

Marius and Sulla: War in Italy and Abroad, Slave Revolts

Preface

No sooner had the Jugurthine war ended with Marius' triumph than a more serious threat to Rome arose to the north from the Cimbri and the Teutons who wanted territory in Italy in exchange for peace. To the Romans this was impossible and successive consuls found themselves trying to hold off invading Germanic hordes by the hundreds of thousands. Marius was elected to the consulship annually (his 2nd-5th) from 104-101 to deal with the crisis and was awarded a 6th in honor of his successes, which were horrible in slaughter if glorious in victory.

One of Marius' best weapons was his reform of the army. Marius revised their equipment and training, including gladiatorial style hand-to-hand combat with the sword, and a new "break-away" head on the javelin (pilum) so that the enemy could not throw them back. He regularized encampment procedures and mandated that each man carry his own tools for digging trenches. He reorganized the infantry into the standard Roman legion of 10 cohorts of 600. The cohort was divided into 6 centuries, each with a silver eagle as a standard.

From 104-103, the Germans halted their advance in the meandering nomadic way, so that Marius had time to prepare the army with such reforms. The Germanic invasion was not sudden. They had defeated a Roman army in Slovenia in 113 and continued moving west, crossing into S. Gaul in 110. There they annually defeated Roman armies for refusing to give them land, until the battle of Arausio (Orange) in 105 when 2 consular armies and 80,000 Roman soldiers were massacred. In 102, the Teutons crossed into S. Gaul (France) and Marius, picking his battlefield carefully, vanquished them at Aquae Sextiae (Aix en Provence) in one of the great slaughters of Roman military history. The Cimbri crossed the alps into N. Italy where co-consul Q. Lutatius Catulus met them and was forced to retreat from Transpadane Gaul (Italy north of the Po). In 101, Marius and a fresh army reinforced him and crushed the Cimbri in equally decisive fashion at Vercellae. Sulla chased them back to Switzerland. The Romans viewed this victory in the same way as the legendary repulsion of the invasion of the Gauls in 390 BC.

During the last of these unprecedented continuous consulships in 100, Marius was in Rome. He did not use his

popularity for any great political good. Like U.S. Grant, only scandal followed him. Saturninus, a tribune who capitalized on Marius' need to settle veterans, headed a land commission like those of the Gracchi and offended the senate equally gravely, using Marian veterans to strong-arm the voting assemblies in the forum. He was running for his 3rd consecutive Tribunate in 100 for 99. Glaucia, his accomplice, attempted to run for the consulship for 99 while holding the praetorship and his followers killed his opponent, C. Memmius, in a riot. A *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed and Marius complied, besieging his former political allies in the Capitol and finally locking them up for safe-keeping in the Curia Hostilia (senate chambers, which had the same sacred status as a temple). But a mob tore the roof off and stoned them with the tiles. Marius fell from popularity and left for Asia in 98 (a rich province where exiled Romans might live comfortably) where he met Mithridates, about whom we shall read in due course.

Velleius Paterculus Historia Romana 2.12.2-6 on Marius's defeat of the Germanic invasions.

1. **effusa**... translate as part of the *cum* clause (in line 2)
2. **Cimbris et Teutonis**, dat. to agree with *quibus*. In Latin the predicate adj. is attracted to agree with the relative.
- cum**: governs the four subjunctive verbs: **fudissent**, **fugāssent** (= *fugavissent*), **exuissent**, and **trucidāssent**. The subject should be **vis** (1), but the verb is plural to represent **Cimbri et Teutoni** (slight grammatical breakdowns such as this (called *anacolutha*) were considered elegant among rhetoricians as a means of suggesting more colloquial speech); **fudo**: "rout".
4. **exuissent** > *exuo* "stripped them of"
5. **celeberrimi nominis** "very well known"
6. **trucidāssent** = *trucidavissent*
- idoneum**, predicate accusative after the verb **est ratus** "judged x as y"; **est ratus** > *reor*: "judged"
7. **repellendis** gerund; **tantis hostibus**: the object of **repellendis** attracted to the case of the gerund, as is common.
- magis... quam**: "more x than y"
9. **apparatu** "preparation for"
- quarto** (*consulatu*) 102 BCE
10. **trans Alpes** = transalpine Gaul, SE France
11. **CL milia** = 150,000
- priore ac postero die**: a (too) clever way of saying "over two days"
12. **quinto** (*consulatu*) 101 BCE
15. **decertavēre** = *decertaverunt*
16. **meruisse ne eius nati rem publicam paeniteret** "to have deserved that the state should be unashamed of his birth" i.e., on this day he behave as a nobilis
- Marius**: subject of **videtur**.
17. **repensāsse** = *repensavisse* > *repenso* (1) "pay for"
- mala bonis**, substantive "bad deeds w/ good"
18. **sextus** "6th"
19. **lacerantium... discutientium**: genitive plural participles agreeing with **Glaucia** and **Satuninus**.
21. **continuatis honoribus**: ablative absolute
22. **comitia**: neuter plural accusative, "voting assemblies"
23. **compescuit** "restrained"
- exitiabiles** "destructive" "fatal"
24. **multavit** "punish"

Effusa... immanis vis Germanarum gentium quibus nomen Cimbris ac Teutonis erat, cum Caepionem Manliumque consules¹ et ante Carbonem² Silanumque³ fudissent fugāssentque in Galliis et exuissent exercitu, Scaurumque Aurelium consularem et alios celeberrimi nominis viros trucidāssent, populus Romanus non alium repellendis tantis hostibus magis idoneum imperatorem quam Marium est ratus. Tum multiplicati consulatūs eius. Tertius⁴ in apparatu belli consumptus... Quarto trans Alpes circa Aquas Sextias cum Teutonis conflixit, amplius CL milia hostium priore ac postero die ab eo trucidati gensque excisa Teutonum. Quinto citrā Alpes in campis, quibus nomen erat Raudiis, ipse consul et proconsul Q. Lutatius Catulus fortunatissimo decertavēre proelio; caesa aut capta amplius C milia hominum. Hāc victoriā videtur meruisse Marius ne eius nati rem publicam paeniteret ac mala bonis repensāsse. sextus consulatus veluti praemium ei meritorum datus. Non tamen huius consulatūs fraudetur gloria, quo Servilii Glauciae Saturninique Apulei furorem continuatis honoribus⁵ rem publicam lacerantium et gladiis quoque et caede comitia discutientium, consul armis compescuit hominesque exitiabiles in Hostiliā curiā morte multavit.⁶

¹ 105 BC, at the battle of Arausio

² 113 BCE at the battle of Noreia (Ljubjana, Slovenia)

³ 109 BCE in a battle in the Rhone valley

⁴ Third Consulship, 103 BCE

⁵ Saturninus was elected tribune for the third time; Glaucia was praetor and desired the consulship.

⁶ Velleius puts the responsibility for their death on Marius, as if he were meeting out just punishment decreed by the senatus consultum ultimum. But other sources convey the impression that he was trying quietly to save them.

The Social War (91-89 BC)

The Romans drafted their armies from the "allied" cities of Italy while Roman senators and businessmen controlled most of the economies of these provincial cities through the letting of public lands and corporate deals (cf. Roman Civilization I 227-29). The people of Italy wanted greater autonomy through suffrage in Rome.

But the origins of the civil war that broke out were more complex and involved relations also between the Equites and the Senate and many of the issues that led to violence with the Gracchi and with Saturninus. It began with the abuse of the Gracchan extortion court, controlled by the Equites to "get" one of the nobles who had curbed their usurious ways in the collection of taxes from Asia. In 92, P. Rutilius Rufus (consul 105) was falsely prosecuted for extortion. He was forced to leave Rome and chose to go to Smyrna in Asia (the very province he was accused of extorting; it is from him in exile that Cicero fictively claims to have heard the De Republica, 1.13).

The man who stepped forward to solve these Gracchan issues was descended from a Gracchan arch enemy, but the son attempted to find middle ground by creating an alliance between leading senators, Equites, and provincials. He was the tribune M. Livius Drusus, a wealthy severe aristocrat. But even he could not bring about the needed changes. The Italians were anxious and the Senate feared rebellion. Drusus was too close to them (entertaining their leaders in his home) and this worried powerful senators. He proposed and passed comprehensive legislation: land commissions, colonial settlements and grain distributions for the urban plebs; revision of the juries so that senators and equestrians would share them; and planned legislation to give the vote to the cities of Italy. The Senate nullified the parts that had been passed on technical grounds and he was soon assassinated (in the house on the Palatine that Cicero would later buy). The changes were too many too fast and created fear and some enemies in every constituency.

War broke out after a Roman official was assassinated at Asculum. The Latin allies, immediately south of Rome who enjoyed the best treaties remained loyal except Venusia. But the rest of Italy took to arms, especially the mountain people: the Marsi in the North and the Samnites in the south; others included the Picentes, Paeligni, Marrucini, Vestini, Frentani and Hirpini, with the greatest support in Lucania and Apulia (S. and E. Italy) and headquarters in Corfinium (just across the Apennines from Rome in E. central Italy). They established a revolutionary government with consuls and a senate, minted coinage featuring Italia as a personification for the first time, and also with their symbol of the bull goring the Roman

wolf. They prepared an army of 100,000. On the panicked Roman side, they mustered 150,000.

Fighting began in 90 in central Italy, the Romans were commanded by the consul P. Rutilius Lupus supported by Gn. Pompeius Strabo (father of Pompeius Magnus) and Marius (back from obscurity). The allies tried to fight west from Corfinium. Rutilius was killed and Marius was left in command of one army and defeated the Marsi. The allies fared better in the south, defeating the consul L. Caesar (uncle of Julius Caesar) twice and spreading the revolt into Campania (around Naples and M. Vesuvius) until Caesar won a battle at Acerrae. In 89, the consuls were Strabo and L. Porcius Cato. Sulla took command in Campania and, after Cato was killed near the Fucine lake, Strabo took over and besieged Asculum, the fall of which began the end of operations in the north. In the south, Sulla defeated the Samnites on their way to Pompeii and advanced on their mountain strongholds. The war dragged on in isolated pockets for a year or two, but in 90 Caesar brought a law granting citizenship to all allies who had not revolted, and in 89 a law named for two tribunes, the lex Plautia-Papiria, allowed those who had not yet claimed citizenship two months to do so; lastly Strabo carried a law granting citizenship to those in Cisalpine Gaul (Italy N. of the Po river). With this the war ended quickly.

What the allies really gained through citizenship is less clear, since the more distant citizens would rarely if ever come to Rome to vote. Over time, the result was a unified Italy.

Velleius Paterculus Historia Romana 2.15.1-3, 16.4-17.1 on the Social War

quippe, explanatory conj. "for (you see)"
universa Italia, subj. of cepit, l.6, interrupted by cum...regiones
Asculanis, citizens of Asculum
malum, a subst. standing for bellum, l.1
exceptum, modifying **malum**: the war "was taken up"
ut "as"
penetrāsset = penetravisset
armis tuebantur, the allies served in the Roman army and
 "defended with their arms" a city whose rights they could not enjoy
fungi "furnished" inf. in implied ind. st. with se "they" as subj.,
 representing the content of their case (causa, l.7); so also recipi
 (l.11). Translate "(they complained that) they furnished..."
in id ipsum...fastigium per quod "to that very height (of power)
 from which"
eiusdem, translate: eiusdem gentis et sanguinis
fastidire "look down upon"
ut externos "as outsiders"
fundarentur > fundo, fundare "organized"
ad saga iretur (> sagum, "military cloak", opposite of toga, the dress
 of peace), an impersonal passive. Usually a euphemism for
 "resort to war", here it may have the more literal meaning of "(the
 Romans had to) put on military dress"
sui: that of the allies
legerant "selected"
paulatim "little by little" "by degrees"
maturius "just as quickly"
vires > vis "the strength (of the Romans)"
refectae > reficio "restored"
finito, participle modifying Italico bello l.26
exarmati "weakened"
quam "rather than", completing the comparison set up by
maluerunt. Translate: Romani (ipsi exarmati) maluerunt dare
 civitatem [Italicis] victis adfflictisque quam (ipsi integri) [dare
 civitatem] universis [Italicis]

Mors Drusi iam pridem tumescens bellum excitavit
 Italicum; quippe L. Caesare et P. Rutilio consulibus,¹
 universa Italia, cum id malum ab Asculanis ortum esset
 (quippe Servilium praetorem Fonteiumque legatum
 occiderant) ac deinde a Marsis exceptum in omnes
 penetrāsset regiones, arma aduersus Romanos cepit.
 Quorum ut fortuna atrox, ita causa fuit iustissima.
 Petebant enim eam civitatem cuius imperium armis
 tuebantur: per omnes annos atque omnia bella duplici
 numero se militum equitumque fungi neque in eius
 civitatis ius recipi, quae per eos in id ipsum pervenisset
 fastigium per quod homines eiusdem et gentis et
 sanguinis ut externos alienosque fastidire posset. Id
 bellum amplius CCC milia iuventutis Italicae abstulit...
 Tam varia atque atrox fortuna Italici belli fuit ut per
 biennium continuo duo Romani consules, Rutilius ac
 deinde Cato Porcius, ab hostibus occiderentur, exercitūs
 populi Romani multis in locis funderentur, utque ad
 saga iretur diuque in eo habitu maneretur. Caput imperii
 sui Corfinium legerant quod appellarent Italicam.
 Paulatim deinde recipiendo in civitatem qui arma aut
 non ceperant aut deposuerant maturius, vires refectae
 sunt, Pompeio Sullāque et Mario fluentem
 procumbentemque rem populi Romani restituentibus.
 Finito ex maximā parte, nisi quae Nolani belli
 manebant reliquiae, Italico bello, quo quidem
 Romani victis adfflictisque ipsi exarmati quam integri
 universis civitatem dare maluerunt

¹ 90 BC

Mithridates

The Social War was not even ended when a new threat emerged in the East. Mithridates, (who had actually been in contact with the Italian hold-outs at Nola), King of Pontus, the N. coast of Turkey on the Black Sea, had enlarged his kingdom to include nearly the whole Black Sea basin, including the grain rich Crimea, which allowed him to amass a war chest to pay for a large navy and army. His rule was in the melting pot world between the Greeks and the Persians (Parthians) and he thought of himself as a great Hellenistic ruler, a sort of Alexander. He was waiting until Rome was busy to make a grab for all of Asia minor, which he did in 88. The tricky part was what to do with the 80,000 Romans in the province of Asia. He decided it would be best to kill them. This he did by getting cities throughout the region to be his accomplices. Thus committed they had to join the revolt. Even Athens invited him to liberate greater Greece from the Romans. He promised freedom and cancellation of debts (a major issue for many cities which had had to borrow money to pay Roman tax collectors). Few cities saw Mithridates as a greater tyrant and threat to their freedom than Rome.

Sulla was made consul for 88 and was awarded the province of Asia, but before he could even leave, he found himself in a power struggle. It is crucial to understanding the events of these years to realize that the issues of the Gracchi and of the Social War were not really past. In part, both of those conflicts had been fomented by sort of "cold" civil war between the Optimates and the Populares. In this chapter of the struggle, the Optimates and the armies chose Sulla. The Populares in the Senate, the Equites, and the people opposed him. A friend of the late Drusus, a tribune named P. Sulpicius, was advancing the interests of the allies and the Equites against the Optimates. In particular he wanted to see to it that the new Italian voters were not all grouped together into one voting tribe (and thus rendered ineffectual) but distributed evenly over 35 tribes. When he needed further support, he turned to Marius and won it, grudgingly, in exchange for getting the people to transfer the Asia command to him, though he was now 70. Sulla and the Senate tried to nullify the action and a riot broke out in which the other consul's (Pompeius Rufus') son was murdered and Sulla had to take refuge—in Marius' house! Sulla then left Rome and went to the army mustering in Campania. Sulpicius rushed through all his legislation, but the army took Sulla's side and he promptly turned them on Rome and forced Marius and Sulpicius to flee. Their followers were declared hostes (enemies of the state); Sulpicius, despite the sacrosanctity of the Tribune's person, was hunted and killed. Marius

set sail but was forced back to land by rough seas. He put in at the mouth of the Liris river near Capua and was forced to hide in the swamps of Minturnae. He was found, jailed, sentenced and was about to be executed when the executioner recognized him, and, in an unbelievable adventure, he was able to escape to Carthage (Junonia, Province of Africa) where many of his veterans were settled.

After taking various measures to strengthen his position, Sulla left for the East. As soon as he left, one of the consuls for the new year, Cinna, promptly undid all of Sulla's measures, causing a riot that drove him from Rome. But he won over an army and Marius returned from Africa to recruit another army in Etruria. Together with Q. Sertorius and Gn. Carbo, Marius marched on the city and defeated senatorial armies under the other consul, Octavius, and Gn. Strabo. By the end of 87, Cinna and Marius controlled the city. Presumably out of anger at the fate he had been forced to endure, Marius let his troops loot and plunder; he arranged for the executions not only of Octavius, but of Q. Catulus (cos. 102) and M. Antonius, the leading orator of the day. But more than this, there was a general reign of terror for five days, a blood-fest of inconceivable horror. After entering upon his 7th consulship in 86, Marius died suddenly and Cinna ended the bloodshed. There followed three quiet years in Rome, spent in nervous anticipation of Sulla's return.

Velleius Paterculus, Historia Romana 2.21.6-22.1, 2.22.5-23.3 on the death of Marius

1. **haud incruentis... certaminibus** "hardly what one would call bloodless struggles"; editis > edo edidi "give forth, produce"
2. **de recipiendo Mario legem tulit** "brought a law restoring Marius (to citizenship)"
4. **civibus suis**, dat. governed by **pestifero** (w. **reditu**)
- illā victoriā**: ablative with the comparative **crudelius**.
5. **Sullana** <victoria>, the "Sullan" reign of terror 5 years later
- esset secuta**, the pluperfect deponent subjunctive in a past contrary to fact condition
6. **mediocres**, "unimportant people"; **saevitum** <erat>, impersonal passive > saevio
8. **generibus** > genus; **adfecti** <sunt>
10. **praecipitia** > praeceps, "in danger of complete collapse"
11. **donare**, to "donate" someone else's property is to "proscribe their goods as forfeit to the state"
12. **petere sustineret** "bring himself to ask for it (proscription)"
- id... accessit ut**: "it happened that"
13. **modus...modo** "measure"
15. **merces** "price" "cost" - the "cost" of each man's riches was danger to his very life
16. **quaestuosum** "lucrative"
18. **priorum <consulatum>**, gen. of the comparative adj. **cuius**, the antecedent is **consulatum**
19. **decessit** "departed (from life) = died"

Cinna et Marius haud incruentis utrimque certaminibus editis urbem occupaverunt, sed prior ingressus Cinna de recipiendo Mario legem tulit. Mox C. Marius pestifero civibus suis reditu intravit moenia. Nihil illā victoriā fuisset crudelius nisi mox Sullana esset secuta. neque licentiā gladiatorum in mediocres saevitum, sed excelsissimi quoque atque eminentissimi civitatis viri variis suppliciorum generibus adfecti... Omnia erant praecipitia in re publica, nec tamen adhuc quisquam inveniebatur qui bona civis Romani aut donare auderet aut petere sustineret. Postea id quoque accessit ut saevitiae causam avaritia praeberet et modus culpa ex pecuniae modo constitueretur et, qui fuisset locuples, fieret is nocens, sui quisque periculi merces foret, nec quidquam videretur turpe, quod esset quaestuosum. Secundum deinde consulatum Cinna et septimum Marius in priorum dedecus iniit, cuius initio morbo oppressus decessit, vir in bello hostibus, in otio civibus infestissimus quietisque impatientissimus.

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Velleius Paterculus, Historia Romana 2.28.2-4 on Sulla's dictatorship.

3. **usurpatio**: "use, employment"
 4. **proximus post annum quam Hannibal Italia excesserat**: "in the year after Hannibal had departed from Italy"
 5. **uti** = ut: here introduces an explanation or reason, "as, in as much as"
adpareat: "appears", introducing indirect statement
 6. **haud metu... tali quo**:
 7. **imperio**: the power of the magistrate
priores <dictatores>: subject of **usi erant**.
 11. **qua**: coordinated with **ea** (line 12): "the same"
petulantis convicii: "by the boisterous, insulting crowd"
ex albo: "from an old, noble man", i.e. an illustrious judge
 13. **constitueretur**: impersonal, "there was established"
auctoramentum: "bounty for" **iugulati civis Romani**
 15. **uberius**: comparative, "richer"; to recast the sentence:
praemium occisi hostis foret uberius quam <praemium> civis.
 16. **Nec tantum... saevitum**: "not only such savagery"
in: here, "against"
 17. **insontis** = insontes
Adiectum: impersonal
 18. **bona**: "property"; **proscriptorum**: genitive plural.
Venirent: here, "lose"
 19. **liberi**: "children", subject of **venirent** and **prohiberentur**
petendorum honorum iure: "by the law governing office-seeking"
 21. **fili**: subject of **sustinerent** and **perderent**

Videbantur finita belli civilis mala, cum Sullae crudelitate aucta sunt. Quippe dictator creatus¹ (cuius honoris usurpatio per annos centum et viginti intermissa; nam proximus post annum quam Hannibal Italia excesserat, uti adpareat populum Romanum usum dictatoris haud metu desiderasse tali quo timuisset potestatem) imperio, quo priores ad vindicandam maximis periculis rem publicam olim usi erant, eo in inmodicae crudelitatis licentiam usus est. Primus ille, et utinam ultimus, exemplum proscriptionis invenit, ut in qua civitate petulantis convicii iudicium histrioni ex albo redditur, in ea iugulati civis Romani publice constitueretur auctoramentum, plurimumque haberet, qui plurimos interemisset, neque occisi hostis quam civis uberius foret praemium geretque quisque merces mortis suae. Nec tantum in eos, qui contra arma tulerant, sed in multos insontis saevitum. Adiectum etiam, ut bona proscriptorum venirent exclusique paternis opibus liberi etiam petendorum honorum iure prohiberentur simulque, quod indignissimum est, senatorum filii et onera ordinis sustinerent et iura perderent.

¹ 82 BCE

The Slave Revolt of Spartacus the Gladiator

Spartacus had been born in Thrace and received training in a Roman army, probably as an auxiliary, before becoming a slave. He was sold, in 73 B.C., into the service of Lentulus Batiates, a man who taught at a *ludus* for gladiators in Capua, twenty miles from Mt. Vesuvius in Pompeii. That same year Spartacus and two Gallic gladiators led a riot at the school. Of about two hundred gladiator slaves, less than eighty escaped using kitchen tools as weapons. In the streets they found wagons of gladiatorial weapons and confiscated them. When soldiers tried to stop the band of escaped slaves, the band used their accustomed gladiatorial weapons, easily defeating the soldiers. Then they took the better, military weapons of the beaten soldiers, and set out on their way south to Mt. Vesuvius. Along their route, they picked up rural slaves.

Little realizing how well Spartacus had organized his band of slaves, the praetors made an inadequate attempt to end the revolt. Clodius besieged the Spartacans on a mountain, which had only one narrow path to the top. The rest of the mountain was steep and slippery. As it turned out, the slippery surface didn't matter to Spartacus. Ample vines on the mountaintop provided suitable material for ropes, which they used to climb down and surprise the Romans. Instead of the Romans putting an end to the slave revolt, the slaves took the Roman camp.

Then the slaves headed towards the Alps, picking up a total of 70,000 slaves along the way. Spartacus intended for his men to disband and head to their pre-slave homes after a quick march to the Alps. He had shown remarkable skill in creating a force capable of defeating Roman legions, but he didn't have what he needed to be a great leader of his men. Many of his men preferred to pillage the countryside. Now the Senate in Rome had to take the slave revolt seriously.

Crassus was elected praetor and headed to Picenum to put an end to the slave revolt with ten legions, six new and four old. Crassus correctly assumed the slaves would head north to the Alps and so positioned most of his men to block this escape. Meanwhile, he sent his lieutenant Mummius and two new legions south to pressure the slaves to move north. Mummius had been explicitly instructed not to fight a pitched battle. He, however, had ideas of his own, and when he engaged the slaves in battle, suffered defeat.

Spartacus routed Mummius and his legions. They lost not only men and their arms, but when they returned to their commander, the survivors suffered the ultimate Roman military punishment -- decimation, by order of Crassus. All the men who had been involved in the disgraceful operation were divided into groups of ten and then drew lots. The unlucky one in ten was then killed.

Meanwhile, Spartacus turned around and headed towards Sicily, planning to escape on pirate ships, which he had hired, not knowing that the pirates had already sailed away. At the Isthmus of Bruttium, Crassus built a wall to block Spartacus' escape. When the slaves tried to break through, the Romans fought back killing about 12,000 of the slaves while losing only seven of their own.

Slaves vs. 3 Roman Armies

When Spartacus learned that Crassus's troops were to be reinforced by another Roman army brought back from Spain, he decided it was time to make a break for it. He and his slaves fled north with Crassus at their heels. His escape route was blocked at Brundisium by a third Roman force recalled from Macedonia. There was nothing left for Spartacus to do but to try to beat Crassus's army in battle. The Spartacans were quickly surrounded and butchered, although many men escaped into the mountains. Only a thousand Romans died.

Six thousand of the fleeing slaves were captured by Pompey's troops and crucified along the Appian Way from Capua to Rome. Spartacus' body was not found. Because Pompey performed the mopping up operations, he, not Crassus, got credit for suppressing the rebellion. Jealousy and competition between these two rich and powerful men were to lead to changes in the power structure of Rome.

Velleius Paterculus, Historia Romana 2.30.5-6 on Spartacus's uprising.

3. **duce Spartaco** and **raptis... gladiis**: ablative absolutes

5. **in dies**: "day by day"

6. **adfecere** = adfecerunt

7. **dimica** > dimico

nonaginta milia: 90,000

8. **opposuerint**: subjunctive in result clause

9. **patrati** > patro "to accomplish, perform, achieve"

penes preposition + acc. "in the possession of, with"

Dum Sertorianum bellum¹ in Hispania geritur, quattuor et sexaginta fugitivi e ludo gladiatorio Capua profugientes duce Spartaco, raptis ex ea urbe gladiis, primo Vesuvium montem petiere, mox crescente in dies multitudine gravibus variisque casibus adfecere Italiam. Quorum numerus in tantum adulevit, ut qua, ultima dimica vere acie, nonaginta milia hominum se Romano exercitui opposuerint. Huius patrati gloria penes M. Crassum fuit, mox rei publicae omnium consensu principem.

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¹ Sertorius was an ally of Cinna and Marius who continued to fight against the Sullan forces in Spain until a subordinate betrayed him in 72 BCE. One of the most effective guerilla leaders in antiquity, Sertorius made alliances of convenience with Spartacus, pirates, and eastern kings. He cultivated a belief among native Spaniards that he was a demigod and was attended by a white faun who he claimed communicated to him the advice of the goddess Diana.