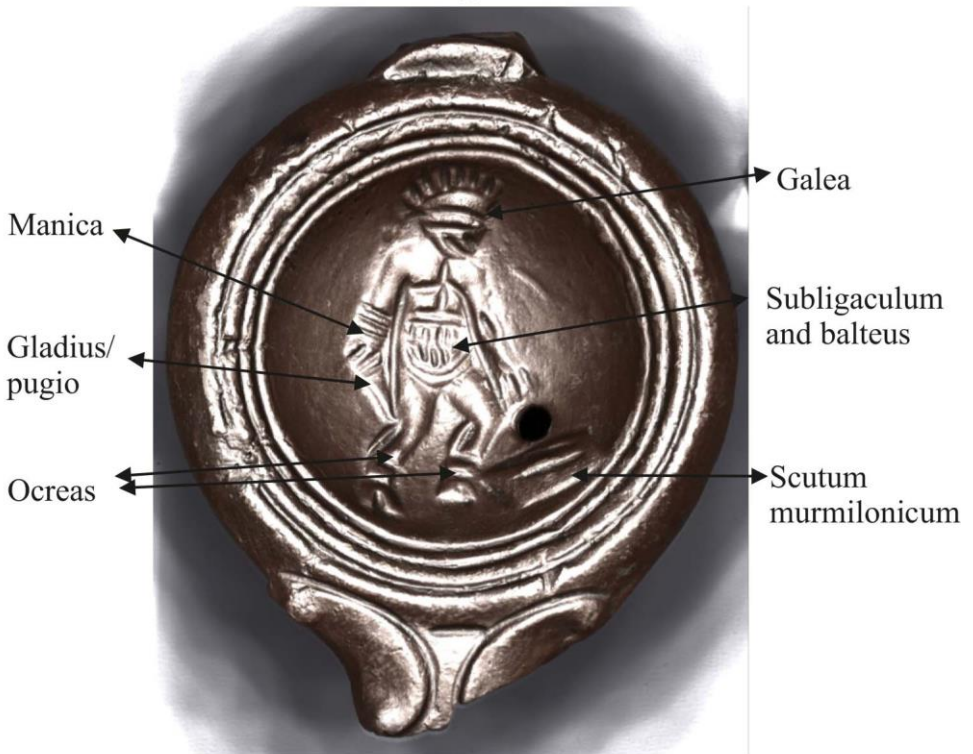


Plate III. Lamp from Constantinople: 8. Photo and profile drawing; 9-10. Specular enhancement using RTI.



Plate IV. 11a-e. Marble head of a *secutor* statue; 12. Sarcophagus from Bulgaria (Vagalinski 2009).