



*“Usually, when people talk about the "strength" of black women . . . they ignore the reality that to be strong in the face of oppression is not the same as overcoming oppression, that endurance is not to be confused with transformation.” – Bell Hooks**

African Women in the Gladiatorial Games of Rome

By Marjorie Charlot

My interest in finding African women who were gladiators, or who were forced to take part in arena games in history, began after watching the film *Gladiator*. This film starring the actor Russell Crowe showed a black woman driving a chariot around the Roman coliseum. I found this fascinating, as I had never heard of female gladiators, let alone of black women, fighting in the arena. Despite extensive inquiry into the subject, the names of these women regrettably are lost to history. However, I discovered that Ethiopian men and women, and in one case even children, were thrown into the arena to participate in this heinous form of entertainment.

Women took part in gladiatorial combat under diverse circumstances; they had to take a stand for their own or for others' freedom, or pay a price for their beliefs and, in doing so, showed remarkable bravery. Although some women would willingly take part in the gladiatorial games, it is clear that many women and men were forced to participate.

A Brief History

To say the games held in the arenas of ancient Roma were violent would be an understatement. The Romans' thirst for blood and violence knew no boundaries, for no one was

spared from this display of total human indifference, not even women and children. It can be said that some took part in these games willingly.

The word “gladiator” comes from the Latin word *gladius*, meaning sword.¹ Those who became gladiators would become known as *infamis*, a class of people who were not considered respectable. This word later made its way into every day English language as “infamous,” meaning to have a very bad reputation.² This sport was not Roman in origin but borrowed from Etruria (Etruscan civilization). In fact, an Etruscan tomb from the 6th century B.C. depicting gladiatorial games was found in Tarquinii. It shows slaves whose job it was to carry the dead bodies from the arena (from *harena*, meaning “sands,” which was used to soak up the blood)[†] wearing masks representing the Etruscan Charon. Even the name for those who trained gladiators, *lanista*, is an Etruscan word meaning butcher or executioner, according to Isidore of Seville.

These games began in Rome as part of funerals, and they were associated with funerals for so long that the original name for gladiators was *bustuarii*[‡] (from *bustum*, meaning tomb or funeral pyre). The first gladiator fight mentioned in Rome was in 264 B.C., the year the First Punic War began. This exhibition was held in the Forum Boarium, a cattle market near Tiberine Island, by the two brothers Marus and Decimus Brutus. It was done in honor of their father, the ex-consul Iunius Brutus Pera. Three pairs of slaves fought each other.³ This form of honor is called *munus*, or “duty” paid to a dead ancestor, and it was performed in order to keep the ancestor’s memory alive. *Muni* were most likely held after the burial had taken place, perhaps beginning on the ninth day after the funeral, since this marked the end of the period of

[†] Adkins, Lesley and Adkins, Roy A., 1994: *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, (New York, N.Y.: Facts on File Inc.), 347.

[‡] Author Alan Baker writes that three pairs were slaves and were called *bustuarii*. Page 10

mourning.⁴ These exhibitions were held at public funerals, but later these individuals fought at the funerals of most people of consequence and even at those of women. Private citizens would even leave money in their wills so they could have these exhibitions at their services.

Another exhibition that corresponds to a major event in the ancient African civilization of Carthage was held in 216 B.C. This was the first time in fifty years of silence that there was a mention of a gladiatorial fight. It was the year that Rome suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Carthaginians at Cannae. In this funeral ceremony, the three sons of ex-consul Aemilius Lepidus had forty-four gladiators (twenty-two pairs) perform in the Forum Romanum. In Rome's first event, three pairs of gladiators fought, but this changed once the popularity of these exhibitions grew. For example, in 200 B.C., fifty gladiators performed in the funeral games for Marcus Valerius Laevinus, and in 174 B.C. several games took place. The games that stood out were those put on by Titus Flamininus for his father, which lasted four days and in which 74 pairs of gladiators participated.⁵ During the later days of the republic, gladiators stopped being associated with munus, and the original significance was forgotten. It became a form of public amusement for Romans, like the theater and the circus.⁶

Women in the games

The games were a melting pot of cultures and races, for the individuals who participated were from various parts of the known world, including Africa. Blacks became gladiators and martyrs in these games. For example, in one of his poems to Emperor Domitian, Statius describes a gladiatorial show in A.D. 88, in which Moors[§], women, and pygmies participated.⁷ Another ancient writer who documented the presence of black African women and men in

[§] The Moors were black people.

gladiatorial games was Dio Cassius in his work *Roman History*, which describes a gladiatorial event in 66 A.D. that included Ethiopians. This game was sponsored by the Emperor Nero.

According to Dio Cassius,

Nero admired him [Tiridates] for this action and entertained him in many ways, especially by giving a gladiatorial exhibition at Puteoli. It was under the direction of Patrobius, one of his freedmen, who managed to make it a most brilliant and costly affair, as may be seen from the fact that on one of the days not a person but Ethiopians—men, women, and children—appeared in the theatre.⁸

Many would be surprised to hear that women not only took part in these games but did so willingly. In fact, for many, the first time they may have heard of female gladiators was in the movie *Gladiator*. The following accounts are from ancient classical and modern works that briefly mention the existence of female gladiators in history, or at least women who were forced to enter the arena.

According to Suetonius, an ancient Roman biographer and historian,

Domitian presented many extravagant entertainments in the Coliseum and the Circus. Beside he gave hunts of wild beast, gladiatorial shows at night by light of torches, and not only combats between men but between women as well.⁹

According to Dio Cassius, an ancient Roman historian and public servant,

Often he [Domitian] would conduct the games also at night, and sometimes he would pit dwarfs and women against each other.¹⁰

He also states,

Female *venatores* (hunters) also appeared in the animal fights given by Emperor Titus at the dedication of the coliseum in A.D. 80. “There was a battle between cranes and also between four elephants; animals both tame and wild were slain to the number of nine thousand; and women (not those of any prominence, however) took part in dispatching them.”¹¹

The following is another account by Dio Cassius:

There was another exhibition that was at once most disgraceful and most shocking, when men and women not only of the equestrian but even of the senatorial order appeared as performers in the orchestra, in the Circus, and in the hunting-theatre, like those who are held in lowest esteem. Some of them played

the flute and danced in pantomimes or acted in tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre; they drove horses, killed wild beasts and fought as gladiators, some willingly and some sore against their will.¹²

Martial (Marcus Valerius Martialis), an ancient Latin poet from Hispania writes:

In the time of Domitian, tells of a lion in one of the emperor's shows "killed by a feminine hand."¹³

Alan Baker in *The Gladiator: The Secret History of Rome's Warrior Slaves* explains:

Ascribed to Hadrian by the *Historia Augusta* forbade masters from executing their slaves and insisting that they had to be condemned by state judges, and also that "Male or female slaves might not be sold to pimps or to trainers of gladiators unless due cause had been proved," implicitly before a court of law.¹⁴

Who were the people who took part in these games?

Gladiators were slaves, captives, and condemned criminals (*damnati*). It seems that those who were condemned fell into two categories: *ad gladium*, individuals who had to be killed within a year, and *ad ludum*, those who could obtain a discharge after three years. Others who became gladiators were these who were freeborn and fought voluntarily.¹⁵ In *The ENCYCLOPÆDIA Britannica A Dictionary of Art, Science, Literature and General Information* it is written that, "Thus in the first class we read of tattooed Britons in their war chariots, Thracians with their peculiar bucklers and scimitars, Moors from the village round Atlas and negroes from central Africa, exhibited in the Colosseum."¹⁶

The women who took part in the arena games were slaves, foreigners, lower class women, and even at times women of the senatorial class. There is no known record that tells us when women fought for the first time; however, there is an organizer (*editor*) of gladiatorial games in Ostia who boasted that he "was the first of all since Rome was founded to make women fight," but the exact date of this statement is unknown to historians.¹⁷ According to Alan Baker, the presence of female gladiators increased steadily in the arena, particularly during the

reign of Nero in the first century A.D. ¹⁸ According to Fik Meijer in *The Gladiators: History's Most Deadly Sport*, until he banned them around A.D. 200, the African emperor Septimius Severus felt their presence was an insult to masculine military virtues. However, Alan Baker writes that the reason for this ban may have been the alarming number of women entering the arena.¹⁹ Author Thomas Wiedemann in *Emperors and Gladiators* writes, “The fact that Septimius Severus banned the appearance of women suggests that it was not just under ‘wicked’ emperors like Nero and Domitian that some women were willing to appear in the arena. Paradoxically, the very fact that women were not expected to share male virtues enabled a female gladiator to symbolize *virtus* as an abstract quality.”²⁰



Relief of two gladiatrices found at Halicarnassus.
Their names are Achilia and Amazon. British museum, London

Ludi (gladiatorial schools)

Gladiators trained in schools called *ludi*, which were either run by the state or privately owned.²¹ The trainers of these gladiators were called *lanistae*. Gladiators training under *lanistae* were often owned by them; in other words, they were treated as slaves. Not only were they considered property, but like slaves they would be rented out to individuals who wanted to put on a show with gladiators. These fighters were also owned by private citizens who would place them in these schools until they developed the skills required to be fighters; even if they had the skills, they would still be kept there until an exhibition could be arranged.²² *The ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA* states that “though the trade of a *lanista* was considered disgraceful, to own gladiators and let them out for hire was reckoned a legitimate branch of commerce.”²³

Besides being rented out for fights, gladiators were also used by politicians to control the courts and the outcomes of elections. They were bodyguards to emperors, and they were used as soldiers. Emperor Otho had two thousand gladiators in his army, and the emperor Marcus Aurelius also put gladiators to use, calling his army the Obedient.²⁴ Fighters in *ludi* would form a troupe (*familia*) and were trained by *doctores* and *magistri*, who themselves may have been former gladiators.²⁵ Gladiators who were in training would use wooden swords called *rudes*. Two *ludis* were Aemilius at Rome and Caesar’s *ludi* at Capua. The superintendents of the *ludi* belonged to the emperors and were entrusted to a person of high rank, called the curator or procurator. Exhibitions took place in funeral pyres, sometimes in the forum, but more frequently in the amphitheatre.²⁶

Gladiators were well taken care of. Their diet was especially made for them so they could build up the strength of their bodies. The nourishing food they were given was called

gladiatorial sagina.²⁷ It also seems that they were given the best medical attention, for one ancient physician these fighters had was Galenos Galen (129 - 199).²⁸ Gladiators were like modern day rock stars and were treated similarly. Those who were successful in their field would be presented with broad pieces, chains, and jeweled helmets such as may be seen in the museum at Naples. Poet Martial sang of their prowess, and their images could be found on vases and lamps.²⁹ They also had “groupies” from not only both sexes but from every class of society, as in the case of Eppia, the wife of a senator, who ran away with her a gladiator lover Sergiolus to Kemet (Egypt).³⁰ For her action she was called “Gladiatrix,” or female gladiator, which was meant as a serious insult, for gladiators were lower than slaves in Roman society.³¹ Despite the fanfare that gladiators received, their lives were hard, and for many of them suicide was the only way out. Irons were used not only as a form of discipline but also to help prevent suicides. After the volcanic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 78 AD in Pompeii, a *ludi* was discovered with sixty-three skeletons in cells, their escape made impossible by the irons that held them.³²

Women who were affiliated with a gladiatorial school were called *ludia*, gladiators in training. For example, Amy Zoll writes in *Gladiatrix: The True Story of History's Unknown Woman Warrior*, “From these depths of ignominy, *ludia* also came to refer to a woman in any way affiliated with a gladiatorial school, known as the *ludus*. Whether as groupie, paramour, or wife of gladiator or as combatant in her own right, the term seems to encompass a range of associations.”³³ These women may have enrolled in what we would describe as a social club, or a *collegia invenum*, or they would have been instructed privately. Both sexes could enroll in these social clubs. The women joined *collegia invenums* because the traditional gladiatorial schools would have been unfit for them; in other words, *collegia invenums* were better suited for the dregs of society. *Collegia invenums* were not places that thrill-seeking aristocrats would go,

according to Zoll.³⁴ It is also believed that some women may have taken lessons from their fathers who were free gladiators.³⁵

Their equipment and undergarments

Juvenal not only describes these women but gives us an account of their equipment and training. For example, from him we know that they covered themselves in *endromis*, a coarse, woolen cloak in which athletes wrapped themselves after exercising, just like modern-day athletes might wear their sweat suits after working out. We also know they used wrestling oils, helmets, shin-guards, arm-protectors, and plumes. While he gives us these descriptions, he also very clearly expresses disapproval of them and their decision to fight like men:

Why need I tell of the purple wraps and the wrestling-oils used by women? Who has not seen one of them smiting a stump, piercing it through and through with a foil, lunging at it with a shield, and going through all the proper motions?—a matron truly qualified to blow a trumpet at the Foralia! Unless, indeed, she is nursing some further ambition in her bosom, and is practicing for the real arena. What modesty can you expect in a woman who wears a helmet, abjures her own sex, and delights in feats of strength? Yet she would not choose to be a man, knowing the superior joys of womanhood. What a fine thing for a husband, at an auction of his wife's effects, to see her belt and armlets and plumes put up for sale, with a gaiter that covers half the left leg; or if she fight another sort [a gladiatorial contest] of battle, how charmed you will be to see your young wife disposing of her greaves! Yet these are the women who find the thinnest of thin robes too hot for them; whose delicate flesh is chafed by the finest of silk tissue. See how she pants as she goes through her prescribed exercises; how big and coarse are the bandages which enclose her haunches; and then laugh when she lays down her arms and shows herself to be a woman! Tell us, ye grand-daughters of Lepidus, or of the blind Metellus, or of Fabius Gurges, what gladiator's wife ever assumed accoutrements like these? When did the wife of Asylus [a gladiator] ever gasp against a stump?³⁶

It is not clear whether this disgust stems from their gender or the stigma of women as the lowest of the low. These women, like the male gladiators, also may have worn triangular loin cloths (the *subligaculum*) that were held in place by a stout broad leather belt that was laced or

hooked together through a series of punched holes in each end. It is believed that women fighters would cover their breasts with a wrap-around “bandage,” a *strophium*, or as it would be known later, the *fascia*, which was made of damp leather.³⁷

Types of gladiators

Two types of gladiators that mentioned women are the *Venatores* (*hunters*) and *Essedarii* (*chariot fighters*). However, there is no evidence that proves or disproves the theory that women were not part of the other types of gladiators listed. Therefore, a list of all types of gladiators is included, along with a brief description of each category. The following list was compiled using information from Suetonius and in William Smith’s *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*.

Andabtae – Gladiators in this category fought in helmets without any aperture for the eyes, meaning they were fighting literally blindfolded. This excited the mirth of the spectators. Some suggest that they may have fought on horseback, but this is disputed by Orelli.³⁸

Cateruarii – This was the name given to gladiators who fought several at a time instead of in pairs.³⁹

Dimacheri – Gladiators may have been called this due to the fact that they fought with two swords.⁴⁰

Equites – They fought on horseback.⁴¹

Essedarii – These gladiators fought from Gallic chariots⁴² and are often mentioned in inscriptions.⁴³ In the *Satyricon*, the ancient Roman author Petronius mentions a Roman circus that featured a female chariot fighter in the manner of the Britons. Salmonson writes that since only one female charioteer is mentioned, most likely her opponent was a man.⁴⁴

Fiscales – May have been owned by the empire and were trained and supported from the *fiscus*.⁴⁵

Laqueators – Used a noose to catch their adversaries.⁴⁶

Meridiani – Very slightly armed, these gladiators would fight in the middle of the day after combat with wild animals had taken place in the morning.⁴⁷

Murmillones – Fought with the *Thraeces* and with the *retiarii*. They received their name from a fish, *μορμύρος* or *μορμύλος*. They would wear the image of this fish as a device on their helmets. Not much is known of their armour.⁴⁸

Oplomachi (or Hoplomachi) – According to Lipsius, these gladiators were heavily armed. Oplomachi was a later name for the Samnites, derived from their large shield (*ὄπλον*).⁴⁹ According to William Smith, “the Samnites were so called, because they were armed in the same way as that people, and were distinguished by the oblong scutum.” He goes on to say that the name Hoplomachi was a replacement for Samnites after it was disused under the emperors.⁵⁰

Postulaticii – Were such as were demanded by the people from the editor, in addition to those who were exhibited.⁵¹

Provocatores – Were the opponents of the Samnites. Nothing about them is known except their name, but like the *Essedarii* they are also mentioned in inscriptions.⁵²

Retiarii – Net fighters were the opposite of the heavily armed Oplomachi, as they were lightly armed and even fought without headgear. They would have a net in which they tried to entangle their opponents and a trident and dagger which they used to kill.⁵³

Secutores – Were the usual opponents of the *Retiarii*. They would be armed with a sword and shield, one greave (a piece of armour that protects the leg), and a visored helmet.⁵⁴

Thraeces – Like the Oplomachi [whom they fought with], *Thraeces* were heavily armed gladiators. They were distinguished from the *Oplomachi* by the small Thracian buckler (*parma*) in place of the large shield. Other armour they wore included greaves on their legs, a visored helmet, and a sleeve on the right arm, and they carried a short curved or bent sword (*sica*). They would not only fight with the Oplomachi and *Murmillones*, but also with one another.⁵⁵

Venatores (hunters) – Were gladiators who fought animals in Rome’s arena. It is documented by Dio Cassius that there were women *venatores* who appeared in the animal fights held by Emperor Titus at the dedication of the Coliseum in A.D. 80.⁵⁶

The Festival of Floralia

An event in which one may have seen female gladiators was the Festival of Floralia. This was a festival of courtesans, which was held in honor of the goddess Flora and included not only women’s chariot races and other athletic events, but also gladiatorial fights. Those who took part in this festival were women from all walks of life in the Roman Empire and not just courtesans. Author Salmonson writes that “from Juvenal’s description, participation was by no means limited to courtesans, but involved wives, and matrons and daughters of upstanding citizens,

such being common enough that they owned their own equipment and trained in advance....”⁵⁷

Flora is the fertility goddess of flowers and spring. This festival was held from April 28 to May 3, the official date of which was chosen by Julius Caesar after he altered the Roman calendar.

The Festival of Floralia was originally held in 238 B.C. in honor of the goddess Flora. This was done to please her so she would protect the flowers. This festival eventually fell out of favor with the Romans and was stopped, but it was reinstated by the Senate in 173 B.C. It was revived due to concerns with weather conditions and other factors causing damage to the flowers. This festival returned as the *Ludi Florales*. It was also a day that was considered by Roman prostitutes as their own, for it was believed that Flora was a human prostitute who became a goddess. This belief may have started due to the licentiousness of the *Ludi Florales*, which prostitutes were part of.⁵⁸

Is there forensic evidence of a female gladiator?

In 1996, the remains of a cremated female body who may have been a female gladiator were found in London outside the walls of a cemetery dating to the first century CE (Common Era). They were discovered by construction workers at Great Dover Street in Southwark, near the south bank of the river Thames. Items found in her grave indicate that she was a very important person. For example, organic matter found showed her funeral feast was expensive, including elaborate items such as figs, dates, white almonds, and it contained the bones of a butchered chicken and possibly a dove. Flecks of gold were also found along with these, possibly from a garment, along with iron nails, and molten glass fragments.⁵⁹ All of this clearly shows this was not someone from the lower class. Sixteen other ceramic objects were also found.⁶⁰

They were eight bowl-shaped vessels (*tazze*) and the aroma-producing pinecones that were burned in them. According to author, Steven Murray: in his article

Female Gladiators of the Ancient Roman World “These cones belonged to the stone pine, a conifer native to Italy. The only place in Roman London known to have stone pines was the local amphitheater, where they were burned to mask the smell.”⁶¹

There were also eight oil-burning lamps, three of which had the image of the jackal-headed Kemetic (Egyptian) god Ambis who was associated with the passage of the dead to the underworld. A fourth lamp depicted the image of a gladiator.⁶²

The body was cremated by burning it over a pyre, which collapsed into a pit—a very unusual form of cremation.⁶³ The fact that this body was found outside the cemetery indicates that this woman was considered to be an outsider: in other words, “respected, yet not respectable.” According to Jenny Hall, the curator of early London history at the Museum of London, it is “70 percent probable” that this is a female gladiator. Needless to say, there are many who disagree with these conclusions. Kathleen Coleman, a renowned Harvard Latin professor and expert on Roman gladiatorial games, stated that the lamps found were common “household items” that were popular at the time, and the image of the gladiator may suggest that this person or a family member was a fan of the gladiators. Another reason why she doubts that this was a female gladiator is due to her elaborate burial. Coleman concludes, “We know that Roman charioteers could often amass enormous fortunes, but we don’t have any hard evidence for a specific patrimony associated with a gladiator.”⁶⁴

Another critic is historian Martin Henig, who believes that the evidence in the grave shows the religion of the woman. The oil lamps show that she was a “devotee of Isis” and that she may have been a member of a well-known Kemetic cult.⁶⁵ In *The Independent*, Lindsay Allason-Jones, director of archaeological museums at the University of Newcastle, writes, “I suspect this lady was an ordinary member of a merchant family from North Africa.” Despite all

that has been said by those in academia, experts at the Museum of London are standing by the find.⁶⁶

This section proves that there were African (black) women and men who were part of these games, whether they did so willingly or not. It also shows that many Africans may have become martyrs in these games. This is most likely the case of the Ethiopian men, women, and children who were used by Nero. Two African women who not only became martyrs but also became saints were Sts. Perpetua and Felicity (*See: Extraordinary Women in History*).

Notes

¹ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA A Dictionary of Art, Science, Literature and General Information* 11th Edition Volume XII, 1910: “Gladiator,” (Cambridge, England), 63.

² Frew, Katherine, 2005: *Gladiators: Battling in the Arena*, (Canada: Children's Press), 24.

³ Smith, William, 1878: “Gladiators,” *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street), 574.

– Meijer, Fik, 2005: *The Gladiators: History's Most Deadly Sport*, (New York: Thomas Dunne Books), 25.

– Baker, Alan, 2000: *The Gladiator: The Secret History of Rome's Warrior Slaves*, (Cambridge: Da Capo Press), 10.

– *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 63.

⁴ Meijer, 25 – 26

– Baker, 10.

⁵ Meijer, 26.

⁶ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 63.

⁷ Salmonson, 100.

⁸ Dio Cassius 1954: *Dio's Roman History* with English Translation by Earnest Cary, Ph.D., (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press), 141.

– Murray, Steven: Female Gladiators of the Ancient Roman World, EJMAS 2003.
http://ejmas.com/jcs/jcsart_murray_0703.htm (Accessed on February 1, 2006).

– Wiedemann, Thomas, 1992: *Emperors and Gladiators*, (London, UK: Routledge), 112.

– Meijer, 76.

⁹ Suetonius 1951: *Suetonius* with an English Translation by J.C. Rolfe, Ph.D. Volume II, (London, William Heinemann LTD), 345 – 347.

¹⁰ Dio Cassius, 335.

– Murray.

– Meijer, 76,

– Wiedemann, 112.

¹¹ Dio Cassius, 311

– Salmonson, 101.

¹² Dio Cassius, 75.

¹³ Salmonson, 100.

¹⁴ Baker, 130

– Wiedemann, 106.

¹⁵ Smith, 574.

¹⁶ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 64.

¹⁷ Meijer, 76

– Wiedemann, 10.

¹⁸ Baker, 28.

¹⁹ Meijer, 79

– Baker, 28.

²⁰ Wiedmann, 112.

²¹ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 64.

²² Smith, 574.

²³ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, 64.

²⁴ Frew, 13.

²⁵ Murray.

²⁶ Smith, 574.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Adkins, Lesley, 1994: *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*, (New York, NY: Facts on File), 221.

²⁹ *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 64.

³⁰ Juvenal and Persius, 1950: *Juvenal and Persius with English Translation by G.G. Ramsay, LL.D., Litt.D.*, (London, William Heinemann, LTD), 89 – 91.

³¹ Baker, 25.

³² *THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, “Gladiator,” 64.

³³ Zoll, Amy, 2002: *Gladiatrix: The True Story of History’s Unknown Women Warrior.*, (New York, N.Y. Berkley Boulevard Books), 30.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

³⁵ Murray.

³⁶ Juvenal and Persius, 103 – 105.

³⁷ Wisdom, Stephen, 2001: *Gladiators: 100 BC-AD 200*, (Great Britain: Osprey), 23 – 24.

³⁸ Smith, 575.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 575.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 575.

⁴¹ Ibid., 575.

⁴² Suetonius, 529.

⁴³ Smith, 575.

⁴⁴ Salmonson, 100.

⁴⁵ Smith, 575.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 575.

⁴⁷ Ibid., 575.

⁴⁸ Suetonius, 529.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 529.

⁵⁰ Smith, 576.

⁵¹ Ibid, 575.

⁵² Ibid., 575.

⁵³ Suetonius, 529.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 529.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 529.

⁵⁶ Salmonson, 100 – 101.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 101 – 102.

⁵⁸ Gill, N.S.: Floralia - Ludi Florales Roman Festival Known as the Ludi Florales in honor of the Roman goddess Flora. *About.com* <http://ancienthistory.about.com/cs/rome/a/ludiflorales.htm> (Accessed February 25, 2006)

⁵⁹ Murray.

⁶⁰ Keys, David: “Roman Burial Site Suggests that Female Gladiators Fought in Britain” *The Independent* (London), September 13, 2000.

⁶¹ Murray.

⁶² Keys

– Murray.

⁶³ Keys.

⁶⁴ Murray.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Keys.

Quote is from <http://thinkexist.com/quotation/usually-when-people-talk-about-the-strength-of/364917.html>
(Accessed August 20, 2007)