

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE LURE OF THE ARENA

Why did the Romans turn out in their tens of thousands to watch brutal gladiatorial games? Previous studies have tried to explain the attraction of the arena by theorizing its cultural function in Roman society. The games have been seen as celebrations of the violence of empire or of Rome's martial heritage, or as manifestations of the emperor's power. The desire to watch has therefore been limited to the Roman context and rendered alien to modern sensibilities. Yet the historical record reveals that people living in quite different times and circumstances (including our own) have regularly come out in large numbers to watch public rituals of violence such as executions, floggings, animal-baiting, cudgeling, pugilism, and so on. Appreciating the social-psychological dynamics at work in attracting people to watch such events not only deepens our understanding of the spectator at the Roman games but also suggests something important about ourselves.

GARRETT G. FAGAN is Associate Professor of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies and History at Pennsylvania State University where he teaches courses in Roman and Greek history, Latin, and ancient warfare. He is the author, co-author, or editor of four books including *Bathing in Public in the Roman World* (1999), *Archaeological Fantasies* (2006), and *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare* (2010), as well as numerous scholarly articles.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

THE LURE OF THE ARENA

Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

BY

GARRETT G. FAGAN



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Tokyo, Mexico CityCambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.orgInformation on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521185967

© Garrett G. Fagan 2011

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2011

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library**Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data*

Fagan, Garrett G., 1963–

The lure of the arena : social psychology and the crowd at the Roman games / Garrett G. Fagan.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-19616-1

1. Executions and executioners – History. 2. Gladiators – History. 3. Violence – History.

4. Social psychology – History. I. Title.

HV8551.F34 2011

937 – dc22 2010042929

ISBN 978-0-521-19616-1 hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-18596-7 paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

To George and Emmet, gladiators in the making

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Contents*

<i>List of figures</i>	<i>page</i>	ix
<i>Preface</i>		x
Introduction: Alypius in the stands		1
The strengths and limitations of social psychology		8
1 Seeking explanations		13
The story so far		17
Some contextual factors		22
The applicability of social psychology		39
2 A catalog of cruelty		49
Punishment		49
Medieval public executions and the “good death”		70
Combat sports and bloodsports		74
3 Groups, crowds, and seats		80
Group processes and the crowd		81
The Pompeii riot		93
Amphitheaters and spectator demographics		96
4 Crowd dynamics at arena spectacles		121
Spectator expectations, behaviors, and vocalizations		123
Social identity content		140
Theater and amphitheater		147
5 Arenas of prejudice		155
The phenomenon of prejudice		159
The Roman macrocontext		166
The arena and prejudice		174
6 Gladiators and sports spectatorship		189
Sports and spectators		196

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

viii

Contents

Excitement: the emotional factor	202
Gladiatorial shows as sports spectaculars	209
Arena sport	227
7 The attractions of violent spectacle	230
The attraction(s) of violent spectacle	232
Affective dispositions	241
Affective dispositions at the arena	245
Conclusion: the lure of the arena	274
<i>Appendix: select literary and epigraphic testimonia for arena crowd behavior and related issues</i>	287
<i>Bibliography</i>	325
<i>Index</i>	358

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Figures*

1	Woodcut of the execution of Franz Seuboldt in 1589. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.	<i>page 56</i>
2	Execution of the poacher Matthias Klostermaier in 1771. Mittelalterliches Kriminalmuseum, Rothenburg ob der Tauber.	58
3	<i>Cavea</i> of the amphitheater at Pompeii. Photo: G. Fagan.	99
4	Podium and <i>cunei</i> at Pompeii's amphitheater. Photo: G. Fagan.	100
5	Dedicatory inscription of the amphitheater at Pompeii. Photo: G. Fagan.	102
6	Inscriptions on the podium wall of Pompeii's amphitheater. Photo: G. Fagan.	108
7	Detail of inscriptions on the podium wall of Pompeii's amphitheater. Photo: G. Fagan.	108
8	Mosaic of arena spectators from Cologne. Photo: G. Fagan, with permission, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Köln.	118
9	The Magerius mosaic, Smirat. Art Resource, NY.	129
10	Podium wall of amphitheater at Lecce in Apulia, topped with reliefs of animal hunts. Photo: G. Fagan.	141

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

Large trees start as small seeds. Such is the case in this instance. The central contention of this book – that psychological matters played a key role in luring spectators to Roman arena spectacles – was presented as a twenty minute paper at the AIA/APA Joint Annual Meeting in 2001. I had intended to write it up as an article but when I found that the article had become irredeemably long, I decided it was necessary to extend the treatment to book length. Here is that book, born of the simplest question “Why did they go and watch?”

My first debt of gratitude goes to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation for its generous support during a Research Fellowship at the Institut für Altertumskunde in the University of Cologne in 2003–4. The bulk of the manuscript was produced during a wonderful year there. Prof. Werner Eck was a model sponsor in Cologne – warmly welcoming and always ready to help. He also offered many useful comments about my project as it progressed. Conversations with other colleagues in Cologne and elsewhere were also very useful: Peter Eich, Rudolf Haensch, and Luke Lavan all contributed ideas and comments. As the book was nearing completion, further financial support was provided by the Institute for the Arts and Humanities at Penn State. I thank the director and my colleagues there for their help and support.

Other colleagues have read parts or all of the manuscript: David Potter, Paul Friedland, Phil Baldi, Christopher Francese, C. W. Marshall, and two anonymous readers for Cambridge University Press. I thank all of them for their input. Erin O’Brien kindly reviewed my notes and caught errors and inconsistencies there. Andrea Gatzke helped in checking the proofs.

Given my social-psychological approach, and the fact that I am untrained in that discipline, it was essential for me not to risk diletantism and have the appropriate parts of the work vetted by professionals. Several very kindly answered my requests for assistance: Steve Reicher (on crowds), John Duckitt (on prejudice), and Dolf Zillmann (on the attraction of

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-18596-7 - The Lure of the Arena: Social Psychology and the Crowd at the Roman Games

Garrett G. Fagan

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Preface*

xi

violence as entertainment). I thank them all for putting me straight on various social-psychological matters and advising me in other ways.

The book has been some ten years in the making, and I have presented various parts of it at professional meetings and as invited lectures at different times and places. Audience input has been uniformly useful and thoughtful on those occasions, and while I cannot remember everyone who commented or critiqued, I thank them all here for their feedback. In the end, of course, I take full responsibility for what is presented here and none of the above ought to be tarnished by the stains of errors and infelicities that remain.

Throughout the book, abbreviations for ancient sources follow those laid out in the *OCD*³, while abbreviations for modern journals follow the format of the *AJA*, available at the journal's website (www.ajaonline.org/index.php). Where an *AJA* format was not available, the abbreviations are those used in *L'Année Philologique*.