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SALLUST

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**SALLUST**  
**FRAGMENTS OF THE**  
**HISTORIES**  
**LETTERS TO CAESAR**

**EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY**  
**JOHN T. RAMSEY**



**HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS**  
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**For Sarah**  
**my loving wife**



## PREFACE

No lengthy justification need be offered for including Sallust's *Historiae* in the Loeb Classical Library. Although fragmentary, the *Historiae* is arguably *the* most important source for Roman history in the post-Sullan age for the years 78–67 BC, at the terminus of which the speeches and letters of Cicero begin to shine a bright light on events in the last decades of the Republic. For the decade of the 70s, however, our sources are woefully sparse, and therefore the remains of Sallust's great history are all the more welcome for the contribution they make to our knowledge. John Rolfe, whose Loeb volume of Sallust appeared in 1921, remarked in the preface to the first impression (p. viii) that "a complete translation of Sallust was submitted, including all the fragments on the basis of Maurenbrecher's edition of the *Historiae*," but the general editors decided to include in the Loeb only the orations and letters excerpted from the *Historiae*. Nearly a century later, the Loeb has now been expanded to include all surviving fragments of the *Historiae*, not simply according to Maurenbrecher's 1893 edition, but edited afresh, incorporating many advances in scholarship as well as fragments not known to Maurenbrecher. Text and translation of the orations and letters, together with the two pseudo-Sallustian *Letters to Caesar*, are based on Rolfe's earlier Loeb, thor-

oroughly revised and now equipped with notes. All else, the bulk of this volume, is entirely new, and the translations are my own. The two *Invectives*, previously included in the Loeb volume of Sallust, may now be consulted in Shackleton Bailey's edition of Cicero's *Letters to Quintus and Brutus* (LCL 462).

I have consulted with profit two translations, one in Italian, by Paolo Frassinetti (1963), and one in English, by Patrick McGushin (1992–1994). In the later 1991 edition of Frassinetti (with Lucia di Salvo), the translation underwent minor revisions, especially in the accompanying notes, and the Latin text of Maurenbrecher, with minor divergences, was added on facing pages. Maurenbrecher's numbering of the fragments was adhered to in both the 1963 and 1991 editions, with notations of possible improvements to the scheme offered here and there.

McGushin's translation, by contrast, does not print the Latin text, which is a decided drawback, but it is less dependent on Maurenbrecher. McGushin's ordering of the fragments is significantly different from Maurenbrecher's, and his translation takes into account notable improvements to the Latin text, although textual matters are not so easily presented in the context of only an English translation. McGushin translates several fragments whose texts have been somewhat or, in one instance, significantly amplified since Maurenbrecher's day, thanks to the discovery of tattered remains on papyrus or on parchment (e.g., in this edition, fr. 1.97, 98; 2.8, and fr. inc. 2). In addition, McGushin translates thirty-one fragments of doubtful authenticity found in Perotti's *Cornucopiae* and not known to Maurenbrecher (fr. dub. 25–55 in this edition), and two others omitted by Maurenbrecher (fr. inc. 38 and

fr. dub. 16 in this edition). Lastly, of particular usefulness is McGushin's commentary, which synthesizes and makes readily accessible a rich body of scholarship. For the convenience of readers who want to consult that commentary, each fragment in this Loeb edition is accompanied by a notation of the equivalent number in McGushin (Mc).

A third recent edition of tremendous value is that of Rodolfo Funari (1996), which offers in two volumes Latin text and commentary in Italian. Funari confines himself to the fragments transmitted by quoting sources, excluding the considerable body of material preserved in codex or on papyrus, the latter of which he treated in a separate 2008 publication. His 1996 edition strictly adheres to the numbering and ordering of the fragments by Maurenbrecher. Where his contribution is greatest—and I readily confess that his edition was of tremendous help to me—is in faithfully reproducing the text of each and every quoting source, no matter how small a portion of a fragment it preserves; and he equips these quoting sources with textual notes. His commentary covers both linguistic and historical matters, and he takes into account views expressed by McGushin in his commentary. Funari does not, however, try to present a consolidated Latin text of each fragment when there are multiple quoting sources, nor does he seek to print Sallust's *ipsissima verba*, as opposed to providing, instead, a faithful report of the paradox of the quoting source(s). Moreover, in the case of Servius, by failing to avail himself of the Harvard edition for *Aeneid* 1–5, which makes it apparent which fragments, or parts of fragments, are quoted by Servius, which by Servius *auctus*, and which by both, Funari fails to give an

accurate account of the testimonia in more than fifty instances. The most serious drawback to Funari's 1996 edition, however, is that, through no fault of the author, the work is simply not as accessible to the scholarly world as it deserves to be. Few copies were acquired by libraries in North America and abroad, as demonstrated by the existence of only twenty-three records in WorldCat, and my attempt in 2012 to purchase a copy by writing to the publisher and by scouring booksellers in this country and abroad met with no success. I am indebted to my friend Andrea Balbo of the University of Turin for putting a copy at my disposal until such time as Dr. Funari himself was so kind as to present me with an inscribed copy, for which I thank him most sincerely.

Presently, Dr. Funari is collaborating with Antonio La Penna on the production of a new edition of the *Historiae*, which will be accompanied by an Italian translation and a philological, linguistic, and historical commentary. Funari is taking responsibility for fragments preserved in codex and on papyrus, while La Penna is editing fragments transmitted by quoting authors. De Gruyter has announced March 2015 as the publication date for volume one, containing the fragments of Book 1, and the plan is to release the remaining books either individually or in groups, by installments.

Now at the conclusion of slightly more than two years of labor, it is my pleasure to express sincere gratitude to many friends and colleagues who assisted me with this project. I begin by going back nearly fifty years and thanking my former teacher and mentor at Harvard, Glen Bowersock, for introducing me to the speeches and letters from Sallust's *Histories* as part of an undergraduate, semester-



long tutorial. And I credit a course of lectures given in 1968 by another former teacher, the late Robert Ogilvie, with enhancing my appreciation for the writings of Sallust, when I was reading *litterae humaniores* at Balliol. In connection with the present Loeb volume, earlier drafts were read and commented on by the following scholars: Book 1 (Gesine Manuwald and Andrew Dyck), Book 2 (Anthony Woodman), Book 3 (Robert Kaster), Book 4 (John Briscoe), Book 5 (Dominic Berry), *Fragmenta incertae sedis* and *Fragmenta dubia* (Andrew Dyck and Dominic Berry). As mentioned in the Preface to volume 1, Robert Kaster kindly read and critiqued my text and translation of the two pseudo-Sallustian *Letters to Caesar*, whose publication was reserved for the present volume. None of these generous readers is to be held responsible for imperfections that remain, and all are to be thanked for countless brilliant proposals and suggestions, the majority of which have made their way into these pages under a cloak of anonymity. To have acknowledged each and every contribution by naming the originator was simply not feasible in the Loeb format. I also wish to thank the following scholars who kindly advised me from time to time on sundry points: Michael Alexander, Jerzy Linderski, Michael Reeve, Chris Pelling, John Vaio, Michael Winterbottom, and John Yardley. John Briscoe, who, as noted above, read and commented on a draft of Book 4, deserves to be singled out for special mention. John has been a generous and patient consultant on a wide-ranging set of issues, and I owe him a huge debt of gratitude. His experience as editor and commentator on Livy, and more recently as a contributor to the monumental *Fragments of the Roman Historians*, made him the ideal sounding board whenever

a problem or question arose regarding how best to edit or translate one of the fragments of Sallust.

Lastly, it remains to repeat from the Preface to volume I an expression of sincere appreciation to the series editor, Jeffrey Henderson, and to Richard Thomas, executive trustee, who have offered support and encouragement at every step of the way. To them I owe the invitation to produce this new Loeb edition of Sallust's *opera omnia*. I appreciate the generosity of my friend and former roommate at Harvard, John Denis of Lexington, Massachusetts, who read and assisted with correcting of proof, and I acknowledge with gratitude all of the professional help afforded me by Michael Sullivan and other members of the production staff, including especially Cheryl Lincoln, managing editor at Technologies 'N Typography. The open-source software Antiquity À-la-carte, an interactive, online atlas compiled by the Ancient World Mapping Center of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, was employed to collect and organize material for the maps in this volume, which were drawn by Phil Schwartzberg of Meridian Mapping.

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August 22, 2014

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Information concerning Sallust's life and career, his writings, and the manuscript tradition of his *opera omnia*, including *spuria*, will be found in the introduction to volume 1. The ordering of the fragments of S.'s *Historiae* in this volume is governed by well-accepted principles adopted by recent editors (Maurenbrecher and McGushin), without necessarily arriving at the same results in every instance. It is taken for granted that events were arranged by S. annalistically and divided into clusters organized around domestic and political affairs, interspersed with events abroad in separate theaters of war, treated year by year. The clearest proof that this was the system adhered to by S. is provided by the chance survival of three bifolia (double leaves) that once belonged to a fifth-century codex written at Fleury (the *Codex Floriacensis*) that most probably contained a complete text of the *Historiae*. From two of those bifolia (preserved on folios 15 through 18 of a palimpsest at Orléans, the *Codex Aurelianensis 192*), it is possible to reconstruct approximately one-third to one-half of one whole gathering that happens to preserve text that was found close to the end of Book 2 (fr. 2.86) and two fragments from early in Book 3

(fr. 3.6–7).<sup>1</sup> From this evidence, we can tell that S. divided his account of the Sertorian War for the year 75 BC into a minimum of two separate parts of Book 2. This fact emerges from observing that the text found on what would have been the third folium in the gathering (or fourth if a quinio), fr. 2.79–80, describes operations against Sertorius in the autumn of 75, whereas a scant one or two pages earlier, on the first folium, which preserves fr. 2.74 on its recto and verso, we find an account of operations conducted by P. Servilius Vatia (cos. 79) against the Isaurians in Anatolia. Hence, since there is clearly not enough space in this quire between pages 1 and 3 (or 1 and 4, if a quinio) to accommodate an account of fighting against Sertorius by Pompey and Metellus during the height of the campaign season in 75, S. must have treated those operations earlier,<sup>2</sup> in a separate section of Book 2, re-

<sup>1</sup> See Bloch, *Didascaliae*, 61–76, and Perl, “Codex der Historiae Sallusts,” 29–38, esp. 33–35, who modifies slightly Bloch’s reconstruction by arguing for a gathering of five instead of four bifolia, a quinio as opposed to a quaternio. If Perl’s conclusions are accepted, then the gaps between fr. 2.74 and fr. 2.79 and between fr. 2.86 and fr. 3.6 must be doubled in size—from circa 40 lines to circa 80 lines of an OCT text—by allowing for the loss of one additional double-sided page.

<sup>2</sup> As explained below, this edition assigns the battles of Valentia, Sucro, and Segontia to their traditional date in 75, not a year earlier as argued by Konrad (see n. 5), which accounts for the placement of fr. 45–56 in Book 2. But even if we accept Konrad’s revised chronology, surely S. covered other operations of the Sertorian War in the year 75 before he devoted a separate section to the minor skirmishes covered on the surviving sheets of parchment near the end of Book 2.

-serving for later in the same book events belonging to the autumn/winter.<sup>3</sup> We also discover from this extant portion of the codex that political events in Rome in 74 BC were treated at the end of Book 2 (fr. 2.86D on the verso of fol. 6, or 7 if a quinio), while Book 3 introduced a new topic belonging to that same year, namely the command against the pirates that was entrusted to the praetor M. Antonius (3.6–7 on the recto and verso of fol. 8 or 10). This means that S. allowed the narrative of a year to be divided between books, a feature observable also in the case of Books 1 and 2 (sharing parts of the year 77 BC), and perhaps in the case of Books 3 and 4 (for the year 72) and Books 4 and 5 (for the year 68).

A third partially preserved bifolium that once belonged to the *Floriacensis* (pieced together from fol. 20 of the

<sup>3</sup> It may be going too far to accept the view of Perl, “Kompositionsprinzip der Historiae des Sallust,” 317–37, who argues that S. systematically divided each year into a summer section and a winter section, after the fashion of Thucydides, whom S. emulated in many other respects (see vol. 1, pp. xliii–xlvi). Rich, “Structuring Roman History,” 27, categorically rejects Perl’s theory. We can, however, see that from time to time S. inserted into his narrative helpful chronological markers. For instance, fr. 2.66 continues the narrative of the year 75 by noting that “in the same year” (*eodem anno*) Curio, the governor of Macedonia, began a military operation in “early spring” (*principio veris*). In addition, fr. inc. 65 informs us that S. was in the habit of subdividing the four seasons of the year into three parts corresponding to early, middle, and late (*novum, adultum, praeceps*). This claim suggests that S. found such precise terminology useful in parceling out narratives spanning one or more years, breaking them into discrete parts according to different seasons of the year.

*Aurelianensis* and *Berolinensis* lat. 4° 364) likewise provides several valuable clues for discerning S.'s method of organizing his material. The first of the four fragments that we owe to that scrap of a bifolium (fr. 2.38, = eleven lines forming column 1 of the recto) happens to record the transition from 76 to 75 BC by announcing the entry into office of the consuls of 75, L. Octavius and C. Cotta. The third and fourth fragments (fr. 2.41 and 43, = eleven lines forming columns 1 and 2 of the verso) demonstrate that S. moved quite rapidly in his narrative of urban affairs from January to the midpoint of the year 75. This conclusion follows from the fact that no more than two-and-a-half columns of text in the codex (= ca. fifteen lines in an OCT) separated fr. 38 (announcing the opening of the year 75) from the speech of the consul C. Cotta (fr. 2.43) found on the verso of the same folium, a speech that we can tell from fr. 41 must have been delivered circa June of 75.

From the collective evidence of the three bifolia discussed above, we can discern that S. grouped events by category, since the fragments mentioned in the previous paragraph (fr. 2.38–39, 41, and 43) comprise a section in Book 2 where S. covered urban and political affairs of 75 BC, after which, toward the end of Book 2, he treated seriatim two wars abroad. This latter fact emerges from the contents of the two bifolia preserved from the end of Book 2 and the opening of Book 3, the ones discussed earlier that preserve fr. 2.74, describing Servilius' operations in Cilicia (at the eastern end of the Roman empire), followed, after a short gap of one or two pages, by an account in fr. 2.79–80 of operations by Pompey late in 75 in the Sertorian War (at the western end of the Roman world).

The vast majority of the fragments of S.'s *Historiae* are preserved, however, not on the parchment of codices or on papyri but transmitted to us by quoting sources comprising grammarians, rhetoricians, commentators, and others, who took an interest in S.'s language or style or cited him as the authority for some factual information. As an aid to an editor in deciding where to place a fragment, these quoting sources, in addition to often signifying the book of the *Historiae* from which a fragment is taken,<sup>4</sup> will sometimes provide useful clues that reveal the context of S.'s words. For instance, Servius (ad G. 4.218) states that according to S. the Celtiberians "consecrate themselves to their kings and refuse to outlive them" (fr. 1.110), and Plutarch (*Sert.* 14.5) describes how it was the custom in Spain for the bodyguard of a commander to refuse to outlive him if the commander was killed in battle, calling this practice a "consecration" (*κατάσπεισις*). Plutarch then goes on to illustrate this custom by describing a scene in which Sertorius' devoted native followers rescued him from a city, after a defeat, by hoisting him up onto their shoulders and over the city walls, a scene that is strikingly reminiscent of fr. 1.111 (twice quoted by the fourth-century writer Nonius Marcellus). Traces of that stirring

<sup>4</sup> An asterisk (\*) is placed after the number of a fragment for which no book number is supplied by the quoting source(s). The symbol † is used to signify that a reported book number is not accepted by this edition (fr. 1.23, 88; 2.23; 3.3, 14, 19, 30, 66; 4.3, 6, 48); †† to indicate that the book number is variously given by quoting sources (fr. 2.55; 3.10); and ††† to indicate that the text is assigned by the quoting source to a work other than the *Historiae* (fr. 1.87; 4.62; fr. inc. 63; fr. dub. 18).

rescue may be found in another passage of Servius (ad *Aen.* 9.555), where the commentator gives a précis, rather than quoting S.'s exact words. Given all of these separate but converging pieces of information—the assignment to Book I by Nonius and Plutarch's account of the event early in the Sertorian War—we can plausibly assign fr. 1.111 to the first year or two of Metellus Pius' conduct of the war in 79–78 BC.

To take another example, the fourth-century grammarian and commentator Aelius Donatus (ad *Ter. Ad.* 310) remarks in the case of a partial quotation from fr. 1.98 that S.'s words concerned fear experienced by one Septimius. We are fortunate to be able to flesh out the small portion of the fragment preserved by Donatus with a bit more of the text that has survived on a scrap of a fourth-century parchment codex (*P. Vindob. L 117*). The expanded context makes it possible to identify Septimius as a subordinate military commander under M. Domitius Calvinus, the governor of Nearer Spain, who was defeated by Sertorius in 80 BC. Lastly, to give one final example of a different sort, sometimes, as in the case of fr. 1.43, where we find a close verbal echo in an author who is known to have drawn upon S., it is possible not only to work out the probable context of a fragment but also to offer an attractive emendation of the text, which is likely to have suffered corruption in transmission.

In constructing this edition, I have adopted the traditional chronology for the Sertorian War, placing Pompey's arrival in Spain and the Battle of Lauro in the spring of 76 and assigning the battles of Valentia, Sucro, and Segontia to 75. If on the contrary, Konrad is correct in placing the Battle of Lauro one year earlier, in 77, and the other three



battles in 76, rather than 75,<sup>5</sup> then the fragments assigned in this collection to the spring and summer of 75 (fr. 2.45–56) will have to be placed earlier in Book 2, prior to the cluster of fragments reporting urban events in the first half of the year 75 (fr. 2.38–44). Likewise, the fragments relevant to the Battle of Lauro and other military action assigned to 76 (fr. 2.25–33) will have to be moved one year earlier, to precede fr. 2.22–24 (domestic affairs in 76). In arranging the fragments spread over the course of the Third Mithridatic War, which broke out in 74 BC, I have adopted the chronological framework adhered to in *CAH* 9<sup>2</sup> (pp. 231–44), placing the siege of Cyzicus in the winter of 73–72, not 74–73; the Battle of Cabira in the summer of 71; the Battle of Tigranocerta on October 6, 69; Lucullus’ crossing of the Euphrates in the summer of 68; the siege of Nisibis in the winter of 68–67; and the Battle of Zela in the summer of 67.

Outlines at the beginning of each book and headings and notations within the text and translation provide chronological signposts to help the reader keep track of the course of events in the revolt of Lepidus (78–77 BC), the Sertorian War (80–71 BC), the Mithridatic War (74–67 BC), and the revolt of Spartacus (73–71 BC), the four major, multiyear conflicts that are distributed across two or more books of S.’s *Historiae*. Fragments known to belong to a given book but which cannot be assigned to a reasonably secure context are placed at the end of each of

<sup>5</sup> “New Chronology,” 157–87. Modern scholars remain divided over whether to accept the traditional or the revised chronology, with Seager, *Pompey*, 33, choosing the former, and *FRHist* 3.531, the latter.

the five books. These fragments are generally grouped in clusters, by topic (battles, other operations in war, miscellany). I have relegated to the “unassigned” category more fragments than some previous editors have chosen to do, while on occasion I have ventured to place some fragments in a specific context while acknowledging that rival possibilities are worth considering (e.g., fr. 1.44; 2.16; 3.34). If one were to insist on absolute certainty in assigning a fragment to a specific context, many more fragments would have to be relegated to the “unassigned” category. Some sixty-nine fragments that are above suspicion but cannot be assigned to a specific book, “fr. inc.” (= *fragmenta incertae sedis*, fragments of uncertain placement), including a good number (thirty-two) that Maurenbrecher distributed in Books 1–5, are presented immediately after the fragments comprising Book 5. They are arranged topically, and within topics, in the order of earliest quoting source first. Finally, a further fifty-five fragments that may or may not be genuine S. but that have been included in previous collections, “fr. dub.” (*fragmenta dubia et spuria* = doubtful and spurious fragments), are presented in one final section. To have omitted some or all of the fragments that cannot confidently be credited to S. or to the *Historiae*, even if in some cases we can be reasonably certain that they are not genuine S., would have invited the surmise that they were somehow overlooked. Better to err on the side of inclusiveness than the reverse.

One of the foremost aims of this edition has been to make the text and the translation of the fragments as accessible and as authoritative as possible within the limits prescribed by the Loeb Classical Library, which does not permit space for lengthy commentary or detailed textual

notes. Next to each fragment is placed the corresponding number assigned to it in the editions of Maurenbrecher (M), McGushin (Mc), Dietsch (D) and Kritz (K). This will make it possible to find each fragment in any one of those other four editions without having to consult a table. At the same time, it will reveal at a glance how the placement of any given fragment agrees with, or differs from, the scheme adopted by prior editors. An effort is made to give a comprehensive report of quoting sources, placing first the one or more sources that preserve the whole or the bulk of a fragment. Secondary sources that transmit only a portion of a fragment or contribute a paraphrase or *précis* are set apart by being enclosed within braces, thus { }. For fragments whose book number is attested, if the text is quoted by more than one source, a notation is added to indicate the source(s) to which we owe the book number. Italic type is employed to present fragments that are not the *ipsissima verba* of S. but a *précis* of his account, and within italics, boldface is used to call attention to individual words or phrases (including the Greek equivalents in Greek sources) that may have been drawn directly from S.

Textual notes are kept to a bare minimum, the apparatus being shaped by an eclectic approach: positive when it seems helpful to provide supporting evidence for the reading(s) adopted; at other times, negative, when it seems useful to report conjectures or evidence in the manuscripts that may be worth considering for the purposes of arriving at a different text. For each quoting source, it is briefly stated why the words of S. were cited, whether the aim of the quoting author was to use S. to exemplify the meaning of a word, to illustrate a point of

grammar or morphology, to elucidate a historical fact, or to provide some piece of geographical or cultural information. Next, since the fragments on their own, taken one at a time, are often very brief and resemble snatches of an overheard conversation, it is desirable to orient the reader by giving a sense of the probable context. With this goal in view, the translation of most fragments is preceded by brief introductory remarks set in italics, together with the mention of relevant ancient sources.

In marked departure from all past editions of the *Historiae*, this one employs lowercase, not upper, for the initial letter of the opening word of quotations that do not form a complete sentence, except when the opening word permits us to surmise that we are dealing with the beginning of a new sentence (such as, for instance, *Nam*, *Namque*, *Igitur*, or the like). Similarly, a full stop is not placed at the end of incomplete sentences, and fragments lacking sentence structure are indented slightly to set them apart from text that will stand on its own. In adhering to the principles of orthography outlined in volume 1 (pp. lxi–lxiii), the text in this edition differs from that of Maurenbrecher, in that it employs throughout spellings that we can be confident were favored by S. rather than aiming to reproduce, as Maurenbrecher does, the orthography of the later quoting sources. The editions of Kritz and Dietsch, and more recently the Teubner and Oxford editions of Kurfess and Reynolds, which include the speeches and letters from the *Historiae* and a selection of fragments, provide good precedents for employing the orthography adopted in this Loeb. All of these past editors recognized the validity of printing the remains of the *Historiae* in conformity with the orthography typically

adopted in editing the text of the *Catiline* and *Jugurtha*. When the text printed in this Loeb differs from the paradisis in orthography only (e.g., *quom* substituted for *cum*), no note of this is made in the apparatus, except in the case of the *Floriacensis*.<sup>6</sup> Divergences from the text of Maurenbrecher are listed on pp. 529–36, followed by two concordances showing the order of fragments in other editions (pp. 537–78). The work is rounded out with an Index Fontium (pp. 579–90), an Index Nominum (pp. 591–611), and four maps (pp. 614–18).

<sup>6</sup> Reynolds in his OCT (p. xxv n.2), by contrast, elected to reproduce the orthography of the *Floriacensis* as an exception to his practice elsewhere, but since even that manuscript occasionally preserves traces of what must have been the original Sallustian orthography (e.g., *quom*, fr. 3.44.5), it seems appropriate to restore these spellings throughout.



## REFERENCES

Works by Sallust are referred to by title only, except in instances where confusion might arise. All dates are BC, unless indicated to the contrary. Sigla for the manuscripts of authors who preserve the fragments may be found in the editions of ancient works listed below. Names of ancient authors and titles of their works are abbreviated as in *OCD*<sup>4</sup>. Citations from Plutarch's *Lives* are according to the edition of Ziegler.

The following are abbreviations of frequently cited works:

- CAH*     *Cambridge Ancient History*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, 1982–2000.
- CSEL*     *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna, 1866–.
- FRHist*   *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*, vols. 1–3, ed. T. Cornell. Oxford, 2013.
- GL*       *Grammatici Latini*, vols. 1–7, ed. H. Keil et al. Leipzig, 1855–1880. Supplement (vol. 8), ed. H. Hagen. Leipzig, 1870.
- ILS*      *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau. Berlin, 1892–1916.

- K-S Kühner, R., and Stegmann, C. *Ausführliche grammatik der lateinischen Sprache: Satzlehre*. 2 vols. 2nd ed. Hannover, 1914. Corr. repr. 1976.
- LSJ Liddell and Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. rev. H. Stuart Jones. Oxford, 1940.
- MRR *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. 3 vols. T. R. S. Broughton. Atlanta, 1951–1952, 1986.
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare. Oxford, 1968–1982.
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Leipzig, 1900–.

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- Anon. brev. ex-  
pos. Verg. G. *Anonymi brevis expositio Verg. Georgicorum*, ed. H. Hagen, *Appendix Serviana*, vol. 3.2 Servius. Leipzig, 1902. 193–320.
- Ars anon. Bern.* *Ars anonyma Bernensis*, ed. H. Hagen, *GL Supplementum*. vol. 8.62–142.
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## SIGLA

- V** Vaticanus lat. 3864 (9th c.)  
fr. 1.49 (*oratio Lepidi*), 1.67 (*oratio Philippi*), 2.43 (*oratio Cottae*), 2.86 (*epistula Pompei*), 3.15 (*oratio Macri*), 4.60 (*epistula Mithridatis*)
- Floriacensis** 5th-c. parchment codex, rustic capitals, double columns  
Parts of eight leaves that once comprised four bifolia (preserving fr. 2.38, 39, 41, 43.1a–1, 74, 79, 80, 86A–D; 3.6, 7, 42, 44), reconstructed from the following:
- A** Aurelianensis 192, ff. 15–18, 20 (a palimpsest containing Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*)
- B** Berolinensis lat. 4° 364
- R** Vaticanus Reginensis lat. 1283B
- P. Vindobonae** 4th-c. parchment codex, rustic capitals, double columns  
**L 117** Part of a bifolium, preserving fr. 1.97, 98
- Pap Ryl III 473** Manchester, The John Rylands Library, Papyrus 473

Fragments from a papyrus roll,  
written in rustic capitals in the  
2nd/3rd c. (?) and recovered from  
**Pap. Oxyrh. 68**  
**6B.20/L (10–13)a** Oxford, Sackler Library (Papyrology  
Rooms), 68 6B.20/L (10–13)a  
Fragments from the same roll as  
*Pap Ryl III 473*, preserving fr. 2.8

To the right of the number of each fragment are given the numbers assigned in the editions of Maurenbrecher (M), McGushin (Mc), Dietsch (D), and Kritz (K).

Notations placed after the number of some fragments:

- \* fragment cited without an indication of the book number.
- † fragment assigned to a different book by citing source(s).
- †† two or more book numbers given by citing sources.
- ††† fragment assigned to a work other than the *Historiae* by the quoting source(s).

Italics signifies that a fragment is not a direct quotation. Boldface within italics identifies words possibly used by S., including their Greek equivalents in Greek sources.

- { } enclose secondary sources
- [ ] enclose explanatory material within translations
- < > enclose supplements within translations
- [[ ]] enclose words in a translation rendering suspect Latin words
- \* \* \* signify in a translation that one or more Latin words are corrupt



# THE HISTORIES

# BOOK 1

## OUTLINE

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- III. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND REVOLT OF LEPIDUS (78–77 BC), FRR. 48–72  
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*79–78 BC: Military Operations of Metellus Pius in*  
*Farther Spain, fr. 99–113*

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# LIBER I

## PREFACE, FRR. 1–16

### *Programmatic Statement, fr. 1–7*

#### 1 1M, Mc, D, K

Res populi Romani M. Lepido Q. Catulo consulibus ac  
deinde militiae et domi<sup>1</sup> gestas composui.<sup>2</sup>

Rufin. *GL* 6.575.18–22 analyzes the meter of each word and phrase comprising this fragment. Prisc. *GL* 3.73.10–13: to illustrate locative in *-ae*.

{Prisc. *GL* 3.64.18–19 (*ac . . . composui* [sic]): loc. in *-ae*; Donat. ad Verg., *Aen.* 1.1 (p. 7G.17–24) likens the placement of *rem* [sic] ahead of *populi Romani* in S. to Virgil's placement of *arma* ahead of *virum* in the opening line of the *Aeneid*.}

<sup>1</sup> militiae et domi] domi et militiae Prisc. *GL* 3.73.      <sup>2</sup> *om.*  
Prisc. 3.73

#### 2 8M, 2Mc, 6D, 7K

Nam<sup>1</sup> a primordio<sup>2</sup> urbis ad bellum Persi Macedo-  
nicum

Prisc. *GL* 3.188.15–16; Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.30: to illustrate gen. *Persi*, as opposed to *Persis*.

{*ad bellum . . . Macedonicum* (Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.383 [*om. Persi*]; Prob. *GL* 4.24.28, 4.28.18; Sacerd. *GL* 6.479.9–10; Charis. *GL*

# BOOK 1

## PREFACE, FRR. 1–16

### *Programmatic Statement, fr. 1–7*

#### 1 1M, Mc, D, K

*Announcement of theme and starting point of the narrative (78 BC).*

I have compiled the military and civil deeds of the Roman people for the consular year of Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Catulus, and for the years thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Concluding in 67 BC, a span of twelve years (*bis senos . . . annos*, Auson. *Ep.* 22.63)

#### 2 8M, 2Mc, 6D, 7K

*Possibly this fr. formed part of S.'s discussion of his predecessors in the field of Roman history.*

For from the very beginning of the City<sup>1</sup> down to the Macedonian War against Perseus<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Traditionally 753 BC.

<sup>2</sup> In 171–168.

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<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv.*      <sup>2</sup> *Prisc.* 3.188 (*cf. Liv. praef. 1*): *principio Serv. (cf. Tac. Ann. 1.1.1)*

1.68.20–21 = p. 86B.16 [*om. ad*]); *Persi* (*Exc. Bob. GL 1.541.39*): all to illustrate gen.; (*Prisc. GL 3.30.20–21*) to illustrate *ad* + acc. with reference to time.)

### 3 4M, 3Mc, 2D, 2K

*Sallustius . . . in libro primo Historiarum dat Catoni brevitatem—Romani generis disertissimus <multa><sup>1</sup> paucis absolvit—Fannio vero veritatem.*

Mar. Victor. *Rhet.* p. 203H.26–28.

{“*Romani generis disertissimus*” (Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.96 and Pomp. *GL 5.158.23–24*: to illustrate the superlative with the gen. sing. of a collective noun); (Ampel. 19.8: Cato the Censor was so described by S.); cf. Hieron. *Ep.* 61.3.3, crediting Cato with being “*R. gen. disertissimus*,” without attribution to S.; Cato praised by S. for his brevity (Porph. ad Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.9; Ps.-Acro *ibid.*: *quod multa paucis absolverit*).}

<sup>1</sup> Ps.-Acro: *summa suppl. Mähly*

### 4 2M, 4Mc, 4D, 4K

*recens scrip<sit><sup>1</sup>*

Charis. *GL 1.216.29* = p. 280B.13: reporting that in his commentary on Book 1 of S.’s *Histories*, the second-century AD commentator Aemilius Asper stated that *recens* is sometimes an adv., sometimes an adj. (“recent[ly]”).

<sup>1</sup> *Kritz*: scrip. *N*: scripsi *Cuyck*: scrip<tum> *Keil*

### 3 4M, 3Mc, 2D, 2K

Praise for two previous writers of history: M. Porcius Cato, the Elder Cato (cos. 195, cens. 184), author of the *Origines*, one of the earliest prose histories of Rome to be written in Latin (FRHist no. 5); and C. Fannius, an anti-Gracchan historian of the latter half of the 2nd cent. BC (FRHist no. 12).

Sallust . . . in Book 1 of his *Historiae* ascribes brevity to Cato—the most eloquent of the Roman race<sup>1</sup> relates <many things> briefly—but truthfulness to Fannius.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Catullus' description of Cic.: "most eloquent of Romulus' descendants" (49.1, *disertissime Romuli nepotum*).

### 4 2M, 4Mc, 4D, 4K

Possibly a reference to Sisenna, if *recens* is an *adj.* (as it appears to be from the context of the quotation in Charisius) and refers to recent, i.e., contemporary history relative to the writer (cf. Jug. 95.2). If *recens* is an *adv.* (describing an immediate predecessor of S.), two possible candidates are Sisenna (d. 67 BC) and Licinius Macer (d. 65 BC).

he wrote<sup>1</sup> recent [history]

<sup>1</sup> Or if *scripsi* is the correct reading: "I wrote," referring, perhaps, to the *Bellum Catilinae*.

5\* 3M, 5Mc, inc. 1D, 1.5K

nos in tanta doctissumorum hominum copia

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.89: to illustrate the pl. *nos* standing for the sing.; Serv. and Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.213 to illustrate *nostra* standing for *mea*.

6\* 6M, 7Mc, 5D, 6K

neque me divorsa pars in civilibus armis movit a  
vero

Arus. *GL* 7.494.5 = p. 205DC: to illustrate *moveo* + *a/ab* + abl. of place. Book number has dropped out of Arusianus' text; <I> is Mai's suppl.

7 10M, 6Mc, deest in D et K

*QUOD CATO*: . . . *Meminit huius Sallustius in principio libri primi Historiae.*

*Adnot. super Luc.* 3.164

*Civil Discord, frs. 8–16*

8 7M, 8Mc, 7D, 8K

Nobis primae dissensiones vitio humani ingeni evenere,  
quod inquires atque indomitum semper in certamine<sup>1</sup> li-  
bertatis aut gloriae aut dominationis agit.

Prisc. *GL* 2.157.14: to illustrate adjs. of third decl. in *-es*, like *inquires*, common to all three genders.

(Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.245 (*inter certamina* [sic] *dominationis aut libertatis agit*): to illustrate the verb *ago* = *in actu est* [be engaged in].)



**5\*** 3M, 5Mc, inc. 1D, 1.5K

*The challenge of being measured against one's predecessors.*

we, amid such a vast abundance of very learned men

**6\*** 6M, 7Mc, 5D, 6K

*Pledge to be objective and impartial, despite being a partisan of Caesar in the recent civil war.*

nor did my allegiance to a different side in the civil conflict divert me from the truth

**7** 10M, 6Mc, not included in D and K

*M. Cato Uticensis (d. 46) was mentioned in the preface, doubtless because he was a leading political figure in the faction opposed to Caesar, whose cause Sallust espoused in the civil war (cf. previous fragment).*

*“Which Cato [conveyed from Cyprus upon the far-off seas.]”: . . . Sallust mentions this **Cato** in the preface to the first book of his Histories.*

*Civil Discord, fr. 8–16*

**8** 7M, 8Mc, 7D, 8K

*The seeds of dissention sprout from a flaw in human nature.*

The earliest conflicts arose among us as a result of a defect of human nature, which restlessly and without restraint always engages in a struggle for freedom or glory or power.

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<sup>1</sup> in certamine] inter certamine (FG) vel inter certamina (PT)  
*codd. Serv.*

9 11aM, 9Mc, 8D, 9K

- 1 Res Romana plurimum imperio valuit Ser. Sulpicio et M. Marcello consulibus, omni Gallia cis Rhenum atque inter mare nostrum et Oceanum, nisi qua paludibus invia fuit,
- 2 perdomita. Optumis autem moribus et maxuma concordia egit inter secundum atque postremum<sup>1</sup> bellum Carthaginense.<sup>2</sup>

Mar. Victor. *Rhet.* p. 158H.17: war is a necessary prelude to *pax* (peace), a word derived from *pactum* (that which is agreed to [after a conflict]).

{*Pan. Lat.* 9.19.4 (*Romana res plurimum terra et mari valuit*) an apparent allusion to S. (*ut legimus*) but not by name; Non. p. 92M = 131L.6 (§1 *cis Rhenum . . . perdomita*); cf. Amm. Marc. 15.12.6 (*omnes Galliae nisi . . . inviae fuere* [sic]); Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.540; Aug. *Civ.* 2.18.4 and 3.21.1 paraphrase §2.}

<sup>1</sup> ultimum *Serv.*      <sup>2</sup> post Carthaginense <causaque \*\*\* non amor iustitiae, sed stante Carthagine metus pacis infidae fuit.> *suppl. Maurenbr., exempli gratia, ex Aug. Civ. 2.18.4.*

10 11bM, 10Mc, 9D, 10K

- 1 At discordia et avaritia atque ambitio et cetera secundis rebus oriri sueta mala post Carthaginis excidium maxume
- 2 aucta sunt. Nam iniuriae validiorum et ob eas discessio plebis a patribus aliaequae dissensiones domi fuere iam inde a principio, neque amplius quam regibus exactis, dum metus a Tarquinio et bellum grave cum Etruria posi-

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<sup>1</sup> See *Cat.* 33.3n. and n. 3 below.

## 9 11aM, 9Mc, 8D, 9K

*Augustine (Civ. 2.18.4) paraphrases the last sentence of this fragment, stating that it was found in the exordium of Book 1 of S.'s Histories and that fr. 10 came "immediately" (continuo) afterward.*

The Roman state enjoyed the greatest extent of its dominion in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus [51 BC], when all Gaul lying to the west of the Rhine and between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic had been subdued,<sup>1</sup> apart from where it was inaccessible owing to marshes. On the other hand, it functioned with the best morals and the greatest degree of harmony between the second and the final war with Carthage.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By Julius Caesar as proconsul of the two Gauls and Illyricum in 58–50.      <sup>2</sup> Between the years 201 and 149.

## 10 11bM, 10Mc, 9D, 10K

*The destruction of Carthage (in 146) ushered in moral decline. Immediately after the remarks in fr. 9 (see introd. note, above), S. treated civil disharmony, which spanned the period extending from the date of the expulsion of Rome's last king, Tarquinius Superbus, (traditionally in 510) until the Second Punic War (218–201).*

But disharmony and greed, as well as ambition and other evils typically arising from success increased very greatly after the destruction of Carthage. Indeed, abuses on the part of the stronger and, as a consequence, secessions of the plebeians from the patricians<sup>1</sup> and other internal disputes existed right from the beginning. And the fair and moderate exercise of power after the expulsion of the kings did not last any longer than it took to put aside apprehension caused by Tarquin and a serious war with the Etrus-

- 3 tum est, aequo et modesto iure agitatum. Dein servili  
 imperio patres plebem exercere, de vita atque tergo regio  
 more consulere, agro pellere et, ceteris expertibus, soli in  
 4 imperio agere. Quibus saevitiis et maxume fenore op-  
 pressa plebes, quom adsiduis bellis tributum et militiam  
 simul toleraret, armata montem Sacrum atque Aventinum  
 insedit, tumque tribunos plebis et alia sibi iura paravit.  
 5 Discordiarum et certaminis utrimque finis fuit secundum  
 bellum Punicum.

Aug. *Civ.* 2.18.5–7: assigns a paraphrase of the last sentence of fr. 9 and the present fragment to the *exordium* of Book 1.

{Aug. *Civ.* 3.16.1 (§2 *aequo et modesto iure agitatum, dum metus . . . positum est* [sic]); Arus. *GL* 7.502.2 = p. 237DC (§2 *nam iniuriae validiorum*); *Schol. Vatic.* ad *G.* 4.238 (§2 *iniuria* [sic] *validiorum*); Aug. *Civ.* 3.17.1–2 (§3 *Deinde* [sic] *servili imperio . . . Punicum*); Donat. ad *Ter. An.* 36 (§3 *dein servili imperio patres p. e.*); §4 *armata . . . insedit* (Arus. *GL* 7.480.13 = p. 156DC; Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 8.479 om. *armata*; Diom. *GL* 1.444.1 om. *armata*); cf. Aug. *Civ.* 5.12.14 (a paraphrase of §§2–5).}

## 11 15M, 11Mc, 112D, 106K

quietam a bellis civitatem

Arus. *GL* 7.504.21 = p. 246DC: to illustrate *quietus* + *a/ab* + *abl.*

## 12 12M, 12Mc, 10D, 11K

Postquam remoto metu Punico simultates exercere vacuom fuit, plurumae turbae, seditiones et ad postremum bella civilia orta sunt, dum pauci potentes, quorum in gra-

cans.<sup>2</sup> Afterward, the patricians lorded it over the plebeians as if the latter were slaves, regulated their lives and persons in kingly fashion, drove them from their land, and leaving everyone else without a share, wielded power all by themselves. Oppressed by such savageries, and especially by interest on debt (since as a result of continual wars they were being subjected simultaneously to taxation and military service), the plebeians took up arms and occupied the Sacred Mount and the Aventine.<sup>3</sup> And at that time, they brought into being for themselves the tribunes of the plebs and other rights. The Second Punic War marked an end of disharmonies and struggle on both sides.

<sup>2</sup> According to tradition, the Etruscan king Lars Porsenna waged war against Rome in a vain attempt to restore the expelled king Tarquinius. <sup>3</sup> Sallust combines two rival traditions, one associating the first secession in 494 with the Sacred Mount, a hill ca. three miles northeast of Rome, the other linking it with the Aventine, the southernmost of the seven hills of Rome, next to the Tiber.

## **11 15M, 11Mc, 112D, 106K**

*Rome enjoyed a period of tranquility in the first half of the second century.*

the community at peace from wars

## **12 12M, 12Mc, 10D, 11K**

*Civil discord and moral decline arose after the threat posed by Carthage was removed by its destruction in 146.*

After the fear of Carthage had been removed and the way was clear for pursuing rivalries, there arose a great many riots, insurrections, and in the end, civil wars, while a

tiam plerique concesserant, sub honesto patrum aut plebis nomine dominationes adfectabant; bonique et mali cives adpellati non ob merita in rem publicam—omnibus pariter corruptis—sed uti quisque locupletissimus et iniuria validior, quia praesentia defendebat, pro bono ducebatur.

Gell. 9.12.15 (*postquam . . . vacuum fuit*): as part of a discussion of *metus* with an objective gen. (“fear of X”) and subjective gen., (“X’s fear”) + Aug. *Civ.* 3.17.5 (*plurimae . . . ducebatur*).

{Arus. *GL* 7.462.2–3 = p. 462DC (*quorum in gratiam plerique concesserant*): to illustrate *concedo in gratiam*.}

### 13\* 16M, 13Mc, 12D, K

Ex quo tempore maiorum mores non paulatim, ut antea, sed torrentis modo praecipitati; adeo iuventus luxu atque avaritia corrupta, ut merito dicatur genitos esse, qui neque ipsi habere possent res familiaris neque alios pati.

Aug. *Civ.* 2.18.10: cited to illustrate the corruption of Roman morals.

{Aug. *Civ.* 2.19.1 (*maiorum mores . . . corrupta est*).}

### 14 13M, 14Mc, 13D, K

omniumque partium decus in mercedem corruptum erat

Arus. *GL* 7.484.18 = p. 171DC, quoting this fragment and fr. 60: to illustrate (erroneously) *in* + acc. = *causa* + gen.

powerful few, to whose influence the majority had succumbed, aspired to despotism while purporting to act in the honorable name of the senate or commons.<sup>1</sup> It was not on account of their services to the nation that citizens were given the name “good” or “bad,” since all were equally corrupt. Rather, each person in proportion to his enormous wealth and superior strength resulting from injustice, was regarded as “good” because he was maintaining the status quo.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 38.3.

### 13\* 16M, 13Mc, 12D, K

*After the destruction of Carthage in 146, or upon the victory of Sulla in the civil war in 82 (cf. Cat. 11.1-5)—it is impossible to say to which S. refers here—an increase in luxury accelerated moral decline.*

And from that time, the manners of our ancestors were discarded not gradually, as previously, but after the fashion of a torrent; to such an extent was our youth corrupted by luxury and greed that it may rightly be stated that men were born who could neither maintain possession of their own property nor permit others to do so.

### 14 13M, 14Mc, 13D, K

*Same context as fr. 13. Greed dominates Roman politics.*

and the respectability of all factions had degenerated into a quest for gain

15\* 17M, 15Mc, 11D, 14K

*Eo quippe tempore disputatur quo iam unus Gracchorum occisus fuit, a quo scribit seditiones graves coepisse Sallustius.*

Aug. Civ. 2.21.2.

16 18M, 43Mc, 33D, 38K

Et relatus inconditae olim vitae mos, ut omne ius in viribus esset.<sup>1</sup>

*Adnot. super Luc.* 1.175 to illustrate the statement that “might (*vis*) became the standard (*mensura*) of right (*ius*).”

{Fronto p. 157.14–15, *omne ius in validioribus esse* is most likely a paraphrase (see fr. dub. 3).}

<sup>1</sup> in validioribus esse *Fronto*

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, FRR. 17–47

*The Social War (91–87 BC), fr. 17–21*

17\* 19M, 16Mc, 14D, 15K

Tantum antiquitatis curaeque maioribus<sup>1</sup> pro Italica gente fuit.

Serv. ad G. 2.209: to support the view that *antiquus* approaches the meaning of *carus* (dear); Fronto p. 159.18, commenting on a meaning of *antiquitas* (OLD 5) coined by S.

{*Gloss. Verg.* p. 528H.11–12, paraphrases S. thus: *antiquior cura quae maioribus . . . fuit.*}



**15\*** 17M, 15Mc, 11D, 14K

*The murder of the tribune of the plebs Ti. Gracchus in 133 marked the inception of strife (cf. Vell. 2.3.3, quoted below, fr. 16).*

*Indeed the discussion<sup>1</sup> takes place at the time when one of the Gracchi was already slain, from which point, as Sallust writes, serious insurrections began.*

<sup>1</sup> In Cicero's *De Re Publica*, a dialogue set in 129.

**16** 18M, 43Mc, 33D, 38K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 15, since Vell. 2.3.3 states that after the murder of Ti. Gracchus "right was overwhelmed by might" (inde ius vi obrutum).*

And there was a reversion to the former custom of living an uncivilized life, such that all right was based on might.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND,  
FRR. 17-47

*The Social War (91-87 BC), fr. 17-21*

**17\*** 19M, 16Mc, 14D, 15K

*Early history of Rome's dealings with the peoples of Italy during the period of conquest.*

Such regard and concern did our ancestors have for the people of Italy.

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<sup>1</sup> *post pro Italica gente Fronto*

18\* 20M, 17Mc, 15D, 3.81K

Citra Padum omnibus lex Licinia<sup>1</sup> fraudi<sup>2</sup> fuit.

Cledon. *GL* 5.76.24–25: to illustrate *citra* + acc.

<sup>1</sup> *Cassellius*: Lucania *cod.*      <sup>2</sup> *Cassellius*: *fratra cod.*: *ingrata Maurenbr.*: *parata Landgraf*

19\* 21M, 18Mc, inc. 2D, 1.16K

atque omnis Italia animis discessit

*Adnot. super Luc.* 3.632 and 6.347: to illustrate *discedo* = *dividi* (3.632) or *separari* (6.347), “to be split apart” or “to be separated [from].”

20\* 22M, 19Mc, 17D, K

post defectionem sociorum et Latii

Donat. *ad Ter. Ad.* 458: to illustrate *deficere* (*defectio*) applied to desertion on the part of a *socius* (ally).

21\* 23M, 20Mc, 36D, 19K

Quippe vasta Italia rapinis, fuga, caedibus

Serv. auct. *ad Aen.* 8.8: to illustrate the adj. *vastus* = *desertus*.

**18\*** 20M, 17Mc, 15D, 3.81K

*A contributing cause (maxima causa, Ascon., p. 68C.5) of the revolt of Rome's Italian allies in 91 was the consular Lex Licinia Mucia of 95, which purged from the citizen rolls the names of persons who falsely laid claim to Roman citizenship despite being natives of allied communities in Italy south of the Po River.*

The the Licinian law was injurious to all people on this side of the Po.

**19\*** 21M, 18Mc, inc. 2D, 1.16K

*The revolt of Rome's Italian allies in the Social War of 91–87.*

and all Italy broke away with fervor

**20\*** 22M, 19Mc, 17D, K

*Same context as fr. 19.*

after the revolt of the allies and Latins<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., those possessing Latin rights (see *Jug.* 39.2n.). For this sense of *Latium*, see *Jug.* 69.4n.

**21\*** 23M, 20Mc, 36D, 19K

*Devastation of Italy caused by the Social War (91–87).*

Indeed Italy, desolate as a result of plundering, flight, massacres,

*The Civil War (88–82 BC), frs. 22–35*

22 24M, 21Mc, 19D, 21K

postremo ipsos colonos per miserias et incerta hu-  
mani generis orare

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 10.45: to illustrate the meaning of *per miserias* with *orare*, meaning “to be petitioned by one who has suffered woes” (*rogari ab eo qui miserias pertulit*).

23† 25M, 22Mc, 2.66D, 2.75K

[*primo*]<sup>1</sup> incidit<sup>2</sup> forte per noctem in lenunculum<sup>3</sup>  
piscantis<sup>4</sup>

Non. p. 534M = 857L.30 (assigned to “*Hist. lib II*”): to illustrate the word *lenunculus* meaning a “small fishing vessel.” The apparent intrusion of *primo* into the text possibly arose from a scribal notation that “lib. II,” which immediately precedes *primo*, should be corrected to “lib. I” (so Jürges 7).

<sup>1</sup> Müller      <sup>2</sup> Mercier: indicit *codd.*      <sup>3</sup> Quicherat:  
lenunculo *codd.*      <sup>4</sup> ed. 1476 (*cf. Amm. Marc.* 16.10.3, le-  
nunculo . . . piscantis): piscandis (piscandi *D<sup>A</sup>*) *codd.*

24 144M, 25Mc, 21D, 23K

nexuit catenae modo

Prisc. *GL* 2.536.10: to illustrate the pf. of *necto*.

*The Civil War (88–82 BC), fr. 22–35*

**22** 24M, 21Mc, 19D, 21K

*When Gaius Marius fled for his life from his enemy, the consul L. Sulla, he tried to reach Africa by sea in the spring of 88, but stormy weather forced him to land on the coast of Latium south of Rome, near Circeii. There he sought help from some herdsmen (Plut. Mar. 36.5).*

finally, he appealed to the farmers themselves, pleading his wretchedness and the vagaries of the human condition

**23†** 25M, 22Mc, 2.66D, 2.75K

*After being captured and released subsequent to the episode reported in fr. 22 (cf. Plut. Mar. 38.2–39), Marius seized a small fishing vessel, by means of which he made his way to an island off the coast; there he secured passage on a ship to complete his interrupted flight to Africa (App. B Civ. 1.62).*

during the course of the night, he happened by chance upon a fisherman's skiff<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or "happened by chance upon men fishing from a skiff," if *lenunculo* of the codd. is retained and *piscantis* is construed as acc. pl. D. O. of *incidit*, as Müller interprets it.

**24** 144M, 25Mc, 21D, 23K

*Possibly describing the barrier erected by Marius across the Tiber to prevent supplies from reaching Rome during the siege in the summer of 87 (App. B Civ. 1.67, 69).*

he joined together [boats, timbers?] in the manner of a chain

**25\*** 28M, 23Mc, inc. 4D, 1.25K

bellum quibus posset condicionibus desineret

Serv. auct. ad *Ecl.* 5.19: to illustrate *desino* = *omitto*.

**26** 26M, 24Mc, 20D, 22K

nihil esse de re publica neque libertate populi Romani pactum

Arus. *GL* 7.498.8 = p. 221DC: to illustrate *paciscor* with *de* + abl. of thing.

**27** 29M, 26Mc, 115D, 114K

libertatis insueti

Arus. *GL* 7.486.16 = p. 177DC: to illustrate the adj. *insuetus* + gen.

**25\*** 28M, 23Mc, inc. 4D, 1.25K

*In the late spring or summer of 87, Metellus Pius (pr. 89) and his army were summoned from Samnium, where he was battling Italians still in revolt, to defend Rome against Cinna and Marius (Dio fr. 102.7; App. B Civ. 1.68).*

[the senate/consuls? ordered Metellus] to break off the war on whatever terms he could [work out with the Samnites]

**26** 26M, 24Mc, 20D, 22K

*Possibly a denial on the part of Cinna and Marius that they were bound by a prior agreement to refrain from doing as they pleased when Rome surrendered to them in late 87. Kritz, followed by Maurenbr., less plausibly connected these words with a denial by the consul Cinna in 87 that he was bound by his oath to uphold Sulla's legislation of 88 (Plut. Sull. 10.6–7).*

that no commitment had been made concerning the government and the freedom of the Roman people

**27** 29M, 26Mc, 115D, 114K

*Possibly describing the slaves who joined the side of Marius and Cinna in 87 in response to an offer of freedom (App. B Civ. 1.69). In particular, perhaps describing the slaves known as "Bardyaei," who formed Marius' personal bodyguard and ran amuck after Rome fell to Marius and Cinna in late 87 (Plut. Mar. 43.4–5). Alternatively, the reference may be to people encountered abroad by Sertorius (in Mauretania) or by the governors of Cilicia or Macedonia.*

unaccustomed to freedom

28 42M, 34Mc, 27D, 33K

ut Sullani fugam [innocentem]<sup>1</sup> in noctem conponerent

Arus. *GL* 7.484.13 = p. 170DC: to illustrate the phrase *in noctem* meaning “into the night.”

<sup>1</sup> *del. Hoeven ut dittographiam*

29 32M, 27Mc, 18D, 20K

quis rebus Sulla suspectis<sup>1</sup> maxumeque ferocia regis  
Mithridatis in tempore bellaturi<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.487.1 = p. 178DC; Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 464: to illustrate *in tempore* = *opportune*.

<sup>1</sup> quis . . . suspectis: *om. Donat.*      <sup>2</sup> <re>bellaturi *Pecere*  
(*cf. Tac. Ann.* 12.50.4; *Frontin. Str.* 1.1.1.)

30 33M, 28Mc., 85D, K

Maturaverunt exercitum Dyrrachium<sup>1</sup> cogere.

Arus. *GL* 7.459.13–14 = p. 83DC: to illustrate *cogo* + D.O. acc. and acc. of place to which.

<sup>1</sup> *Keil: brachium NI: Durachium corr. Parrhasius.*



**28** 42M, 34Mc, 27D, 33K

*After Rome fell to Cinna and Marius in late 87, many who belonged to the opposing faction fled to join Sulla in the East, so as to escape reprisal (Liv. Per. 84; Plut. Sull. 22.1). Maurenbr. and McGushin prefer the less probable context of the Battle of the Colline Gate (Nov. 82), in which Sulla's left wing suffered a crushing defeat, leading to despair that lasted well into the night (App. B Civ. 1.93; Plut. Sull. 29.9).*

so that the partisans of Sulla were arranging their flight for after dark

**29** 32M, 27Mc, 18D, 20K

*Possibly forming part of the description of Sulla's decision to return quickly to Italy to face his enemies and how this influenced him to conclude a peace agreement with Mithridates in 85 that was not destined to last.*

and Sulla, mistrusting these circumstances [promises of reconciliation made by the Cinnan regime?] and especially the savagery of king Mithridates, who would make war<sup>1</sup> at an opportune time

<sup>1</sup> Or "revolt," if <re>bellaturi is accepted into the text.

**30** 33M, 28Mc., 85D, K

*In the spring of 83, Sulla mustered his army at Dyrrachium, on the Adriatic coast, preparatory to invading Italy (Plut. Sull. 27.1).*

They hastened to muster the army at Dyrrachium.

31\* 34M, 29Mc, 23D, 27K

Inde ortus sermo, percontantibus utrimque: satin salve, quam grati ducibus suis, quantis familiaribus copiis agerent.

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 978: to illustrate the adv. *salve* meaning *integre, recte, commode*.

32\* 35M, 30Mc, 24D, 29K

*Hic est Marius, qui invita matre Iulia adeptus est consulatum, de quo Sallustius meminit.*

*Adnot. super Luc.* 2.134: a detail included in a note on the battle near the town of Sacriportus, where in the spring of 82 Sulla defeated the younger Marius and caused him to flee to Praeneste in Latium.

33\* 36M, 31Mc, 26D, 31K

et Marius victus duplicaverat bellum

Serv. ad *Ecl.* 2.67: to illustrate *duplico* meaning *augeo*.

**31\*** 34M, 29Mc, 23D, 27K

*Description of events leading up to the desertion of the army of the consul Scipio to Sulla during negotiations in 83 (Cic. Phil. 12.27; Liv. Per. 85; App. B Civ. 1.85). Cf. fr. 79.*

Then conversation arose [between the soldiers in the two opposing armies], questions being put from both sides whether they were faring reasonably well, how much favor they enjoyed with their respective commanders, and how great were their personal resources.

**32\*** 35M, 30Mc, 24D, 29K

*In 83, the son of the late C. Marius (VII cos. 86) was chosen consul for 82, despite being only twenty-six (Vell. 2.26.1) or twenty-seven years old (App. B Civ. 1.87). [Aur. Vic.] De vir. ill. 68.1 is the only other source to attest the distress of Marius' mother, Iulia, the aunt of the future dictator Julius Caesar.*

***This is the Marius who obtained the consulship against the wishes of his mother Julia, about which Sallust makes mention.***

**33\*** 36M, 31Mc, 26D, 31K

*Sulla's siege of the town of Praeneste, where the younger Marius and his shattered army sought refuge after being defeated by Sulla at the Battle of Sacriportus in the spring of 82 (App. B Civ. 1.87), caused Sulla's enemies to send a series of relief expeditions in a vain attempt to rescue Marius.*

and the defeat of Marius had intensified the war

34 37M, 32Mc, 25D, 30K

apud Praeneste locatus

Prisc. *GL* 3.67.1: to illustrate the use of a prep. with the name of a town.

35\* 38M, 33Mc, 28D, 32K

Carbo turpi formidine Italiam atque exercitum<sup>1</sup> deseruit.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.400: to illustrate *turpis* as an epithet of "fear"; *Adnot. super Luc.* 2.548: added to an explanation of how Carbo came to "lie in a Sicilian grave" (cf. fr. 45).

<sup>1</sup> exercitum atque Italiam *Adn. Luc.*

*The Tyranny of Sulla (82–80 BC), frs. 36–47*

36 44M, 36Mc, 30D, 35K

ut in M.<sup>1</sup> Mario, quoi<sup>2</sup> fracta prius crura brachiaque, et oculi effossi, scilicet ut per singulos artus exspiraret

*Adnot. super Luc.* 2.174: in a note explicating the role of Catulus in bringing about this execution.

{*Comm. Bern. ad Luc.* 2.173 (*qui* [sic] *per singulos artus exspiraret*): similar to note by *Adnot. scholiast*; [Rufin.]. *Schem. dian.* p. 62H.14–15 (*ut in M. Mario, cui fracta prius crura \* \* \* artus exspiraret*): to illustrate the rhetorical device of *exacerbatio*, the stirring of indignation at horrendous deeds.}

<sup>1</sup> *Rufinianus*: Gaio WC *Adn. Luc.*

<sup>2</sup> *qui Comm. Bern.*

**34** 37M, 32Mc, 25D, 30K

*Same context as fr. 33; Sulla put Q. Lucretius Afella in charge of the siege of Praeneste (Liv. Per. 88; Plut. Sull. 29.15).*

stationed at Praeneste

**35\*** 38M, 33Mc, 28D, 32K

*Flight of Cn. Carbo (III cos. 82) from Italy, abandoning an army of ca. fifty thousand men (App. B Civ. 1.92; cf. Plut. Sull. 28.17).*

Out of base fear, Carbo abandoned Italy and his army as well.

*The Tyranny of Sulla (82–80 BC), frs. 36–47*

**36** 44M, 36Mc, 30D, 35K

*Shortly after Sulla's final victory in the civil war in November 82, M. Marius Gratidianus (II pr. 84<sup>?</sup>), the son of C. Marius' sister and a leader in the Cinna regime, was put to death. His cruel execution took place at the instigation of Q. Catulus (cos. 78) and was carried out at the tomb of Catulus' father (cos. 102), across the Tiber, in retribution for Gratidianus' role in driving the elder Catulus to suicide soon after Gaius Marius and Cinna took possession of Rome in late 87.*

as in the case of Marcus Marius, whose legs and arms were first broken and his eyes gouged out, undoubtedly so that he might die limb by limb

37 45M, 37Mc, 94D, 96K

et liberis eius avunculus erat

Donat. ad *Ter. Hec.* 258 and *Phorm.* 872 (om. *et*): to illustrate dat. + *esse* to express a familial relationship.

38 47M, 38Mc, 22D, 26K

quom arae et alia dis sacrata supplicum sanguine  
foedarentur

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.502: to illustrate *foedare* meaning *cruentare* (to stain with blood).

39\* 48M, 39Mc, deest in D et K

<οἱ δὲ><sup>1</sup> νωμενκλάτορες, ὡς φησιν ὁ Αἰμίλιος ἐν τῷ  
ὑ<πομνή>ματι<sup>2</sup> τῶν Σαλλουστίου Ἱστοριῶν, ὀνομασται  
καὶ ἀνα<φω>νῆται<sup>3</sup> τῶν τογάτων . . . εἰσίν.

Lydus, *Mag.* 3.8.

<sup>1-3</sup> *suppl. Fussius*

40 49M, 40Mc, 31D, 36K

Igitur venditis proscriptorum bonis aut dilargitis

Prisc. *GL* 2.392.21: to illustrate the depon. verb (*di*)*largior* used in a passive sense.

{*Gell.* 15.13.8 (*dilargitis proscriptorum bonis* [sic]).}

**37** 45M, 37Mc, 94D, 96K

*Catiline, the husband of Gratidianus' sister (Comm. Bern. ad Luc. 2.173), carried out the execution described in fr. 36 (cf. Plut. Sull. 32.4; Ascon. pp. 84, 87C).*

and he was an uncle to his children

**38** 47M, 38Mc, 22D, 26K

*During the Sullan proscriptions (November 82–June 1, 81), the victims were hunted down without mercy.*

when altars and other objects sacred to the gods  
were sullied with the blood of suppliants

**39\*** 48M, 39Mc, not included in D and K

*S. may have referred to nomenclators (slaves whose function it was to supply their masters with the names of persons they wished to greet in a familiar fashion) in connection with the hunting down of persons who were not public figures but included on Sulla's proscription lists simply because of their wealth (Val. Max. 9.2.1).*

**Nomenclators**, as Aemilius states in his commentary on Sallust's Histories, are those who identify citizens by saying their names out loud.

**40** 49M, 40Mc, 31D, 36K

*Sulla and his supporters profited from the confiscated property of the proscribed.*

And so, after the goods of the proscribed had been sold or given away as gifts

41 50M, 41Mc, 32D, 37K

nihil ob tantam mercedem sibi abnuituros

Arus. *GL* 7.450.16 = p. 47DC: to illustrate *abnuo* + dat. of person and acc. of thing.

42 51M, 42Mc, 35D, 39K

quo patefactum est rem publicam praedae, non libertati repetitam

Arus. *GL* 7.506.31 = p. 253DC: to illustrate *praedae* (dat.) = *ad praedam*.

43\* 31M, 35Mc, deest in D et K

ut [Sullae]<sup>1</sup> dominatio, quam ultum ierat, desideraretur

*Adnot. super Luc.* 2.139: to illustrate Lucan's description of L. Sulla as "*ultor*."

<sup>1</sup> *del. Figari* (cf. *Exsuper.* 5 [32Z] ut Cinnana ac Mariana quam ultum ierat dominatio quaereretur).



**41** 50M, 41Mc, 32D, 37K

*Sulla's distribution of land to his veterans as a reward for their service ensured their loyalty to him. Land had to be found in Italy for 23 demobilized legions (App. B Civ. 1.100), some 120,000 men (ibid. 1.104)—the actual number being, perhaps, closer to 80,000 (Brunt, Italian Manpower, 305).*

<Sulla was confident?> that on account of such great recompense they would refuse him nothing

**42** 51M, 42Mc, 35D, 39K

*The reign of terror after Sulla's victory exposed the pretense that the civil war had been fought to rescue the Republic from tyranny (Exsuper. 5 [32Z]).*

by which it was revealed that the republic had been recovered for the sake of plunder, not freedom

**43\*** 31M, 35Mc, not included in D and K

*Same context as fr. 42. The fact that the scholiast quoted S. to illustrate Lucan's description of Sulla as "avenger" (ultor), taken with the close verbal resemblance of this fragment to a statement in Exsuperantius, who drew heavily upon S.—"people desired the tyranny of Marius and Cinna on which Sulla had proceeded to exact vengeance"—makes it seem probable that S. was commenting on the excesses of Sulla after his capture of Rome.*

so that people longed for the tyranny [[of Sulla]] on which he had proceeded to exact vengeance

44 57M, 49Mc, inc. 82D, inc. 48–49K

Nam Sullae dominationem queri non<sup>1</sup> audebat . . . qua  
offensus<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.504.11 = p. 244DC: to illustrate *queror* + acc.; Donat.  
ad Ter. *Phorm.* 371: to illustrate a relative pron. (here *qua*) refer-  
ring back to a noun (here *dominationem*) that is separated from  
it by an unspecified number of intervening words.

<sup>1</sup> queri non] *om. Donat.*      <sup>2</sup> qua offensus] *Keil in app.:*  
*neque (est V: fuit Maurenbr.) offensus RCO Donat.: om. Arus.*

45\* 52M, 44Mc, 38D, 42K

simulans sibi alvom purgari

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.20; Isid. *Etym.* 11.1.133; *Gloss. Vati-*  
*tic.* p. 34M; *Gloss. Verg.* p. 528H.24–25: to illustrate the meaning  
of the word *alvus* (bowel).

46 53M, 45Mc, 39D, 44K

Id bellum excitabat metus Pompei victoris Hiempsalem in  
regnum restituentis.

Gell. 9.12.14 {Non. p. 140M = 205L.30 (*id . . . victoris*)}: to illus-  
trate objective gen. with *metus*.

**44** 57M, 49Mc, inc. 82D, inc. 48–49K

*Possibly describing Pompey (so de Brosse and Kritz) or the future dictator Julius Caesar (so Maurenbr.), an object of suspicion in Sulla's eyes, because Caesar was married to Cinna's daughter and was linked to Marius through his aunt Julia, Marius' widow. S. may refer to Caesar's decision to go abroad in 81 to put distance between himself and Sulla (Plut. Caes. 1.7).*

For he did not dare to complain about Sulla's tyranny . . .  
offended by which

**45\*** 52M, 44Mc, 38D, 42K

*In 82, Pompey was sent to Sicily by Sulla (Plut. Pomp. 10.2), with imperium granted by the senate (Liv. Per. 89), to crush the "Marian" forces. At Lilybaeum, Pompey executed Cn. Carbo (III cos. 82), who first requested a delay to relieve his bowels (Plut. Pomp. 10.6; Val. Max. 9.13.2). The appointment of the interrex L. Flaccus in November (MRR 2.68) indicates that both consuls were dead by that date.*

pretending that he was having a bowel movement

**46** 53M, 45Mc, 39D, 44K

*In 81, after Pompey crushed the "Marian" forces under Cn. Domitius (son-in-law of Cinna, cos. 87–84) in Africa, he invaded Numidia, captured Domitius' ally King Iarbas, and installed Hiempsal as monarch (Plut. Pomp. 12.6–7; App. B Civ. 1.80).*

That war [with with the Numidians] was stirred up by the fear of the victorious Pompey, who was restoring Hiempsal to his kingdom.

47 46M, 46Mc, 84D, K

Magnis operibus<sup>1</sup> perfectis, obsidium coepit<sup>2</sup> per L. Catinam legatum.

Festus p. 193M = 210L.9–11: to illustrate the existence of the second decl. form *obsidium*, likening it to the nouns *subsidium* and *praesidium*; elsewhere (p. 198M = 218L.2–3), Festus expresses preference for the third decl. form *obsidio*.

<sup>1</sup> *edd.*: opibus X

<sup>2</sup> *cepit ed. Ald. 1513*

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND REVOLT OF  
LEPIDUS (78–77 BC), FRR. 48–72

48 54M, 47Mc, 40D, 90K

De praefecto urbis, quasi possessione<sup>1</sup> rei publicae, magna utrimque vi contendebatur.

Arus. *GL* 7.499.1–2 = p. 224DC: to illustrate *praefectus* + gen.

<sup>1</sup> *Keil*: possessio *NI*: possessore *Lindemann*

49 55M, 48Mc, 41D, 45K

**47 46M, 46Mc, 84D, K**

*The future conspirator Catiline, as a legate of Sulla(?), oversaw a siege perhaps in 82–80 (MRR 3.192).*

After the completion of great siege works, he began the blockade through his deputy commander Lucius Catiline.

**DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND REVOLT OF  
LEPIDUS (78–77 BC), FRR. 48–72**

**48 54M, 47Mc, 40D, 90K**

*In 78, the consuls M. Lepidus and Q. Catulus quarreled over the selection of the City Prefect, an official deputized to serve in an honorary capacity as a substitute for the consuls when they went in the spring to the Alban Mt. (ca. thirteen miles southeast of Rome) to celebrate the Latin Festival (Feriae Latinae).*

On both sides there was violent contention over the City Prefecture, as if over the control of the nation.

**49 55M, 48Mc, 41D, 45K**

*As a prelude to launching a revolution toward the end of his consulship in 78, M. Lepidus (father of the future Triumvir) criticizes the tyrannical power and radical legislative reforms of the dictator L. Sulla. Since Sulla is portrayed as being still alive (§§1, 5, 16), this speech belongs to the opening months of 78, before Sulla's death and public funeral in the early part of that year (frr. 50–53). Anachronistically, too, Sulla is described as still ruling with an iron fist (§§7–8, 24), although in the previous year he had retired into private life.*

## Oratio Lepidi Consulis Ad Populum Romanum<sup>1</sup>

- 1 “Clementia et probitas vostra, Quirites, quibus per ceteras gentis maximi et clari estis, plurimum timoris mihi faciunt adversum tyrannidem L. Sullae, ne, quae ipsi nefanda aestumatis, ea parum credundo de aliis circumveniamini—praesertim quom illi spes omnis in scelere atque perfidia sit, neque se aliter tutum putet quam si peior atque instabilior metu vostro fuerit, quo captis libertatis curam miseria eximat—aut, si provideritis, in tutandis<sup>2</sup> periculis magis quam ulciscundo teneamini.
- 2 “Satellites quidem eius, homines maximi nominis, optimis maiorum exemplis, nequeo satis mirari, qui dominationis in vos servitium suum mercedem dant et utrumque per iniuriam malunt quam optimo iure liberi
- 3 agere: praeclara Brutorum atque Aemiliorum et Lutatorum proles, geniti ad ea quae maiores virtute peperere
- 4 subvortunda. Nam quid a Pyrrho, Hannibale, Philippoque et Antiocho<sup>3</sup> defensum est aliud quam libertas et suae

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of this speech are transmitted by V (Vat. lat. 3864, ff. 119v–20v). Citations from §§11, 19, and 23, as noted below, are assigned to Book 1 by Arusianus and Diomedes.

<sup>2</sup> vitandis *Asulanus*, sed cf. *OLD s.v. tutor* 3

<sup>3</sup> nam quid . . . Philippo et Antiocho] nam quid a Pyrrho, Hannibale, aequor<e> et terra [sic] *Donat. ad Ter. Phorm.* 243 (cf. fr. dub. 6)

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<sup>1</sup> Lepidus' opening remarks recall the exordium of the speech of the Corinthians to the Spartans in Thucydides 1.68.1. <sup>2</sup> I.e., their tyranny over the Roman people and their own enslavement to Sulla. <sup>3</sup> E.g., D. Junius Brutus and Mam. Aemilius Lepidus, the future consuls of 77, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, consul with Lepidus in 78.

“Your mercy and integrity, Citizens, which make you supreme and renowned throughout other nations, cause me the greatest apprehension in the face of the tyranny of Lucius Sulla, apprehension that you may be duped as a result of failing to believe others capable of acts which you yourselves regard as abominable<sup>1</sup>—especially since Sulla’s hope for success depends entirely upon crime and treachery, and since he thinks that he cannot be safe, unless he is even worse and more detestable than your dread of him so that under the spell of this fear you may allow your wretchedness to take away your concern for freedom. Alternatively, I fear that if you are on your guard, you may be more occupied in guarding against dangers than in taking vengeance.

“I cannot wonder enough at Sulla’s minions, men bearing very distinguished names and having the excellent models of their ancestors, who submit to their own enslavement as the price of their dominion over you and prefer this double iniquity<sup>2</sup> to living as free men on the securest legal footing: for instance, the glorious descendants of the Bruti, Aemilii, and Lutatii,<sup>3</sup> born to overthrow what their ancestors produced by their prowess! For what was kept safe from Pyrrhus, Hannibal, from Philip and Antiochus,<sup>4</sup> if not liberty and each man’s abode and our

<sup>4</sup> Pyrrhus, king of Epirus; Philip V, king of Macedon; and Antiochus III, king of the Seleucid empire in the Middle East, contended with Rome in major wars fought in 280–275, 200–197, and 192–190, respectively. The Carthaginian general Hannibal ravaged Italy from 218 to 203 during the Second Punic War.

- 5 quoique sedes, neu quoi nisi legibus pareremus? Quae  
 cuncta scaevos<sup>4</sup> iste Romulus quasi ab externis rapta tenet,  
 non tot exercituum clade neque consulum et aliorum prin-  
 cipum quos fortuna belli consumpserat, satiatus, sed tum  
 crudelior, quom plerosque secundae res in miserationem  
 6 ex ira vortunt. Quin solus omnium post memoriam humani  
 <generis><sup>5</sup> supplicia in post futuros composuit, quis prius  
 iniuria quam vita certa esset, pravissimeque<sup>6</sup> per sceleris  
 inmanitatem adhuc tutus fuit, dum vos metu gravioris ser-  
 viti a repetunda libertate terremini.
- 7 “Agundum atque obviam eundum est,<sup>7</sup> Quirites, ne  
 spolia vostra penes illos<sup>8</sup> sint ; non prolatandum, neque  
 votis paranda auxilia. Nisi forte speratis taedium iam aut  
 pudorem tyrannidis Sullae esse et eum per scelus occu-  
 8 pata periculosius dimissurum. At ille eo processit ut nihil  
 gloriosum nisi tutum et omnia retinendae dominationis  
 9 honesta aestumet. Itaque illa quies et otium cum libertate,

<sup>4</sup> saevus iste Romulus] *Serv. ad Ecl.* 3.13

<sup>5</sup> *Orelli*

<sup>6</sup> *Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509): parvissimeque V (cf. fr. 67.1 for the same error)

<sup>7</sup> Agundum . . . eundum est] *Donat. ad Ter. An.* 254

<sup>8</sup> illum ed. *Brix. 1495, fort. recte*

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<sup>5</sup> Lit., “left-handed,” a derogatory description of Sulla, whose radical reorganization of the Roman state caused him to resemble Romulus as a second founder of the nation.

<sup>6</sup> C. Norbanus (cos. 83) and C. Marius (cos. 82) committed suicide to avoid capture; Cn. Carbo (III, cos. 82) was executed by Pompey (fr. 47), and L. Scipio (cos. 83) fled to Massilia to escape being killed in the proscriptions.



privilege of being subject to nothing except the laws? And all these things this perverse<sup>5</sup> Romulus holds in his possession, as if they had been seized from foreigners. He is not sated with the destruction of so many armies and consuls<sup>6</sup> and other leading men, whom the fortune of war had devoured, but is more cruel at a time when success turns most men from wrath to pity. As a matter of fact, he alone of all men within human memory has devised punishments against later generations, so that they might be assured of injury before being born.<sup>7</sup> Shockingly, he has been protected up to now by the enormity of his crimes, while the fear of a still more cruel slavery deters you from reclaiming your liberty.

“Action must be taken, Citizens, and resistance must be made so that *your* spoils may not be in the hands of those men;<sup>8</sup> there must be no delay, nor is help to be procured by means of vows to the gods. Unless, perhaps, you hope that Sulla now experiences weariness or shame at his tyranny and that he will with greater peril relinquish objects criminally seized.<sup>9</sup> On the contrary, he has reached the point that he thinks nothing glorious unless it is safe, and regards all that contributes to the retention of his tyranny as honorable. Hence, that state of repose and tranquility combined with freedom, which many upright men

<sup>7</sup> By depriving the children and grandchildren of the proscribed of the right to hold public office (Plut. *Sull.* 31.8); cf. *Cat.* 37.9.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., Sulla and his followers, those called “minions” (*satellites*) in §§2, 12.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Thuc. 2.63.2, regarding the danger that is inherent in voluntarily relinquishing tyranny.

10 quae multi probi potius quam laborem cum honoribus  
11 capessebant, nulla sunt; hac tempestate serviundum aut  
12 imperitandum; habendus metus est aut faciendus, Qui-  
13 rites. Nam quid ultra? Quaeve humana superant, aut  
14 divina inpolluta sunt? Populus Romanus, paulo ante gen-  
15 tium moderator, exutus imperio, gloria, iure, agitandi  
inops<sup>9</sup> despectusque, ne servilia quidem alimenta relicua  
habet. Sociorum et Lati magna vis civitate pro multis et  
egregiis factis a vobis data per unum prohibentur et plebis  
innoxiae patrias sedes occupavere pauci satellites merce-  
dem scelerum. Leges, iudicia, aerarium, provinciae, reges  
penes unum, denique necis civium et vitae licentia. Simul  
humanas hostias vidistis et sepulcra infecta sanguine civili.  
Estne viris relicui aliud quam solvere iniuriam aut mori  
per virtutem, quoniam quidem unum omnibus finem na-  
tura vel ferro saeptis statuit, neque quisquam extremam  
necessitatem nihil ausus nisi muliebri ingenio exspectat?

<sup>9</sup> agitandi inops] *Arus. GL 7.480.3 = p. 272DC*

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<sup>10</sup> The option of living honorably, without taking any part in public affairs, no longer exists because one must either assert one's rights as a citizen or submit to being a slave to Sulla and his minions.

<sup>11</sup> Sulla abolished the distribution of a monthly ration of grain to Roman citizens at a fixed price, a privilege that had existed since the tribunate of C. Gracchus in 123.

<sup>12</sup> See fr. 20n. <sup>13</sup> Italian communities that had supported Sulla's opponents in the civil war were stripped of their Roman citizenship (*Cic. Dom.* 79) and land was confiscated from them to provide colonies for Sulla's discharged veterans (see fr. 43).

<sup>14</sup> Sulla's appointment as dictator "for the purpose of restoring the nation" (*rei publicae constituendae*) in late 82, an office he did not relinquish until 80 at the earliest, or possibly 79,

used to pursue zealously in preference to toil combined with political office,<sup>10</sup> are no more. In this era, one must be a slave or a commander; one must feel fear, Citizens, or inspire it. For what other choice is there? Or what human principles remain, or what divine principles are unsullied? The Roman people, a short while ago the controller of the nations, has been stripped of power, glory and rights; without the means to live and an object of contempt, it does not have left even the rations of slaves.<sup>11</sup> Through the act of one man, a large throng of our Italian allies and of those belonging to communities classified as Latin<sup>12</sup> are deprived of the citizenship<sup>13</sup> granted by you in return for their many distinguished services. The ancestral abodes of the guiltless commons have been seized by a few of his minions as the wages for their crimes. In the power of one man are the laws, the courts, the treasury, the provinces, kings, in short, control over the life and death of citizens.<sup>14</sup> You have beheld at the same time human sacrifices and tombs stained with the blood of citizens.<sup>15</sup> Is anything left for true men except to put an end to injustice, or to die valiantly, inasmuch as Nature has appointed one and the same end for all, even for those encased in iron,<sup>16</sup> and no one awaits the final inevitability, daring nothing, unless he is of a womanish temperament?

gave him *carte blanche* to institute radical reforms, the chief aim of which was to strengthen the power of the senate, to which he transferred jury duty from the equestrian class.

<sup>15</sup> For the execution of Marius Gratidianus beside the tomb of the Lutatian gens (see frs. 36–37).

<sup>16</sup> Similar to Demosthenes' observation (18.97) that death cannot be escaped by barricading oneself in a room.

16       “Verum ego seditiosus, uti Sulla ait, qui praemia turba-  
17 rum queror, et bellum cupiens, qui iura pacis repeto. Sci-  
licet, quia non aliter salvi satisque tuti in imperio eritis,  
nisi Vettius Picens et scriba Cornelius aliena bene parta<sup>10</sup>  
prodegerint, nisi adprobaritis omnes proscriptionem in-  
noxiorum ob divitias, cruciatus virorum illustrium, vastam  
urbem fuga et caedibus, bona civium miserorum quasi  
18 Cimbricam praedam venum aut dono datam. At obiectat  
mihi possessiones ex bonis proscriptorum; quod quidem  
scelerum illius vel maxumum est, non me neque quem-  
quam omnium satis tutum fuisse, si recte faceremus. At-  
que illa, quae tum formidine mercatus sum, pretio soluto  
iure dominis tamen restituo, neque pati consilium est ul-  
19 lam ex civibus praedam esse. Satis illa fuerint, quae rabie  
contracta toleravimus, manus conserentis inter se Roma-  
nos exercitus et arma ab externis in nosmet vorsa. Scele-  
rum et contumeliarum omnium finis sit; quorum adeo

<sup>10</sup> *Orelli*: parata V

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<sup>17</sup> L. Vettius was an *eques*, who had served under Pompey's father in 89 (ILS 8888) and later played a role as informer in 62 at the time of the Catilinarian conspiracy and in 59 during Caesar's consulship. He sold to Cicero a villa that had once belonged to Catulus (Cic. *Att.* 4.5.2).

<sup>18</sup> Doubtless one of the thousands of Corneliis who were ex-slaves of the proscribed to whom Sulla gave freedom and Roman citizenship (App. *B Civ.* 1.100, 104). This clerk in Sulla's dictatorship was later urban quaestor under Caesar (Cic. *Off.* 2.29), possibly in 45 or 44 (MRR 3.62).

<sup>19</sup> See *Jug.* 114.1n.

“But according to Sulla, I who criticize the rewards of civil commotion am rebellious; I who reclaim the rights of peace am craving war. Evidently because you, the Roman people, will not otherwise be safe and sufficiently secure in your dominion, unless Vettius<sup>17</sup> of Picenum and the clerk Cornelius<sup>18</sup> squander assets belonging to others and acquired by honest means, unless all of you approve the proscription of innocent men on account of their wealth, the torture of distinguished citizens, the desolation of the City as a result of banishments and assassinations, the putting up for sale or the giving away of the goods of wretched citizens, as if those goods were the spoils of the Cimbri.<sup>19</sup> But Sulla criticizes me for having possessions derived from the goods of the proscribed. And this indeed is the very greatest of his crimes, the fact that neither I nor anyone at all was really safe if we did what was right.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, that property which at that time I bought through fear, even though I paid the asking price, I nevertheless restore now to its rightful owners, and it is not my intention to allow there to be any booty derived from citizens. Let those sufferings be enough which we have endured as the product of frenzy: Roman armies fighting hand to hand against each other, and our arms turned away from outsiders against our very selves. Let there be an end of all crimes and outrages which fail to cause Sulla any feeling of regret, so much so that he counts them as deeds

<sup>20</sup> By refusing to share in Sulla's guilt through profiting from the proscriptions. Even the innocent act of showing horror at the gruesome death of one of Sulla's victims was punished on one occasion by the immediate execution of the sympathizer (Val. Max. 9.2.1).

Sullam non paenitet ut et facta in gloria numeret et, si liceat, avidius fecerit.<sup>11</sup>

- 20 “Neque iam quid existumetis de illo, sed quantum audeatis vereor, ne alius alium principem expectantes ante capiamini, non opibus eius, quae futiles et corruptae sunt, sed vostra socordia, qua raptum ire<sup>12</sup> licet et quam audeas,<sup>13</sup> tam videri felicem. Nam praeter satellites conmaculatos quis eadem volt aut quis non omnia mutata praeter victoriam?<sup>14</sup> Scilicet milites, quorum sanguine Tarulae Scirtoque, pessumis servorum, divitiae partae sunt? An quibus praelatus in magistratibus capiundis Fufidius, ancilla turpis, honorum omnium dehonestamentum? Itaque maxumam mihi fiduciam parit victor exercitus, quoi per tot volnera et labores nihil praeter tyrannum quaesitum est. Nisi forte tribuniciam potestatem evorsum profecti sunt, per arma conditam a maioribus suis, utique iura et iudicia sibimet extorquerent, egregia scilicet mercede,
- 21  
22  
23

<sup>11</sup> ut et facta . . . fecerit] *Diom. GL 1.412.20; Dosith. GL 7.415.20–21 (om. ut)*

<sup>12</sup> qua raptum ire] *Madvig: quam raptum iri V*

<sup>13</sup> audeat *Lætus*      <sup>14</sup> victorem *Kritz*

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Thuc. 1.69.2, concerning the need to have regard for not the extent of wrongs suffered but rather how to defend against them.

<sup>22</sup> “Fortunate” (*felicem*) alludes to Sulla’s agnomen Felix (see *Jug.* 95.4n.).

<sup>23</sup> The indefinite “you” singular (*audeas*), in contrast with the plural *audeatis* above (“how much daring you have”), turns the remark into a generalization about “one’s daring.” Or, adopting the emendation *audeat*, “in proportion to what *he* (Sulla) dares.”

<sup>24</sup> Both are otherwise unknown.

<sup>25</sup> Governor of Farther Spain in 80 (after holding a praetor-

done in glory, and, were it permitted, he would do them again more eagerly. [fr. 49]

“But I now no longer worry about what you think of that man but about how much daring you have,<sup>21</sup> for fear that while you are waiting, each for someone else to assume the lead, you may be taken prisoner beforehand, not by his forces (which are insignificant and degenerate) but as a result of your own lack of resolve, thanks to which permission is being granted to go on a plundering spree and to seem fortunate<sup>22</sup> in proportion to one’s daring.<sup>23</sup> For who shares his aims, apart from his crime-stained minions, or who does not desire a complete change, except for the victory? Is it, do you suppose, the soldiers, at the price of whose blood riches have been produced for the vilest of slaves such as Tarula and Scirtus?<sup>24</sup> Or is it those who in pursuing a political career were treated as less worthy than Fufidius,<sup>25</sup> a vile, womanish servant, a blot upon all public offices? Hence I derive my greatest confidence from the victorious army, which has gained nothing through so many wounds and hardships except a tyrant. Unless perhaps they set out to overthrow the power of the tribunes, which their forefathers had established by arms, and to rob themselves of their rights and the courts,<sup>26</sup> in exchange, no doubt, for exceptional wages, when, ban-

ship in 81?), where he was defeated by Sertorius (frr. 95–96). Possibly he is to be identified with the ex-centurion—variously called Aufidius (Plut. *Sull.* 31.4), Fursidius (Oros. 5.21.3), or Furfidius (Flor. 29.25)—who persuaded Sulla to draw up an official list of proscribed victims, instead of carrying out indiscriminate slaughter.

<sup>26</sup> By allowing the courts to be placed exclusively under the control of small panels comprising senatorial jurors (cf. §13n.).

- quom relegati in paludes<sup>15</sup> et silvas contumeliam atque  
invidiam suam, praemia penes paucos intellegerent.<sup>16</sup>
- 24 “Quare igitur tanto agmine atque animis incedit? Quia  
secundae res mire sunt vitiis obtentui<sup>17</sup>—quibus labefac-  
tis, quam formidatus est, tam contemnetur—nisi forte  
specie concordiae et pacis, quae sceleri et parricidio suo  
nomina indidit. Neque aliter rem publicam et belli finem  
ait, nisi maneat expulsa agris plebes, praeda civilis acerbis-  
suma, ius iudiciumque omnium rerum penes se, quod  
25 populi Romani fuit. Quae si vobis pax et composita intelle-  
guntur, maxuma turbamenta rei publicae atque exitia pro-  
bate, adnite legibus inpositis, accipite otium cum servitio  
et tradite exemplum posteris ad rem publicam suimet  
sanguinis mercede circumveniendam!
- 26 “Mihi quamquam per hoc summum imperium satis  
quaesitum erat nomini maiorum, dignitati atque etiam  
praesidio, tamen non fuit consilium privatas opes facere,  
27 potiorque visa est periculosa libertas quieto servitio. Quae  
si probatis, adeste, Quirites, et bene iuvantibus divis M.  
Aemilium consulem ducem et auctorem sequimini ad reci-  
piendam libertatem!”

<sup>15</sup> relegati in paludes] *Arus. GL 7.505.9 = p. 248DC*

<sup>16</sup> intellegerint *Orelli*

<sup>17</sup> Quia secundae . . . optentui] *Porph. ad Hor. Epist. 1.18.29; Sen. Controv. 9.1.13 (om. quia: res secundae [sic])*

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<sup>27</sup> Cicero (*Agr. 2.71*) similarly characterizes in a negative fashion the land intended for settlements under Rullus' agrarian bill in 63. <sup>28</sup> Seneca (*Controv. 9.1.13*) informs us that the rhetorician Aurelius Fuscus once commented on how this aphorism of S. surpassed the brevity of a similar observation in Greek by Thucydides (*sic*: the quotation coming, in fact, from pseudo-Demosthenes [*Ep. Phil. 13, modeled on Dem. Ol. 2.20*]).



ished to swamps and woods,<sup>27</sup> they realize that insult and resentment are their portion, while true rewards are in the hands of just a few men! [fr. 49]

“Why, then, does the tyrant go about with such a great following and assurance? Because success serves as a wonderful screen for vices<sup>28</sup>—if a reverse occurs, he will be despised as much as he is now feared—unless, perhaps, it is out of a pretense of harmony and peace, which are the names he has conferred on his criminal treason. And he asserts that in no other way can the nation and an end of war exist, unless the commons remain driven from their lands (the cruelest plunder of citizens) and the control and jurisdiction over all matters, which once belonged to the Roman people, remain in his own hands. If this is what you recognize as ‘peace’ and ‘order,’ give your approval to the utter disruption and destruction of the nation; bow assent to the laws which have been imposed upon you; accept a tranquility combined with slavery, and hand down to future generations a model for defrauding the nation at the price of their own blood.

“For my own part, although through this supreme power<sup>29</sup> enough had been gained as measured by the glorious name of my ancestors, my status and even my protection, nevertheless it was not my plan to amass personal wealth, and it seemed to me that freedom accompanied by danger is preferable to servile tranquility. If you endorse this view, Citizens, let your presence be felt, and with the kindly aid of the gods, follow Marcus Aemilius, your consul, as your leader and advocate for the recovery of freedom!”

<sup>29</sup> The consulship.

*Public Funeral of Sulla, fr. 50–53*

**50\*** 58M, 50Mc, 29D, 34K

Mox tanta flagitia in tali viro pudet dicere.

*Schol. Gronov. ad Cic. Rosc. Am.* 90 (p. 312St.4–5): commenting that as a youth Sulla indulged in many vices (cf. fr. 53).

**51** 59M, 51Mc, 90D, 92K

ut in ore gentibus agens

Arus. *GL* 7.488.10–11 = p. 183DC: to illustrate *in ore* + dat. meaning *in conspectu* + gen.; Donat. ad Ter. *Ad.* 93 (om. *ut*): to illustrate *in ore* + dat.

**52** 60M, 52Mc, 37D, 40K

insanum aliter sua sententia atque aliorum<sup>1</sup> mulierum <lubidine><sup>2</sup>

Charis. *GL* 1.194.23–24 = p. 253B.3: to illustrate S.'s use of *aliter* = *alias* (cf. fr. 108).

<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.*: aliarum codd.

<sup>2</sup> *scripsi*

**53\*** 61M, 53Mc, deest in D et K

ὁ δ οὔτε νέος ὢν περὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμετρίαζε διὰ τὴν πενίαν, οὔτε γηράσας διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ

*Public Funeral of Sulla, fr. 50–53*

**50\*** 58M, 50Mc, 29D, 34K

*The scholiast who preserves this fragment identifies Sulla as the person being spoken of. The context may have been S.'s description of Sulla's public funeral in the spring of 78 (Plut. Sull. 38), in connection with which S. passed judgment on Sulla's character and moral depravity.*

I soon blush at mentioning such monstrous vices in a man of such standing.

**51** 59M, 51Mc, 90D, 92K

*Perhaps the same context as the preceding fr., commenting on the public scrutiny to which Sulla's unabashed shamelessness was exposed.*

that he living in the sight of the whole world

**52** 60M, 52Mc, 37D, 40K

*Perhaps the same context as fr. 50–51, commenting on Sulla's love affairs with married women (cf. fr. 53).*

by his own admission, frenzied in other respects and from his <lust><sup>1</sup> for others' wives

<sup>1</sup> Text uncertain.

**53\*** 61M, 53Mc, not included in D and K

*Perhaps the same context as fr. 50–52, commenting on Sulla's hypocrisy in violating his own laws aimed at curbing immorality.*

*Sulla did not let the poverty of his youth or his time of life as an old man set limits to his desires; but, as Sallust says,*

γάμων καὶ σωφροσύνης εἰσηγεῖτο νόμους τοῖς πολί-  
ταις, αὐτὸς ἐρώων καὶ μοιχεύων, ὡς φησι Σαλούστιος.

Plut. *comp. Lys. et Sull.* 3 (41).3

**54** 62M, 54Mc, 53D, 89K

Idem fecere <M.><sup>1</sup> Octavius et Q. Caepio sine gravi  
quouisquam expectatione neque<sup>2</sup> sane ambitu publice.

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.283: to illustrate *ambio* + acc. = *rogo* + acc.

<sup>1</sup> *scripsi*      <sup>2</sup> expectatione neque] *Daniel:* expectat iuno-  
nique F

**55** 63M, 55Mc, 43D, 46K

Quin lenones et vinarii laniique <et><sup>1</sup> quorum praeterea  
volgus in dies usum habet, pretio compositi

Non. p. 257M = 392L.47–48: to illustrate *componere* = *redimere*  
(to buy up).

{Charis. *GL* 1.75.20 = p. 96B.2 (*quin vinarii <laniique>*): to illus-  
trate the noun *lanius*.}

<sup>1</sup> *Müller*

**he imposed upon his fellow citizens laws to regulate marriage and chastity, while at the same time he himself was carrying on love affairs and committing adultery.**

**54** 62M, 54Mc, 53D, 89K

*Possibly as historical background to M. Lepidus' proposed grain law (Gran. Lic. p. 34F; cf. speech of Philippus, fr. 67.6), S. referred to M. Octavius (tribune of the plebs 99–87), who abrogated C. Gracchus' grain law and substituted a more modest bill (Cic. Brut. 222; Off. 2.72) and to Caepio, who as quaestor in 100, opposed passage of the grain law proposed by the populist tribune L. Saturninus (Rhet. Her. 1.21).*

Marcus Octavius and Quintus Caepio did the same [tried to curb the largess of distributing grain to the populace] without anyone really expecting this and assuredly without having been asked publicly.

**55** 63M, 55Mc, 43D, 46K

*Lowly, urban supporters won over by Lepidus with largess.*

In fact, pimps and wine makers and butchers and those besides with whom the common throng has daily dealings, collected together for a price<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exsuper. 6 [37Z] attests Lepidus' popularity with the commons as a result of "numerous instances of public and private largess" (*multis muneribus publice privatimque largitis*).

**56\*** 64M, 56Mc, 42D, inc. 52K

tyrannumque et Cinnam maxuma voce adpellans

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.214: to illustrate the use of a proper name as a term of abuse.

{*tyrannumque et Cinnam appellantes* (Mar. Victor. *Rhet.* p. 215H.17; Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.5, om. *appellantes*, to illustrate *-que + et*.)}

**57\*** 65M, 57Mc, 46D, 49K

Magna vis hominum convenerat agris pulsa aut civitate eiecta.

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.270: to illustrate *vis = copia*.

**58** 66M, 58Mc, 44D, 47K

uti Lepidus et Catulus decretis exercitibus maturume proficiscerentur

Charis. *GL* 1.205.21–22 = p. 266B.29–30: to illustrate the superl. adv. *maturrime*.

**59** 67M, 59Mc, 16D, 18K

Tunc vero Etrusci<sup>1</sup> cum ceteri<s><sup>2</sup> eiusdem causae ducem se nactus<sup>3</sup> rati maxumo gaudio bellum inritare.

Non. p. 31M = 46L.23: to illustrate *inritare = provocare*.

{Arus. *GL* 7.486.10 = p. 176DC (*maximo . . . inritare*): to illustrate *inritare bellum*.}

<sup>1</sup> Mercier: et posci *codd.*  
nactus *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> Mercier

<sup>3</sup> Mercier:

**56\*** 64M, 56Mc, 42D, inc. 52K

*The consul M. Lepidus was accused by his enemies of reinstating the tyranny of Cinna (cf. speech of Philippus, fr. 67.19).*

with a very loud voice calling him a tyrant like Cinna<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lit., “both a tyrant and a Cinna.”

**57\*** 65M, 57Mc, 46D, 49K

*Dispossessed landowners in the vicinity of Faesulae attacked Sulla's veterans, who had been given land confiscated in that region of Etruria (Gran. Lic. p. 34F).*

A large body of men had assembled, driven from their lands or expelled from their community.

**58** 66M, 58Mc, 44D, 47K

*Same context as fr. 57: consuls were sent to Etruria to quell uprising (Gran. Lic. p. 35F).*

<the senate voted?> that Lepidus and Catulus set out very quickly with their authorized armies

**59** 67M, 59Mc, 16D, 18K

*M. Lepidus made common cause with the Etruscan rebels, whom he had been sent to suppress (Gran. Lic. p. 35F).*

But then the Etruscans, together with the rest belonging to the same cause, thinking that they had acquired a leader, fomented war with the greatest delight.

SALLUST

60\* 69M, 64Mc, 45D, 48K

Etruria omnis cum Lepido suspecta in tumultum erat.

Arus. *GL* 7.484.20 = p. 171DC, quoting fr. 14 and this fragment: to illustrate (erroneously) *in* + acc. = *causa* + gen.

61 71M, 60Mc, 91D, 93K

prudens omnium quae senatus censuerat

Arus. *GL* 7.503.7 = p. 241DC: to illustrate *prudens* + gen. of thing.

62\* 72M, 61Mc, inc. 93D, inc. 62K

Igitur senati decreto serviundumne sit?

Donat. *Ter. An.* 365 {*Schol. Bemb. ad Ter. Eun.* 237 (*igitur senati decreto*)}: to illustrate the archaic spelling of the gen. sing. of *ornatus* and *senatus* in *-i*.

63 73M, 62Mc, deest in D et K

plebei tribuniciam potestatem

Prisc. *GL* 2.243.11: to illustrate the gen. sing. *plebei* of *plebes* (as opposed to *plebis*, gen. of *plebs*).

64 68M, 63Mc, 49D, 53K

Lepidum poenitentem consili<sup>1</sup>

Charis. *GL* 1.253.11 = p. 331B.14; Dosith. *GL* 7.408.18: to illustrate the pres. principle of the impers. verb *paenitet*.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Dosith.*



## HISTORIES, BOOK 1

**60\*** 69M, 64Mc, 45D, 48K

*Same context as fr. 59.*

All Etruria was suspected of being inclined to an uprising with Lepidus.

**61** 71M, 60Mc, 91D, 93K

*M. Lepidus realized that the senate's true motive for summoning him back to Rome from Etruria in order to hold the elections for 77 was really to deprive him of his army (App. B Civ. 1.107).*

aware of all that the senate had decided

**62\*** 72M, 61Mc, inc. 93D, inc. 62K

*Same context as fr. 61. Lepidus ponders his options.*

Therefore, is it the case that one must be subservient to the senate's decree?

**63** 73M, 62Mc, not included in D and K

*Early in his consulship, M. Lepidus had rejected a call for the restoration of the powers of the tribunate (Gran. Lic. p. 34F) but later made that very demand (see fr. 67.14).*

the tribunician power of the plebs

**64** 68M, 63Mc, 49D, 53K

*It is impossible to say what "decision" Lepidus regretted, whether to negotiate with the senate for a peaceful settlement in 78 (Maurénbr.) or to adopt the strategy of attacking Rome and leaving his province of Cisalpine Gaul in the hands of his legate Brutus (Kritz).*

Lepidus, regretting his decision

65\* 74M, 65Mc, 89D, 57K

Nam talia incepta, ni in consultorem vertissent,<sup>1</sup> rei publicae pestem factura

Donat. ad Verg., *Aen.* 1.37 (p. 18G.12–14) and *Aen.* 4.316 (p. 399G.9–10): to illustrate *incepta* meaning “intentions.”

<sup>1</sup> in consultorem vertissent] inconsulto revertissent p. 399G

66\* 75M, 66Mc, 47D, 50K

qui aetate et consilio ceteros anteibat

Serv. ad *Aen.* 9.244 quotes S.’s description of Philippus to explicate the meaning of Virgil’s “*annis gravis atque animi maturus.*”

67 77M, 67Mc, 48D, 51K

### Oratio Philippi in Senatu<sup>1</sup>

- 1 “Maxume vellem, patres conscripti, rem publicam quietam esse aut in periculis a promptissimo quoque defendi, denique prava<sup>2</sup> incepta consultoribus noxae esse. Sed con-

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of this speech are transmitted by V (Vat. lat. 3864, ff. 120v–22r). Citations from §§5 and 19, as noted below, are assigned to Book I by Arusianus and Nonius.

<sup>2</sup> *corr. Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509): *parva V* (*error idem, fr. 49.6*)

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<sup>1</sup> The first words uttered by Philippus recall the opening words of Dem. *orat. exord.* 33.1: *Μάλιστα μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βουλοίμην ἄν* (“most of all, men of Athens, I might wish”).

**65\*** 74M, 65Mc, 89D, 57K

*Criticism of the revolutionary designs of Lepidus similar to that voiced by Philippus (fr. 67.1 and n. ad loc.).*

For such undertakings [he asserted?], unless they recoiled on their proponent, would produce havoc for the nation

**66\*** 75M, 66Mc, 47D, 50K

*S.'s description of the senior consular L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 91, cens. 86).*

who surpassed the rest in seniority and judgment

**67** 77M, 67Mc, 48D, 51K

*When the year 77 opened with an interregnum in the absence of consuls to assume office (§22), and M. Lepidus (cos. 78) was threatening Rome with an army (§§10, 22) to press his demand for a second consulship and the reversal of Sulla's reforms, including the restoration of the powers of the tribunes (§14), the senior consular L. Marcius Philippus (cos. 91; cens. 86 under the Cinnan regime) argued for the passage of a senatus consultum ultimum (§22) to crush Lepidus' revolt. Although this speech gives the impression of being paired as a counterpoint to Lepidus's speech (fr. 49), after the fashion of the speeches assigned to Caesar and Cato in the Bellum Catilinae (§§51–52), the two speeches in Book I of the Historiae were delivered approximately one year apart and would have stood at some distance from each other in the complete text of the Historiae.*

### Philippus' Speech in the Senate

"I might wish most of all, Members of the Senate,<sup>1</sup> for our nation to be tranquil or for it to be defended amid dangers by its most enterprising citizens, or finally for evil under-

- tra seditionibus omnia turbata sunt, et ab eis quos prohibere magis decebat; postremo, quae pessimi et stultissimi decrevere, ea bonis et sapientibus faciunda sunt.
- 2 Nam bellum atque arma, quamquam vobis invisa, tamen quia Lepido placent, sumunda sunt, nisi forte quoi pacem praestare et bellum pati consilium est.
- 3 “Pro di boni, qui hanc urbem omissa cura<sup>3</sup> adhuc tegitis, M. Aemilius, omnium flagitiosorum postremus, qui peior an ignavior sit deliberari non potest, exercitum opprimundae libertatis habet et se <e><sup>4</sup> contempto metuendum effecit; vos mussantes et retractantes verbis et vatum carminibus pacem optatis magis quam defenditis, neque intellegitis mollitia decretorum vobis dignitatem, illi metum detrahi. Atque id iure, quoniam ex rapinis consulatum, ob seditionem provinciam cum exercitu adeptus est. Quid ille ob bene facta cepisset, quoniam sceleribus tanta praemia tribuistis ?

<sup>3</sup> cura <nostra> Wirtz

<sup>4</sup> *Asulanus*

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<sup>2</sup> The concept that a wicked scheme is most ruinous for the contriver goes back to Hesiod (*Op.* 266) and became proverbial (Otto p. 90). The words here recall fr. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., the proconsul M. Lepidus.

<sup>4</sup> For the senate's reliance on words in lieu of action, cf. §17. If the “prophecies of seers” are to be connected with the Sibylline Oracles, the reference here must be to those circulating in private hands, since the official collection had perished in the fire that destroyed the Capitoline Temple of Jupiter in July 83 and was not replaced until 76 at the earliest (Fenestella, *FRHist* 70F19 = fr. 18P).

takings to prove the ruin of their proponents.<sup>2</sup> But on the contrary, everything has been thrown into turmoil by civil dissensions and by men who ought rather to have prevented upheaval;<sup>3</sup> in short, good and wise men are forced to carry out what has been ordained by most evil and foolish men. For although war and arms are hateful to you, nevertheless you must take them up because Lepidus finds them to his liking, unless perhaps anyone intends to offer him peace and put up with war. [fr. 67]

“O you good gods, who still protect this City despite its negligence, Marcus Aemilius, the lowest of all criminals—and it is impossible to decide whether he is more vicious or more cowardly—has an army for the purpose of crushing our freedom and has transformed himself from being contemptible into someone who is to be feared! As for you senators, mumbling and dragging your feet, with mere words and the prophecies of seers,<sup>4</sup> you desire peace rather than defend it, and you do not realize that by the feebleness of your decrees *you* are losing prestige, *he* his fear. And rightly so, inasmuch as he acquired a consulship from his robberies,<sup>5</sup> a province together with an army because of a sedition.<sup>6</sup> What would that man have gained in return for good conduct, on whose crimes you conferred such great rewards?”

<sup>5</sup> Alleging that cash extorted by Lepidus while governing Sicily in 80 was used to purchase votes in the consular elections of 79.

<sup>6</sup> Lepidus and his consular colleague Q. Catulus were assigned Etruria as their *provincia* (sphere of command) and sent with an army to deal with a revolt in the vicinity of Faesulae (see fr. 57–60), a revolt Lepidus chose to support, rather than to suppress (Gran. Lic. p. 34F).

- 5 “At scilicet eos qui ad postremum usque legatos, pacem, concordiam, et alia huiuscemodi decreverunt gratiam ab eo peperisse! Immo despecti et indigni re publica<sup>5</sup> habiti praedae loco aestumantur, quippe metu pacem repetentes quo habitam amiserant. Equidem a principio, quom Etruriam coniurare, proscriptos adcersi,<sup>6</sup> largitionibus rem publicam lacerari videbam, maturandum putabam et Catuli consilia cum paucis secutus sum. Ceterum illi qui gentis Aemiliae bene facta extollebant et ignoscendo populi Romani magnitudinem auxisse, nusquam etiam tum Lepidum progressum aiebant quom privata arma opprimundae libertatis cepisset, sibi quisque opes aut patrocina quaerundo consilium publicum conruperunt.
- 7 “At tum erat Lepidus latro cum calonibus et paucis sicariis, quorum nemo diurna mercede vitam mutaverit; nunc est pro consule cum imperio non empto sed dato a vobis, cum legatis adhuc iure parentibus, et ad eum concurrere homines omnium ordinum conruptissimi, flagrant inopia et cupidinibus, scelerum conscientia exagitati, quibus quies in seditionibus, in pace turbae sunt. Hi tu-

<sup>5</sup> indigni re publica] *Arus. GL 7.480.19 = p. 157DC*

<sup>6</sup> arcessi *Maurenbr.*

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<sup>7</sup> Doubtless a reference to Lepidus' law to distribute grain to the Roman people (*Gran. Lic.* p. 34F).

<sup>8</sup> Whereas in the previous year, Lepidus' power was, in Philipps' view, "purchased" (see §4n.).

<sup>9</sup> Among them was M. Perperna (pr. 82?), who fled in 77 with the remnant of Lepidus' forces to join Sertorius in Spain, and M. Brutus (the father of Caesar's later assassin), who was put to death

“But it is obvious that those who right up to the very end voted for embassies, peace, harmony, and other such things, won his favor! On the contrary, despised and regarded as unworthy of playing a role in government, they are valued as the equivalent of plunder, since they are seeking peace out of the very dread that caused them to lose the peace they had. For my own part, from the very outset, when I saw Etruria conspiring, the proscribed being summoned, the nation being torn apart with lavish handouts,<sup>7</sup> I thought that it was necessary to make haste, and with a few others I followed the counsels of Catulus. But the appeasers who kept extolling the fine deeds of the Aemilian family and kept saying that the greatness of the Roman people had increased through granting pardon and that Lepidus had taken no decisive step even at the time when he had taken up arms on his own responsibility to crush out liberty—they, by the act of each one seeking resources for himself or patronage, have sabotaged public policy.

“But at that time, Lepidus was a mere bandit accompanied by soldier’s attendants and a few cutthroats, whose lives were not even worth a day’s wages; now he is a proconsul with military power (not purchased but conferred by you senators<sup>8</sup>), with deputy commanders<sup>9</sup> who are still legally obeying him; and the most degenerate men of all ranks flock to him, inflamed by poverty and desires, driven on by the consciousness of their crimes, men who find rest from their troubles in the midst of upheaval, turmoil in settled times. These men sow rebellion after rebellion,

by Pompey in violation of the terms of surrender at Mutina, in Cisalpine Gaul.

- multum ex tumultu, bellum ex bello serunt, Saturnini  
olim, post Sulpici, dein Mari Damasippique, nunc Lepidi  
8 satellites. Praeterea Etruria atque omnes reliquiae belli  
adrectae, Hispaniae armis sollicitae; Mithridates in latere  
vectigalium nostrorum quibus adhuc sustentamur, diem  
bello circumspicit; quin praeter idoneum ducem nihil  
abest ad subvortendum imperium.
- 9 “Quod ego vos oro atque obsecro, patres conscripti, ut  
animadvortatis neu<sup>7</sup> patiamini licentiam scelerum quasi  
rabiem ad integros contactu procedere. Nam ubi malos  
praemia secuntur, haud facile quisquam gratuito bonus  
10 est. An expectatis dum exercitu rursus admoto ferro atque  
flamma urbem invadat? Quod multo propius est ab eo quo  
agitat statu, quam ex pace et concordia ad arma civilia,  
quae ille advorsum divina et humana omnia cepit, non pro  
sua aut quorum simulat iniuria, sed legum ac libertatis  
11 subvortundae. Agitur enim ac laceratur animi cupidine  
et noxarum metu, expers consili, inquires, haec atque illa  
temptans, metuit otium, odit bellum; luxu atque licentia

<sup>7</sup> neu *Carrio*: ne V

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<sup>10</sup> All four men met violent deaths while promoting revolutionary activity: L. Saturninus and P. Sulpicius as tribunes in 100 and 88, respectively, the younger Marius as consul, and Damasippus (see *Cat.* 51.32n.) as praetor in 82. Less likely did S. have in mind Marius senior.

<sup>11</sup> The rebel Q. Sertorius, who had been put in command of Spain by the anti-Sullan government in 83/82, carried on highly successful guerrilla warfare until his death in 73.

<sup>12</sup> Mithridates, king of Pontus on the Black Sea, posed a threat to the province of Asia, whose revenues surpassed those of all other Roman territories (cf. Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 14).



war after war, these former minions of Saturninus, afterward of Sulpicius, next of Marius and Damasippus,<sup>10</sup> and now of Lepidus. Moreover, Etruria and all the other smoldering embers of war are aroused; the Spanish provinces are disturbed by arms;<sup>11</sup> Mithridates, on the flank of our tribute-paying territories from which we still receive support,<sup>12</sup> is on the lookout for an opportune time for war; indeed, nothing is lacking for the overthrow of our dominion except a suitable leader.

“Therefore, I beg and implore you, Members of the Senate, to pay attention to this and not to allow the license of crime, like a frenzy, to infect those who are as yet sound. For when rewards attend the wicked, it is not at all easy for anyone to be gratuitously virtuous. Or are you waiting until Lepidus brings up his army again<sup>13</sup> and attacks the City with sword and fire? And it is a much shorter step to that state of affairs from the position in which he is now operating than is the gap between harmonious peace and civil warfare, which Lepidus has undertaken in defiance of all that is human and divine, not in order to avenge a wrong done to him personally or to those whom he pretends to represent, but to overthrow our laws and our liberty. For he is hounded and tormented in mind by ambition and dread of punishment, is devoid of purpose, restless, trying now this, now that course of action. He dreads tranquility, hates war; he sees that he must abstain

<sup>13</sup> Late in the previous year, 78, Lepidus had approached Rome with his army and then withdrawn to the north, after negotiations (Gran. Lic. p. 35F)

- carendum videt atque interim abutitur vostra socordia.
- 12 Neque mihi satis consili est, metum an ignaviam an demerentiam eam adpellem, qui videmini tanta mala quasi fulmen optare se quisque ne adtingat, sed prohibere ne conari quidem.
- 13 “Et, quaeso, considerate quam convorsa rerum natura sit; antea malum publicum occulte, auxilia palam instruebantur, et eo boni malos facile anteibant: nunc pax et concordia disturbantur palam, defenduntur occulte; quibus
- 14 illa placent in armis sunt, vos in metu. Quid expectatis, nisi forte pudet aut piget recte facere? An Lepidi mandata animos movere? Qui placere ait sua quoique reddi et aliena tenet, belli iura rescindi quom ipse armis cogat, civitatem confirmari quibus ademptam negat, concordiae gratia tribuniciam potestatem restitui, ex qua omnes discordiae adcensae.
- 15 “Pessume omnium atque inprudens, tibine egestas civium et luctus curae sunt, quoi nihil est domi nisi armis partum aut per iniuriam? Alterum consulatum petis, quasi primum reddideris, bello concordiam quaeris quo

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<sup>14</sup> As the next clause reveals, the point is that Lepidus does not curtail these vices.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. fr. 49.18.

<sup>16</sup> I.e., reversing the consequences that followed from Sulla's victory (cf. “the rights of peace,” fr. 49.16).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. fr. 49.12: Sullan laws aimed at stripping Roman citizenship from some Italian communities had been virtually set aside by the date of this speech (Cic. *Dom.* 79).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. S's criticism of the abuse of power by tribunes of the plebs (*Cat.* 38.1).

from luxuriousness and lawlessness,<sup>14</sup> and meanwhile he takes advantage of your lack of resolve. And I cannot adequately decide whether to call it apprehension or cowardice or madness on your part who seem to desire individually that such terrible evils may not touch each of you like a thunderbolt, but seem to make not the slightest effort to prevent them.

“Consider, please, how the natural order of things is inverted; formerly public disorder was prepared secretly, protection against it openly; and by this means, good men easily forestalled the wicked. Nowadays peace and harmony are disturbed openly, defended secretly; men who favor those circumstances are in arms; you are in dread. What are you waiting for, unless perhaps right conduct causes you to feel shame or disgust? Or is it the case that your hearts are moved by the directives of Lepidus? He asserts that he is in favor of having each person receive back his own property, and yet he keeps property belonging to others;<sup>15</sup> is in favor of rescinding the rights of war,<sup>16</sup> while he uses armed compulsion; is in favor of securing the citizenship of those from whom he denies it has been taken,<sup>17</sup> and for the sake of harmony to restore the power of the tribunes, which gave rise to all our discords.<sup>18</sup>

“O vilest and most shameless of all men, do you, who possess nothing in your house except products of arms or injustice, feel concern for the poverty and grief of the citizens? You strive after a second consulship, as if you had ever given up your first one; you seek harmony by means of war which is disturbing the harmony already attained—

- parta disturbatur, nostri proditor, istis infidus, hostis omnium bonorum! Ut te neque hominum neque deorum  
 16 pudet, quos per fidem aut periurio violasti! Qui quando talis es, maneat in sententia et retineas arma te hortor, ne prolatandis seditionibus, inquires ipse, nos in sollicitudine adtineas. Neque te provinciae neque leges neque di penates civem patiuntur; perge qua coeptas<ti>,<sup>8</sup> ut quam maturrume merita invenias.
- 17 "Vos autem, patres conscripti, quo usque cunctando rem publicam intutam patiemini et verbis arma temptabitis? Dilectus advorsus vos habiti, pecuniae publice et privatim extortae, praesidia deducta atque inposita; ex lubidine leges imperantur, quom interim vos legatos et decreta paratis. Quanto mehercule avidius pacem petieritis, tanto bellum acrius erit, quom intellet se metu magis quam  
 18 aequo et bono sustentatum. Nam qui turbas et caedem civium odisse ait et ob id armato Lepido vos inermos retinet, quae victis toleranda sunt ea, quom facere possitis, patiamini potius censeat; ita illi a vobis pacem, vobis ab illo  
 19 bellum suadet. Haec si placent, si tanta torpedo animos obpressit,<sup>9</sup> ut obliti scelerum Cinnae, quouis in urbem

<sup>8</sup> *Steup* (cf. *Jug.* 102.9)

<sup>9</sup> haec . . . obpressit] *Non.* p. 229M = 339L.4 {*Chris. GL* 1.86.12–13 = p. 109B.1, attests, without quoting, S.'s use of torpedo}: obrepsit L<sup>2</sup> *Non.*

<sup>19</sup> The senate.

<sup>20</sup> The people whose injury Lepidus professed to be avenging by taking up arms (cf. §14).

<sup>21</sup> Lit., *penates*, presumably a reference to the *penates populi Romani*, which were housed in a shrine near the temple of Vesta, at the eastern end of the Roman Forum (*Tac. Ann.* 15.41.1) and

a traitor to us,<sup>19</sup> unfaithful to that constituency of yours,<sup>20</sup> [fr. 67]  
an enemy of all good citizens. How shameless you are before both men and the gods, whom you have insulted by your faithlessness or perjury! Since such is your character, I urge you to remain true to your purpose and to retain your arms, and (granted that you yourself are restless) not to keep us in a state of anxiety by deferring your rebellious plans. Neither the provinces, nor the laws, nor the tutelary gods<sup>21</sup> tolerate you as a citizen. Proceed along the path you have begun, so that you may meet with your deserts as quickly as possible.

“But you, Members of the Senate, for how long will you suffer the nation to be defenseless by your hesitation, will you combat arms with words? Forces have been levied against you, money extorted from the public coffers and from individuals, garrisons removed and installed; laws are being arbitrarily put into force, while you in the meantime are getting ready envoys and decrees. But, so help me Hercules, the more eagerly you seek peace, the more fierce the war will be, when he realizes that he has been sustained more by your dread than the justice and righteousness of his cause. For a person who professes hatred for turmoil and the slaughter of citizens and on that account keeps you unarmed while Lepidus is in arms, is proposing instead that you suffer what the conquered must endure, although you have the ability to take action. He urges from you peace toward Lepidus, and from him war toward you. If you are in favor of this outcome—if such torpor has numbed your spirits that forgetting the crimes of Cinna, upon whose return to the City the flower

thought to be guardian gods brought to Italy by the Trojan hero Aeneas (Serv. ad *Aen.* 3.148); cf. fr. 2.86.1.

reditu decus ordinis huius interiit, nihilo minus vos atque coniuges et liberos Lepido permissuri sitis, quid opus decretis, quid auxilio Catuli? Quin is et alii boni rem publicam frustra curant.

20 “Agite ut lubet, parate vobis Cethegi atque alia proditorum patrocina, qui rapinas et incendia instaurare cupiunt et rursus advorsum deos penatis manus armare. Sin libertas et vera magis placent, decernite digna nomine et  
21 augete ingenium viris fortibus. Adest novos exercitus, ad hoc coloniae veterum militum, nobilitas omnis, duces optumi; fortuna meliores sequitur; iam illa quae socordia nostra<sup>10</sup> conlecta sunt, dilabentur.

22 “Quare ita censeo: quoniam <M.><sup>11</sup> Lepidus exercitum privato consilio paratum cum pessumis et hostibus rei publicae contra huius ordinis auctoritatem ad urbem ducit, uti Ap. Claudius interrex cum Q. Catulo pro consule et ceteris, quibus imperium est, urbi praesidio sint operamque dent ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.”

<sup>10</sup> vostra *Dietsch*

<sup>11</sup> *Orelli*

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<sup>22</sup> During the bloodletting of late 87, carried out by Cinna when he regained his consulship by arms in alliance with the exiled Marius.

<sup>23</sup> P. Cornelius Cethegus (pr. after 87?), a former supporter of Marius, switched sides and acquired vast political power behind the scenes under the new Sullan regime (Cic. *Parad.* 5.40). The implication is that Cethegus, and men like him, will change sides once more (hence styled “traitors”) and serve as powerbrokers under the tyranny of Lepidus.

<sup>24</sup> Here, as opposed to above in §16, the *deos penates* may be standing by metonymy for the houses and property of which they were the guardians, property that would be seized by the victors from the rightful owners.

of this order perished,<sup>22</sup> you will none the less entrust to Lepidus yourselves, as well as your wives and your children—what need is there of decrees? What need of Catulus' help? Surely it is in vain that he and other good citizens are showing concern for the nation.

“Do as you please! Make ready for yourselves the patronage of Cethegus<sup>23</sup> and of other traitors, who are eager to renew looting and arson and to arm their hands once more against household gods.<sup>24</sup> But if you prefer liberty and integrity, pass decrees worthy of your renown, and strengthen the inclination of brave men. We have at our disposal a fresh army, as well as colonies of veterans,<sup>25</sup> all the nobles, and superb leaders. Fortune attends the better cause;<sup>26</sup> soon those hostile forces which have gathered as a result of our lack of resolve will melt away.

“Therefore this is my recommendation: inasmuch as Marcus Lepidus, in defiance of the authority of this body and in concert with the worst elements and the enemies of the nation, is leading against the City an army raised on his own authority, I propose that Appius Claudius the interrex,<sup>27</sup> with Quintus Catulus, the proconsul and others who have military power, provide protection for the City and see to it that no harm come to the nation.”<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> See fr. 41.

<sup>26</sup> Fortune is proverbially said to favor the brave (Otto p. 144).

<sup>27</sup> Since no consuls had been elected for 77, the procedure was to appoint one of the patricians (in this case an ex-consul of 79) to exercise supreme power. The office changed hands every five days and lapsed when new consuls were finally elected.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *Cat.* 29.2–3.

**68** 78M, 69Mc, 100D, 103K

numeroque praestans, privos ipse militiae

Arus. *GL* 7.503.4 = p. 240DC: to illustrate *privus* [“devoid” *OLD* 3] + gen.

**69** 79M, 70Mc, 50D, 52K

apud Mutinam

Prisc. *GL* 3.67.2: to illustrate the use of a prep. with the name of town instead of the locative.

**70** 80M, 68Mc, 107D, 115K

fugam maturabat

Arus. *GL* 7.492.24 = p. 199DC: to illustrate *maturare* + acc. of thing.

**71\*** 82M, 71Mc, 51D, 54K

*COSAS: civitas Tusciae, quae numero dicitur singulari secundum Sallustium.*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.168.



**68** 78M, 69Mc, 100D, 103K

*In early 77, Lepidus marched on Rome with a vast army to demand a second consulship (Plut. Pomp. 16.4; cf. Gran Lic. p. 35F).*

excelling in number, yet devoid himself of military expertise

**69** 79M, 70Mc, 50D, 52K

*Pompey deprived Lepidus of his province of Cisalpine Gaul by bringing about the surrender of Lepidus' legate M. Brutus (father of the future tyrannicide, M. Brutus, pr. 44) at Mutina (Plut. Pomp. 16.4–6).*

at Mutina

**70** 80M, 68Mc, 107D, 115K

*After returning from Cisalpine Gaul (see fr. 69), Pompey joined Q. Catulus (cos. 78) in defeating Lepidus in a battle near the Mulvian Bridge, putting him to flight (Flor. 2.11.6; cf. Exsuper. 6 [39Z]; App B Civ. 1.107).*

he hastened his flight

**71\*** 82M, 71Mc, 51D, 54K

*After his defeat outside Rome (fr. 70), Lepidus withdrew to the north and embarked his forces from Etruria by way of the coastal town Cosa (Rut. Namat. 1.297), fleeing to Sardinia (Liv. Per. 90).*

*COSAS: a Tuscan city whose name is singular [Cosa] according to Sallust.*

72 81M, 72Mc, 109D, 117K

profectionem festinantes

Arus. *GL* 7.474.31 = p. 138DC: to illustrate *festinare* + acc. of thing.

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (77 BC),  
FRR. 73–75

73\* 84M, 73Mc, 54D, 56K

M. Lepido cum omnibus copiis Italia pulso, segnior neque minus gravis et multiplex cura patres exercebat.

Mar. Victor. *Rhet.* p. 205H.29: to illustrate a summing up in a narrative by the use of a verb in the third person.

{Sacerd. *GL* 6.458.1 (*Marco . . . segnior*): to illustrate a concessive abl. absol. without *tamen* to introduce the main clause; Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.630 (*segnior . . . cura*): to illustrate the carryover of a negative expressed only once but to be understood with a second member.}

74\* 85M, 74Mc, inc. D, 68K

Ardebat omnis Hispania citerior.

*Adnot. super Luc.* 2.534: to illustrate the metaphorical use of *ardeo* to describe a region seething with war or revolt; Mar. Victor. *Rhet.* p. 158H.27 (without attribution to S.).

75 86M, 75Mc, 52D, 55K

Curionem quaesit,<sup>1</sup> uti adulescentior et a populi suffragiis integer aetati concederet Mamerci.

Prisc. *GL* 2.535.16: to illustrate pf. *quaesi*, instead of *quaesivi*.

<sup>1</sup> G, quaesivit *rell.*

**72** 81M, 72Mc, 109D, 117K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 71.*

hurrying their departure

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (77 BC),  
FRR. 73-75

**73\*** 84M, 73Mc, 54D, 56K

*In 77, concern in Rome shifted to the war in Spain.*

After the expulsion of Marcus Lepidus from Italy with all of his forces, a less immediate, but no less serious or complex concern occupied the senators.

**74\*** 85M, 74Mc, inc. D, 68K

*Widespread revolt of Spain under Sertorius.*

All of Hither Spain was ablaze.

**75** 86M, 75Mc, 52D, 55K

*Mam. Lepidus, who had suffered an earlier defeat for the consulship (Cic. Off. 2.58), was successful at the consular elections for 77 (postponed from 78 to the early months of 77 because of Lepidus' revolt) in part because C. Curio, the future consul of 76, stepped aside.*

He [Catulus, Philippus, or some other senior member of the senate?] asked Curio to yield to the seniority of Mamercus, given the fact that he [Curio] was younger and had as yet suffered no electoral defeat.

SERTORIUS AND THE WAR IN SPAIN,  
FRR. 76–113

*Early Career and Deeds of Sertorius, frr. 76–81*

76\* 88M, 77Mc, 55D, 57K

- 1 Magna gloria tribunus militum in Hispania T. Didio imperante, magno usui bello Marsico paratu militum et armorum fuit, multaue tum ductu eius <manu><sup>1</sup>que patrata<sup>2</sup> primo per ignobilitatem, deinde per invidiam scriptorum <in>celebrata<sup>3</sup> sunt, quae vivos facie sua ostentabat aliquot advorsis cicatricibus et effosso oculo. Quin<sup>4</sup> ille dehonestamento corporis maxime laetabatur neque illis anxius,<sup>5</sup> quia relicua gloriosius retinebat.
- 2

Gellius 2.27.2: cited as an example of a passage modeled on Demosthenes' description of the wounds, including the loss of an eye, suffered by King Philip of Macedon (*De cor.* 67).

{Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 482 (*dehonestamento tamen . . . laetabatur*): to illustrate scars as marks of prowess.}

<sup>1</sup> Linker (cf. *Plut. Sert.* 4.3): iussu Hertz      <sup>2</sup> Dietsch: rapta *codd.*: peracta Mähly      <sup>3</sup> Iac. Gronovius: celata Ciacconi      <sup>4</sup> Dietsch: quid *codd.*      <sup>5</sup> neque illis anxius] *transp. ante quin Maurenbr.*

77\* 89M, 78Mc, 56D, 58K

et<sup>1</sup> ei voce maxuma v<ehementer> g<ratula . . . ><sup>2</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *An.* 939 and 946 (*et ei v. m. v. g.* [sic]): to illustrate the meaning of *gratulor* in contrast with *gaudeo*.

<sup>1</sup> *om. ad An.* 939      <sup>2</sup> vehementer gratulabantur] *suppl. edd.*

SERTORIUS AND THE WAR IN SPAIN,  
FRR. 76–113

*Early Career and Deeds of Sertorius, fr. 76–81*

**76\*** 88M, 77Mc, 55D, 57K

*S. begins with a sketch of Sertorius' early career: glory won while serving under T. Didius (procos. of Hither Spain 97–93) and in the Social (Marsic) War of 91–87 (cf. Plut. Sert. 4.1–2).*

With great distinction, he served as a military tribune in Spain, under the command of Titus Didius, and was of great service in the Marsic War by procuring troops and arms. Many accomplishments at that time both under his leadership and by his own hand(?) are unrecorded, first because of his humble birth, and next through the jealousy of writers; these achievements he displayed while alive by his outward appearance, by a number of frontal battle scars and a gouged-out eye. As a matter of fact, he took tremendous delight in that disfigurement of his body and was not troubled by those losses because with greater glory he preserved the remainder.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut. Sert. 4.4 attributes this same sentiment to Sertorius.

**77\*** 89M, 78Mc, 56D, 58K

*At about the time of his failed candidacy for the tribunate in 89 or 88, Sertorius was greeted by applause and shouts of praise when he entered the theater (Plut. Sert. 4.5).*

and heartily congratulated him with a thunderous cry

**78\*** 90M, 79Mc, inc. 76D, inc. 42K

Inter arma civilia aequi bonique famas petit.

Sen. *Ep.* 114.19: the historian L. Arruntius imitated S.'s idiosyncratic use of the pl. *famae*.

**79\*** 91M, 81Mc, 57D, 28K

Quoius advorsa voluntate conloquio militibus permissio, corruptio facta paucorum, et exercitus Sullae datus est.

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 467: citing fr. inc. 43 and this fragment to illustrate "*convenire et conloqui*" in Terence, used in the sense of a parley.

**80\*** 92M, 80Mc, 57D, 28K

quoi nisi pariter obviam iretur

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 92: to illustrate *pariter* = *similiter*.

**81\*** 93M, 82Mc, 59D, K

Hispaniam sibi antiquam patriam esse

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.380 and ad *Aen.* 3.297 (om. *antiquam*): to illustrate that it is not normal to designate a region/province, as opposed to a state (*civitas*), as a *patria* (homeland).

**78\*** 90M, 79Mc, inc. 76D, inc. 42K

*Sertorius took no part in the excesses perpetrated in the turmoil after the victory of Cinna and Marius in 87/86 BC (Plut. Sert. 5.6).*

Amid the civil conflict, he seeks the repute of a just and decent man.

**79\*** 91M, 81Mc, 57D, 28K

*In 83, Sertorius opposed allowing the soldiers in the armies of the consul Scipio and Sulla to fraternize (vetante Sertorio colloquia, Exsuper. 7 [45Z]; Plut. Sert. 6.3–4); cf. fr. 31.*

And when, contrary to his desire, the soldiers were given an opportunity for conversation, corruption of a few occurred, and the army was given over to Sulla.

**80\*** 92M, 80Mc, 57D, 28K

*After the desertion of the consul Scipio's army to Sulla in 83 (see previous fragment) and the election of Cn. Carbo and the younger Marius (cf. fr. 32) to the consulship of 82, Sertorius expressed the view that "unless decisive resistance was offered to Sulla, all would be lost and the war effort would fail" (cui nisi obviam iretur, actum iam ac debellatum foret, Exsuper. 8 [50Z]).*

and unless resistance was offered to him in a like manner [equalling Sulla's purposeful valor]

**81\*** 93M, 82Mc, 59D, K

*Possibly words uttered by Sertorius in indirect discourse to win the support of the Spaniards, by alluding to his long-standing connection with the region (see fr. 76). Servius, to whom we owe this fragment, states that the words were used metaphorically (ad laudem . . . non ad veritatem).*

that Spain was his ancient native land

81 BC: *Expulsion of Sertorius from Spain*,  
frr. 82–90

82 97M, 86Mc, 108D, 116K

paucos saltum insidentis

Arus. *GL* 7.480.16 = p. 156DC: to illustrate *insido* + acc.

83\* 95M, 85Mc, deest in D et K

*qui forte propter amorem historiarum Sallustii Cal-*  
**purnius cognomento Lanarius sit**

Hieron. *Ep.* 70.6.2: an often repeated pseudonym coined by Jerome for his adversary Rufinus (cf. *Ep.* 102.3.1, *Calpurnius cognomento Lanarius; adv. Rufin.* 1.30, *Sallustianus Calpurnius*).

84\* 96M, 84Mc, deest in D et K

Salinator in agmine occiditur.

*Comm. Bern. ad Luc.* 1.478: defining the expression “*in agmine esse*” as meaning one who is making a journey/march.



81 BC: *Expulsion of Sertorius from Spain,*  
*fr. 82–90*

82 97M, 86Mc, 108D, 116K

*When in the spring of 81 Sulla dispatched C. Annius as proconsul to govern one, or probably both Spains (MRR 3.15), with the charge to expel Sertorius, Sertorius sent his legate Livius (called Julius by Plut.) Salinator with six thousand men to block the passes in Pyrenees and so prevent C. Annius from crossing into Spain (Plut. Sert. 7.1).*

a few men [a detachment of Salinator's soldiers?] occupying a defile

83\* 95M, 85Mc, not included in D and K

*Same context as fr. 82. P. Calpurnius Lanarius was an officer on Annius' staff in 81 (MRR 3.46), who found a way to turn the pass occupied by Sertorius' forces. Plut. (Sert. 7.3) mistakenly identifies Lanarius as a traitor among the blockading Sertorian forces.*

*a man who, perhaps on account of his fondness for Sallust's Histories, might be a Calpurnius with Lanarius as his cognomen*

84\* 96M, 84Mc, not in D and K

*Same context as fr. 82–83. According to Plut. (Sert. 7.3), Salinator died at the hands of Lanarius.*

Salinator is killed while on the march.

85 98M, 87Mc, 60D, K

earum aliae paululum<sup>1</sup> progressae nimio simul et incerto<sup>2</sup> onere, quom pavor corpora agitaverat, deprimebantur

Gell. 10.26.10; Non. p. 453M = 726L.4–6: S. employs *progressus* to describe the motion of vessels, specifically *scaphae* (skiffs) in the passage above.

<sup>1</sup> paulum Non.      <sup>2</sup> nimio progressae †inter cum sicco† Non.

86\* 99M, 88Mc, inc. 35D, inc. 1K

Quom Sertorius<sup>1</sup> neque<sup>2</sup> erumpere, tam<sup>3</sup> levi copia, navibus<sup>4</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.564: to illustrate *copia* in the sing. having the meaning *exercitus*.

<sup>1</sup> com Sertorios *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> nequiret *Schoell*      <sup>3</sup> erumpere tam] *Kritz*: rumperet an *codd.*      <sup>4</sup> copia navibus] *Putschius*: copiam avibus *codd.*: <se commisit> *suppl. Schoell. post navibus*

87††† 103M, 89Mc, inc. 94D, inc. 63K

more<sup>1</sup> humanae cupidinis ignara visendi

Gell. 9.12.22 (assigned to S. without specifying title of work); Non. p. 129M = 188L.20 (assigned in error to *Jug.*; Non. otherwise seems to draw upon Gell.): to illustrate *ignarus* in the sense “unknown” (*OLD* 3), as opposed to “ignorant” (*OLD* 1).

<sup>1</sup> *Gell.*: amore Non.

**85** 98M, 87Mc, 60D, K

*After being expelled from Spain by C. Annius and fleeing to Mauretania in 81, Sertorius returned later in the year, and in alliance with Cilician pirates, he briefly occupied one of the Pityussae islands (lying southwest of the Balearics, off the east coast of Spain). C. Annius arrived with a substantial force to expel him, and Sertorius fought a sea battle despite having only light ships not built for combat (Plut. Sert. 7.5–7).*

some of them [the skiffs], after advancing a little, began to sink as a result of too much unstable weight when panic had caused the passengers to shift about

**86\*** 99M, 88Mc, inc. 35D, inc. 1K

*Same context as fr. 85: in the sea battle, foul weather prevented Sertorius' light ships from escaping onto the open sea, and hostile forces prevented a landing (Plut. loc. cit.).*

When Sertorius <was able?> neither to sally forth from his ships, owing to his forces being so light-armed,<sup>1</sup> <nor escape onto the high sea owing to a storm?>

<sup>1</sup> Text uncertain; this is the meaning of *levi copia* at Tac. *Ann.* 2.52.4, the only other instance of this expression in classical Latin. As interpreted, S. related the two difficulties experienced by Sertorius in the reverse order from Plutarch's.

**87†††** 103M, 89Mc, inc. 94D, inc. 63K

*After fleeing from the battle described in fr. 85–86, Sertorius sailed to the southwest coast of Spain, just beyond the Strait of Gibraltar, and met with sailors who brought back tales of far-away, Atlantic islands called Isles of the Blessed (Plut. Sert. 8.2).*

with the customary human desire to visit unknown places

88† 100M, 90Mc, 61D, K

Quas<sup>1</sup> duas insulas, propinquas inter se et decem <milia><sup>2</sup> stadium procul a Gadibus sitas, constabat suoapte ingenio alimenta mortalibus gignere.

Non. p. 495M = 795L.40 (assigned to "lib. XI," corr. "I" edd.): to illustrate *-um* standing for gen. pl. *-orum*.

<sup>1</sup> Roth: cuius codd.  
*measured from Africa*)

<sup>2</sup> Mercier (cf. *Plut. Sert.* 8.2, as mea-  
*sured from Africa*)

89\* 101M, 91Mc, 62D, K

*Secundum philosophos Elysium est Insulae Fortunatae quas ait Sallustius inclitas esse Homeri carminibus.*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.735.

90 102M, 92Mc, 61D, K

Traditur fugam in Oceani longinqua agitavisse.

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.640: to illustrate *agito* = *dispono* or *cogito*; Anon. *brev. expos. Verg. G.* 2.197 (assigned to Book 1): to illustrate *longinquus* = *porro sita* (situated far off).

{Ps.-Acro ad Hor. *Epod.* 16.41, *Insulae Fortunatae, ad quas Sallustius [sic] in historia dicit victum voluisse ire Sertorium.*}

88† 100M, 90Mc, 61D, K

*Same context as fr. 87. Location of the Isles of the Blessed. The description of the climate suggests identification with the two largest islands of the Madeira Archipelago (Porto Santo and Madeira), the former being ca. 750 miles (roughly 6,500 stades) from Gades (mod. Cádiz).*

And it was held that those two neighboring islands, located 10,000 stades from Gades, produced of their own accord nourishment for mortals.

89\* 101M, 91Mc, 62D, K

*Same context as fr. 87. Isles of the Blessed identified with Homer's Elysium (Plut. Sert. 8.5).*

*According to philosophers, Elysium is identical with of the **Isles of the Blessed**, which Sallust states are **celebrated in Homer's verses** [Od. 4.563–68]*

90 102M, 92Mc, 61D, K

*Kritz, followed by Dietsch, joined fr. 88 to this one as its continuation, retaining the *paradosis cuius* in fr. 88, which will have *Oceani* here as its antecedent. Plut., however, first describes separately, in language closely resembling fr. 88, the two islands (Sert. 8.2–3) and somewhat later (9.1) mentions that Sertorius contemplated withdrawal there.*

According to tradition, he contemplated flight to distant regions of the Ocean.

80 BC: *Beginning of the Sertorian War, frs. 91–98*

91\* 94M, 83Mc, inc. 79D, inc. 45K

Modico quoque<sup>1</sup> et eleganti<sup>2</sup> imperio percarus fuit.

*Adnot. super Luc. 7.267*: to illustrate the meaning of *modicum* = *cum modo viventem* (living with moderation).

<sup>1</sup> modico quoque] ARV: modicoque W

<sup>2</sup> diligenti Dietsch: clementi Roth

92 104M, 93Mc, 65D, 64K

Itaque Sertorius, levi praesidio relicto in Mauretania, nactus obscuram noctem aestu secundo furtim aut celeritate vitare proelium in transgressu conatus est.

Gell. 10.26.2: reporting Asinius Pollio's criticism of S. for using *transgredior* (in preference to the *transfretare*, which is, in fact, post-Augustan) to describe a crossing of a strait by ship.

{Non. p. 453M = 726L.1–3 (*nactus . . . secundo*): drawing on Gellius; *transgressus* of a crossing by ship.}

93 105M, 94Mc, 66D, 65K

80 BC: *Beginning of the Sertorian War, frs. 91–98*

**91\*** 94M, 83Mc, inc. 79D, inc. 45K

*The reputation of Sertorius as a fair-minded and capable commander caused the Lusitanians to summon him to return to Spain from Mauretania—to which he had withdrawn in 81—to lead a revolt against the Romans in 80 (Plut. Sert. 10.1–5, 11.1). Maurenbr. and McGushin, by contrast, assign this fragment to 82 BC, when Sertorius first arrived in Spain and won the loyalty of the Spaniards by his moderate administration (Exsuper. 8 [51Z]: modeste tuendo atque blandiendo . . . ut et carus esset).*

He was very much beloved as a result also of his temperate and refined manner of command.

**92** 104M, 93Mc, 65D, 64K

*Same context as fr. 91: describing Sertorius' crossing of the Strait of Gibraltar.*

And so Sertorius, having left a light-armed garrison in Mauretania, took advantage of a dark night with a favorable tide and tried by means of stealth or speed to avoid a battle in his crossing.

**93** 105M, 94Mc, 66D, 65K

*Gell. and Non. state that this fragment was found slightly later in the same passage from which they quoted fr. 92. According to Plut. (Sert. 12.2), Sertorius arrived in Lusitania with 2,600 Romans and 700 Libyans.*

Transgressos omnis recipit mons \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> praeceptus a Lusitanis.

Gell. 10.26.3; Non. p. 453M = 726L.3–4: a further example in the discussion reported under fr. 92.

{Serv. & Serv. auct. ad Aen. 1.518 (*transgressos . . . mons Balleia*): to illustrate how the modifier *transgressos* limits the otherwise open-ended meaning of *omnis*.}

<sup>1</sup> *om. Gell., Non.: Balleia Ta Serv.: belleia (corr) Pa: palleia A: tralaeta N: talet PbM*

**94** 106M, 97Mc, 87D, K

gens<sup>1</sup> raro egressa finis suos

Arus. GL 7.469.28 = p. 119DC; Serv. & Serv. auct. ad Aen. 2.713: to illustrate *egredior* + acc.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv. et Serv. auct.*

**95** 108M, 95Mc, 68D, K

et mox Fufidius adveniens cum legionibus, postquam tam <al>tas ripas,<sup>1</sup> unum<sup>2</sup> haud facilem pugnantibus vadum, cuncta hosti quam suis opportuniora videt,

Non. p. 231M = 343L.22–24: to illustrate the masc. *vadus*, instead of neut. *vadum*.

{Charis. GL 1.34.9 + corr. 607 = p. 37B.21–22 (*unum . . . vadum*): to illustrate sing., in contrast with neut. pl. *vada*.}

<sup>1</sup> tam altas ripas] *Mauren.*: tantas spiras *codd.*: tantas asperitates *Junius*: tantas copias *Dietsch*: cautes asperas *Quicherat*

<sup>2</sup> *om. Non.*



A mountain \* \* \*,<sup>1</sup> which had been occupied in advance by the Lusitanians, received [as a place of refuge] all who had crossed.

<sup>1</sup> The name is not found in the quotation by Gellius and Nonius. The probable landing place of Sertorius was B(a)elo (Belon), a town in Spain just west of the Strait of Gibraltar (Strabo 3.1.8, p. 140; Plin. *HN* 5.2). Possibly the corruptions in Servius' version of the fragment arose under the influence of Aemilius Asper, the second-century AD commentator on S.

**94** 106M, 97Mc, 87D, K

*Possibly referring to the seven hundred Libyan followers of Sertorius (Plut. Sert. 12.2).*

a people who had seldom left their own territory

**95** 108M, 95Mc, 68D, K

*Shortly after Sertorius crossed over from Mauretania in 80, as reported in fr. 92–93, Fufidius, the governor of Farther Spain (see fr. 49.2In.), was defeated by Sertorius on the banks of the river Baetis (Plut. Sert. 12.4).*

Fufidius, soon arriving with his legions, after he saw the terribly steep banks,<sup>1</sup> the one ford by no means easy for combatants, all conditions more advantageous for the enemy than for his own forces,

<sup>1</sup> See textual note. The *paradosis tantas spiras* (such large masses/units of troops) presumes a meaning for *spira* attested elsewhere in Classical Latin only in Ennius (*Ann.* fr. 510V).

96 111M, 96Mc, 69D, 71K

Domitium proconsulem ex citeriore Hispania cum omnibus copiis, quas paraverat, accessivit.

Prisc. *GL* 2.534.21: to illustrate verbs in *-so* that form the pf. in *-ivi*.

97 107M, 98Mc, 67D, 66K

Ac per omnem provinciam magnae atque atro<ces fama><sup>1</sup> <erant>,<sup>2</sup> quom ex suo quisque terrore quinquaginta aut amplius hostium milia, novas inmanis f<ormas fluctibus><sup>3</sup> Oceani | accitas,<sup>4</sup> corporibus hominum | vescentis<sup>5</sup> contenderent. | . . . a Domiti<o> . . . ovi . . . | i . ios . . . cog. . . . . | m . . . . .

*Schol. Veron. ad Aen.* 4.178 (*Ac per . . . contenderent*) “*in primo Historiarum*”: to illustrate S.’s use of the pl. of *fama* (cf. fr. 78), in contrast with the sing. in Virgil.

Cod. P. Vindob. L 117 recto column 1, lines 1–5 (*accitas . . . a Domitio . . . m . . .*). This fragment and fr. 98 are preserved on a part of a bifolium that once belonged to a fourth-century parchment codex written in rustic capitals, having two columns of twenty-six lines each to a page; column 2 of recto and column 1 of verso are missing. The symbol “|” marks the divisions of the lines in the manuscript, while italics signifies that transcription is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> *Keil*

<sup>2</sup> *Maurenbr.*: ibant *Keil*

<sup>3</sup> *Keil*: f<ormas e finibus> *Maurenbr.*: lacuna in *Schol. Veron.*

<sup>4</sup> *cod. Vindob.*: . . puls . . . *cod. Schol. Veron.*: <ap>puls<as>

*Maurenbr.*

<sup>5</sup> *cod. Vindob.*: vesci *Schol. Veron.*

**96** 111M, 96Mc, 69D, 71K

*After his defeat, Fufidius summoned help from M. Domitius Calvinus (pr. 81, MRR 3.84), governor of the adjoining province of Hither Spain (Plut. Sert. 12.4).*

He summoned the proconsul Domitius from Nearer Spain with all the forces Domitius had raised.

**97** 107M, 98Mc, 67D, 66K

*The reference to Domitius (governor of Hither Spain, see previous fragment) in the portion of this fragment preserved on the recto of the leaf of the Vienna codex permits this text to be placed in the context of the one that precedes. The fearsome enemy is presumably the Libyans, who crossed over with Sertorius from Mauretania (cf. fr. 92-94; Plut. Sert. 12.2).*

And throughout the whole province there were tall and grim tales, since each person, according to his own alarm, insisted that were fifty thousand or more of the enemy, beings of huge and strange aspect that had been brought ashore by the waves of the Ocean and who fed upon human flesh. \* \* \* by Domitius \* \* \*

98 136M (Non. et Donat.), 100Mc, 88D (Non.) et inc.  
34D (Donat.), 88K (Non. et Donat.)

- 1 . . . lvere equis armisque minus | aliquanto tamen quam |  
metu concedebatur, nisi quila Domitium *adstantem et* |  
quos noscitabat *orantem* | <ne arma><sup>1</sup> et se duce<m><sup>2</sup> . . .  
<h>ostilb<us><sup>3</sup> . . . <da>rent<sup>4</sup> cum pos.m | [ $\pm 6$ ]e interfecere  
*pars* | [ $\pm 7$ ] <leg>ato<sup>5</sup>. Septilmio .c.c . . . i . . . olaec . . . nol  
*ate* . . . erat ex . . . stra perlcu<ss>it.<sup>6</sup>
- 2 *Hic*<sup>7</sup> vero formidine | quasi<sup>8</sup> adtonitus neque anilmo  
neque auribus<sup>9</sup> aut linlgua satis<sup>10</sup> competere at . . . | <omni  
mod>o<sup>11</sup> intentus qua vil<a><sup>12</sup> [ $\pm 7$ ]s erat exsanguis | [ $\pm 8$ ]  
iebria et r . . . | [ $\pm 3/4$ ]um se adpellab<at><sup>13</sup> | [ $\pm 5$ ] <d>iebus  
quat<tuor><sup>14</sup> . . . | [6 lines missing]

Cod. P. Vindob. L 117 verso column 2, lines 1–20. See above  
on fr. 97. The symbol “|” marks the divisions of the lines in the  
manuscript, while italics indicates that transcription is uncertain.

[Non. p. 276M = 424L.15 (§2 *sic* [for *hic*] . . . *competere*) “*Historiarum lib. I*”: to illustrate *competere* meaning “to have one’s wits  
about one”; Donat. ad Ter. *Ad.* 310 (§2 *neque animo* . . . *conpe-  
tere*): to illustrate the opposite of *compos animi* and identifying  
Septimius (*septimo codd.*) as the person being described.]

<sup>1</sup> *conieci*    <sup>2–4</sup> *Bloch*    <sup>5</sup> *Bischoff*    <sup>6</sup> *Bloch*    <sup>7</sup> *cod.*  
*Vindob.*: sic *Non.*    <sup>8</sup> *formidine quasi* *cod. Vindob.* (cf. *Jug.*  
*72.2*): quasi *formidine Non.*    <sup>9</sup> *neque auribus om. Do-  
nat.*    <sup>10</sup> *om. Non.*: lin<gua sati>s *cod. Vindob.*    <sup>11–14</sup> *Bloch*

98 136M (Non. et Donat.), 100Mc, 88D (Non.) et inc.  
34D (Donat.), 88K (Non. et Donat.)

*The text of this fragment, preserved on the verso of the leaf from the Vienna codex, provides a continuation of the narrative contained in fr. 97 after a gap of more than two columns (= ca. 30±5 lines of OCT text) and reports of the death of M. Domitius Calvinus, the governor of Nearer Spain. He was killed in 80, while fighting Sertorian forces commanded by Sertorius' quaestor L. Hirtuleius (Liv. Per. 90. Plut. Sert. 12.4; Flor. 2.10.6). The Septimius referred to in the passage and mentioned by Donatus in connection with the portion of the text he preserves may have been Domitius' legate.*

. . . they were on the point of falling back, somewhat less on account of the horses and arms [of enemy] than out of fear, except that Domitius standing close by and begging those whom he recognized <not to give their arms> and himself, their commander, to the enemy . . . they killed . . . <It fell?> to his legate Septimius . . . <to take charge?>. . .  
. . . [he] pierced.

But he [Septimius], as though dumbstruck, was not sufficiently in control of his reason or his hearing or speech . . . with all of his attention on how <he could extricate himself and his army from danger?> . . . he was pale with fright<sup>1</sup> . . . he called himself <wretched?> . . . <and died?> . . . within four days . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or "he had lost a lot of blood," if *percu<ss>it* is adopted in the last line of the preceding paragraph and describes Septimius being wounded.

79–78 BC: *Military Operations of Metellus Pius in  
Farther Spain, frs. 99–113*

**99** 110M, 101Mc, 70D, K

et numeri eorum Metellus per litteras gnarus

Arus. *GL* 7.476.18 = p. 143DC: to illustrate *gnarus* + gen.

**100** 112M, 102Mc, 86D, K

Illo profectus vicos castellaque incendere et fuga cultorum deserta igni vastare, neque late<sup>1</sup> aut †fetustissimus†,<sup>2</sup> metu gentis ad furta belli peridoneae.

Non. p. 310M = 483–84L.11: to illustrate the noun *furtum* = *insidiae*.

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.515 (*gens . . . peridonea* [sic]): *furta* = *insidiae*.}

<sup>1</sup> *Gerlach ed. min.*: elate *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> *securus nimis Müller*:  
*fretus simul a Roth*: *fretus se nimis Frassinetti-di Salvo*: *festinus  
nimis Garbugino*

**101** 113M, 106Mc, 75D, 74K

et Diponen, validam urbem, multos dies restantem,  
pugnando vicit

Non. p. 526M = 845L.12: to illustrate the acc. of duration of time.

79–78 BC: Military Operations of Metellus Pius in  
Farther Spain, frs. 99–113

**99** 110M, 101Mc, 70D, K

*By late 80, after the defeats of Fufidius and Domitius (frs. 95–98), word of the growing size of Sertorius' forces in Lusitania (Farther Spain) must have reached Rome.*

and Metellus, <made?> aware of their number  
through a dispatch

**100** 112M, 102Mc, 86D, K

*This fragment, which is identified as coming from Book 1, may describe Metellus' tactics early in his proconsulship, since Frontinus' description of the facility of light-armed Spaniards at laying an ambush (Str. 2.5.31, "aptissimos ad furta bellorum") bears a striking verbal resemblance to S.*

Setting out from there, he burned villages and strongholds, and with fire laid waste to regions deserted owing to the flight of the cultivators, not far afield or \* \* \* out of his fear of a people very adept at snares of war.

**101** 113M, 106Mc, 75D, 74K

*Dipo, a town on the Anas River, ca. thirty-five miles west of Metelinum (mod. Medellín), a base of operations utilized by Metellus, may have been an early target of his strategy aimed at reducing strongholds in Lusitania (see preceding fragment).*

and he overcame by warfare the strong city of Dipo  
despite its holding out for many days

**102\*** 119M, 108Mc, inc. 70D, inc. 36K

Ille Conisturgim apud legiones<sup>1</sup> venit.

Pomp. *GL* 5.273.11: to illustrate the rare use of *apud* with a verb of motion (*OLD* 2). Pomp. states that the second-century AD commentator Asper defended S.'s choice of *apud* on the grounds that the prepositional phrase defines Conisturgis as the place where the legions were stationed.

<sup>1</sup> apud legiones] caput regionis *Pecere*

**103\*** 115M, 103Mc, 71D, 37K

iam repente visus lenire<sup>1</sup> Tagus

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 10.103: to illustrate the description of a change in the world of nature.

<sup>1</sup> *Thilo*: lanire *F*: saevire *Daniel*

**104\*** 114M, 107Mc, inc. 68D, inc. 34K

Lusitaniae gravem civitatem

Serv auct. ad *Aen.* 12.458: to illustrate *gravis* = *fortis*.

**105\*** 120M, 104Mc, inc. 42D, inc. 8K

Consedit in valle virgulta nemorosaque.

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.516: to illustrate the adj. *virgultus* (covered with brushwood), in place of *virgultosus* (unattested in Classical Latin).



**102\*** 119M, 108Mc, inc. 70D, inc. 36K

*The precise location of Conisturgis is unknown, but it was in the territory of the Cunei (Conii), a Lusitanian people living south of the Tagus River in Hispania Ulterior, in a region of modern south-west Portugal (App. Hisp. 57). Hence it may have been mentioned in connection with one of Metellus' campaigns.*

He came to Conisturgis, where the legions were.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Asper thus glossed the text, which may already have been corrupt in the second century. The conjecture *caput regionis* produces an appositive: "Conisturgis, the chief city of the region."

**103\*** 115M, 103Mc, 71D, 37K

*The reference in this fragment to the Tagus (mod. Tajo), a river in Metellus' province of Farther Spain, one that flowed into the Atlantic at Olisipo (mod. Lisbon), suggests that the text was part of a description of a military operation in the Sertorian War that was affected by a sudden change in the intensity of the river's flow.*

now suddenly the Tagus seemed to abate

**104\*** 114M, 107Mc, inc. 68D, inc. 34K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 103 and describing fighting near Olisipo (mod. Lisbon).*

a mighty (or "important") city of Lusitania

**105\*** 120M, 104Mc, inc. 42D, inc. 8K

*During the course of Metellus' campaign against the Langobrigae in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula (Plut. Sert. 13.7-12), modern Portugal, Sertorius concealed three thousand men in a shady gully to lay an ambush for Metellus' legate Aquinus, who had been sent to forage (ibid. §11).*

He took up a position in a wooded and leafy valley.

**106** 121M, 105Mc, 95D, 97K

neque se recipere aut instruere proelio quivere

Prisc. *GL* 2.539.20: to illustrate the pf. of *queo*.

**107** 135M, 109Mc, 71D, 69K

Iussu Metelli<sup>1</sup> cornicines occanuer<sup>2</sup> tubis.<sup>3</sup>

Prisc. *GL* 2.529.5 (“*in I historiarum*”); Diom. *GL* 1.374.1 (“*in prima historiarum*”); *Gloss. Vatic.* p. 86M: to illustrate the pf. *occanui* of the compound verb *occano* (of trumpets/trumpeters “to sound a call”).

(cf. fr. dub. 12, *cornua occanuerunt*.)

<sup>1</sup> Metelli Celeris *Gloss. Vatic.*      <sup>2</sup> occanere *Diom.*  
<sup>3</sup> *om. Prisc., Diom.*

**108** 116M, 110Mc, 92 et inc. 113D, 94 et inc. 80K

sanctus alias<sup>1</sup> et ingenio validus

Charis. *GL* 1.194.22 = p. 253B.2: an example of *alias* = *aliter* (see fr. 52)

{*Serv. auct. ad Aen.* 3.594 (*sanctus alia*): to illustrate a Greek acc. [of respect] with adj. *sanctus*.}

<sup>1</sup> *alia* (*acc. pl.*) *Serv.*

**109** 118M, 111Mc, 99D, 101K

neque detrusus aliquotiens terretur<sup>1</sup>

Prisc. *GL* 3.78.25: to illustrate the suffix *-iens*.

<sup>1</sup> *deterretur codd. deteriores*

**106** 121M, 105Mc, 95D, 97K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 105: Aquinus' troops were thrown into confusion.*

and they were unable to pull back or marshal themselves for battle

**107** 135M, 109Mc, 71D, 69K

*Some action in the Sertorian War, as can be surmised from the reference to Metellus and the assignment to Book 1. The identification of Metellus as "Metellus Celer" in the glossator, a late source, is not to be trusted.*

At the command of Metellus, the horn-blowers gave a sudden blast with their trumpets.

**108** 116M, 110Mc, 92 et inc. 113D, 94 et inc. 80K

*This description could have been applied to Metellus (so Maurénbr.) or Sertorius (Büchner; cf. fr. 78). "Alias" indicates that somewhat before, or after, these words S. criticized some shortcoming.*

a man irreproachable in other respects and of a sound disposition

**109** 118M, 111Mc, 99D, 101K

*Possibly a description of Sertorius' resiliency in carrying on guerrilla warfare despite setbacks.*

and though driven off a number of times, he is not frightened off

**110\*** 125M, 2.70Mc, 1.73D, 2.20K

*traxit autem hoc de Celtiberorum more, qui, ut in Sallustio legimus, . . . se regibus devovent et post eos vitam refutant.*

Serv. ad G 4.218: to illustrate the devotion of bees to their monarch by means of an example taken from the world of man.

**111** 126M, 112Mc, 74D, 73K

Sertorius, portis<sup>1</sup> turbam morantibus<sup>2</sup> et nullo, ut in terrore solet,<sup>3</sup> generis aut imperi discrimine, per calonum corpora ad medium quasi,<sup>4</sup> deinsuper adstantium<sup>5</sup> manibus in murum adtollitur.

Non. p. 282M = 435L.23: to illustrate the word *discrimen* = *separatio*, from *discerno*; Non. p. 530M = 851L.26: to illustrate the adv. *deinsuper* (a hapax), = *desuper* (from above).

{*Sallustius . . . Sertorium umeris sublatum per muros ascendisse commemorat* (Serv. ad Aen. 9.555).}

<sup>1</sup> Mercier: fortis codd. p. 282M: partis codd. p. 530M      <sup>2</sup> turbam morantibus] Mercier: turba morantibus codd. p. 282M: turbam orantibus codd. p. 530M      <sup>3</sup> semet codd. p. 530M      <sup>4</sup> evasit Mercier      <sup>5</sup> deinsuper adstantium] deinsuper stantium codd. p. 530M: dein supera stantium Müller

**112** 122M, 113Mc, 72D, K

**110\*** 125M, 2.70Mc, 1.73D, 2.20K

*As a preface to his account of a heroic rescue of Sertorius by his companions after the fall of a town, which closely resembles the circumstances in the next fragment, which is assigned to Book 1, Plutarch (Sert. 14.5; cf. Val. Max. 2.6.11) mentions the commitment of the Celtiberians to share the death of their commanders in battle.*

*He [Virgil] took this from the practice of the Celtiberians, who, as we read in Sallust, **consecrate themselves to their kings and refuse to outlive them.***

**111** 126M, 112Mc, 74D, 73K

*Iberian attendants rescued Sertorius from capture, after the fall of a town (Plut. Sert. 14.6). Servius (ad Aen. 9.555), without giving the context, paraphrases S.'s account: "Sertorius was lifted up on the shoulders of his men and mounted the walls."*

While the gates were slowing down the crowd and there was, as usual in a panic, no distinction of class or authority, Sertorius was raised up to about the midpoint of the wall on the shoulders of his attendants, then onto the wall by the hands of those standing close by, from up above.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Text uncertain and probably corrupt; see textual notes.

**112** 122M, 113Mc, 72D, K

*In 78 BC, L. Manlius (pr. 79<sup>?</sup>), the governor of Transalpine Gaul, together with three legions and 1,500 cavalry, suffered defeat at the hands of Sertorius' proquaestor Hirtuleius in Nearer Spain and took refuge in the town of Ilerda (mod. Lérida) with the few survivors (Oros. 5.23.4; cf. Plut. Sert. 12.5). This fragment may describe either a place of temporary refuge occupied by Manlius' defeated troops prior to escaping to Ilerda (cf. Jug. 38.7) or an*

occupatusque collis editissimus apud Ilerdam<sup>1</sup> et<sup>2</sup>  
eum multa opera<sup>3</sup> circumdata<sup>4</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.460.6 = p. 85DC: to illustrate a “thing” (*re(s)*) *circumdata* + accusative, but the text of Arus. may be corrupt.

{Prisc. *GL* 3.66.21 (*apud . . . circumdata*): to illustrate the use of a prep. with the name of a town.}

<sup>1</sup> apud Ilerdam] *om.* Arus.      <sup>2</sup> *om.* Prisc.      <sup>3</sup> multa  
opera] multo opere *Dietsch*      <sup>4</sup> circumdat *Parrhasius*

**113** 124M, 114Mc, 77D, 76K

Illum raptis<sup>1</sup> forum in<sup>2</sup> castra nautica Sertorius mutaverat.

Pomp. *GL* 5.163.6 {Non. p. 206M = 304L.18 (*illum . . . forum*)}; to illustrate the masc. noun *forum* having the same meaning as *forum* (neut.).

<sup>1</sup> nautis *Non.*      <sup>2</sup> *Frassinetti: et codd.*

#### COMMENCEMENT OF THE PIRATE WAR IN CILICIA (78–77 BC), FRR. 114–18

**114\*** 127M, 115Mc, 78D, 77K

Itaque Servilius aegrotum Tarenti collegam prior transgressus

Prisc. *GL* 3.64.19: to illustrate the gen. (= loc.) *Tarenti*, to express place where.

outpost or camp established by Hirtuleius in the face of the superior number of Manlius' forces.

a very lofty hill near Ilerda was seized, and many defensive works were placed round about it<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *multo opere circumdat* (see textual notes): "he enclosed it with great effort."

### **113 124M, 114Mc, 77D, 76K**

*In 78/77 BC, Sertorius established a naval base on the east coast of Spain, near the promontory Dianium (Strabo 3.4.6, p. 159; cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 1.87, 5.146).*

Sertorius had converted that marketplace for plunder into a naval base.

## **COMMENCEMENT OF THE PIRATE WAR IN CILICIA (78–77 BC), FRR. 114–18**

### **114\* 127M, 115Mc, 78D, 77K**

*In 78, P. Servilius Vatia (cos. 79) and his consular colleague Ap. Claudius Pulcher left for their provinces in the East. Possibly the verb reliquit (left behind) formed the predicate (so Maurenbr.).*

And so Servilius crossing over first <left behind?> his ill colleague at Tarentum

**115\*** 130M, 116Mc, 2.32D, K

Lyciae Pisidiaeque agros despectantem

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.420: to illustrate *despectare* (to look down upon), used to describe the view from an elevation.

**116** 129M, 117Mc, 79D, K

ad Olympum atque Phaselida

Prisc. *GL* 3.66.19: to illustrate a prep. with the name of town to express place to (fr. 116–17), at (fr. 118–19), and from which (fr. 120).

**117** 131M, 118Mc, deest in D et K

ad Corycum

Prisc. *GL* 3.66.20: see fr. 116.

**118** 132M, 119Mc, deest in D et K

apud Corycum

Prisc. *GL* 3.66.20: see fr. 116.

WAR IN MACEDONIA AND THRACE  
(77 BC), FRR. 119–20

**119** 133M, 120Mc, 81D, 81K

apud Lete oppidum

Prisc. *GL* 3.66.21: see fr. 116.



**115\*** 130M, 116Mc, 2.32D, K

*Strabo (14.5.7, p. 671) so describes the prospect as seen from Olympus, the town and mountain stronghold of the pirate chieftain Zenicetes, in eastern Lycia.*

looking down upon the fields of Lycia and Pisidia

**116** 129M, 117Mc, 79D, K

*The coastal towns of Olympus and Phaselis in Lycia were subdued by Servilius in his campaign against the pirate chieftain Zenicetes (Cic. 2 Verr. 4.21; Strabo 14.5.7, p. 671).*

to Olympus and Phaselis

**117** 131M, 118Mc, not included in D and K

*A coastal town of Lycia near Olympus (Strabo 14.3.8, p. 666), subdued by Servilius (Strabo 14.5.7, p. 671; Ps.-Ascon. p. 237St.24-25).*

to Corycus

**118** 132M, 119Mc, not included in D and K

*See previous fragment.*

at Corycus

**WAR IN MACEDONIA AND THRACE**  
(77 BC), FRR. 119-20

**119** 133M, 120Mc, 81D, 81K

*Lete was a town in Macedonia, the province of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 79).*

at the town of Lete

**120** 134M, 121Mc, 32D, 32K

repulsus a Lete oppido

Prisc. *GL* 3.66.21: see fr. 116.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
PLACEMENT IN BOOK 1, FRR. 121–39

**121** 137M, 122Mc, 111D, 102K

ea paucis, quibus peritia et verum ingenium est,<sup>1</sup>  
abnuentibus

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 12.694: quoting this fragment and fr. 2.89 to illustrate the adj. *verus* = that which is *rectum et bonum* [i.e., “morally upright,” *OLD* 9].

<sup>1</sup> erat *Dietsch*: esset *Kritz*

*Battles, frs. 122–24*

**122** 139M, 99Mc, 96D, 98K

equi sine rectoribus exterriti aut saucii consternan-  
tur

Prisc. 2.436.5: mistakenly identifying the first conj. verb *consternor* as a deponent verb, in contrast with the third conj. verb *sterno*. For one other possible instance of *consterniare* in S., cf. fr. dub. 30.

**120** 134M, 121Mc, 32D, 32K

*See fr. 119. Possibly describing the repulse of some Thracian enemy.*

driven back from the town of Lete

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
PLACEMENT IN BOOK 1, FRR. 121–39

**121** 137M, 122Mc, 111D, 102K

*Possibly from the Preface.*

a few, who possess expertise and an upright nature,  
rejecting them [views, statements, practices?]

*Battles, frs. 122–24*

**122** 139M, 99Mc, 96D, 98K

*Possibly the context is the battle leading up the death of M. Domitius (see fr. 98).*

the horses, terror-struck without their riders or  
wounded, were thrown into confusion

**123** 41M, 124Mc, 103D, 107K

dubitavit acie pars

Prisc. *GL* 2.366.11, assigned to Book 1; op. cit. 367.6, quoting fr. 127 as well; Serv. ad *G.* 1.208; Prob. *GL* 4.3.17; *Fr. Bob.* *GL* 5.555.9: to illustrate the spelling of the gen. sing. of a fifth decl. noun in *-e*, rather than in *-ei*.

**124** 138M, 125Mc, 89D, 91K

obviam ire et conmori hostibus

Arus. *GL* 7.462.6 = p. 92DC: to illustrate *commorior* + dat.

*Operations in War, frs. 125–28*

**125** 140M, 126Mc, 98D, 100K

Locum editiorem, quam victoribus decebat, capit.<sup>1</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.465.2 = p. 102DC; Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.127; Ambr. 3.16 (without attribution to S.): to illustrate *deceat* + dat.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv. et Ambr.*

**126** 141M, 127Mc, 83D, K

et stationes sub vineas removebat

Arus. *GL* 7.509.9–10 = p. 262DC: to illustrate *removeo* with *sub* + acc.

**127** 142M, 128Mc, 97D, 99K

At inde nulla munitionis aut requie mora processit ad oppidum.

Prisc. *GL* 2.367.7, quoting also fr. 123 (see ad loc.).

**123** 41M, 124Mc, 103D, 107K

*Possibly a reference to the defeat of Sulla's left wing in the Battle of Colline Gate in November 82 (App. B Civ. 1.93): so Maurenbr.*

part of the battleline wavered

**124** 138M, 125Mc, 89D, 91K

to go to meet and die with the enemy

*Operations in War, frr. 125–28*

**125** 140M, 126Mc, 98D, 100K

*Possibly describing the placement of Q. Catulus' camp after his victory over Lepidus at Cosa as described in frr. 71–72 (so de Brosses).*

He took up a loftier position than it was becoming for victors to adopt.

**126** 141M, 127Mc, 83D, K

*A maneuver during the siege of a town.*

and he pulled the pickets back under the mantlets

**127** 142M, 128Mc, 97D, 99K

But from there he proceeded to the town with no delay for entrenchment or rest.

**128** 143M, 129Mc, 102D, 105K

Quom murum hostium successisset, poenas dederat.<sup>1</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Ecl.* 5.5; Arus. *GL* 7.507.15 = p. 256DC (quoting this fragment as well as fr. 3.106 and fr. 4.3): to illustrate *succedo* + acc. of thing. [cf. *OLD* 2a]

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.125 attests S.'s use of *succedo* + acc.}

<sup>1</sup> poenas dederat] *om.* Arus.

*War, frs. 129–33*

**129** 145M, 130Mc, 93D, 95K

nisi cum ira belli desenuisset

Prisc. *GL* 2.512.11: noting that *senui*, the pf. of *senesco* (inchoative “to grow old”) is formed from the verb *seneo* (to be old).

**130** 40M, 123Mc, 101D, 104K

vacuam istam urb<em homin>ibus<sup>1</sup> militari aetate

Arus. *GL* 7.514.10 = p. 280DC: to illustrate *vacuus* + abl.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindemann in nota*

**131** 146M, 131Mc, 104D, 110K

militiae periti

Arus. *GL* 7.498.13 = p. 222DC: to illustrate *peritus* + gen.

**128** 143M, 129Mc, 102D, 105K

After he had approached close to the enemy's wall, he had paid the penalty.

*War, fr. 129–33*

**129** 145M, 130Mc, 93D, 95K

*Possibly describing the collapse of popular support for Lepidus' uprising in 77.*

if it had not languished along with war's fury

**130** 40M, 123Mc, 101D, 104K

*If the text as emended is correct, the city may be Rome shortly before being attacked by the Samnites in November 82 (App. B Civ. 1.92)—so Maurenbr.—or by M. Lepidus in January/February 77—so Gerlach.*

a city devoid of men of military age

**131** 146M, 131Mc, 104D, 110K

*Possibly a description of Sulla's veterans at the time of Lepidus' revolt in 78/77 (cf. fr. 67.21).*

experienced in military service

**132** 147M, 132Mc, 105D, 111K

doctus militiam

Arus. *GL* 7.464.20 = p. 101DC: to illustrate *doctus* + acc.

**133** 148M, 113Mc, 106D, 112K

egregius militiae

Arus. *GL* 7.470.19 = p. 122DC: to illustrate *egregius* + gen.

*Miscellaneous, frs. 134–39*

**134** 149M, 134Mc, 2,77D, 2,102K

diei medio

Arus. *GL* 7.493.17 = p. 202DC: to illustrate *medius* + gen., instead of *medius* used as a modifying adj.

**135** 117M, 135Mc, 110D, 118K

solis viis

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 979: to illustrate *solus* meaning “lonely, deserted” (*OLD* 3).

**136** 150M, 136Mc, 114D, 113K

animi inmodicus

Arus. *GL* 7.484.17 = p. 170DC: to illustrate an adj. + gen. of thing. [See K-S 1.446–47, and for other instances of an adj./partic. + *animi* in the *Historiae*, cf. fr. 2.60; 3.21, 39, 105; 4.45, 51, 67, 73.]



**132** 147M, 132Mc, 105D, 111K

expert in military matters

**133** 148M, 113Mc, 106D, 112K

outstanding in military matters

*Miscellaneous, fr. 134–39*

**134** 149M, 134Mc, 2,77D, 2,102K

at midday

**135** 117M, 135Mc, 110D, 118K

*Maurenbr. speculated that the byways mentioned by S. in Book 1 were those used by Sertorius for making his escape or laying ambushes (cf. Plut. Sert. 13.2). Other candidates are the routes of escape taken either by Marius in 88 (cf. fr. 22–23) or by the supporters of Sulla after Rome fell to Marius and Cinna in late 87 (cf. fr. 28).*

by means of deserted roads

**136** 150M, 136Mc, 114D, 113K

immoderate in spirit

**137** 151M, 137Mc, 116D, 119K

agreste

Charis. *GL* 1.120.30 = p. 154B.23: to illustrate the abl. sing. of the third decl. adj. *agrestis* in *-e*.

**138** 152M, 138Mc, 113D, 108K

quos inter maxume

Charis. *GL* 1.236.21 = p. 308B.2: to illustrate anastrophe of a preposition.

**139** 153M, 139Mc, deest in D et K

quaesere

Eutych. *GL* 5.483.8; Phoc. *GL* 5.436.5: to illustrate a rare instance of the inf. of the defective verb *quaeso* (s.v. *OLD*).

**137** 151M, 137Mc, 116D, 119K

*Charisius cites Book 2 of the Elder Pliny's Sermo dubius in defense of the abl. sing. in -e when the adj. agrestis describes an animal, as opposed to something inanimate. Possibly S. used this word to describe some fauna or tribe in a region of Mauretania or Spain in connection with the Sertorian War.*

wild (uncouth?)

**138** 152M, 138Mc, 113D, 108K

especially among them

**139** 153M, 139Mc, not included in D and K

to request<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or "they sought, demanded," if the grammarians mistook a third pl. pf. of *quaero* (cf. fr. 75 *quaesit*) for an inf. of *quaeso*.

## BOOK 2

### OUTLINE

- I. DEFEAT AND DEATH OF LEPIDUS IN SARDINIA (77 BC), FRR. 1–15  
*Description of Sardinia and Corsica, fr. 1–13*  
*Defeat of Lepidus, fr. 14–15*
- II. POMPEY SENT TO SPAIN (77 BC), FRR. 16–21  
*Character Sketch of Pompey, fr. 17–21*
- III. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (76 BC), FRR. 22–24
- IV. SERTORIAN WAR (76 BC), FRR. 25–33  
*Battle of Lauro (spring 76 BC), fr. 27–30*  
*Activities of Metellus in Farther Spain (76 BC), fr. 31–33*
- V. WARS IN THE EAST (76 BC), FRR. 34–37
- VI. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (75 BC), FRR. 38–44  
The Consul Gaius Cotta's Speech to the Roman People, fr. 43

- VII. SERTORIAN WAR (SUMMER OF 75 BC),  
FRR. 45-56
- VIII. BACKGROUND TO THIRD MITHRIDATIC  
WAR, FRR. 57-65
- IX. WARS IN EAST (75 BC), FRR. 66-74  
*Campaigns in Macedonia, fr. 66-67*  
*Campaigns Against Isaurian Pirates, fr. 68-74*
- X. SERTORIAN WAR (AUTUMN 75 BC), FRR.  
75-86  
Gnaeus Pompey's Dispatch to the Senate, fr. 86
- XI. FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN PLACE-  
MENT IN BOOK 2, FRR. 87-110  
*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr., fr.*  
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## LIBER II

### DEFEAT AND DEATH OF LEPIDUS IN SARDINIA (77 BC), FRR. 1-15

#### *Description of Sardinia and Corsica, frr. 1-13*

1\* 1M, Mc, D, K

quom praedixero positum insulae

Donat. ad.Ter. *Phorm.* 97: in commenting on Terence's substitution of the participle *situs* for *positus* to describe a corpse laid out for mourning, S. is cited to illustrate the opposite, viz. the substitution of the rare and poetical fourth-decl. noun *positus* for *situs* (used at *Jug.* 17.1), meaning "the layout of a region, its geography."

2 2M, Mc, D, K

Sardinia in Africo mari facie vestigi humani in orientem  
quam occidentem<sup>1</sup> latior prominet.<sup>2</sup>

Gell. 13.30.5; Non. p. 53M = 74L.1-2: to illustrate *facies* in the sense of "shape" or "form" and applied to things, as well as persons. (*Gloss.* 5, p. 236.21; *Isid. Etym.* 14.7.1 (*in orientem . . . prominet*): to illustrate the verb *promineo* applied to land masses extending into the sea; cf. *Isid. Etym.* 14.6.39 (*in Africo . . . prominet*, without attribution to S.), *Plin. HN* 3.85; *Mart. Cap.* 6.645 (p. 225W.3): reporting the resemblance of the shape of Sardinia to a human footprint.)

## BOOK 2

### DEFEAT AND DEATH OF LEPIDUS IN SARDINIA (77 BC), FRR. 1-15

#### *Description of Sardinia and Corsica, frr. 1-13*

#### 1\* 1M, Mc, D, K

*Possibly introducing S.'s remarks on Sardinia, scene of the defeat of M. Lepidus (cos. 78) and his rebel forces after they had been expelled from Italy by Lepidus' consular colleague Q. Catulus. Conceivably, however, this fragment could have introduced S.'s excursus on the island of Crete (3.46-51)—so Keyser—since the restoration of "in II" in the text of Donatus rests on "in H" in one late manuscript.*

when I have first mentioned the layout of the island

#### 2 2M, Mc, D, K

*Same context as fr. 1.*

Sardinia, in the African sea, has the shape of a human footprint and bulges more to the east than the west.

---

<sup>1</sup> in occidentem quam in orientem] *Non.*

<sup>2</sup> *om. Non.*

3\* 3M, 3Mc, 2D, 3K

*Sardinia quoque, quam apud Timaeum Sandalio tin legimus, Ichnusam apud Crispum, in quo mari sita sit, quos incolarum auctores habeat, satis celebre est.*

Solinus 4.1.

4 13M, 5Mc, 82D, 80K

Nam procul et divorsis ex regionibus

Charis. *GL* 1.215.5–6 = p. 278B.5–6: informs us that the second-century AD commentator Asper interpreted the adv. *procul* in this context as referring to place of origin, glossing *procul e loco*.

5\* 6M, 8Mc, 4–5D, 7–8K

*Aristaeum . . . Apollinis et Cyrenes filium . . . hic, ut etiam Sallustius docet, post laniatum a canibus Actaeonem filium matris instinctu Thebas reliquit et Ceam insulam tenuit primo, adhuc hominibus vacuam; postea, ea relicta, cum Daedalo ad Sardiniam transitum fecit.*

Serv. ad *G.* 1.14: background information on Aristaeus.

{Prob. *GL* 4.7.27 (*Apollinis filia* [sic] *et Cyrenes*): to illustrate gen. sing. in *-es* of a f. noun having nom. in *-e*; *Schol. Bern.* ad *G.* 4.283 (*Aristaeus filius Apollinis et Cyrenes*, without mention of S.); Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.14 states that according to S., Daedalus made his way first to Sardinia and afterward to Cumae; *Gloss.* 5, p. 176.30 states that according to S., Aristaeus first settled on Cea after leaving his native land.}



3\* 3M, 3Mc, 2D, 3K

*Same context as fr. 1.*

*Also as to Sardinia, which we find referred to as Sandaliotis in Timaeus and Ichnusa<sup>1</sup> in [Sallustius] Crispus, it is quite widely known in what sea it is located and who were the progenitors of its inhabitants.*

<sup>1</sup> From the Greek ἵχνος, meaning “footprint.”

4 13M, 5Mc, 82D, 80K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 1, describing places from which settlers came to Sardinia. Maurenbr. instead assigned this fragment to S.'s description of the many outlaws and exiles who flocked to Sertorius in Spain after the collapse of M. Lepidus' uprising in 77 (cf. fr. 15).*

For from far off and separate regions

5\* 6M, 8Mc, 4–5D, 7–8K

*Same context as fr. 1: Aristaeus is said to have been the second settler to arrive in Sardinia, after immigrants were brought from Libya under the leadership of Sardus, from whom the island took its name (Paus. 10.17.3, rejecting, for reasons of chronology, the tradition that Daedalus accompanied Aristaeus).*

***Aristaeus . . . the son of Apollo and Cyrene . . . , as S. too states, left Thebes at the prompting of his mother after his son Actaeon had been torn apart by his dogs, and at first possessed the island of Cea [Ceos], up until then devoid of people; afterward, he left that island behind and with Daedalus made the crossing<sup>1</sup> to Sardinia.***

<sup>1</sup> Sc. “from Sicily,” see fr. 8.

6\* 4M, 6Mc, inc. 122D, 2.9K

Geryonis

Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.662: to give an example of the gen. sing. *-is* of the first decl. Greek noun *Geryones*, *-ae*.

7 5M, 7Mc, 26D, 32K

ut alii tradiderunt,<sup>1</sup> Tartessum Hispaniae civitatem,  
quam nunc Tyrii mutato nomine Gaddir<sup>2</sup> habent

Prisc. *GL* 2.154.3–5, 234.12–14: to illustrate S.'s treatment of *Gaddir* as a neut. noun; Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 401: to illustrate (mistakenly) the meaning of *habeo* = *dico* (to call), whereas, instead, the meaning in Terence is "have (the facts)" (*OLD* s.v. *habeo* 11), and in this fragment = *colere* (to inhabit), cf. *Cat.* 6.1; *Jug.* 17.7.

{Avien. *Descript.* 610–16, without citing S., traces the evolution of the place-name from Cotinussa to Tartessus (so called by Tyrians), and finally Gades from the Cathaginian "Gaddir," a word meaning a "place enclosed on all sides with a rampart."}

<sup>1</sup> ut alii tradiderunt] *om. Donat.*

<sup>2</sup> Gadirum *Donat.*

8 7M (Prisc.), 9Mc, 3D (Prisc.) , 5K (Prisc.)

**6\* 4M, 6Mc, inc. 122D, 2.9K**

*Possibly the same context as fr. 1: settlers were brought from Spain to Sardinia by Norax, the eponymous founder of the town Nora; he was the son of Mercury and Erytheia, the daughter of Geryon (Paus. 10.17.4; cf. Solin. 4.1).*

of Geryon

**7 5M, 7Mc, 26D, 32K**

*Norax (see fr. 6) is said to have come from Tartessus (Solin. 4.1), a region of southwest Spain, the name of which was sometimes extended to the Phoenician emporium Gaddir (= Gades; mod. Cádiz).*

according to another tradition, the Spanish community of Tartessus, which with a change of name the people of Tyre now occupy as Gaddir

**8 7M (Prisc.), 9Mc, 3D (Prisc.) , 5K (Prisc.)**

*Same context as fr. 1: descendants of Hercules were led by Hercules' nephew Iolaus to Sardinia, where they settled (Strabo 5.2.7, p. 225; cf. Paus. 10.17.4). During a period when Sardinia was largely, but not exclusively, under Carthaginian control, Libyan or Iberian deserters from the Carthaginian army joined settlers from abroad (Corsica?) in the mountains of Sardinia; they were known as "Balari," meaning "fugitives" in the Corsican language (Paus. 10.17.5).*

Col. 1 (12 lines)

[ . . . ±7 . . . ] an Iolao [ .. ±5 .. ] | [ . . . ±7 . . . ] m incertum  
tral[ . . . ] ariri [ . . . ] is an testimonium adscitae gentis.  
Bal<lar>os Corsi transfugas | [ . . . ] llanteos,<sup>1</sup> alii  
Numil<das>, pars Hispanos putant | <e Po>enorum<sup>2</sup> exer-  
citu; ge<nus> ingenio mobili aut | <so>ciorum metu infi-  
dum, | <fu>sci<sup>3</sup> veste cultu barba. | <Be>llo Celtiberico et  
lal

Col. 2 (2 lines + supplement)

| di[ . . . ] | Dae<dalum ex Sicilia pro><sup>4</sup>fectu<m quo Mino-  
nis iram><sup>5</sup> | <atque opes fugerat><sup>6</sup>

*Pap. Oxyrh.* 68 6B.20/L (10–13)a, fr. b, recto<sup>A</sup> (= col. 1) recto<sup>B</sup>  
(= col. 2), portions of two columns each originally ca. 20 lines  
long and ca. 18–22 letters in width, written in rustic capitals in a  
papyrus roll of the second/third century(?), from which fr. inc. 2  
is also preserved. Supplements are by Roberts, unless otherwise  
indicated; italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain; the  
symbol “|” marks the division of lines in the papyrus.

{Prisc. GL 2.255.2–3 (*Daedalum . . . fugerat*), assigned to Book 2:  
to illustrate the gen. sing. *Minonis*, instead of *Minois*.}

<sup>1</sup> <Pa>llanteos Roberts    <sup>2</sup> Funari    <sup>3</sup> Morel    <sup>4–6</sup> suppl.  
ex Prisc.

9\* 9M, 4Mc, 6D adnot., 10K

*Illo tempore invadendarum terrarum causa fuerat naviga-  
tio, uti Sallustius meminit, **facili tum mutatione sedum.***

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.299: in explaining how it was the  
fate of the Trojans to be exiles from their homeland and how they  
came to land on the shores of Carthage.

. . . or to Iolaus . . . uncertain . . . or evidence of foreign stock. The Corsicans suppose the Balari to be fugitives from \* \* \*; others suppose them to be Numidian or Spanish deserters from the Carthaginian army: a treacherous race owing to its fickle disposition or fear of allies; of dark clothing, adornment, and beard. In the Celtiberian War [151–133 BC] and \* \* \*

*[ca. 15±10 lines in the papyrus separate this part of the fragment from the one preceding.]*

\* \* \* Daedalus, having set out from Sicily, to which he had fled to escape the wrath and might of Minos . . .

9\* 9M, 4Mc, 6D note, 10K

*Same context as fr. 1 if this fragment formed part of S.'s description of Trojans coming by sea to Sardinia (see next fragment). Alternatively, this fragment might have been part of S.'s excursus on the settlement of Crete (fr. 3.46–51) and the growth of piracy (so Keyser, comparing Thuc. 1.2.1–2 and Diod. Sic. 5.80.1).*

*At that time [after the fall of Troy, trad. in 1184 BC], seafaring had been the cause of incurions into foreign lands, as Sallust recalls, **since a change of abodes was easy then.***

10\* 8M, 10Mc, 6D, 11K

*cum multi evaserint Troianorum periculum, ut Capys qui Campaniam tenuit, . . . ut alii qui **Sardiniam**, secundum Sallustium*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.242; id. ad *Aen.* 1.601 (*alii Sardiniam secundum Sallustium*)

11 83M, 11Mc, 91D, 92K

frugum pabulique laetus ager

Arus. *GL* 7.490.4 = p. 190DC ("*Sal. Hist. II*"); Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.441; Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 11.338: to illustrate *laetus* + gen.

12\* 10M, 12Mc, 2D [adnot. ad 2K]

*In Sardinia enim nascitur quaedam **herba**, ut Sallustius dicit, **apiastri similis**. Haec comesa ora hominum rictus dolore contrahit et quasi ridentis interimit.*

Serv. ad *Ecl.* 7.41: to explicate Virgil's *Sardonitis herbis* (Sardinian herbs).

{Isid. *Etym.* 14.6.40: *herba . . . apiastri similis, quae comesa ora hominum rictus dolore contrahit et quasi ridentis interimit*; cf. Sol. 4.4.}

13 11M, 13Mc, 2D, 2K note

**10\*** 8M, 10Mc, 6D, 11K

*Same context as fr. 1: according to Pausanias (10.17.4), refugees from Troy mingled with the Greek settlers on Sardinia who had arrived under Iolaus (cf. fr. 8).*

*since many of the Trojans escaped danger, as for instance Capys, who made for Campania, . . . and others who made for **Sardinia**, according to Sallust*

**11** 83M, 11Mc, 91D, 92K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 1: a description of the fertility of Sardinia (so La Penna [1971].61–62, adducing a like description of Sardinia in Claud. De bell. Gild. 509: “farmland rich in crops” (dives ager frugum). Maurenbr. connected, instead, with a region in the vicinity of the Taurus Mountains.*

land rich in crops and fodder

**12\*** 10M, 12Mc, 2D [included in note on 2K]

*Same context as fr. 1: a poisonous plant native to Sardinia (possibly hemlock water dropwort, which resembles celery and whose root contains a potent neurotoxin that produces a “sardonic” death rictus).*

*For in Sardinia there grows a certain **plant**, as Sallust states, **resembling bee balm**. If eaten, it constricts human faces with a painful grimace and kills them as though they are smiling.*

**13** 11M, 13Mc, 2D, 2K note

*The island Corsica received its name from Corsa, a Ligurian woman who led settlers there after being tempted to explore the island when she noticed that a bull in her herd was swimming out to the island and returning well fed (Isid. Etym. 14.6.41).*

sed ipsi ferunt taurum ex grege, quem prope litora  
regebat Corsa nomine Ligus mulier

Prisc. *GL* 2.264.9–10: to illustrate the adj. *Ligus*, which, like *vetus*, has one form in each case, common to all three genders.

{Isid. *Etym.* 14.6.41 (without naming S.): *Corsa nomine Ligus mulier, cum taurum ex grege, quem prope litora regebat . . .*}

### *Defeat of Lepidus, frs. 14–15*

14\* 12M, 14Mc, 7D, 12K

Tharrhos<sup>1</sup>

Prob. *GL* 4.22.26; Sacerd. fr. line 110: cited as the only instance of a noun (foreign) ending in *-hos*, said to be always pl.

{Prob. *GL* 4.27.32 (“Tarros”) and Sacerdos, *GL* 6.478.25 (“Tharros”): remarking, without mention of S., that the “T.” is always pl.}

<sup>1</sup> Tarrhos *Keil*: tharros *corr.* tharrhos B (*Prob.* 4.22)

15 14M, 15Mc, 94D, 97K

orbe terrarum extorres

Arus. *GL* 7.472.7 = p. 127DC: to illustrate *extorris* + abl.



but they themselves [the Corsicans?] relate that a bull belonging to a herd, which a Ligurian woman named Corsa was tending near the shore

*Defeat of Lepidus, fr. 14–15*

**14\*** 12M, 14Mc, 7D, 12K

*It was possibly near Tharros (apparently spelled by S. -hos), a town on the west coast of Sardinia, that the rebel M. Lepidus tried to land with a reduced number of followers in 77 and was defeated by the propraetorian legate C. Valerius Triarius (Ascon. 19C.1; Exsuper. 6 [39–41Z]).*

Tharrhos

**15** 14M, 15Mc, 94D, 97K

*Possibly a description of the followers of M. Lepidus' failed uprising in 77, those who made their way from Sardinia under Perpenna to Spain, where they fought under Q. Sertorius (Plut. Sert. 15.2–3; App. B Civ. 1.107–8; Exsuper. 7 [42Z]).*

men banished from the world [i.e., from all Roman territory]

POMPEY SENT TO SPAIN (77 BC),  
FRR. 16-21

16 15M, 16Mc, 30D, 36K

Ad hoc rumoribus advorsa in pravitatem, secunda in casum, fortunam<sup>1</sup> in temeritatem declinando conrumpebant

Non. p. 385M = 614L.2-4: to illustrate *rumor* = *opinio*.

<sup>1</sup> fortuita Müller: fortia Pecere

*Character Sketch of Pompey, frr. 17-21*

17\* 16M, 17Mc, inc. 75D, inc. 41K

oris probi, animo inverecundo

Suet. *Gram.* 15.1-2: this unfavorable description of Pompey by S. is credited with causing Pompey's freedman, the grammarian Lenaeus, to compose a vicious satire attacking S.

{Cf., in descriptions of Pompey, without attribution to S., *probi oris* (Plin. *HN* 37.14), *os probum* (Plin. *HN* 7.53), and *animi inverecundi* (Sacerd. *GL* 6.462.1).}

18 17M, 18Mc, 86D, 85K

modestus ad alia omnia, nisi ad dominationem

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 170: to illustrate *modeste* = *moderate*.

POMPEY SENT TO SPAIN (77 BC),  
FRR. 16–21

16 15M, 16Mc, 30D, 36K

*Possibly describing how backers of Pompey in 77 sought to have him put in charge of the war against Sertorius by denigrating Metellus Pius' conduct of that war (so Maurenbr.). De Broses, on the contrary, thought the criticism was aimed at Sertorius.*

In addition, through gossip, by putting down his setbacks to cowardice, his successes to chance, and his good luck to rashness, they kept undermining

*Character Sketch of Pompey, fr. 17–21*

17\* 16M, 17Mc, inc. 75D, inc. 41K

*The first of a series of fragments outlining Pompey's character and past military exploits prior to his being sent to Spain in 77: a summation of Pompey's outward appearance and inward essence. Syme (Tacitus, 150) translates "fair of face but dark within."*

of honest face but shameless heart

18 17M, 18Mc, 86D, 85K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 17: a description of Pompey.*

moderate with regard to all else except domination

**19** 21M, 21Mc, 12D, 62K

Nam Sullam consulem de reditu eius legem ferentem ex composito tribunus plebis C. Herennius prohibuerat.

Gell. 10.20.10: to illustrate the use of the term *lex* to describe a bill that was more strictly a *privilegium* (a measure affecting just one person, not the whole community).

**20\*** 19M, 20Mc, 11D, 17K

Cum alacribus saltu, cum velocibus cursu, cum validis vecte<sup>1</sup> certabat.

Veg. *Mil.* 1.9.8: commenting on Pompey's physical training, aimed at making him a match for Sertorius.

<sup>1</sup> fasce *Dietsch*

**19** 21M, 21Mc, 12D, 62K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 17, if describing Sulla's thwarted attempt to recall Pompey from his army in Africa in 80 (Plut. Pomp. 13.1–4). The reference to Sulla as consul places the event in 80 (or 88, if the Cn. Pompeius, to whom Gell. refers, was Pompey's father; Cn. Pompeius Strabo [cos. 89]: see MRR 3.101, 161).*

For by arrangement,<sup>1</sup> the plebeian tribune Gaius Herennius had blocked the consul Sulla when he was proposing a law concerning his recall.

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether the agreement was struck between Sulla and the tribune, or between Pompey and the tribune. If the former, then Sulla may have used Herennius as a strawman to justify a reversal of his decision to recall Pompey when he encountered popular displeasure.

**20\*** 19M, 20Mc, 11D, 17K

*The same context as fr. 17: Pompey's physical training immediately preceding the Sertorian War (as attested by Veg.).*

He competed at jumping with the agile, at running with the swift, and at the lever<sup>1</sup> with the strong

<sup>1</sup> The meaning of *vecte* is open to various interpretations. S. may be describing (a) a tool, such as was used to shift heavy boulders in a military operation (e.g., Caes. *B Civ.* 2.11.1), or (b) a practice sword (e.g., Veg. *Mil.* 3.4.4), in which case the meaning is “at fencing” (or conceivably “at jousting,” after the fashion of Robin Hood and his men). Dietsch's emendation *fasce* makes S. refer to the carrying of a heavy pack (e.g., Verg. *G.* 3.347)

**21\*** 22M, 22Mc, inc. 11D, 2.16K

Narbone per concilium Gallorum

Cledon. *GL* 5.22.12–13: to illustrate locative *Narbone* (abl.) in place of *Narboni* (dat.).

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (76 BC),  
FRR. 22–24

**22** 25M, 23Mc, 35D, 45K

quia<sup>1</sup> corpore et lingua percitum et inquietem nomine histrionis vix sani Burbuleium adpellabat

Prisc. *GL* 2.243.3–5: to illustrate an oblique case of the third decl. adj. *inquires*.

<sup>1</sup> qui *L*: quem *Dietsch*

**23†** 26M, 24Mc, 36D, 3.83K

conlegamque eius Octavium mitem et captum pedibus

Arus. *GL* 7.489.5 = p. 489DC: (assigned in error to “*Hist. III*”) to illustrate *captus* + abl. of thing.

**24** 27M, 25Mc, 34D, 44K

**21\*** 22M, 22Mc, inc. 11D, 2.16K

*Possibly to be connected with Pompey's activities in Transalpine Gaul, which in the winter of 77/76 he pacified while on his way to take up his command against Sertorius in Spain (cf. fr. 86.5; Cic. De imp. Cn. Pomp. 28, 30).*

at Narbo, through the Gallic council

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (76 BC),  
FRR. 22–24

**22** 25M, 23Mc, 35D, 45K

*C. Scribonius Curio (cos. 76) was called "Burbuleius," the name of an actor (Val. Max. 9.14.5; cf. Plin. HN 7.55). Curio may have been so called by the tribune Sicinius, who is credited with making witty remarks in public at the expense of Curio (Cic. Brut. 217).*

because he used to call him "Burbuleius," the name of a half-crazy actor, since he was an agitated and restless fellow in his movement and speech<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This description of Curio's deportment agrees with Cicero's (*Brut.* 216–17; cf. *Quint.* 11.3.129).

**23†** 26M, 24Mc, 36D, 3.83K

*Cn. Octavius (cos. 76), who suffered from lameness (Cic. Brut. 217; Quint. 11.3.129).*

and his colleague, the mild and lame Octavius

**24** 27M, 25Mc, 34D, 44K

*Possibly describing pressure applied to the tribune Sicinius by the consul C. Curio in 76 to dissuade him from agitating for the res-*

ut actione desisteret

Arus. *GL* 7.467.3 = p. 107DC: to illustrate *desisto* + abl. of a thing.

SERTORIAN WAR (76 BC), FRR. 25–33

25\* 64M, 26Mc, 21D, 27K

Saguntini, fide atque aerumnis incluti per mortalis,<sup>1</sup> studio maiore quam opibus—quippe <apud><sup>2</sup> quos etiam tum semiruta moenia, domus intactae parietesque templorum ambusti manus Punicas ostentabant—

Hieron. in *Hab.* 2.9–11 (p. 604A): to illustrate the statement in Habakkuk 2:11 that “the stones of the wall will cry out” (NIV). {Cf. Mela 2.92, *Saguntum illam* (sc. *urbem*) *fide atque aerumnis inclutam*; Amm. Marc. 15.10.10, *Saguntinis memorabilibus aerumnis et fide.*}

<sup>1</sup> per mortales] *cod. Par. Lat. 1836* (cf. *Tac. Hist.* 2.2, *inclutum per indigenas*): *prae mortalibus cod. Reg. 93*      <sup>2</sup> *suppl. edd.*

26\* 65M, 27Mc, 22D, 28K

Saguntium

Charis. *GL* 1.143.9 = p. 181B.10: to illustrate the gen. pl. adopted by S., as opposed to *Saguntinorum*.



*toration of the powers of the tribunate (Ps.-Ascon. p. 189St.7-9; cf. fr. 3.15.10).*

so that he might desist from his course of action

## SERTORIAN WAR (76 BC), FRR. 25-33

**25\*** 64M, 26Mc, 21D, 27K

*The town of Saguntum on the east-central coast of Spain, a few miles north of the likely site of Lauro, may have been mentioned in describing Pompey's march south in the spring of 76, when he sought to relieve the town of Lauro, which was being besieged by Sertorius (Plut. Sert. 18.5).*

the people of Saguntum, famous among mortals for their loyalty and sufferings, with greater zeal than resources—seeing that in their midst, even at that time, half-ruined walls, houses without roofs, and the scorched walls of temples displayed the handiwork of their Punic foes<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> The fall of Rome's ally Saguntum to Hannibal in 218, after an eight-month siege begun in 219, precipitated the Second Punic War (218-201).

**26\*** 65M, 27Mc, 22D, 28K

*Same context as fr. 25.*

of the Saguntines

*Battle of Lauro (spring 76 BC), frs. 27–30*

27\* 29M, 28Mc, 15D, 22K

quis a Sertorio triplices insidiae per idoneos saltus  
positae erant; prima, quae forte<sup>1</sup> venientis exciperet

Serv. ad G. 2.98 (*quis . . . prima*), id. ad Aen. 11.896 (*prima . . . exciperet*) [Charis. GL 1.96.8 = p. 123B.6 (*prima*)]: to note in S. the use of the sing. *prima* with reference to the pl. noun *insidiae*.

<sup>1</sup> fronte *Mascivius*

28\* 30M, 29Mc, 64D, 30K

atque eos a tergo incurrunt

[Rufin.], *Schem lex.* p. 57H.10: prep. *in* to be supplied with *eos* (= *in eos*) from the compound verb.

29\* 31M, 30Mc, 16D, 23K

*Laelius . . . ab Hirtuleianis interfectus est, ut ait  
Sallustius: receptis plerisque signis militaribus  
cum Laeli corpore*

*Schol. Bob. ad Cic. Flacc.* 14 (p. 98St.10–11).

*Battle of Lauro (spring 76 BC), fr. 27–30*

27\* 29M, 28Mc, 15D, 22K

*Early in 76, Pompey attempted to relieve the town of Lauro from a siege by Sertorius but was outmaneuvered (Plut. Sert. 18.5–10). His foraging party was cut off by a threefold ambush planned by Sertorius (Frontin. Str. 2.5.31).*

against them Sertorius had laid a threefold ambush in woodland gorges ideally suited for the purpose: the first which was to intercept those who happened to come along,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> McGushin's "the advancing enemy" presumes the emendation *fronte*, as do Frassinetti-di Luca in their translation, although the latter print *forte*.

28\* 30M, 29Mc, 64D, 30K

*Same context as fr. 27. A legion under the legate D. Laelius, sent by Pompey to relieve the foraging party, was attacked by Sertorius' cavalry from the rear (Frontin. Str. 2.5.31; cf. App. B Civ. 1.109).*

and they rush upon them from the rear

29\* 31M, 30Mc, 16D, 23K

*Same context as fr. 28. Cf. Obseq. 58, placing Laelius' death on the foraging mission under 77 BC.*

***Laelius was killed by the forces under Hirtuleius, as Sallust states: after the recovery of the bulk of the military standards along with Laelius' body***

**30\*** 32M, 31Mc, 95D, 99K

et Metello procul agente, longa spes auxiliorum

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.544: to illustrate the adj. *longus* meaning “far-removed” (*longe positus*).

*Activities of Metellus in Farther Spain (76 BC),  
frr. 31–33*

**31\*** 1.123M, 2.32Mc, inc. 6D, 1.43K

Ucurbis

Prob. *GL* 4.20.2: to illustrate the gen. of the proper noun *Ucurbis*, identified as a community mentioned by S.

**32** 33M, 33Mc, 95D, 99K

copiis integra

Arus. *GL* 7.480.24 = p. 157DC: to illustrate the adj. *integer* + abl. of thing.

**33\*** 35M, 34Mc, inc. 36D, inc. 2K

At Sertorius vacuos hieme copias augere

Porph. ad Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.81: to illustrate *vacuus* applied to a person in the sense of *otiosus* (at leisure).

**30\*** 32M, 31Mc, 95D, 99K

*Possibly the same context as frs. 27–29: Metellus Pius was not in a position to lend aid to Pompey's forces, because he was engaged in his province of Farther Spain.*

and far-removed <was> the hope of reinforcements,  
since Metellus was operating far away

*Activities of Metellus in Farther Spain (76 BC),  
frs. 31–33*

**31\*** 1.123M, 2.32Mc, inc. 6D, 1.43K

*Possibly a town in Farther Spain, if it is identical with Ucubi ([Caes.] B Hisp. 7). It may have been mentioned in connection with the defeat of the Sertorian commander L. Hirtuleius by Metellus outside Italica (Oros. 5.23.10; cf. Frontin. Str. 2.1.2), a town ca. eighty-five miles to the west of Ucubi.*

of Ucurbis

**32** 33M, 33Mc, 95D, 99K

*Possibly describing the condition of Gaul (the winter quarters of Metellus in 76/75, fr. 86.9), or some region of Spain(?), at the time of devastation elsewhere resulting from the Sertorian War.*

with its forces intact

**33\*** 35M, 34Mc, inc. 36D, inc. 2K

*Possibly a reference to the period of Metellus' absence in Gaul (see previous fragment).*

But Sertorius, at leisure<sup>1</sup> in the winter to build up  
his forces

<sup>1</sup> Or, "free from distractions in the winter, built up his forces."

WARS IN THE EAST (76 BC),  
FRR. 34–37

**34** 37M, 36Mc, 87D, 86K

vir gravis et nulla arte quoiquam inferior

Arus. *GL* 7.488.5–6 = p. 182DC: to illustrate *inferior* + dat. of person.

**35** 39M, 37Mc, 81D, 79K

genus armis ferox et serviti insolitum

Arus. *GL* 7.486.19–20 = p. 177DC: to illustrate *insolitus* + gen. of thing.

[Tert. *De anim.* 20.3: S. applied the description *feroces* to the Dalmatae.]

**36\*** 40M, 38Mc, inc. 12D, 2.42K

primam modo Iapydiam ingressus

Serv. ad G. 3.475: identifies Iapydia as a district of Venetia (a region in northern Illyricum), citing S. for a reference to Iapydia.

**37** 41M, 39Mc, 69D, 84K

eam deditonem senatus per nuntios Orestis cognitam adprobat

Prisc. *GL* 2.246.4–5: to illustrate the third decl. gen. sing. spelling *-is* of *Orestes*.

WARS IN THE EAST (76 BC),  
FRR. 34–37

**34** 37M, 36Mc, 87D, 86K

*Maurenbr. speculated that this fragment may have formed part of a character sketch of Ap. Claudius (cos. 79), which was offered at the time of his death, from illness in 76 while serving as governor of Macedonia (MRR 2.94). For his poor health two years earlier, cf. fr. 1.114.*

a grave man, taking second place to no one in any accomplishment

**35** 39M, 37Mc, 81D, 79K

*"Fierce" was S.'s description of the Dalmatae (Tert. l. c.), a people in the province of Illyricum, against whom C. Cosconius (pr. 79<sup>p</sup>), the governor in 78–76, campaigned (Eutr. 6.4).*

a race fierce in arms and unaccustomed to servitude

**36\*** 40M, 38Mc, inc. 12D, 2.42K

*Activity in a region of Illyricum lying near the top of the east coast of the Adriatic, north of Dalmatia. Same context as fr. 35.*

having entered only the nearest part of Iapydia

**37** 41M, 39Mc, 69D, 84K

*A victory of Cn. Aufidius Orestes (pr. 77) while governing the province of Asia (or Transalpine or Cisalpine Gaul<sup>p</sup>) in 76 (see MRR 2.96 n. 4, 3.29–30).*

the senate approved the surrender, of which it was informed through Orestes' messengers

DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (75 BC),  
FRR. 38-44

38 42M, 40Mc, 38D (Berlin fr. only), deest in K

- 1 \* \* \* <apud> | quem exercitus fluerat, | legionem misit  
de|specta<sup>1</sup> | vanitate, idque illi in | sapientiam cesserat.  
2 Dein | L. Octavius et C. Coll<t>a consulatum ingres-  
sll<i>, quorum | Octavius langu|l<i>de et | incuriose fuit,  
Cl<ot>a promptius, sed ambitill . . . e<sup>2</sup> tum | ingenio  
largit . ll . . . <sup>3</sup> cupilens gratia<m> sing|l<ul>orum<sup>4</sup> | \* \* \*

These words occupy the first 11 lines of a column that is 18-23 letter-spaces in width and was originally 21 lines in length. It is found on the left portion of a single leaf forming one-half of a partially preserved double leaf that once belonged to the so-called Fleury manuscript (*Floriacensis*). The upper portion of this leaf and a small strip of the adjoining leaf are preserved on the verso of fol. 20 of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A), combined with the recto of the Berlin fragment (B). The division between A (on the left) and B (on the right) is marked with ||; ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |; italics signifies that the transcription is uncertain. Supplements are to be credited to Hauler, unless otherwise indicated. The conjectural supplement <apud> introducing this fragment would have been written at the end of the last line of the right-hand column on the verso of the preceding, no longer extant, leaf. For a schematic reconstruction of the partially preserved double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> *dispecta Perl*

<sup>2</sup> *ambiti<on>e, Maurenbr.*

<sup>3</sup> *ingenio largitor et] Perl: ingenti a largitione Mommsen: ingenta largitione Maurenbr.*

<sup>4</sup> *Mommsen*



DOMESTIC AFFAIRS (75 BC),  
FRR. 38-44

38 42M, 40Mc, 38D (Berlin fr. only), not included in K

*The transition to the year 75 is marked by names of the new consuls and a brief sketch of their characters. This is preceded by a reference to some military operation, the details of which cannot be recovered. Italics in the translation signifies that the text is uncertain because of the need for supplements.*

. . . the one *under whose command* the army had been, discharged a legion *out of contempt* for its unreliability,<sup>1</sup> and that act had passed for wisdom in his case.

Next, upon entering the consulship, Lucius Octavius and Gaius Cotta, of whom Octavius was irresolute and negligent, Cotta more energetic but *thanks to his greed for advancement, both a briber by nature and* desirous of the goodwill of individuals . . .

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *dispecta*, "having discerned its unreliability."

**39** 43M, 41Mc, 39D, 47K

P(ublius)que<sup>1</sup> Lentulus Marcell<inus> | eodem auctore<sup>2</sup>  
quaest<or> | in novam provinci<am> | Cyrenas missus est,  
q<uom><sup>3</sup> | ea, mortui regis Apio<nis> | testamento nobis  
d<ata>, | prudentiore quam <adu>llescentis<sup>4</sup> et minus  
q<uam> | ille<sup>5</sup> avidi imperio co<nti>nenda fuit. Praetere<a  
di>vorsorum ordin<um certalmina hoc anno exarserunt>.<sup>6</sup>

These words occupy the first eleven lines of the right-hand column on the recto of the same leaf that preserves fr. 38 in the left-hand column. The two fragments are separated by the loss of ten manuscript lines at the bottom of the left-hand column (= approx. five lines of printed text). The text is preserved on the recto of the Berlin fragment (**B**). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the right margin of most lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of two or three letters. For a schematic reconstruction of the partially preserved double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> PQ B            <sup>2</sup> Kreyssig: actore B            <sup>3</sup> cum Perl: q<uod>  
Pertz            <sup>4</sup> <adu>llescentis] Perl: <illas> per gentis Kreyssig  
                  <sup>5</sup> q<uam> | ille avidi] Perl: g<lo>riae avidi Kreyssig  
                  <sup>6</sup> Kreyssig

**40** 44M, 62Mc, 79D, 76K

inmane quantum animi exarsere

Non. p. 127M = 185L.30–31: to illustrate an adj. used adverbially (= *inmaniter*).

**41** 45M, 42Mc, 40D, 49K

**39** 43M, 41Mc, 39D, 47K

*In 75, a quaestor was sent (possibly with “imperium pro praetore”) to organize the new province of Cyrene, which the late Ptolemy Apion had willed to the Roman people in 96 (Liv. Per. 70). The important political figure who is said to have orchestrated this arrangement—referred to here as “the same person”—may be the consul C. Cotta, who is mentioned in the preceding fragment. The gap between it and this one is no more than four to five lines of printed text (representing the loss of ten lines in the manuscript). Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.*

And Publius Lentulus Marcellinus was sent as quaestor, through the influence of the same person, to the new province of Cyrene when that territory, which had been bequeathed to us by the will of the late King Apion, ought to have been *maintained* by a more sensible power than *that of a youth* and of one less greedy than Marcellinus. Moreover *<there flared up in this year rivalries>* among the different classes [senate, Knights, and plebeians].

**40** 44M, 62Mc, 79D, 76K

*Possibly a description of the hostile populace at the time of the grain shortage in 76 (see fr. 41).*

how monstrously tempers flared

**41** 45M, 42Mc, 40D, 49K

*A mob attack on the consuls in 75 was in reaction to a food shortage, if the text is correctly restored. The incident must have occurred ca. June, because it preceded the midsummer elections. This fragment is separated from fr. 39 by no more than four to five lines of printed text (representing the loss of ten lines in the*

\* \* \* <annonae intolerabil>lis<sup>1</sup> saevitia. Qua re fati<ga>|ta  
 plebes forte consu<lies> ambo, Q. Metellum, quoi<sup>2</sup> |  
 <pos>tea Cretico cognomen<tu>m<sup>3</sup> fuit, candidatum |  
 <pr>aetorium sacra via del<du>c<en>tis,<sup>4</sup> cum magno  
 tul<m>ultu invadit, fugien<tis>que<sup>5</sup> secuta ad Octavi  
 dol<mu>m, quae propior<sup>6</sup> erat, in | <ipsum domicili>um  
 perve<nit><sup>7</sup> \* \* \*

These words occupy the first eleven lines of the left-hand column on the verso of the same leaf that preserves fr. 38 and 39, which form the upper half of the two columns on the recto. The supplement <annonae intolerabil> introducing this fragment would have come at the end of line 21, at the bottom of the ten lines that have been lost after the last words of fr. 39. The text is preserved on the verso of the Berlin fragment (B). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the left margin of most lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of two or three letters. Supplements are to be credited to Pertz (*Berl. Abhandl.* 1847, 221ff.), unless otherwise indicated. For a schematic reconstruction of the partially preserved double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Roth            <sup>2</sup> cui B            <sup>3</sup> Heerwagen            <sup>4</sup> Dietsch  
<sup>5</sup> Kreyssig            <sup>6</sup> Kreyssig: propiore B            <sup>7</sup> in <ipsum . . .  
 perve<nit>] Perl

42\* 46M, 43Mc, inc. 28D, 4.25K

festinantibus in summa inopia patribus

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 650: to illustrate *festino* in the sense of quick and nervous action.

*manuscript). Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.*

. . . <*unbearable*> was the harshness <*of the high price of grain*>. And afflicted by this, the common people attacked with a great uproar both consuls when they happened to be escorting down into the Forum, along the Sacred Way, Quintus Metellus, a candidate for the praetorship, who afterward had the cognomen Creticus; and pursuing them in their flight to Octavius' house, which was rather close by, <*they reached that very dwelling*> . . .

42\* 46M, 43Mc, inc. 28D, 4.25K

*Possibly the context is a food shortage that appears to have been referred to in fr. 41.*

the senators acting quickly in the midst of the greatest scarcity

## Oratio C. Cottae Consulis Ad Populum Romanum

- 1a <Post><sup>2</sup> | paullcos dies Cotta mutata | veste pllermaestus,<sup>3</sup>  
 quod pro | cupitlla volu<n>tate †plevis alvalia || funerat,<sup>4</sup>  
 hoc modo | in collntione populi dislserull<it>:
- 1 “Quirites, multa | mihi || pericula domi militiaeque,||  
 multa advorsa fulere, qullorum alia toleralvi, partillm rep-  
 puli deorum | auxiliills et virtute mea; in | quis omnibus  
 numquam animus negotio defuit neque decretis labos;

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of the speech (§§1–14) are transmitted by V (Vat. lat. 3864, ff. 122r–23r). The citation from §4, as noted below, is assigned to Book 2 by *Exc. Bob.* The opening sections, §§1a–1 (*paucos dies . . . virtute mea; in*), occupy the first eleven lines of the right-hand column on the verso of the same leaf that preserves fr. 38 and 39 (the two columns on the recto) and fr. 41 (the left-hand column on the verso). The supplement <Post> introducing this fragment would have come at the end of line 21, at the bottom of the ten lines that have been lost after the last words of fr. 41. The division between the two scraps of this leaf, the recto of fol. 20 of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A) on the right and the verso of the Berlin fragment (B) on the left, is marked with ||; ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |. For a schematic reconstruction of the leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 1. <sup>2</sup> *Hauler* <sup>3</sup> *veste permaestus* | *Wölfflin*: *ulter B, ermoestus A*

### 43 47M, 44Mc, 41D, 50K

*The riot described in fr. 41 preceded the opening words of this fragment by no more than four to five lines of printed text (representing the loss of ten lines in the manuscript). Hence the date of this speech must be ca. June 75, as indicated by the reference to the midsummer elections in fr. 41.*

#### The Consul Gaius Cotta's Speech to the Roman People

A few days later, Cotta<sup>1</sup> changed into mourning clothes because in place of the desired goodwill \* \* \*,<sup>2</sup> and he spoke in this fashion at a public meeting of the people:

"I have encountered many dangers, Citizens, at home and on military service, and many adversities, some of which I have endured,<sup>3</sup> some averted with the help of the gods and my own courage; in all these there was never a

<sup>1</sup> C. Cotta (cos. 75) was a prominent orator of his generation and is credited by Cicero with having a controlled, no-nonsense style of speaking (*De or.* 3.31; *Brut.* 202). He is one of the interlocutors in two of Cicero's treatises (*De oratore* and *De natura deorum*). Writing in 46, Cicero (*Orat.* 132) states that no speech by Cotta was extant; hence S. had no written model on which to base this speech.

<sup>2</sup> Text uncertain; see textual notes.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., in 90, he went into exile in anticipation of a vote of condemnation in the special court set up by the *lex Varia* to assign blame for the revolt of Rome's Italian allies (*App. B Civ.* 1.37).

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<sup>4</sup> plebis alienata (*vel* albalienata) erat *Bücheler*: plebes alienata fuerat *Maurenbr.*

- malae secundaeque res opes, non ingenium mihi mutabant. At contra in his miseriis cuncta me cum fortuna deseruere; praeterea senectus, per se gravis, curam duplicat, quoi misero acta iam aetate<sup>5</sup> ne mortem quidem honestam sperare licet. Nam, si parricida vestri sum et his genitus hic deos penatis meos patriamque et summum imperium vilia habeo, quis mihi vivo cruciatus satis est aut quae poena mortuo? Quin omnia memorata apud inferos supplicia scelere meo vici.
- 4 “A prima adulescentia in ore vestro privatus et in magistratibus egi; qui lingua, qui consilio meo, qui pecunia voluere, usi sunt: neque ego callidam facundiam neque ingenium ad male faciendum exercui; avidissimus privatae gratiae maxumas inimicitias pro re publica suscepi, quis victus cum illa simul, quom egens alienae opis plura mala expectarem,<sup>6</sup> vos, Quirites, rursus mihi patriam
- 5 deosque penatis cum ingenti dignitate dedistis. Pro quibus beneficiis vix satis gratus videar, si singulis animam quam nequeo concesserim; nam vita et mors iura naturae sunt;

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *fr. dub. 14*, senecta iam aetate.      <sup>6</sup> cum [sic] . . . expectarem] *Exc. Bob.*, *GL 1.549.23* (in oratione Cottae)

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<sup>4</sup> A gross exaggeration for rhetorical effect. Cotta (b. ca. 124 BC) was roughly fifty years of age.

<sup>5</sup> His recall from exile (see §In.) in 82 by Sulla provided, as it were, a second birth—a favorite metaphor applied by Cicero to his recall from exile (see Shackleton Bailey on *Cic. Att.* 3.20.1).

<sup>6</sup> Lit., “tongue.” Cotta was a distinguished advocate and emulated the renowned orator M. Antonius (cos. 99).

<sup>7</sup> These words echo Sallust’s assessment of Cotta’s character in *fr. 38* (*cupiens gratiam singulorum*).



lack of spirit for a task or a lack of effort for carrying out decisions. Adversity and prosperity used to alter my resources, not my temperament. But in these present woes, on the contrary, along with Fortune everything has failed me. Furthermore, old age, which is burdensome on its own, doubles my anxiety, since I am not permitted in my wretchedness, near the end of my life,<sup>4</sup> to hope for even an honorable death. For, if I am a traitor to you, and, although twice born,<sup>5</sup> hold cheap my household gods and my native land and its highest power, what torture is enough for me while I live, and what punishment after death? To be sure, by wickedness such as this on my part I have outdistanced all reputed punishments among the inhabitants of the Underworld. [fr. 43]

“From early youth, as a private citizen and in magistracies, I have lived my life before your eyes; those who wished to do so have availed themselves of my advocacy,<sup>6</sup> my advice, my cash. And I have not employed for evildoing clever eloquence or my talent. Though very eager for the goodwill of individuals,<sup>7</sup> I shouldered bitter enmities for the sake of the nation. When it and I were simultaneously overwhelmed by these enmities,<sup>8</sup> when being in need of another’s help I was expecting further calamities, you restored me once more, Citizens, to my native land and household gods together with lofty rank. In return for these favors I would seem scarcely grateful enough, if I gave up my life for each one of you, which is impossible, for life and death are rights belonging to nature; but to live one’s life among one’s fellow citizens without disgrace,

<sup>8</sup> At the time of Cotta’s exile in 90, the state was embroiled in the Social War (91–87).

ut sine dedecore cum civibus fama et fortunis integer agas,  
id dono datur atque accipitur.

- 6 “Consules nos fecistis, Quirites, domi bellique inpedi-  
tissima re publica; namque imperatores Hispaniae stipen-  
dium, milites, arma, frumentum poscunt—et id res cogit,  
7 quoniam defectione sociorum et Sertori per montis fuga  
neque manu certare possunt neque utilia parare; exercitus  
in Asia Ciliciaque ob nimias opes Mithridatis aluntur,  
Macedonia plena hostium est, nec minus Italiae maritima  
et provinciarum, quom interim vectigalia parva et bellis  
incerta vix partem sumptuum<sup>7</sup> sustinent; ita classe, quae  
8 conmeatus tuebatur, minore quam antea navigamus.  
“Haec si dolo aut socordia nostra contracta sunt, agite  
ut monet ira, supplicium sumite; sin fortuna communis  
asperior est, quare indigna vobis nobisque et re publica  
9 incipitis? Atque ego, quouis aetati mors propior est, non  
deprecor, si quid ea vobis incommodi demitur; neque mox  
ingenio corporis honestius quam pro vostra salute finem  
10 vitae fecerim. Adsum en C. Cotta consul! Facio quod

<sup>7</sup> *ed. Rom.*: sumptum V

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<sup>9</sup> I.e., it is within one's power to give or to dedicate one's life to blameless living, in exchange for which a person receives a good reputation and advancement (good fortune). <sup>10</sup> Metellus

Pius (cos. 80) and Pompey. <sup>11</sup> Spaniards who defected to the charismatic rebel leader Sertorius. <sup>12</sup> A standard tactic

of the guerrilla fighter (e.g., Plut. *Pomp.* 19.6–7). <sup>13</sup> On the key importance of the province of Asia and the threat posed by Mithridates, cf. fr. 1.67.8n.

<sup>14</sup> Thracians pressed on the northern frontier of Macedonia, against whom the governor C. Curio (cos. 76) campaigned successfully in 75, the year of this speech (cf. fr. 66).

unblemished in reputation and fortune, that is something [fr. 43]  
subject to being given and received as a gift.<sup>9</sup>

“You have elected us to the consulship, Citizens, at a time when the nation is in dire straits at home and in war; for our commanders in Spain<sup>10</sup> are demanding pay for their troops, reinforcements, arms, and grain—and circumstances compel this, since owing to the defection of our allies<sup>11</sup> and the flight of Sertorius over the mountains,<sup>12</sup> they can neither contend in battle nor provide for their requirements. Armies are being maintained in Asia and in Cilicia because of the excessive power of Mithridates;<sup>13</sup> Macedonia is full of foes,<sup>14</sup> and no less so are the coastal regions of Italy and the provinces,<sup>15</sup> while in the meantime, our revenues, scanty and uncertain as a result of the wars, sustain scarcely a part of our expenditures. Hence we now sail the sea with a smaller fleet than the one that used to protect our commerce previously.

“If these circumstances have been brought into being as a result of misconduct or negligence on our part, go ahead, as anger urges you,<sup>16</sup> and inflict punishment. But if it is our common lot that is excessively harsh, why do you embark upon acts unworthy of you, of us, and of the nation? I, to whose time of life death is not far off,<sup>17</sup> do not ask to be spared, if my death lessens your ills at all; nor, given the inherent nature of the body, could I soon put an end to my life more honorably than on behalf of your preservation. Behold, here I am, Gaius Cotta, your consul!

<sup>15</sup> Piracy had become so widespread that in 74 the praetor M. Antonius was given a special commission to deal with the evil (see fr. 3.1–7, 46–54).

<sup>16</sup> A reference to the violence of the mob reported in fr. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. §2n.

- saepe maiores asperis bellis fecere, voveo dedoque me pro re publica! Quam deinde quoi mandetis circumspicite;
- 11 nam talem honorem bonus nemo volet, quom fortunae et  
 12 maris et belli ab aliis acti ratio reddunda aut turpiter moriundum sit. Tantum modo in animis habetote non me ob  
 13 scelus aut avaritiam caesum, sed volentem<sup>8</sup> pro maxumis  
 14 beneficiis animam dono dedisse. Per vos, Quirites, et gloriam maiorum, tolerate advorsa et consulite rei publicae!  
 Multa cura summo imperio inest, multi ingentes labores, quos nequiquam abnuitis et pacis opulentiam quaeritis, quom omnes provinciae, regna, maria, terraeque aspera aut fessa bellis sint.”

<sup>8</sup> *Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509): volente V

44\* 49M, 45Mc, 42D, 51K

*Nam neque apud Sallustium . . . ullius alterius latae ab eo legis <est><sup>1</sup> mentio, praeter eam quam in consulatu<sup>2</sup> <tulit invita><sup>3</sup> nobilitate, magno populi studio, ut **eis <qui tribuni plebis><sup>4</sup> fuissent alios quoque magistratus <capere> liceret,**<sup>5</sup> quod lex <a><sup>6</sup> dictatore Sulla paucis <ante annis><sup>7</sup> lata prohibebat.*

Ascon. p. 66C. 22–67C.4.

<sup>1</sup> *Bücheler*                      <sup>2</sup> *Madvig*: contione *codd.*                      <sup>3</sup> *Manutius*  
<sup>4</sup> *Manutius*                      <sup>5</sup> <capere> liceret] *Manutius*: aliter  
 et *codd.*                      <sup>6</sup> *Manutius*                      <sup>7</sup> *Manutius*

I do what our ancestors often did in savage wars; I consecrate and offer myself for the nation!<sup>18</sup> Consider to whom you are going to entrust it next; for no virtuous man will want such an honor, when he must be accountable for the vagaries of fortune and of the sea and of a war conducted by others, or else must die a shameful death. Only bear in mind that I was put to death not on account of crime or avarice, but that I willingly gave my life as a gift in return for the greatest benefits.<sup>19</sup> I implore you in your own name, Citizens, and by the glory of your ancestors: endure adversity, and take counsel for the nation. Inherent in the greatest empire is much responsibility, many heavy burdens, which it is futile for you to refuse while you seek the sumptuousness of peace, when all the provinces, kingdoms, seas, and lands are roiled or exhausted by wars.”

<sup>18</sup> By the act of *devotio*, Cotta offers to give up his life as a ritual sacrifice in exchange for the preservation of the community as a whole (cf. §12 below), after the fashion of the war heroes P. Decius Mus in 340 and his son in 295 (see Cic. *Tusc.* 1.89).

<sup>19</sup> I.e., as a scapegoat, for the good of the community as a whole.

#### 44\* 49M, 45Mc, 42D, 51K

*The consular lex Aurelia of 75, which partially reversed Sulla's curtailment of the tribunate in 82 (cf. fr. 3.15.8).*

*For there is no mention in Sallust . . . of any other law passed by Cotta except for the one that he carried in his consulship, much against the wishes of the nobility but with the great support of the people, that **it be permitted to those who had been plebeian tribunes to hold other magistracies**, a right that had been taken away by a law passed by Sulla a few years earlier.*

SERTORIAN WAR (SUMMER OF  
75 BC), FRR. 45–56

45 54M, 46Mc, 93D, 96K

inter laeva moenium<sup>1</sup> et dextrum flumen Turiam,<sup>2</sup>  
quod Valentiam parvo intervallo praeterfluit

Prisc. *GL* 2.201.19–20: to illustrate that *Turia* is not a neut. noun but masc.

{So too Prisc. *GL* 2.143.18–19 (*inter . . . Turiam*); by contrast the following attest the neut. *Turia* in S.: Prob. *GL* 4.3.13 (*et dextrum flumen Turia*); Aug. *Reg.*, *GL* 5.496.20 (*flumen Turia*); cf. Prob. *GL* 4.7.2.; Sacerd. *GL* 6.471.15; Phoc. *GL* 5.412.29.)

<sup>1</sup> moenia *Dietsch*      <sup>2</sup> Prisc.: *Turia Prob.*, *Aug.*, *Sacerd.*, *Phoc.*

46 56M, 48Mc, 83D, 81K

dubium an insula sit quod Euri atque Austri<sup>1</sup> super-  
iactis fluctibus circumlavitur

Non. p. 503M = 809L.53: to illustrate (*circum*)*lavit* (third conj.) in place of *lavat* (first conj.).

<sup>1</sup> *ed. Ald. 1513: Africi alii: astrici codd.*

47\* 58M, 49Mc, 53D, 19K

apud latera certos locaverat.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.576: to illustrate the adj. *certus* = *firmus* or *fortis*.

SERTORIAN WAR (SUMMER OF  
75 BC), FRR. 45–56

**45** 54M, 46Mc, 93D, 96K

*Early in 75, at Valentia, a town friendly to Sertorius on the east coast of Hither Spain, south of the mouth of the river Turia, Pompey won a victory over Sertorian forces under the command of Herennius and Perpenna (Plut. Pomp. 18.5). Valentia was destroyed, and Herennius perished in the fighting (fr. 86.6).*

between the fortification walls on the left and on the right the river Turia, which flows past Valentia a short distance away

**46** 56M, 48Mc, 83D, 81K

*New Carthage, Carthago Nova (mod. Cartagena), situated in a coastal bay, on a projecting tongue of land surrounded by the sea on the east and the south (Polyb. 10.10.5; Liv. 26.42.7), was besieged by Sertorius (Cic. Balb. 5), most probably in 75, while Pompey was fighting at Valentia against Sertorius' two lieutenants (see preceding fragment).*

it can be mistaken for an island because it is washed round about by the waves thrown up by [lit. of] the East and South winds

**47\*** 58M, 49Mc, 53D, 19K

*In the spring of 75, Q. Metellus defeated Sertorius' general L. Hirtuleius at Segovia in Farther Spain by means of a pincers movement from the flanks (Frontin. Str. 2.3.5). Both Hirtuleius and his brother were killed (Oros. 5.23.12).*

he had stationed his reliable troops on the flanks

**48** 59M, 50Mc, 17D, 21K

occurrere duci et<sup>1</sup> proelium adcondere, adeo uti  
Metello in sagum, Hirtuleio in brachium tela ve-  
nient

Non. p. 538M = 863L.23–24: to illustrate the noun *sagum* mean-  
ing a “military cloak.”

<sup>1</sup> duci et] duces (*vel* ducibus) et *Gerlach ed. mai. in app.*:  
duces [et] Müller

**49** 60M, 51Mc, 76D, 98K

vespera

Charis. *GL* 1.223.26 = p. 288B.17: attesting an example in S. of  
the first decl. *vespera*.

**50** 61M, 52Mc, 64D, 73K

neque<sup>1</sup> inermos ex proelio viros quemquam agno-  
turum

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.23; Prisc. *GL* 2.511.11–12, “in *II historia-  
rum*”: to give an example of *agnotus*, instead of the more usu.  
*agnitus*, participle of the verb *agnosco*.

<sup>1</sup> nec Serv.

**51\*** 62M, 53Mc, inc. 80D, inc. 46K

communem habitum transgressus

Prisc. *GL* 3.39.7–8: illustrating the compound *transgressus* mean-  
ing *supergressus*.



**48** 59M, 50Mc, 17D, 21K

*Same context as fr. 47, describing eagerness for battle on both sides.*

they rushed upon the opposing general and stoked the battle, so much so that weapons pierced Metellus' cloak and Hirtuleius' arm

**49** 60M, 51Mc, 76D, 98K

*Possibly the context is the battle in 75 between Sertorius and Pompey at the river Sucro (south of Valentia), which was begun late in the day, toward evening (Plut. Sert. 19.4, Pomp. 19.2).*

(in the?) evening

**50** 61M, 52Mc, 64D, 73K

*Possibly the context is the battle at the river Sucro in 75, in which Sertorius rallied the troops on the left wing of his army who were being routed by Pompey (Plut. Sert. 19.7).*

and that no one would recognize as true men those who left the battle unarmed

**51\*** 62M, 53Mc, inc. 80D, inc. 46K

*Possibly the context is the battle at the river Sucro in 75, in which a large Spanish warrior wounded Pompey (Plut. Pomp. 19.4).*

surpassing the normal build

**52\*** 63M, 54Mc, inc. 85D, inc. 53K

equo atque armis insignibus

Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.539: the second-century AD commentator Aemilius Asper cited this fragment in defense of the reading *insignibus armis* at *Aen.* 10.539 (as opposed to *insignibus albis*, the reading preferred by Probus).

**53** 66M, 55Mc, 27D, 33K

antequam regressus Sertorius instruere pugnae  
suos quiret<sup>1</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.481.10–11 = p. 159DC: to illustrate *instruitur* + dat. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> *Keil*: suosque rhetor *NI*

**54** 102M, 56Mc, 55D, 64K

neque subsidiis, uti soluerat, compositis

Prisc. *GL* 2.489.10: to illustrate the pf. act. of *soleo* (*solui*), in place of the usual deponent *solitus sum*.

**55††** 67M, 57Mc, 19D, 25K

avidis itaque<sup>1</sup> promptis ducibus ut Metellus ictu tragulae sauciaretur

Non. p. 398M = 639L.7 (assigned to "*Hist. lib. II*"): to illustrate *saucius* = *vulneratus*; p. 553M = 888L.25–26 (assigned to "*Hist. lib. III*"): to illustrate *tragula* = *hasta*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindsay* (p. 398M): avidisque ita *Gerlach ed. mai.*: avidis ita promptisque *Kritz*: avidisque ita *codd. p. 398M*: avidissimis atque *codd. p. 553M*

**52\*** 63M, 54Mc, inc. 85D, inc. 53K

*After Pompey was wounded in the battle at the river Sucro in 75, he managed to escape by abandoning his horse, whose rich trappings diverted the attention of the enemy from pursuit when they sought to claim a share of the spoils (Plut. Pomp. 19.5). A verb of the sort potiti sunt (they gained possession of) may have formed the predicate (so Maurenbr.).*

his horse and distinctive arms

**53** 66M, 55Mc, 27D, 33K

*Possibly describing the battle of Segontia (App. B Civ. 1.110; Plut. Sert. 21.1–2, giving the locale as Saguntum) near the river Durius (cf. fr. 86.6) in north central Spain, where Sertorius unexpectedly had to contend with the combined armies of Pompey and Metellus.*

before Sertorius, upon his return, was able to draw up his men for battle

**54** 102M, 56Mc, 55D, 64K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 53*

and the reinforcements not having been marshaled as had been customary

**55††** 67M, 57Mc, 19D, 25K

*Same context as fr. 53. Metellus Pius was wounded by a spear, while fighting bravely in the encounter with Sertorius (Plut. Sert. 21.2).*

the generals [Metellus and Sertorius] being so eager and ready that Metellus was wounded with a blow of a spear

56 69M, 58Mc, 70D, 88K

haec postquam Varro in maius more<sup>1</sup> rumorum  
audivit

Arus. *GL* 7.488.12–13 = p. 183DC: to illustrate *in maius audire*,  
wrongly equating *in maius* with *plusquam*.

<sup>1</sup> *Bondamus*: in ore *NI*

### BACKGROUND TO THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR, FRR. 57–65

57 71M, 83Mc, 48D, 57K

quos advorsum multi ex Bithynia volentes adcur-  
rere, falsum filium arguituri

Prisc. *GL* 2.505.6–7: to illustrate the supine stem in *-uitum*, as  
opposed to the more usual *-utum*, of verbs terminating in *-uo*.

58\* 72M, 84Mc, deest in D et K

vir cum cura dicendus

Sen. *Ben.* 4.1.1 attributes the expression *cum cura dicendum* to  
S., whereas two occurrences of the expression *cum cura dicendus*  
modifying *vir*, without assignment to S. (*Sen. Prov.* 5.9; *Tranq.*  
14.10), suggest that S. applied the words to a person.

**56** 69M, 58Mc, 70D, 88K

*Since the writer M. Varro is known to have served on Pompey's staff in Spain (Varro, Rust. 3.12.7), Maurenbr. places this fragment in the context of events immediately after the Battle of Segontia in the autumn of 75, on the assumption that Varro may have filled the vacancy resulting from the death of Pompey's proquaestor and brother-in-law C. Memmius, who was killed in that battle (Plut. Sert. 21.2; Oros. 5.23.12).*

after Varro had heard these reports, exaggerated as is customary with rumors

**BACKGROUND TO THIRD  
MITHRIDATIC WAR, FRR. 57-65**

**57** 71M, 83Mc, 48D, 57K

*The death of King Nicomedes IV of Bithynia in late 75 and his will leaving his kingdom to the Roman people provided the catalyst for Mithridates to invade Bithynia and renew his struggle with Rome for control of Asia Minor. Mithridates did so on the pretext of setting the son of Nysa, wife of King Nicomedes, on the Bithynia throne. This fragment may describe Bithynians who came to Rome to challenge the legitimacy of that child against other Bithynians who sought to have him recognized as king.*

against whom many willingly hastened from Bithynia, intending to prove the son an imposter

**58\*** 72M, 84Mc, not included in D and K

*Since this expression recalls Vellius Paterculus' characterization of Mithridates, king of Pontus; as "a man not to be passed over in silence or to be spoken of lightly" (2.18.1, "vir neque silendus neque dicendus sine cura"), it may have formed part of S.'s biographical sketch of Mithridates.*

a man to be spoken of with due regard

59\* 73M, 85Mc, 44D, 53K

*Ita Darius regnum optinuit, a quo Artabazes originem ducit, quem conditorem regni Mithridatis fuisse confirmat Sallustius Crispus.*

Ampel. 30.5

60 74M, 86Mc, 92D, 93K

ipse animi atrox

Arus. *GL* 7.455.24 = p. 69DC: to illustrate *atrox* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

61\* 75M, 87Mc, 45D, 54K

sed Mithridates extrema pueritia regnum ingressus,  
matre sua veneno interfecta

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.295: to illustrate *pueritia*, which Varro distinguished as one of the five periods in the lifetime of a human being, each of those five periods being subdivided, in turn, into three phases: early, middle, and advanced (here *extrema*).

62\* 76M, 88Mc, 46D, 55K

***Mithridates . . . auctore Sallustio et fratrem et sororem occidit.***

*Schol. Gronov.* ad Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 22 (p. 318St. 30).

**59\*** 73M, 85Mc, 44D, 53K

*The founder of Mithridates' Pontic kingdom.*

*In this way Darius came to power, and from him Artabazes traces his ancestry, the man who, according to Sallust, was the **founder of Mithridates' kingdom.***

**60** 74M, 86Mc, 92D, 93K

*Possibly a description of Mithridates' ruthlessness (App. Mith. 112).*

he himself savage in spirit

**61\*** 75M, 87Mc, 45D, 54K

*Mithridates committed matricide to gain his throne (App. Mithr. 112).*

but late in his boyhood<sup>1</sup> Mithridates ascended the throne after killing his mother with poison

<sup>1</sup> Mithridates' age when he came to power is variously given as eleven (Strabo 10.4.10, p. 477), twelve (Eutr. 6.12.3), or thirteen (Memnon, FCrH 434F22.2).

**62\*** 76M, 88Mc, 46D, 55K

*Mithridates' murder of his brother and of his sister(s) are also mentioned by App. (Mithr. 112) and Plut. (Luc. 18.2), respectively.*

***Mithridates killed both his brother and sister according to Sallust.***

63\* 77M, 89Mc, 47D, 56K

Mithridates corpore ingenti, perinde<sup>1</sup> armatus

Quint. 8.3.82: to illustrate an effective conciseness of expression.

<sup>1</sup> ed. Ald. 1514, Paris lat. 7530: proinde AB

64 78M, 90Mc, 49D, 58K

ibi Fimbriana e<sup>1</sup> seditione qui regi per obsequel-  
lam<sup>2</sup> orationis et maxume odium Sullae graves ca-  
rique<sup>3</sup> erant

Non. p. 215M.32–216M.2 = 318L: to illustrate the rare fem.  
noun *obsequella* (= *obsequium*).

<sup>1</sup> Fimbriana e] *Mercier*: fimbriane se L B<sup>A</sup>: fimbriana se  
F<sup>3</sup> <sup>2</sup> obsequentiam *Müller* <sup>3</sup> grave scarique F<sup>3</sup>: grave  
om. L B<sup>A</sup>



63\* 77M, 89Mc, 47D, 56K

*Armor dedicated by Mithridates at Delphi and Nemea is said to have furnished proof of his great physical size (App. Mithr. 112).*

Mithridates of huge stature, armed in similar fashion<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., his armor was huge in size as well. Cf. Florus' description of the Gallic Senones as *ipsa corporum mole, perinde armis ingentibus* (2.7.4), "by the very massiveness of their bodies, as well as by their huge arms."

64 78M, 90Mc, 49D, 58K

*L. Magius and L. Fannius, Romans who had served in the First Mithridatic War under Gaius Fimbria (86–85) and remained in Asia after the war ended, were sent by Mithridates in ca. 75 to Sertorius in Spain to work out the details of a treaty (Cic. 2 Verr. 1.87; Ps-Ascon. p. 244St.1–5).*

there [at the court of Mithridates] men from the Fimbrian mutiny<sup>1</sup> who were influential and dear to the king owing to the obsequiousness of their speech and especially their hatred of Sulla

<sup>1</sup> C. Fimbria, a legate under L. Flaccus (cos. 86), seized control of the army in a mutiny in which Flaccus was killed. He pursued the war against Mithridates on behalf of the Cinnan regime, but after some successes, Fimbria's army deserted to Sulla in 85 and remained in Asia after the war was concluded. Those closest to Fimbria, and hence enemies of Sulla, sought refuge with Mithridates.

**65\*** 79M, 91Mc, 3.12D, 3.9K

Illi tertio mense pervenere in Pontum multo celerius spe Mithridatis.

Arus. *GL* 7.463.6-7 = p. 95DC: to illustrate *celerius* + abl. of thing.

## WARS IN EAST (75 BC), FRR. 66-74

### *Campaigns in Macedonia, frr. 66-67*

**66** 80M, 60Mc, 33D, 41K

Eodem anno in Macedonia C. Curio, principio veris cum omni exercitu profectus in Dardanium, <a><sup>1</sup> quibus potuit,<sup>2</sup> pecunias Appio<sup>3</sup> dictas coegit.

Non. p. 280M = 432L.25-28: to illustrate *dicere* = *promittere*.

<sup>1</sup> Müller                    <sup>2</sup> quibus potuit modis *Carrio ex codice aliquo*  
<sup>3</sup> Roth: appia L A<sup>A</sup>: om. B<sup>A</sup>

**67** 38M, 61Mc, inc. 15D, 3.13K

**65\*** 79M, 91Mc, 3.12D, 3.9K

*Return of L. Magius and L. Fannius (cf. fr. 64), the envoys sent by Mithridates to Sertorius in Spain to conclude an alliance (App. Mithr. 68).*

Those men reached Pontus in the third month, much more quickly than Mithridates had expected.

## WARS IN EAST (75 BC), FRR. 66–74

### *Campaigns in Macedonia, fr. 66–67*

**66** 80M, 60Mc, 33D, 41K

*In 75, C. Curio (cos. 76), the governor of Macedonia, exacted payment from enemies conquered by his predecessor as governor, Ap. Claudius (cos. 79), who had died while on campaign in 76 (fr. 34).*

That same year in Macedonia, Gaius Curio set out at the beginning of spring with his whole army for Dardania,<sup>1</sup> and collected from whom he could<sup>2</sup> the money committed to Appius.

<sup>1</sup> A region northwest of Thrace and north of the province of Macedonia.

<sup>2</sup> Or “by whatever means he could,” if we adopt Carrio’s text.

**67** 38M, 61Mc, inc. 15D, 3.13K

*If this fragment is from Book 2 (as Serv. auct. ad G. 4.144 suggests), it is possibly to be connected with the mutiny that broke out in Curio’s army in 75, during his campaign against the Dardani near Dyrrachium, when one of his five legions refused to follow him on a “difficult and hazardous expedition” (expeditio-nem asperam et insidiosam, Frontin. Str. 4.1.43): so Maurenbr.*

serum<sup>1</sup> bellum in angustiis futurum

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.524; Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.569, 12.864; *Schol. Vatic.* ad *G.* 4.144 (in duo *cod.*: in II *edd.*): to illustrate *serus* = *gravis* (5.524, 6.569), = *diuturnum* (12.864), = *vetulus et magnus* (*G.* 4.144).

<sup>1</sup> serum] enim *add. Pa Serv., ss. Ta Serv.*

*Campaigns Against Isaurian Pirates, frs. 68–74*

68 81M, 63Mc, 1.80D, K

Iter vertit ad Corycum, urbem inclutam portu atque<sup>1</sup> ne-  
more in quo crocum gignitur.

Non. p. 202M = 297.7–8: to illustrate the neut. *crocum*.

{in qua (quo, Gloss.) *crocum gignitur* (Serv. and *Schol. Bern.* ad *G.* 4.182; *Schol. Stat.* ad *Theb.* 6.195; *Gloss.* 5, p. 186.31: to illustrate the neut. *crocum*; cf. Serv. auct. ad *G.* 1.56 <*nam et crocum in Cilicia apud Corycum nasci Sallustius <meminit>*.)}

<sup>1</sup> portu atque] *Stowasser*: *pastusque codd.*: *specu atque Havercamp*

69\* 1.128M, 64Mc, inc. 10D, 2.39K

Fessus in Pamphyliam se receperat.

Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.232; *Gloss.* 5, p. 200.7: to illustrate *fessus* denoting more than mere physical exhaustion (*fatigatus*).

<he/they complained?> that warfare in narrow passes would be long drawn out<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, if *angustiae* does not refer to physical places but is instead metaphorical: "war in straightened circumstances would be too late" (*OLD* s.v. *serus* 4, citing this fragment).

### *Campaigns Against Isaurian Pirates, fr. 68–74<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Placement of the fragments dealing with Servilius' campaign in 75 can be made relative to Pompey's letter (fr. 86) written in the autumn of 75 and found near the end of Book 2, thanks to the remains of the Fleury manuscript (see testimonia for fr. 74).

**68** 81M, 63Mc, 1.80D, K

*S. located the town of Corycus, famed for its production of saffron (Strabo 14.5.5, p. 670), in Cilicia (Serv. auct. ad G. 1.56). If this fragment refers to a visit paid to that city by P. Servilius Vatia (cos. 79, procos. Cilicia 78–74), it attests his presence far to the east of where he is known to have conducted most of his campaigns against the Cilician pirates, in Lycia and Pamphylia (in 77–76) and against the Isauri (in 75) to the north of the Taurus mountain range. Possibly, therefore, S. or his source has confused Corycus in Lycia (cf. fr. 1.117–18), which lay on Servilius' route to the Isauri, with the town of the same name in Cilicia.*

He turned his course to Corycus, a city famed for its port and woods in which the crocus [saffron plant] grows.

**69\*** 1.128M, 64Mc, inc. 10D, 2.39K

*Possibly describing the return of Servilius (cf. previous fragment) from the northern slopes of the Taurus Mountains, where he conquered the Isaurians in 75 and gained the agnomen "Isauricus" (MRR. 2.99).*

Worn out he had returned to Pamphylia.

**70** 82M, 65Mc, 85D, 83K

omnis qui circum sunt praeminent altitudine mi-  
lium passuum duorum

Arus. *GL* 7.503.9–10 = p. 241DC: to illustrate *praemineo* + acc.  
and abl.

**71** 84M, 66Mc, 31D, 38K

nisi qua<sup>1</sup> flumen Clurda<sup>2</sup> Tauro monte defluens

Prisc. *GL* 2.202.9–10: to illustrate the name of a river ending  
in *-a*.

<sup>1</sup> Hertz: quia *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> Hertz (*cf. Plin. HN* 5.108 Cludro  
flumini): clurdia *D*: durda *AH* lurda *Bh*

**72** 85M, 67Mc, 80D, 78K

genus hominum vagum<sup>1</sup> et rapinis suetum magis  
quam agrorum cultibus

Arus. *GL* 7.510.8–9 = p. 266DC, quoting fr. 75 and this fragment:  
to illustrate *suetus* + dat. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> *N2* (*corr. Parrhasius*): vagi *N1*

**73\*** 86M, 68Mc, inc. 88D, inc. 56K

pocula et alias res aureas, dis sacrata instrumenta,  
convivio<sup>1</sup> mercantur<sup>2</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 8.278: to illustrate the inclusion of “drinking  
cups” (*pocula*) among objects employed in sacred rites. Assign-  
ment to Book 2 rests solely on Schoell’s emendation *historiarum*  
*secundo* for the corrupt *his sunt secundum* in Serv.

**70** 82M, 65Mc, 85D, 83K

*Possibly a description of the rugged terrain that faced Servilius on his campaign against the Isauri in 75.*

by a height of two thousand feet they tower over all  
that are round about

**71** 84M, 66Mc, 31D, 38K

*Same context as fr. 70.*

except where the river Clurda, flowing down from  
the Taurus mountain,

**72** 85M, 67Mc, 80D, 78K

*Possibly a description of the Isaurians, against whom Servilius (cf. fr. 68) campaigned in 75.*

a nomadic race of men, more accustomed to plun-  
der than to the tilling of fields

**73\*** 86M, 68Mc, inc. 88D, inc. 56K

*Possibly a reference to plunder taken by pirates from Greek and Roman temples and sacred shrines (Plut. Pomp. 24.6–7) that was purchased by Isaurians.*

for use at banquets they purchase drinking cups and  
other golden items, equipment consecrated to the  
gods

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<sup>1</sup> *Mascivius*: convivo F: <ad> convivia Thilo

<sup>2</sup> *Commelinus*: mereantur F

- <Oppidani noctu clam ad impetum omnia para>[A] re.<sup>1</sup>
- 1 Dein signo dato praelcipiti iam secunda vigillia simul  
 utrimque pugnam | occipiunt, magno tumultu primo emi-  
 nus pe<r> obscuram noctem tela in incertum iacien<te>s,<sup>2</sup>  
 post, ubi | Romani de industria non | tela neque clamorem  
 reddelbant, percussos formidine aut desertam muniti-  
 onem [g]rati<sup>3</sup> avide in fossas | et inde velocissimum gelnus
- 2 per vallum <p>roperat.<sup>4</sup> | At superstantes tum delnique  
 saxa, pila, sudes iacere | et multos prope egressos | com-  
 minus plagis aut umlbonibus deturbare;<sup>5</sup> qua repentina  
 formidine pars valllo<sup>6</sup> transfixa, alii super te- [B] -la sua  
 praecipitati, ruinaque | multorum fossae semipleltae sunt,

A–D = four columns of text, each 21 lines in length and 18–23 letter-spaces in width, inscribed on the recto (AB) and verso (CD) of a single leaf forming one-half of a partially preserved double leaf that once belonged to the so-called Fleury manuscript (*Floriacensis*). Approximately three-quarters of this double leaf is preserved on ff. 15v, 18r, 18v, and 15r of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A). Ends of lines are marked by |; italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain. The text of the conjectural supplement <Oppidani noctu clam ad impetum omnia para> introducing this fragment would have been written at the bottom of the right-hand column, on the verso of the preceding leaf. For a schematic reconstruction of the double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 2.

<sup>1</sup> *suppl. Hauler*      <sup>2</sup> *incertum iacientes*] *Hauler*: inceptum  
 iaciens A      <sup>3</sup> *Hauler*      <sup>4</sup> *Mommsen*



74 87M, 69Mc, not included in D and K

*Military operations of Servilius in 75 against the Isaurians and the fall of a stronghold. (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

<At night the townsmen secretly made everything ready for the attack> [A] Then, when the signal had suddenly been given—it being already the second watch<sup>1</sup>—they simultaneously began fighting on both sides,<sup>2</sup> in a great uproar, first hurling their missiles from a distance, through the darkness of the night, at undefined targets; afterward, when the Romans deliberately did not return fire or the shouting, the enemy thinking them paralyzed with fear or the fortifications abandoned, eagerly hastened into the trenches and from there the swiftest tried to make their way across the palisade. But it was then that those standing above [the Romans] hurled rocks, spears, and stakes, and by means of blows at close quarters and with the bosses of their shields,<sup>3</sup> they dislodged many of the enemy just as they had emerged nearby. And as a result of this sudden fear, some were shot through on the palisade, others were hurled headlong [B] on top of their own weapons. The trenches were half filled with the destruction of many; the

<sup>1</sup> I.e., an hour or two before midnight.    <sup>2</sup> I.e., the Isaurians attacked the Roman camp from opposite sides.    <sup>3</sup> See textual note. For this means of fighting at close quarters, cf. Livy 5.47.4 (*umbone ictum deturbat*), Tac. *Hist.* 4.29.

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<sup>5</sup> *umbonibus deturbare*] *Heraeus*: omnib(us) decubare A<sup>1</sup> (*depulsare* A<sup>2</sup>): omni re deturbare *Hauler*

<sup>6</sup> <in> vallo *Maurenbr.*

- ceteris fuga tuta | fuit incerto noctis et meltu *insidiarum*.
- 3 Dein post | paucos dies *egestate aquae colacta deditio est*,  
oppidum | incensum et cultores velnundati eoque terrore  
mox | Isaura Nova *legati pacem* | [m]orantes venere ob-  
sides|que et iussa facturos *promitt*tebant.
- 4 Igitur Servilius prudens | ferociae hostium, neque illis  
taedium belli sed repentinam formidinem pacem | sua-  
dere, ne de missione multarent *animos*, quam primum  
moenia eorum cum | omnibus *copiis* adcessit, mol- [C] -lia  
interim *legatis ostentans* et deditionem cunctis praesen-  
5 tibus *facilius con*venturam. Praeterea *milites* a p<o>pu-  
lationibus<sup>7</sup> agrorum et omni noxa *re*tilnebat; frumentum  
et alios *con*meatus oppidani | dabant ex eorum voluntate;  
ne <se><sup>8</sup> suspectum haberent, castra in plano localverat.
- 6 Deinde ex imperio | datis centum obsidibus ubi per fugae,  
arma *torment*taque omnia poscebantur, | iuniores pri-  
mum ex *consilio*, deinde uti quisque | acciderat, per totam  
urbem *maximo clamore tumultum* faciunt, neque se |  
arma neque socios, dum [D] animae essent, *proditulos*  
7 firmabant. At illi quibus *aetas i*<n>*bellior* et *vetus*tat<e>  
vis Romanorum multum cognita erat, cupere | *pacem*, sed  
conscientia *noxarum* metuere, ne datis | *armis* mox tamen  
8 *extrema* victis paterentur. *In*ter quae *trepida* cunctis|que

<sup>7</sup> Mommsen: *appellationibus* A

<sup>8</sup> Heerwagen: *suspectum <sese> Hauler*

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<sup>4</sup> Possibly those who had lived through the campaign of M. Antonius against the Cilician pirates in 102.

rest found safety in flight, thanks to the cover of darkness and the dread of an ambush. Then, after a few days, the lack of water compelled surrender; the town was burned, the inhabitants sold into slavery; and as a result of this terror, soon ambassadors from Isaura Nova came begging for peace; and they promised hostages and to carry out orders. [fr. 74]

Therefore, Servilius, conscious of the enemy's ferocity and that not weariness of war but sudden fear was urging them to peace, approached their walls with all his forces as soon as possible to prevent them from changing their minds about the dispatch [of hostages]; [C] meanwhile he held out to the envoys lenient terms and that surrender would be more easily worked out when everyone was present. Moreover, he restrained his soldiers from plundering the fields and from inflicting all harm. The townsmen gave grain and other supplies according to the wishes of the Romans. So that they would not hold him in suspicion, Servilius had situated his camp in the plain. Next, after the delivery of one-hundred hostages in compliance with orders, when all deserters, arms, and catapults were demanded for surrender, the men of military age, at first by prearrangement, then as each happened along, made an uproar with tremendous shouting throughout the whole city and asserted that they would give up neither weapons nor their allies as long as [D] they still had breath in their bodies. By contrast, those who were beyond the age for military service and well acquainted with Roman power from of old,<sup>4</sup> desired peace but owing to their consciousness of wrongdoing feared that after giving up their arms they might nevertheless soon suffer the ultimate penalties imposed upon the conquered. Amid these ap-

*in unum tumultuose consultantibus Servilius fultilem  
deditionem ratus, | ni met<u>s urgeret, de inprolvio mon-  
tem, ex quo in | iuga<sup>9</sup> oppidi teli coniectus erat, occupavit  
sacrum | Matri Magnae; et in eo credebatur epulari die-  
bus certis dea, quous<sup>10</sup> erat de nomine, exaudiri sonores  
\* \* \**

<sup>9</sup> *Mommsen: fugam A: forum vel tuguria Hauler: rugam vel  
infima Buecheler: terga Hirschfeld: fundam Hartel: fanum Do-  
maszewski: in superiora Friedrich* <sup>10</sup> *cuius A*

SERTORIAN WAR (AUTUMN 75 BC),  
FRR. 75-86

**75** 88M, 71 Mc, 67D, 77K

*genus militum suetum a pueritia latrociniiis*

Arus. *GL* 7.510.8-9 = p. 266DC, quoting this fragment and fr. 72:  
to illustrate *suetus* + dat. of thing.

**76** 89M, 72Mc, 54D, 63K

*noctu diuque stationes et vigalias temptare*

Charis. *GL* 1.207.17-18 = p. 268B.24: to illustrate the phrase  
*noctu diuque*.

prehensions, and while the whole populace was taking counsel for a single purpose in a disorderly fashion, Servilius, since he thought the surrender insubstantial unless fear pressed upon them, suddenly seized a mountain sacred to the Magna Mater from which there was a missile trajectory against the *ridges* of the town. (And it was believed that the goddess, from whose name the mountain was called, feasted there on specific days, that sounds were heard . . .)

SERTORIAN WAR (AUTUMN 75 BC),  
FRR. 75–86<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After Sertorius' defeat at the hands of the combined forces of Pompey and Metellus in the summer of 75 at Segontia (frr. 53–55), he withdrew to Clunia (Liv. *Per.* 92), a town in the mountains, in order to draw off the Roman forces and so permit his Celtiberian allies to regroup. He eventually slipped away and kept up guerilla tactics against Pompey's forces, which remained in the northwest sector of Nearer Spain during the winter of 75/74.

**75** 88M, 71 Mc, 67D, 77K

*This fits the description of Sertorius' Spanish forces (Plut. Sert. 14.1).*

soldiers of a kind accustomed to banditry from boyhood

**76** 89M, 72Mc, 54D, 63K

*Possibly a description of Sertorius' tactics in the autumn of 75.*

to make trial of their outposts and watches by day and by night

77 90M, 74Mc, 56D, 65K

ad hoc pauca piratica,<sup>1</sup> actuaria navigia

Non. p. 535M = 857L.2: cited under the lemma *actuariae*, which Non. defines as swift, light ships (*naviculae celeres*), so named because they are able to be driven (*agi*) swiftly.

<sup>1</sup> *Junius*: piraticae (-ce) *codd.*: piratica e<t> *Mähly*

78 91M, 73Mc, 13D, 18K

Neque virgines nuptum a parentibus mittebantur,<sup>1</sup> sed ipsae belli promptissimos deligebant.<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.503.13–14 = p. 241DC: to illustrate *promptus* + gen. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> <pro>mittebantur *Ursinus*      <sup>2</sup> diligebant *A*

79 92M, 75Mc, deest in D et K

- 1 <A *matribus parentum facino*>|ra militaria viri<s me-  
mora>|bantur<sup>1</sup> in bellum a<ut ad la>|trocinia pergent<ibus,  
ubi<sup>2</sup> il>|lorum fortia facta <ca>|nebant.
- 2 Eo<sup>3</sup> postqua<m Pom>|peius infenso exer<citū>| *adven-*  
*tare conper<tus>*| *est, maioribus natu p<acem>*| et iussa uti  
faceren<t sua>|dentibus, ubi nihil *ab<nu>lendo*<sup>4</sup> *profici-*  
unt, se<para>|tae a viris arma cep<ere.>
- 3 ><sup>5</sup> Occupato prope

<sup>1</sup> *suppl. ex Serv. ad Aen. 10.281*

<sup>2</sup> *Maurenbr.*: qui *Hauler*: quae *Jordan in app.*

<sup>3</sup> *Maurenbr.*: ea *A*: eae *Jordan in app.*

<sup>4</sup> *admonendo von Hartel*

<sup>5</sup> *Reynolds*: cep<ere et> *Maurenbr.*

77 90M, 74Mc, 56D, 65K

*In the autumn of 75, Sertorius cut off the supplies of Pompey and Metellus by sea by means of piratical vessels (Plut. Sert. 21.7).*

in addition, a few piratical, light galleys<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Actuariae naves* = vessels propelled by both sails and oars (Isid. *Etym.* 19.1.24).

78 91M, 73Mc, 13D, 18K

*The content of this fragment appears to harmonize with the description of the martial spirit of the Celtiberian women found in fr. 79, which is preserved in the Orleans palimpsest.*

Nor were maidens sent in marriage by their parents, but they themselves used to chose men most inclined to war.

79 92M, 75Mc, not included in D and K

*If the name of the town mentioned in §3 of this passage is correctly restored (Meo<riga>), the campaign may have been one conducted by Pompey against the Vaccaei in northwest Hither Spain, where he spent the winter of 75/74 (Plut. Sert. 21.8). (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

Whenever the men set off to war or banditry, <their mothers> used to remind them of their <fathers'> martial <deeds> when they sang of the brave achievements of those heroes.

After it was learned that Pompey was approaching that district with a hostile army, when the women made no headway with opposing the elders who urged peace and compliance with the orders [of the Romans], they withdrew from the men and took up arms. After they had taken

4 Meo<rigam><sup>6</sup> | quam tutissimo<sup>7</sup> loc<o, e>los<sup>8</sup> testabantur  
 ino<pes pa>|triae parientumque <et>| libertatis, eoque  
 uber<a>,<sup>9</sup>| partus et cetera mul<ierum><sup>10</sup>| munia viris ma-  
 ne<re>. Quis rebus ad censa iu<ven>|tus decreta senior<um  
 as|pernata> \* \* \*

This fragment forms a column of text 21 lines long and 18–23 letter-spaces wide on the left-hand portion of the recto of a leaf that once belonged to the so-called Fleury codex (*Floriacensis*). It is preserved on fol. 16v of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A), and formed part of the same gathering in the *Floriacensis* as the one containing fr. 74, from the last line of which it was separated by either one or two no longer extant leaves (4–8 columns of text, = 84–168 lines in the manuscript, = approx. 40–80 lines of printed text), depending on whether the gathering was a quaternio (Bloch, *Didascaliae* [1961], 66) or a quinio (Perl [1968], 33–35). Slightly less than half of this leaf has survived, since it is missing two columns of text (the right-hand column of the recto and the left-hand column of the verso). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the right margin of most lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of three to six letters. Italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain, or that a supplement is highly conjectural or merely hypothetical. Supplements are to be credited to Hauler, unless otherwise indicated. The text of the conjectural supplement <A matribus . . . facino> introducing this fragment would have been written at the bottom of the right-hand column, on the verso of the preceding, no longer extant, leaf.

{Cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.281: noting that according to S., it was the custom of Spaniards for mothers to recall the deeds of their fathers to young men setting out for war: *in bella euntibus iuvenibus parentum facta memorarentur a matribus.*}



possession of the securest possible place near Meo<riga>,<sup>1</sup> [fr. 79] they solemnly declared that the men were destitute of homeland, of women to bear their children, and of freedom; and for that reason what remained for the men was the nursing of children and giving birth and other functions of women. Stirred by this protest, the youth *rejected* the decisions of their elders . . .

<sup>1</sup> The name of a town in the territory of the Vaccaeii as given by some manuscripts of Ptolemy (*Geog.* 2.6.49), although the majority read "Lacobriga," a name also attested by Plin. (*HN* 3.26) and the *Itineraria Antonini Augusti* (395, 449, 454).

<sup>6</sup> *Hauler* (ex Ptolem. *Geog.* 2.6.49 var. lect.)

<sup>7</sup> tutissimo A

<sup>8</sup> *Hauler*: loc<o ill>os *Maurenbr.*

<sup>9</sup> von Hartel

<sup>10</sup> Wölfflin

- 1 <oppidani confirmant religione iuris iulrandi><sup>1</sup> interpo-  
sita, si exempl<ti ob>sidione forent, fidem <et soci>etatem<sup>2</sup>  
acturos; nam <ant>ea inter illum Pom<peiu>mque fluxa  
pace dubil<tav>erant.
- 2 Tum Romanus <exe>rcitus frumenti gra<tia><sup>3</sup> remo-  
tus in Vascones <est it>emque<sup>4</sup> Sertorius mol<vit s>e,<sup>5</sup>  
quoius<sup>6</sup> multum in<terer>at, ne ei *periret Asiae* <spes>.<sup>7</sup>
- 3 Aquandi<sup>8</sup> facultate <Pom>peius aliquot dies <cas>tra  
stativa habuit, <mo>dica valle disiunctis <ab eo><sup>9</sup> hosti-  
bus, neque propin<quae> civitates Mutudurei <et . . .  
>eores hunc aut illum <com>meatibus iuvere; fames  
4 <am>bos fatigavit. Dein ta<me>n Pompeius quadrato  
<agmine procedit> \* \* \*

This fragment forms a column of text 21 lines long and 18–23 letter-spaces wide and occupies the partially intact right-hand portion of the verso of the leaf containing fr. 79 on the left-hand portion of the recto. The gap between this fragment and fr. 79 is forty-two lines in the manuscript (the right-hand column of recto and left-hand column of verso, which were inscribed on the missing portion of this leaf), = approx. only twenty lines of printed text. See Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), 67. Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the left margin of most lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of two to four letters. Italics signifies that the transcription is uncertain, or that a supplement is highly conjectural or merely hypothetical. The text of the conjectural supplement <oppidani confirmant religione iuris iul> introducing this fragment would have been written at the bottom of the column that once occupied the missing left-hand portion of this verso.

<sup>1</sup> *Pecere*      <sup>2</sup> <et soci>etatem *Perl*      <sup>3</sup> *Wölfflin*      <sup>4</sup> *Wölf-*  
*flin*      <sup>5</sup> *Hauler*      <sup>6</sup> cuius A

80 93M, 76Mc, not included in D and K

*A scarcity of supplies forced Pompey and Sertorius to withdraw eastward from the territory of the Vaccaei to the region occupied by the Vascones at the foot of the Pyrenees. (Italics in the translation signify that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

<The townsmen gave assurances by> pledging <the sanctity of an oath> that they would observe a faithful alliance, if they were released from the siege; for previously they had vacillated between Sertorius and Pompey with a wavering peace.

Then the Roman army was withdrawn into the territory of the Vascones for the sake of grain. And Sertorius likewise altered his position; it was greatly in his interest not to lose his *hope* of Asia.<sup>1</sup> For a few days Pompey maintained a stationary camp thanks to a means of fetching water, being separated from the enemy by just a modest valley; and the nearby communities, the Mutudurei and the \* \* \*, did not aid Pompey or Sertorius with supplies. Hunger wore out both sides. Then, however, Pompey <advanced with his line of march> in a squared formation . . .

<sup>1</sup> I.e., of help from that region thanks to an alliance with Mithridates, king of Pontus (cf. fr. 64–65); but the text is highly uncertain.

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<sup>7</sup> periret Asiae <spes>] *Hartel*: perinde Asiae . . . A

<sup>8</sup> *Wölfflin*: atque vadi e A

<sup>9</sup> *Wölfflin*

81 94M, 77Mc, 28D, 34K

Titurium legatum cum cohortibus quindecim in Celtiberia  
hiemem agere iussit praesidentem socios.

Arus. *GL* 7.498.24–25 = p. 223DC: to illustrate *praesideo* + acc.  
of thing.

82 95M, 78Mc, 29D, 35K

Hi<sup>1</sup> saltibus occupatis Termestinatorum<sup>2</sup> agros invasere, fru-  
mentique ex inopia gravi satias facta.

Non. p. 172M = 253L.11–13: to illustrate *satias* = *satietas*.

<sup>1</sup> *Iunius*: in *codd.*: i Müller: his Mercier      <sup>2</sup> *Lipsius*: tmex-  
trinorum (*an* termextrinorum) L: termextrinorum F<sup>3</sup>: tamēn ex-  
ternorum B<sup>A</sup>

83 96M, 79Mc, 51D, 48K

multique conmeatus interierant insidiis latronum

Non. p. 449M = 721.26–27: to illustrate the use of such verbs as  
*interfici* and *occidi* with inanimate subjects.

84\* 34M, 80Mc, 73D, 37K

quae pecunia ad Hispaniense bellum Metello facta  
erat

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 38; *Schol. Bemb.* in Ter. loc. cit.  
(**\*\*\*p** > *pecunia ad* | [. . .] *m facta erat* | [. . .]): to illustrate the  
simple verb *facere* with the meaning of the compound *conficere*  
(to amass).

**81 94M, 77Mc, 28D, 34K**

*The distribution of Pompey's forces in the winter of 75/74.*

He [Pompey] ordered his legate Titurius to spend the winter in Celtiberia with fifteen cohorts, watching over their allies.

**82 95M, 78Mc, 29D, 35K**

*Roman forces—possibly those under Titurius, fr. 81—raid enemy territory for grain in the winter of 75/74.*

These forces, after occupying the passes, invaded the territory of the Termestini,<sup>1</sup> and in place of a serious shortage, a sufficiency of grain was produced.

<sup>1</sup> The inhabitants of Termes, a town in northern Spain, southwest of Numanita, on good terms with Sertorius (Flor. 2.10.9).

**83 96M, 79Mc, 51D, 48K**

*Interruption of supplies during the winter of 75/74 caused by guerilla tactics (cf. Plut. Sert. 21.7).*

and many supply trains had perished as a result of ambushes by bandits

**84\* 34M, 80Mc, 73D, 37K**

*A financial strain pressed especially on Pompey, whereas Metellus Pius had been provided for from the treasury.*

money which had been appropriated for Metellus to fund the Spanish war

85 97M, 72D, 94K

argentum mutuum arcessivit

Prisc. *GL* 2.534.24: to illustrate that verbs terminating in *-so* form the pf. in *-ivi*.

86 98M, 82Mc, 96D, 3.1K

### Epistula Cn. Pompei Ad Senatam<sup>1</sup>

- 1 "Si advorsus vos patriamque et deos penatis tot labores et pericula suscepissem, quotiens a prima adulescentia ductu meo scelestissimi hostes fusi et vobis salus quaesita est,

A–D = four columns of text, each 21 lines in length and 18–23 letter-spaces in width, inscribed on the recto (AB) and verso (CD) of a single leaf forming one-half of a partially preserved double leaf that once belonged to the so-called Fleury manuscript (*Floriacensis*). Somewhat less than three-quarters of this double leaf is preserved on ff. 16r, 17v, 17r, and 16v of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A). It belonged to the same gathering as the one containing fr. 80, from the last line of which this leaf is separated by one, no-longer-extant, double leaf (eight columns of text, = 168 lines in the manuscript). Since approx. one and a half of those eight columns would have been occupied by the opening of Pompey's letter (§§1–3a), the gap between fr. 80 and the opening of the letter is approx. 140 lines in the manuscript, = 75 lines of printed text. See Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), 67–68. Ends of lines are marked by | only for the portion that is preserved solely by A (§§11–12); italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain.

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of the speech (§§1–10) are transmitted by V (Vat. lat. 3864, fol. 125r–v). The citation from §3, as noted below, is assigned by Diomedes to Book 2.

85 97M, 72D, 94K

*Possibly a reference to money borrowed by Pompey to pay his troops (cf. fr. 86.9).*

he raised borrowed money

86 98M, 82Mc, 96D, 3.1K

*At the end of his third campaign season since being appointed to fight Sertorius (§2), in the autumn of 75 (§11), Pompey found himself cut off from supplies (cf. fr. 83) and unable to force the enemy to a decisive battle (fr. 43.6). Having long since exhausted his own means (§§2, 9), Pompey wrote to the senate, requesting reinforcements and money. The device of having a letter serve the function of a speech was employed by Thucydides, and Pompey's dispatch shares much in common with the report sent by the general Nicias to Athens in the autumn of 414, when the Syracusan expedition was in dire straits (Thuc. 7.11–15).*

### Gnaeus Pompey's Dispatch to the Senate

“If I had undertaken *against* you and my native land and tutelary gods<sup>1</sup> so many dangerous exertions on those many occasions when from my early youth<sup>2</sup> your most wicked foes have been routed and your safety secured through my

<sup>1</sup> See 1.67.16n.

<sup>2</sup> In 83, at the age of twenty-two, Pompey had raised an army on his own initiative to fight for Sulla in the civil war.

- nihil amplius in absentem me statuissetis quam adhuc agitis, patres conscripti, quem contra aetatem proiectum ad bellum saevissimum cum exercitu optime merito, quantum est in vobis, fame, miserrima omnium morte, confecistis. Hacine spe populus Romanus liberos suos ad bellum misit? Haec sunt praemia pro vulneribus et totiens ob rem publicam fuso sanguine? Fessus scribundo mittundoque legatos omnis opes et spes privatas meas consumpsi, quom interim a vobis per triennium vix annuus sumptus datus est. Per deos immortalis, utrum censetis me vicem aerari praestare<sup>2</sup> an [A] exercitum sine frumento et stipendio habere posse?
- 4 “Equidem fateor me ad hoc bellum maiore studio quam consilio profectum, quippe qui nomine modo imperi a vobis accepto, diebus quadraginta exercitum paravi hostisque in cervicibus iam Italiae agentis ab Alpibus in Hispaniam submovi; per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal,
- 5 nobis opportunius, patefecit. Recepi Galliam, Pyrenaeum,

<sup>2</sup> utrum . . . praestare] utrum vicem me aerari praestare creditis, *Diom. GL* 1.366.12–13

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<sup>3</sup> Pompey was only twenty-eight years old when he was sent to Spain in 77 to fight Sertorius.

<sup>4</sup> The years 77, 76, and 75, since his posting in 77, after the suppression of the revolt of Lepidus.

<sup>5</sup> An exaggeration: Pompey already had at his disposal an army that been entrusted to him early in 77 to suppress the rebellion of Lepidus (*Plut. Pomp.* 16.3), one he refused to disband (*op. cit.* 17.3). Forty days are also said to have been the length of Pompey's African campaign in 81 and the first phase of his campaign against the pirates in 67 (*op. cit.* 12.8, 26.7).



command of military forces, you would have passed no more severe measures against me in my absence than you are doing up to now, Members of the Senate. For after having flung me, in spite of my youth,<sup>3</sup> into a most cruel war, you have, so far as it is in your power, destroyed me along with a well-deserving army by starvation, the most wretched of all deaths. With this expectation did the Roman people send their sons to war? Are these the rewards for wounds and for so often shedding our blood for the nation? Wearied from writing and sending envoys, I have exhausted all my personal resources and hopes, while, in the meantime, over the course of three years<sup>4</sup> you have given me the means of meeting barely one year's expenses. By the immortal gods! Do you suppose I can play the role of a treasury or [A] maintain an army without food and pay?

"For my part, I admit that I set out for this war with more zeal than deliberation, seeing that within forty days of receiving from you merely the title "commander," I made ready an army<sup>5</sup> and removed from the Alps into Spain an enemy that was already active on the neck of Italy.<sup>6</sup> Over those mountains, I opened a different route from the one taken by Hannibal, one more convenient for us.<sup>7</sup> I recovered Gaul, the Pyrenees, Lacetania, and the

<sup>6</sup> A reference to the suppression of unrest in Transalpine Gaul (cf. §5 *recepti Galliam* and fr. 21).

<sup>7</sup> Appian (*B Civ.* 1.109) places this new route in the region of the sources of the Rhone and the Po rivers (which are some 150 miles apart). Pompey's route may have been through the Cottian Alps, via the Mount Genève Pass.

Lacetaniam, Indigetis et primum impetum Sertori victoris novis militibus et multo paucioribus sustinui hiememque castris inter saevissimos hostis, non per oppida [B] neque ex ambitione mea egi.

- 6 “Quid deinde proelia aut expeditiones hibernas, oppida excisa aut recepta enumerem, quando res plus valet quam verba? Castra hostium apud Sucronem capta et proelium apud flumen Durium<sup>3</sup> et dux hostium C. Herennius cum urbe Valentia et exercitu deleti satis clara vobis sunt; pro quis, o grati patres, egestatem et famem redditis.
- 7 Itaque meo et hostium exercitui par condicio est; namque stipendium neutri datur, victor uterque in Italiam venire
- 8 potest. Quod ego vos moneo quaesoque ut animadvortatis [C] neu cogatis necessitatibus privatim mihi consulere.
- 9 Hispaniam citeriorem, quae non ab hostibus tenetur, nos aut Sertorius ad internecionem vastavimus praeter mari-

<sup>3</sup> AV (cf. Cic. Balb. 5): Turiam Ciacconius

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<sup>8</sup> Lacetania, a region, and the Indigetes, a people, were located in the extreme northeast of Spain.

<sup>9</sup> As he might have done by quartering his troops in the relative comfort of native towns.

<sup>10</sup> Captured by Pompey's legate L. Afranius (cos. 60) from Sertorius' deputy commander M. Perperna in the most recent campaign season (Plut. Sert. 19.9; cf. App. B Civ. 1.110, mistakenly crediting Metellus Pius with this accomplishment).

<sup>11</sup> Perhaps the Battle of Segontia (cf. fr. 53), the last in a sequence of three major battles in 75, coming after Valentia and Sucro. Recent modern editors who accept Ciacconius' conjecture “Turiam” make this clause refer to the Battle of Valentia, which is also alluded to in the next clause (cf. fr. 45).

Indigetes;<sup>8</sup> with unseasoned soldiers, far fewer in number, I withstood the first onslaught of Sertorius fresh from past victories; and I spent the winter in camp, amid the most savage foes, not in the towns, [B] and not with a view to ingratiate myself with the troops.<sup>9</sup>

“Why then should I enumerate battles or winter campaigns, the towns destroyed or recaptured, since action speaks louder than words? The capture of the enemy’s camp at Sucro,<sup>10</sup> the battle at the Durius River,<sup>11</sup> and the destruction of Gaius Herennius,<sup>12</sup> leader of the enemy, together with his army and the city of Valentia, are quite well known to you. And in return for these, O grateful senators, you give me want and hunger. Thus the condition of the enemy’s army and mine is the same; for neither receives pay, and each can arrive in Italy in victory.<sup>13</sup> I warn and ask you to pay attention to this situation, [C] and not to compel me as a result of dire straits to look after my own, personal interests. Hither Spain—the part which is not in the possession of the enemy—either we or Sertorius have devastated to the point of utter destruction, except

<sup>12</sup> Tribune of the plebs in 80 (or 88?), his name is linked with Perperna’s (Plut. *Pomp.* 18.5), both having escaped to join Sertorius in Spain after having fought in the collapsed revolt of Lepidus in 77. The battle of Valentia (cf. fr. 45) took place in 75, somewhat before the battle at Sucro.

<sup>13</sup> I.e., in view of the equal footing on which the senate has placed the opposing armies (by failing to provide for Pompey’s army), each has an equally good chance to win the war and return to Italy (disastrous, of course, if Sertorius’ army does so).

tumas civitates, <quae> ultro<sup>4</sup> nobis sumptui onerique;<sup>5</sup> Gallia superiore anno Metelli exercitum stipendio frumentoque aluit et nunc malis fructibus ipsa vix agitat; ego non rem familiarem modo, verum etiam fidem consumpsi.

10 Relicui vos estis: qui nisi subvenitis, invito et praedicente me exercitus hinc et cum eo omne bellum Hispaniae in Italiam transgredien[**D**]tur.”

11 Hae litterae principio sequentis anni recitatae in senatu. Sed consules decretas | a patribus provincias inlter se paravere:<sup>6</sup> Cotta Galliam citeriorem habuit, | Ciliciam

12 Octavius. Dein | proximi consules, L. Lucullus et M. Cotta, litteris | nuntiisque Pompei graviter perculsi, quom<sup>7</sup> summ(a)e | rei gratia tum ne exercitu in Italiam deducto neq(ue) | laus sua neque dignitas | esset, omni modo stipendium <e>t supplementum paravere, adnitate maxime<sup>8</sup> nobilitate, quouis<sup>9</sup> plerique iam tum lingua ferociam | suam <ostentabant n>ec<sup>10</sup> dicta factis sequel<bantur>.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> <quae> ultro] *Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509): ulterior *Schöne*

<sup>5</sup> *Decembrius*: onerique V: aerique sunt A

<sup>6</sup> partivere *Wölfflin* (cf. *Jug.* 43.1, sed vide *Cassius Hamina*, *FRHist* 6F14 = fr. 11P, de regno par<ar>ent inter se)

<sup>7</sup> cum A

<sup>8</sup> maxime A

<sup>9</sup> cuius A

<sup>10</sup> <ostentabant n>ec] *Shackleton Bailey*: et A

<sup>11</sup> *Hauler*: aequabant *Diggle fort. recte*

for the coastal towns, which are an expense and a burden to us on top of everything else.<sup>14</sup> Last year, Gaul supported the army of Metellus with pay and grain, and now it can scarcely survive on its own because of a failure of the crops; I myself have exhausted not only my personal means but also my credit. You are my one remaining resource; unless you come to my rescue, the army, and with it the whole Spanish war, will, against my wishes—but you have been forewarned by me—cross over from here into Italy.” [fr. 86]

[D] This dispatch was read in the senate at the beginning of the following year.<sup>15</sup> But the consuls<sup>16</sup> arranged between themselves the provinces decreed by the senate: Cotta had Hither Gaul, Octavius Cilicia. Afterward, the succeeding consuls, Lucius Lucullus and Marcus Cotta, having been gravely dismayed by Pompey’s letter and envoys, both on account of the seriousness of the matter and for fear that they would have no renown and standing if the army returned to Italy, used every means to provide pay for the troops and reinforcements.<sup>17</sup> And they were aided especially by the nobles, most of whom were already even then displaying their customary arrogance in speech and not following up their words with deeds.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Text uncertain. If the emendation “*ulterior*” is adopted, place a semicolon after “costal towns” and substitute for the relative clause “Farther Spain is an expense and burden to us.”

<sup>15</sup> 74

<sup>16</sup> Those of the previous year, 75, now proconsuls.

<sup>17</sup> Two additional legions were sent to Spain in 74 (App. *B Civ.* 1.111).

<sup>18</sup> The text after “even then” is uncertain.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
PLACEMENT IN BOOK 2, FRR. 87-110

*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
frr. 87-92*

**87** 18M, 92Mc, 71D, 91K

belli sane sciens<sup>1</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.509.25 = p. 265DC (assigned to "*Hist. II*"): to illustrate *sciens* + gen.; *Schol.* Γ ad Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.5: to illustrate *sane* = *valde*.

<sup>1</sup> *bellica nesciens NI Arus.*

**88** 20M, 93Mc, 25D, 31K

quem ex Mauretania rex Leptasta proditionis insimulatum cum custodibus miserat

Prisc. *GL* 2.143.12-14: to illustrate a masc. proper noun ending in *-a*.

**89\*** 55M, 47Mc, inc. 5D, 1.41K

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
PLACEMENT IN BOOK 2, FRR. 87–110

*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
fr. 87–92*

**87** 18M, 92Mc, 71D, 91K

*Maurenbr. speculated that these words described Pompey, but they could equally well have described Sertorius since they closely resemble Appian's characterization of him: "no one else was more skilled in the art of war" (οὔτε πολεμικώτερος ἄλλος, B Civ. 1.112).*

truly knowledgeable in war

**88** 20M, 93Mc, 25D, 31K

*Maurenbr. speculated that this incident involving the king of Mauretania figured in the summary of Pompey's past achievements, including his Numidian campaign in 81, but Leptasta is otherwise unattested.*

whom king Leptasta had sent from Mauretania, under guard and accused of treason

**89\*** 55M, 47Mc, inc. 5D, 1.41K

*Possibly to be assigned to the context of Pompey's victory in early 75 over Sertorian forces under the command of Perperna and Herennius (see fr. 45). Since Servius quotes the fragment to illustrate the adj. verus in the sense of "good" or "upright," the statement presumably concerns something admirable that is being contrasted with the criticism implicit in tam paucis prospectis. Consequently, it is best to supply a noun denoting "bravery," such as fortitudo or virtus (Maurenbr.), rather than culpa (Schulten) or ratio (Frassinetti).*

Perpernae<sup>1</sup> tam paucis pro<s>pectis<sup>2</sup> vera est aesti-  
manda

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 12.694: quoting fr. 1.121 and this fragment:  
to illustrate the adj. *verus* = that which is *rectum et bonum* [i.e.,  
“morally upright,” *OLD* 9].

<sup>1</sup> *Mähly*: Perpenna *F*      <sup>2</sup> *Mascivius*: pro pectus *F*

**90** 48M, 94Mc, 90D, 89K

quom multa dissereret ludis Apollini circensibus

Arus. *GL* 7.490.25–26 = p. 192DC: to illustrate the dat. of a god  
with the noun *ludi* (games).

**91** 51M, 95Mc, 88D, inc. 83K

et continetur gravis<sup>1</sup>

Non. p. 315M = 492L.5: to illustrate *gravis* = *molestus* (trouble-  
some).

<sup>1</sup> *gravius Mercier*



Perperna's <bravery?><sup>1</sup> must be judged honest, despite his having taken so few precautions

<sup>1</sup> If, instead of a word meaning "bravery," *culpa* is supplied, the translation becomes "proper blame is to be assigned to P., since he took so few precautions"; or if *ratio*, "P. ought to have given more weight to calculation."

**90** 48M, 94Mc, 90D, 89K

*Because the holding of a public meeting during the annual festival in honor of Apollo (July 6–13), especially on the day of the chariot races in the circus (July 13), would have been rare and seems to point to a political crisis, Maurenbr. speculated that the occasion was a struggle over passage of the lex Aurelia in 75 (see fr. 44). Dietsch, by contrast, assigned this fragment to the clash between the tribune Sicinius and consul C. Curio in 76. Certainty is impossible.*

while he was speaking at length during the circus games in honor of Apollo

**91** 51M, 95Mc, 88D, inc. 83K

*Maurenbr. conjectured that the missing subject of the verb may have been seditio (strife), or tumultus (uprising), or ira (rage) and so refer to the popular unrest in 75 that was curbed by the consul Cotta (see fr. 40–43), but certainty is impossible.*

and troublesome \_\_\_\_\_ is kept under control

**92** 53M, 96Mc, 93D, 96K

post, ubi fiducia nimius

Arus. *GL* 7.495.16 = p. 209DC: to illustrate *nimius* + abl. of thing.

*A Battle Near a River, fr. 93–97: Possibly in Spain, Near Valentia and the River Turia (cf. fr. 45), or the River Sucro (cf. fr. 49–52 and fr. 86.6), or the River Durius (cf. fr. 53 and fr. 86.6)*

**93** 99M, 97Mc, 57D, 66K

Parte<sup>1</sup> legio<nis><sup>2</sup> flumen transducta, castra dilatavit.

Arus. *GL* 7.513.22–23 = p. 278DC: to illustrate *transductus* + acc. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> Keil *dubitanter in app.*: parva Kritz: parco NI      <sup>2</sup> Keil *dubitanter in app.*: legio<num> Maurenbr.

**94** 100M, 98Mc, 62D, 71K

Suos equites hortatus vado transmisit.

Arus. *GL* 7.513.27–28 = p. 278DC: to illustrate *transmitto* + abl. of thing [means].

**95** 101M, 99Mc, 63D, 72K

Ictu eorum qui in flumen ruebant<sup>1</sup> necabantur.

Donat. ad Ter. *Ad.* 319: to illustrate *ruo* as a v.t. (“to hurl headlong”), and yet *ruo* is intransitive in this and the two other examples given by Donat. (Verg. *G.* 3.255 and Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.75)—hence Maurenbr.’s proposed suppl. *se*.

**92** 53M, 96Mc, 93D, 96K

*Maurenbr. speculated that S. may have been describing one of Sertorius' lieutenants, Herennius or Perperna, who was instructed by Sertorius in 76 to use caution in keeping Pompey at bay (Livy 91, fr. 22), but certainty is impossible. Cf. fr. 89.*

afterward, when with excessive confidence

*A Battle Near a River, fr. 93–97: Possibly in Spain, Near Valentia and the River Turia (cf. fr. 45), or the River Sucro (cf. fr. 49–52 and fr. 86.6), or the River Durus (cf. fr. 53 and fr. 86.6)*

**93** 99M, 97Mc, 57D, 66K

Having led part of the legion across the river, he enlarged the camp.

**94** 100M, 98Mc, 62D, 71K

After encouraging his own cavalry, he sent them across by means of a ford.

**95** 101M, 99Mc, 63D, 72K

They were slain by the impact of those who were rushing into the river.

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<sup>1</sup> <se> ruebant *Maurenbr.*

96 4.67M, 2.100Mc, 2.52D, 2.59K

ruinaque pars magna<sup>1</sup> suis met aut proxumorum telis, ceteri vicem<sup>2</sup> pecorum obtruncabantur

Non. p. 497M = 799L.29–30: to illustrate the use of a nom. or acc. where an abl. would be more usual (here *vicem* in place of *vice*).

<sup>1</sup> magna pars Müller      <sup>2</sup> Passerat: vece L A<sup>A</sup>: vete C<sup>A</sup>: vice B<sup>A</sup>

97 107M, 101Mc, 68D, 82K

Murum ab angulo dexteri lateris ad paludem haud procul remotam duxit.

Serv. auct. ad Aen. 1.423: to illustrate the use of *duco* = *aedificare* (to build) with *murum*.

*Miscellaneous, frr. 98–110*

98 110M, 102Mc, 65D, 74K

omnia sacrata<sup>1</sup> corpora<sup>2</sup> in rates inposuisse

Arus. GL 7.483.28–29 = p. 168DC: to illustrate *impono* with *in* + acc. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> sauciata Dietsch: s\*\*ciata V3      <sup>2</sup> pecora Wölfflin

99 103M, 103Mc, 59D, 68K

Ille festinat subsidiis principes augere et densere frontem.

Euty. GL 5.482.22–23: to illustrate the second conj. verb *denso*, in contrast with first conj. *denso*.

96 4.67M, 2.100Mc, 2.52D, 2.59K

*Maurenbr. supposed that this fragment (assigned by Non. to Book 2) belonged instead to Book 4 and described the crush at the Battle of Tigranocerta (Plut. Luc. 28.5). It may, however, have complemented the preceding fragment, describing a confused battle in the riverbed, modeled on Thuc. 7.84.3 (so McGushin).*

and in the melee a great many were being cut down by their very own weapons or those of their neighbors, the rest after the fashion of cattle

97 107M, 101Mc, 68D, 82K

*Possibly a defensive measure taken by Sertorius to protect his camp at the Battle of Sucro, near which was the swamp of Albufera (so La Penna).*

He extended the wall from the corner of the right side [of his camp?] up to a swamp not far away.

*Miscellaneous, frs. 98–110*

98 110M, 102Mc, 65D, 74K

to have placed all the consecrated<sup>1</sup> bodies on rafts

<sup>1</sup> Or “wounded,” if the conjecture *sauciata* is adopted. Kritz explicated “sacred bodies” as “bodies of men dedicated to the gods,” hence, “priests” (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 11.591, describing Camilla).

99 103M, 103Mc, 59D, 68K

He hastened to augment the foremost troops with reinforcements and to make the front deeper.

**100** 104M, 104Mc, 60D, 69K

Terror hostibus et fiducia suis incessit.

Arus. *GL* 7.488.1 = p. 182DC: to illustrate *incedo* + dat.

**101** 105M, 105Mc, 61D, 70K

†Circumventis<sup>1</sup> dextera nuda<sup>2</sup> ferrum erat,<sup>3</sup> saxa aut quid tale capita<sup>4</sup> adfligebant.<sup>5</sup>†

Arus. *GL* 7.456.6–7 = p. 71DC, citing fr. 3.76 and this fragment: to illustrate *adflictus* + acc. of thing [complementary, instead of the customary dat. when *adfligo* = “dash” (*OLD* 1)].

<sup>1</sup> circumventi *VI*: circumventus *Keil dub. in app.*      <sup>2</sup> unda  
*V2 A*: unde *Mai*      <sup>3</sup> *secl. Dietsch*      <sup>4</sup> (vel caput) *Parrhasius*: capit *NI*      <sup>5</sup> ferro, saxo, aliis telis capita adfligebant <ur>  
*Dietsch*

**102** 106M, 106Mc, 53D, 60K

E muris †canest<sup>1</sup> sportis<sup>2</sup> demittebant.

Non. p. 177M = 260L.18: to illustrate the noun *sporta* (woven basket, hamper).

<sup>1</sup> panes *de Broses ap. Quicherat*: cives *Lipsius*      <sup>2</sup> spartis *Kritz*

**100** 104M, 104Mc, 60D, 69K

The enemy was infused with terror, and his own troops with confidence.

**101** 105M, 105Mc, 61D, 70K

*The text is highly uncertain: hence italics for translation. As transmitted, it does not illustrate the point under discussion (adflictus + acc.), whereas the example that immediately precedes it in Arusianus (fr. 3.76) is apropos. Hence, since Arusianus normally gives only one example per construction, conceivably the second example, which is furnished by this fragment, may have been intended to illustrate adffigo in the active voice, which could have been treated in a lost portion of Arusianus' text immediately preceding this quotation.*

†Surrounded, the men were faced with steel [drawn swords] on their exposed right flank; rocks or the like were pelting their heads. †

**102** 106M, 106Mc, 53D, 60K

*An incident possibly during the siege of Lauro by Sertorius in 76 (see fr. 27) or during the siege of Sertorius in Clunia by Pompey and Metellus in late 75 (Liv. Per. 92).*

They lowered \*\*\*\*\*<sup>1</sup> down from the walls in wicker baskets.

<sup>1</sup> Kritz interpreted the *paradosis canes* (dogs) as a name given to a type of "grappling hook" (quoting Isid. *Etym.* 20.15.4, *canicula*) and altered *spartis* to *spartis* ("ropes" made of broom). Against this is the fact that Nonius' reason for quoting was to illustrate the noun *sparta*. If we read *panes* (loaves of "bread") in place of *canes*, then possibly S. described a tactic designed by the besieged to taunt the besiegers by demonstrating that there was an abundance of food within.

**103** 108M, 107Mc, 75D, 100K

moenibus deturbat

Non. p. 101M = 144L.14: to illustrate *deturbare* = *deicere* (to hurl down) or *demovere* (to drive off).

**104** 109M, 108Mc, 9D, 14K

ne illa tauro paria sint

Donat. ad Ter. An. 706: to illustrate *ne* = *nedum*.

**105** 111M, 109 Mc, 89D, 87K

Ita fiducia quam argumentis purgatiores dimittuntur.

Non. p. 310M = 484L.19–20; Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.61: to illustrate *fiducia* = *audacia* (boldness, impudence). Donat. ad Ter. *Hec.* 528, 529; *Phorm.* 205: to illustrate self-confidence as an effective means of combating suspicion.

**106** 112M, 110Mc, 74D, 95K

obviam fuere

Charis. *GL* 1.209.7 = p. 271B.2: to illustrate the adv. *obviam* = *obvius*, and reporting that the second-century AD commentator Aemilius Asper “archaically” (*vetuste*) preferred the adv. to the adj. (With verbs not denoting motion, *obviam* is found before S. only in early Latin [OLD 3].)

**107** 113M, 111Mc, 78D, 101K

audaciter

Prisc. *GL* 3.76.27: to illustrate *audaciter*, the less common spelling of the adv. *audacter*. Cf. Quint. 1.6.17.



**103** 108M, 107Mc, 75D, 100K

he hurls down from the walls

**104** 109M, 108Mc, 9D, 14K

*Probably belonging to the description of some large animal in Spain, Asia Minor, or Sardinia (so Maurenbr.).*

still less are those [animals] the equal of a bull

**105** 111M, 109Mc, 89D, 87K

So they are sent away exonerated more by their self-confidence than by arguments.

**106** 112M, 110Mc, 74D, 95K

they were to hand

**107** 113M, 111Mc, 78D, 101K

boldly

**108** 114M, 112Mc, 84D, 90K

Et Poeni<sup>1</sup> fere<sup>2</sup> advorsus a. n. e. m.<sup>3</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 171: to illustrate the use of *et* as an inceptive conjunction. Cf. fr. 1.77 and fr. inc. 5 for similar instances of abbreviated text in Donat.

<sup>1</sup> *cod. Hulsii*: poni *RCOD*: potui V      <sup>2</sup> ferunt *Kritz*  
<sup>3</sup> a. n. c. m. *COV*

**109\*** 36M, 35Mc, inc. 13D, 2.43K

Stobos

Prob. *GL* 4.20.10: illustrating that the place-name Stobi is pl.

**110a-b** 52a-bM, deest in Mc, D et K

o . . . | rei . . . | nii . . . | pro . . . | ini . . . | om . . . | mi . . . |  
piti . . . | ad . . . | ni . . . | m . . .  
. . . in | . . . rent | . . . esar | . . . r sed | . . . enol | . . . ndu<m>  
| . . . gna | . . . oru<m> | . . . ru<m> | . . . ni | . . . uic

These few letters are all that remains of the first eleven lines of the left-hand column of twenty-one lines on the recto and the corresponding eleven lines of the right-hand column on the verso of a leaf that once formed one-half of a double leaf in the so-called Fleury manuscript (*Floriacensis*). The adjoining leaf contains the text of frs. 38, 39, 41, and 43.1a-1. The tattered remains are preserved on fol. 20 of the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |. For a schematic reconstruction of the partially preserved double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 1.

**108** 114M, 112Mc, 84D, 90K

*Italics in the translation signifies that text is uncertain, and without more context, it is impossible to expand the abbreviation with which this fragment concludes. If Poeni is the correct reading (poni [to be put] is found in the bulk of the manuscripts), S. may have mentioned the Carthaginians in Book 2 in connection with Sardinia (cf. fr. 8) or New Carthage (cf. fr. 46), as Dietsch and Maurenbr. pointed out.*

And the Carthaginians generally against \* \* \*

**109\*** 36M, 35Mc, inc. 13D, 2.43K

*Stobi, a town in Macedonia, may have been mentioned in Book 2 in connection with the campaigns of the governors Ap. Claudius (cos. 79) in 76 (so Maurenbr. assumes) or C. Scribonius Curio (cos. 76) in 75.*

Stobi

**110a–b** 52a–bM, not included in Mc, D, and K

*These two fragments are preserved in the Orleans palimpsest, the Aurelianensis (A). The first line of fr. 110a stood anywhere from four to six leaves after the leaf on which fr. 43.1a-1 (the preface to and opening words of Cotta's speech of ca. June 75) was inscribed on the verso. It is impossible to recover the content.*

## BOOK 3

### OUTLINE

- I. OPENING PHASE OF PIRATE WAR WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS (74-73 BC): FRR. 1-7
- II. SERTORIAN WAR (74 BC), FRR. 8-12
- III. WAR AGAINST THE DARDANI (74-73 BC), FRR. 13-14
- IV. THE PLEBEIAN TRIBUNE MACER'S SPEECH TO THE COMMONS (73 BC), FR. 15
- V. THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR (73-72 BC), FRR. 16-37
- VI. THE SLAVE UPRISING LED BY SPARTACUS: YEAR ONE (73 BC), FRR. 38-45
- VII. FINAL PHASE OF PIRATE WAR WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS (73-72 BC), FRR. 46-54  
*An Account of the Geography and History of Crete (frr. 46-51)*

- VIII. CONCLUSION OF THE SERTORIAN WAR  
(73–72 BC), FRR. 55–63
- IX. THE SLAVE UPRISING LED BY SPARTACUS:  
YEAR TWO (72 BC), FRR. 64–70
- X. THRACIAN CAMPAIGN OF M. LUCULLUS  
(72 BC), FRR. 71–73
- XI. THE MITHRIDATIC WAR (72BC), FRR. 74–81
- XII. EXCURSUS ON TOPOGRAPHY OF PONTUS,  
FRR. 82–99
- XIII. FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN CONTEXT  
IN BOOK 3, FRR. 100–108  
*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr., frr.  
100-104*  
*Miscellaneous, frr. 105–8*

## LIBER III

### OPENING PHASE OF PIRATE WAR WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS (74–73 BC): FRR: 1–7

I 1M, 1Mc, 53D, 31K

inter recens domitos Isauros Pisidasque

Arus. *GL* 7.482.6 = p. 162DC: to illustrate *inter* + acc. = *cum illud agitur* (i.e., stating the context).

2\* 2M, 2Mc, 55D, 59K

qui orae maritimae, qua Romanum esset imperium, curator <nocentior<sup>1</sup> piratis

*Schol. in Iuv. ad 8.105*: quoting S.'s description of M. Antonius (pr. 74) to illustrate Juv.'s reference to provincials suffering at the hands of an Antonius.

{Ps.-Ascon. p. 202St.11–12: identifying the Antonius referred to by Cic., without crediting S. as his source: *curator tuendae totius orae maritimae qua Romanum erat imperium, non solum ipse nequam*; cf. id. p. 239St.5–6 (regarding M. Antonius): *totius curator orae maritimae.*}

<sup>1</sup>curator nocentior] *Maurenbr.*: contrarius *codd.*: curator peior *Wessner*

## BOOK 3

### OPENING PHASE OF PIRATE WAR WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS (74–73 BC): FRR. 1–7

1 1M, 1Mc, 53D, 31K

*The conquest of the Cilician pirates by P. Servilius Vatia (cos. 79) in 78–75 is mentioned as background to the appointment of the praetor M. Antonius in 74 to a special command.*

during the recent conquest of the Isaurians and Pisidians

2\* 2M, 2Mc, 55D, 59K

*A description of M. Antonius (pr. 74).*

who, as guardian of the seacoast where Roman rule extended,<sup>1</sup> more harmful than the pirates

<sup>1</sup> Antonius' power over coastal areas was equal to that of the governor of each Roman province (Vell. 2.31.2–3).

3† 3M, 3Mc, 54D, 65K

perdundae pecuniae genitus et vacuos<sup>1</sup> a curis nisi  
instantibus

Ps.-Ascon. p. 239St.7-8: identifying the Antonius mentioned by  
Cic.

{Arus. *GL* 7.476.7-8 = p. 142DC (*perdendae pecuniae genitus*)  
assigned to “*Sal. Hist. II*” (N1), emended to “III” by edd.: to illus-  
trate *genitus* + dat. of a gerundive.)

<sup>1</sup> genitum et vacuum *Ps.-Ascon.*

4\* 7M, 4Mc, inc. 50D, inc. 16K

graviore<sup>1</sup> bello, qui prohibitum<sup>2</sup> venerant socii, se  
gere<re><sup>3</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Hec.* 759: to illustrate *gravis* = *molestus* (grievous).

<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.*: graviore C: graviorem V                   <sup>2</sup> *Maurenbr.*:  
prohibitur C: prohibitus VD: prohibitori *Stephanus*                   <sup>3</sup> *Mau-*  
*renbr.*: socii segere C: sociis egere V

5\* 4M, 5Mc, inc. 121D, deest in K

Antonius paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe.

Audax, *GL* 7.353.27; {*Prob. GL* 4.149.4 (*paucis ante diebus*): to  
illustrate the adv. *ante*.

6 5M, 6Mc, deest in D et K



3† 3M, 3Mc, 54D, 65K

*Quoted from S.'s description of M. Antonius' spendthrift nature (cf. Plut. Ant. 1; Cic. Phil. 2.42, 44).*

a man born to squander money and devoid of worries except for those immediately pressing upon him

4\* 7M, 4Mc, inc. 50D, inc. 16K

*Rome's halfhearted and ineffective measures taken against the pirates prior to Pompey's appointment in 67 caused harm to Rome's allies (Dio 36.23.2). Antonius was notorious for his corrupt management of the campaign (Cic. 2 Verr. 3.213).*

that the conduct of those who had come as allies to prevent war was more grievous than the war

5\* 4M, 5Mc, inc. 121D, not included in K

*Setting the scene for some unknown incident that befell Antonius soon after he had departed from Rome or from some city while on campaign.*

A few days earlier Antonius sallied forth from the city.

6 5M, 6Mc, not included in D and K

*Antonius makes an unsuccessful attack on a Ligurian stronghold on the southeast coast of Transalpine Gaul and afterward sails to Spain. Slightly more than one or two printed pages of text (approx. 40–80 lines) would have occupied the gap between this fragment and the end of fr. 2.86.12 reporting the reaction to Pompey's dispatch in January 74 (see testimonia). (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

- 1 \* \* \* | <co>pias Antonius ha<ud fa>lcile prohibens a <navi-  
 bus>,<sup>1</sup> | quia periaci telu<m pote>|rat angusto intr<oitu>.<sup>2</sup>  
 2 Ne|que Mamercus host<es><sup>3</sup> | in dextera commu<nis> |  
 classis aestate qu<ieta><sup>4</sup> | tutior in aperto s<eque>|batur.  
 3 Iamque diebus al<iquot> | per dubitationem <tritis>, |  
 quom<sup>5</sup> Ligurum praes<idia cessissent><sup>6</sup> | in Alpīs, Teren-  
 tun . . . lcitu<sup>7</sup> quaestio fac . . . <sup>8</sup> | Sertorium perve<hi.  
 4 Quom> | Antonio ceterisque p<lace>|ret navibus in His-  
 pa<niam> | maturare, post qua<driduom><sup>9</sup> | in Aresina-  
 rios<sup>10</sup> ve<nere om>|ni copia navium konga>|rum, quas  
 reparat<as ha>|bebant quaeque no<n tempes|tatibus af-  
 flictae erant><sup>11</sup> \* \* \*

This fragment forms a column of text 21 lines long and 18–23 letter-spaces wide on the left-hand portion of the recto of a leaf that once belonged to the so-called Fleury codex (*Floriacensis*). It is preserved on fol. 15r of the Orleans palimpsest, the *Aurelianensis* (A), and is joined to the leaf containing fr. 2.74 A–D, with which it once formed a double leaf of the *Floriacensis*. Depending on whether the gathering was a quaternio (as Bloch [1961], 66 concludes) or a quinio (as Perl [1968], 33–35 argues), the opening word, <co>pias, was separated from the last word of fr. 2.86 D by either one or two no-longer extant leaves (4–8 columns of text, = 84–168 lines in the manuscript, = approx. 40–80 lines of printed text). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the right margin of all 21 lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of 4–7 letters. Supplements are to be credited to Hauler, unless otherwise indicated. Italics signifies that the transcription is uncertain, or that a supplement is highly conjectural or merely hypothetical. The concluding words of the conjectural supplement (*tatibus afflictæ erant*) would have been written at the top of the right-hand column that once filled the missing half of this leaf. For a schematic reconstruction of the double leaf, see Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), fig. 2.

. . . Antonius with some difficulty warding off <enemý> [fr. 6] forces from his ships because a missile could be hurled the whole distance to its mark in the narrow entrance [to the harbor]. And on the right wing of the fleet under their joint command, Mamercus<sup>1</sup> was at similar risk in pursuing the enemy in open water owing to the summer calm. And now that some days had been wasted through hesitation, after the Lugurian *garrisons* had withdrawn into the Alps, . . . of the Terentuni<sup>2</sup> . . . an investigation . . . *to travel to* Sertorius. Since Antonius and the rest were in favor of making haste to Spain with their ships, they arrived among the Aresinarii<sup>3</sup> after a period of four days with the full complement of their war ships, those that had been repaired, as well as those that <*had not been damaged by storms*> . . .

<sup>1</sup> A legate of Antonius, possibly Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (cos. 77): *MRR* 2.105, 109 n. 7. <sup>2</sup> Possibly a people in Spain, otherwise unattested. <sup>3</sup> Possibly to be identified with the Airenosii (Polyb. 3.35.2), whose territory lay in northeast Spain, between the Ebro River and the Pyrenees.

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<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.*: a <portu> vel a<b impetu> *Hauler*

<sup>2</sup> *Wölfflin*

<sup>3</sup> *Reynolds*: hostium navis *Hauler*

<sup>4</sup> *Wölfflin*

<sup>5</sup> cum *A*

<sup>6</sup> *Maurenbr.*: praesidia issent *Hauler*

<sup>7</sup> Terentun<orum ac>citu *Hauler*

<sup>8</sup> fac<ta ad> *Maurenbr.*: fac<ta est ad> *Hauler*

<sup>9</sup> *Reynolds*: postqua<m vero> *Maurenbr.*

<sup>10</sup> *Hauler*: -artos *A*

<sup>11</sup> *Maurenbr.*: no<vae accesserant> *Hauler*

## 7 6M, 7Mc, deest in D et K

- 1 <disiunctus altissimum>o flumine Diluno<sup>1</sup> | <ab hos>tibus, quem trans<gradi> vel paucis prohiben<tibus ne>quibat.
- 2 Simulatis | <transi>tibus aliis haud<sup>2</sup> longe | <a loco i>llo<sup>3</sup> classe, quam e<vocara>t,<sup>4</sup> temereque textis<sup>5</sup> ral<tibus
- 3 ex>ercitum transdu<xit. Tum> praemisso cum equi<tibus \*\*>ranio<sup>6</sup> legato et par<te na>vium longarum ad | <paen><sup>7</sup>insulam pervenit, | <ratus> inproviso metu | <posse> recipi civitatem con<meati>bus Italicis oppor-

<sup>1</sup> vel Diuino

<sup>2</sup> Maurenbr.: aut A

<sup>3</sup> Maurenbr.

<sup>4</sup> Maurenbr.: emiserat Hauler

<sup>5</sup> Hauler: temere . m . exis A

<sup>6</sup> Afranio vel Manio Hauler

<sup>7</sup> scripsi

## 7 6M, 7Mc, not included in D and K

*An operation in Spain: Antonius, after forcing his way across a river, came to a locale that afforded the enemy natural defenses. (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

... <cut off> from the enemy by the <extremely deep> river *Dilunus*,<sup>1</sup> which he could not cross in the face of even a few men putting up opposition. While feigning crossings at other points, he took his army across not far from that place by means of the fleet, which he had summoned, and by means of hastily fashioned rafts. Then after sending forward his legate *\*\*ranius*<sup>2</sup> with the cavalry and some of the warships, he reached a *peninsula*,<sup>3</sup> thinking that he could, by means of unexpected alarm [of a surprise attack], recapture a community ideally suited for resupply from Italy. The enemy, relying on their position with the

<sup>1</sup> Spelling uncertain; location unknown.

<sup>2</sup> His name may have been "Manius" (*MRR* 2.105) or "Afranius," depending on how the text is restored. Nothing further is known about him either way. He is clearly not L. Afranius (cos. 60), since the future consul was serving as legate under Pompey at that time, 74 BC (*MRR* 3.12–13).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the naval base of Sertorius, Dianium (so Hauler), which was located on a promontory on the east coast of Hither Spain, north of Carthago Nova (cf. fr. 1.113). Or (as Schulten, *Hermes* 1925.66–73 argues) it may have been the island town of Emporiae (Emporion), which lay on the far northeast coast of Spain, just below the Pyrenees and at the mouth of the river Clodianus (= Dilunus?). Emporiae had been useful to the Romans in Spanish campaigns in the third and second centuries (*Livy* 21.60.1–2, 34.8–9).

- 4 tul<nam>. Aequē<sup>8</sup> illi loco freti nil<hil de> sententia mutavel<re; qu>ippe tumulum late<ribus i>n mare<sup>9</sup> et tergo editis, |<ad hoc>fron<te> ut angusto |<ita<sup>10</sup> har>enosso ingressu, dul<plici muro muniverant>.

This fragment forms a column of text 21 lines long and 18–23 letter-spaces wide and occupies the right-hand portion of the verso of the leaf containing fr. 6. The gap between this fragment and fr. 6 is 42 lines in the manuscript, = approx. only 20 lines of printed text. See Bloch, *Didascaliae* (1961), 69. Slightly less than half of this leaf has survived, since it is missing two columns of text (the right-hand column of the recto and the left-hand column of the verso). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be plainly seen that the left margin of all 21 lines in this column of text has suffered the loss of 4–7 letters. Supplements are to be credited to Hauler, unless otherwise indicated. Italics signifies that the transcription is uncertain or that a supplement is highly conjectural or merely hypothetical. The opening portion of the conjectural supplement, *disiunctus altis*–, introducing this fragment would have been written at the bottom of the column that once occupied the missing left-hand portion of this verso.

<sup>8</sup> atque Hauler  
et suppl. Wölfflin

<sup>9</sup> Hauler: meri A

<sup>10</sup> Maurenbr:

#### SERTORIAN WAR (74 BC), FRR. 8–12

8\* 43M, 30Mc, inc. 37D, inc. 3K

*Cales civitas est Campaniae; nam in Flaminia quae est Cale dicitur. Est et in Gall<aec>ia<sup>1</sup> hoc nomine, quam Sallustius captam a Perperna commemorat.*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.728: distinguishing a community mentioned by Virgil from two others of a similar name.

same degree of confidence, did not change their intention at all; in fact <*they had fortified with a double wall*> a knoll that had steep sides seaward and in the rear, and an approach as narrow as it was sandy *at its front*.

## SERTORIAN WAR (74 BC), FRR. 8–12

8\* 43M, 30Mc, inc. 37D, inc. 3K

*Perperna's capture of Portus Cale, a coastal town in the far, north-west region of the Iberian Peninsula (mod. Portugal).*

*Cales is a Campanian town; for on the via Flaminia [in Umbria] is a town called **Cale**. There is also one of this name in Gallaecia, which Sallust relates was **captured by Perperna**.*

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<sup>1</sup> Voss

9\* 44M, 31Mc, 1.76D, 1.75K

quoi nomen Oblivionis condiderant<sup>1</sup>

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.267: to illustrate *nomen* + a [defining] gen.

<sup>1</sup> indiderant *Dietsch in app.*

10†† 2.70M, 2.59Mc, 2.23D, 2.29K

- 1 At<sup>1</sup> Metellus in ulteriorem Hispaniam post annum regres-  
sus magna gloria concurrentium<sup>2</sup> undique, virile et mu-  
2 liebre secus, per vias et tecta omnium visebatur. Eum  
quaestor C. Urbinus aliique, cognita voluntate, quom ad  
cenam invitaverant,<sup>3</sup> ultra Romanum ac mortalium etiam

Macrob. *Sat.* 3.13.7–9: quoted to illustrate the luxury and haughtiness of Metellus.

{Non. p. 222M = 329L.20–23 (§1 *At Metellus . . . visebatur*), assigned to “lib. II,” Prob. *GL* 4.21.4 (§1 *virile sc muliebre secus*), and Charis. *GL* 1.80.15 = p. 101B.13 (§1 *virile secus*): cited to give an example of *secus* (neut.) = *sexus* (m.). Non. p. 180M = 265L.20–21 (§3 *transenna . . . inponebat*), assigned to “lib. II”: cited to illustrate the claim that *transenna* is not a *transitus* (passage) but a *fenestra* (window); Non. p. 286M = 442L.18–20 (§3 *cum machinis strepitu demissum . . . inponebant [sic]*), assigned to “lib. III”: cited to illustrate *demittere* in the sense of “to lower from above”; Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.488 (§3 *machinato strepitu transenna corona in caput inponebatur*): claiming that *transennna* means a “taut rope” (*extentus funis*) (cf. *Isid. Etym.* 19.1.24).}

<sup>1</sup> *Non., P Macrob.:* ac *rell. codd. Macrob.*

<sup>2</sup> *Non.:* concurrentibus *Macrob.*

<sup>3</sup> invitassent *P (ante corr.) Macrob.*



**9\* 44M, 31Mc, 1.76D, 1.75K**

*The river Limia/Limaeta, lying some sixty miles north of Portus Cale (see preceding fragment), was also called Lethe (cf. Strabo 3.3.4, p. 153; App. Iber. 71, 72) or Oblivio (cf. Liv. Per. 55; Plin. HN 4.115) = "Forgetfulness."*

for which they had instituted the name Oblivion

**10†† 2.70M, 2.59Mc, 2.23D, 2.29K**

*The context must be the autumn of 74 (so Maurenbr.), where Livy (Per. 93) places Metellus' return to Ulterior, a year after the unsuccessful siege of Sertorius in Clunia, in late 75, which is reported in Per. 92. The reference in §1 below to an absence of one year fits the statement in Plut. (Sert. 21.8) that Metellus spent the winter of 75/74 in Transalpine Gaul, a period covered toward the end of Book 2. Past editors place this fragment in Book 2 on the basis of two citations from Nonius credited to Book 2 (pp. 180M, 222M), however, the only way to find room in Book 2 for an event in the autumn of 74 is to assume that it was treated proleptically, since Book 3 begins S.'s account of the year 74. A third citation in Nonius (p. 286M) is assigned to Book 3, which is in accord with the structure of S.'s annalistic account of events. Cf. fr. 2.55, which Nonius cites twice, giving different book numbers.*

But Metellus, returning to Farther Spain after a year, received a glorious reception on the part of everyone, men and women, pouring from everywhere through the streets and buildings. Whenever his quaestor Gaius Urbinus<sup>1</sup> and others, knowing his wishes, invited him to a dinner, they looked after him in a fashion that was not typically Ro-

<sup>1</sup> Not otherwise known.

- morem curabant, exornatis aedibus per aulaea et insignia, scenisque ad ostentationem histrionum fabricatis; simul croco sparsa humus, et alia in modum templi celeberrimi.
- 3 Praeterea tum sedenti [in]<sup>4</sup> transenna demissum Victoriae simulacrum cum machinato strepitu tonitruum coronam capiti inponebat, tum venienti ture quasi deo supplicabatur.
- 4 Toga picta plerumque amiculo erat ei accumbenti; epulae vero quaesitissimae, neque per omnem modo provinciam, sed trans maria ex Mauretania volucrum et ferarum incognita antea plura genera. Quis rebus aliquantam partem gloriae dempserat, maxumeque apud veteres et sanctos viros, superba illa, gravia, indigna Romano imperio aestimantis.

<sup>4</sup> *Kaster*

11\* 2.28M, 3.32Mc, 2.43D, 2.52K

Sed Metello Cordubae hiemante cum duabus legionibus

man or even in keeping with mortal standards. Houses were fitted out with tapestries and finery; stages were constructed for the display of actors. At the same time, the ground was sprinkled with saffron, and there were other extravagances after the fashion of a festive temple. Moreover, at that time, while he was seated, a likeness of Victory, which was let down with a network of cords,<sup>2</sup> to the accompaniment of a mechanically produced din of thunder claps, used to place a crown upon his head; at that time, when he made his approach, they used to worship him with incense, as though he were a god. An embroidered toga<sup>3</sup> generally served as his outer garment when he reclined at table. The food was sought from far and wide, not only throughout the whole of the province but also a great many previously unknown kinds of birds and game from across the sea, from Mauretania. And by such extravagances, he had lessened his distinction to some extent, and especially so in the eyes of older, upright men who regarded those practices as haughty, heavy-handed, and unbecoming a Roman commander.

<sup>2</sup> *Transenna* elsewhere generally means a “snare” of netting (for birds), or something resembling a net: here, possibly = a weblike network of strings to support the statue, after the fashion of a marionette. Both Val. Max. 9.1.5 and Plut. *Sert.* 22.3 attest mechanical devices lowered from above.

<sup>3</sup> The *toga picta* was the garb of a triumphing general.

11\* 2.28M, 3.32Mc, 2.43D, 2.52K

*An earthquake in Farther Spain during the winter: possibly that of 74/73 (so La Penna).*

But when Metellus was wintering with two legions at Cor-

alione casu an, sapientibus ut placet, venti per cava terrae citatu<sup>1</sup> rupti aliquot montes tumulique sedere.

*Adnot. super Luc.* 1.552: to illustrate a sudden, shuddering motion of the earth.

{*Isid. Etym.* 14.1.2 (*venti . . . sedere*); *Isid. De natura rerum* 46.2 (*venti . . . sedere*); *Serv. and Schol. Bern.* ad *G.* 2.479 (*venti . . . citatu*): all noting the belief that subterranean winds cause earthquakes.}

<sup>1</sup> praecipitati *Isid. Nat.*

**12** 46M, 33Mc, 1D, 90K

Namque his<sup>1</sup> praeter solita vitiosis<sup>2</sup> magistratibus,<sup>3</sup> quom per omnem provinciam infecunditate bienni proximi grave pretium fructibus esset,<sup>4</sup>

Non. p. 314M = 491L.26–28: to illustrate *grave* = *multum* (considerable).

<sup>1</sup> LB<sup>A</sup>: eis (*praec. e*) A<sup>A</sup>: is *Mercier*    <sup>2</sup> vitiis A<sup>A</sup>    <sup>3</sup> mala aestatibus *Gerlach ed. min.*: magis aestatibus *Havercamp*: magis tractibus *Mähly*: agri tractibus *Dietsch*    <sup>4</sup> esse *codd.*

## WAR AGAINST THE DARDANI (74–73 BC), FRR. 13–14

**13** 49M, 91Mc, 8D, 54K

duba, either as a result of some other chance occurrence or, as is the view of philosophers,<sup>1</sup> owing to the impulse of wind blowing through hollows in the earth, several mountains and hills were torn apart and caved in.

<sup>1</sup>The fifth-century philosopher Archelaus (*Sen. Q Nat.* 6.12.1) or his teacher Anaxagoras (*Amm. Marc.* 17.7.11) is credited with assigning the cause of earthquakes to subterranean winds (cf. *Plin. HN* 2.192).

## 12 46M, 33Mc, 1D, 90K

*The reference to a food shortage that had grown more serious throughout a province as a result of a second poor growing season may point to the province of Transalpine Gaul, where a previous poor harvest is attested by Pompey's letter written in the autumn of 75 (fr. 2.86.9).*

For under these unusually corrupt officials, when throughout the whole province the price of produce was substantial owing to a crop failure of the previous two years,

## WAR AGAINST THE DARDANI (74–73 BC), FRR. 13–14

### 13 49M, 91Mc, 8D, 54K

*Possibly to be connected with the operations of C. Curio (cos. 76), governor of Macedonia. Amm. Marc. (29.5.22) attests Curio's ruthless measures against the Dardani living to the northwest of his province.*

Atque [cum]<sup>1</sup> Curio<sup>2</sup> laudatum ad censumque praemio-  
rum spe,<sup>3</sup> quibuscum<sup>4</sup> optavisset, ire iubet.

Non. p. 358M = 568L.16–18: to illustrate *optare* = *eligere* (to choose).

<sup>1</sup> *secl. Lindsay: om A<sup>A</sup>: eum ed. Ald. 1513*      <sup>2</sup> (*vel* Caepio)  
*Lipsius: cupio codd.*      <sup>3</sup> *spes LB<sup>A</sup>*      <sup>4</sup> *quibus A<sup>A</sup>*

14† 50M, 92Mc, 4.68D, 4.70–71K

### Curio Vulcanaliorum die ibidem moratus

Non. p. 489M = 786L.28: (assigned to “lib. IIII”): to illustrate the gen. *Vulcanaliorum*, instead of *Vulcanalium*.

{Pomp. *GL* 5.196.20 (*religione Vulcanaliorum impeditus*); Charis. *GL* 1.62.19 = p. 77B.25 (*Vulcanaliorum*); and, without assignment to S., Pomp. *GL* 5.168.18–19 (*Curio ibidem moratus regione Vulcanaliorum*): to illustrate gen. pl. *-iorum*, instead of *-ium*.}

15 48M, 34Mc, 61D, 82K<sup>1</sup>

### Oratio Macri Trib. Pleb. ad Plebem

- 1 “Si, Quirites, parum existimaretis,<sup>2</sup> quid inter ius a maioribus relictum vobis et hoc a Sulla paratum servitium

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of this speech are transmitted by V (Vat. lat. 3864, ff. 123r–24v). Citations from §§8, 12, 14, 17, and 21, as noted below, are assigned to Book 3 by Arusianus.

<sup>2</sup> *si . . . existimaretis*] *Donat. ad Ter. Phorm. 45*

And after praising and spurring him on with the hope of rewards, Curio ordered him to go with men of his own choice.

14† 50M, 92Mc, 4.68D, 4.70–71K

*Whenever possible, the Romans avoided military action on the day of the annual festival of the fire god Vulcan, August 23, since that day was made inauspicious by the defeat of Fulvius Nobilior in Spain in 153 BC (App. Hisp. 45).*

Curio delayed in the same place on the day of the Vulcanalia

15 48M, 34Mc, 61D, 82K

### The Plebeian Tribune Macer's Speech to the Commons (73 BC)

*This speech is put into the mouth of C. Licinius Macer when, as tribune in 73, he kept up the pressure for the full restoration of the powers of the plebeian tribunes. He assails the dominance of powerful political leaders in the senate. Macer wrote an annalistic history of Rome that is no longer extant (FRHist no. 27), and he was the father of the famous orator and poet Calvus, who was a friend of Catullus. Cicero judged him to be a mediocre orator (Brut. 238) and historian (Leg. 1.7).*

“If you were underestimating, Citizens, what a difference there is between the rights left you by your forefathers and this slavery imposed by Sulla, I would have to speak at

- interesset, multis mihi disserendum fuit docendique, quas ob iniurias et quotiens a patribus armata plebes secessisset utique vindices paravisset omnis iuris sui tribunos plebis:
- 2 nunc hortari modo relicuom est et ire primum via, qua  
3 capessundam arbitror libertatem. Neque me praeterit, quantas opes nobilitatis solus, inpotens inani specie magistratus pellere dominatione incipiam, quantoque tutius  
4 factio noxiorum agat quam soli innocentes. Sed praeter spem bonam ex vobis, quae metum vicit, statui certaminis advorsa pro libertate potiora esse forti viro quam omnino non certavisse.
- 5 “Quamquam omnes alii creati pro iure vostro vim cunctam et imperia sua gratia aut spe aut praemiis in vos convortere, meliusque habent mercede delinquere quam  
6 gratis recte facere. Itaque omnes concessere iam in paucorum dominationem, qui per militare nomen aerarium, exercitus, regna, provincias occupavere et arcem habent ex spoliis vestris, quom interim more pecorum vos, multitudo, singulis habendos fruendosque praebetis, exuti omnibus quae maiores reliquere, nisi quia vobismet ipsi<sup>3</sup> per suffragia, ut praesides olim, nunc dominos destinatis.
- 7 “Itaque concessere illuc omnes, at<sup>4</sup> mox, si vostra rece-

<sup>3</sup> *Laetus*: ipsis *V*

<sup>4</sup> *Kritz*: et *V*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Cat.* 33.3n.

<sup>2</sup> The tribunate, which Sulla had stripped of legislative and veto powers.



length, and you would have to be taught the injuries on account of which, and how often, the plebeians took up arms and seceded from the patricians;<sup>1</sup> and also how they established the tribunes of the commons as the protectors of all their rights. But now it only remains to offer encouragement and be the first to proceed along the path by which freedom, I think, must be grasped. And it does not escape my notice how great is the power of the nobles, whom I, a solitary, powerless individual, with the empty semblance of a magistracy,<sup>2</sup> am undertaking to drive from their tyranny; and I know how much more securely a coterie of guilty men can function as compared with innocent persons on their own. But in addition to the good hope you inspire, which has overcome my fear, I have decided that for a brave man, setbacks in a struggle for liberty are preferable to never having struggled at all. [fr. 15]

“And yet all the others, though elected to defend your rights, as a result of influence or hope or bribery have turned all their power and authority against you; and they consider it better to do wrong for hire than to do right gratuitously. Therefore, all have now submitted to the mastery of a few men, who, under the pretext of a military situation, have seized control of the treasury, armies, kingdoms and provinces. These men possess a stronghold formed from your spoils, while in the meantime you, after the fashion of cattle, offer yourselves, a great throng, to be controlled and exploited by mere individuals, after having been stripped of all that your forefathers left you, except for the fact that by your ballots you now play a direct role in designating masters for yourselves, just as formerly you did protectors.

“Therefore all men have gone over to their side, but

peritis, ad vos plerique; raris enim animus est ad ea quae  
 8 placent defendunda, ceteri validiorum sunt. An dubium  
 habetis, num officere quid vobis uno animo pergentibus  
 possit, quos languidos socordesque pertinuere? Nisi forte  
 C. Cotta, ex factione media consul, aliter quam metu iura  
 quaedam tribunis plebis restituit; et quamquam L. Sici-  
 nius, primus de potestate tribunicia loqui ausus, mussan-  
 tibus vobis circumventus erat, tamen prius illi invidiam  
 metuere, quam vos iniuriae pertaesum est.<sup>5</sup> Quod ego  
 nequeo satis mirari, Quirites, nam spem frustra fuisse in-  
 9 tellexistis. Sulla mortuo, qui scelestum inposuerat ser-  
 vitium, finem mali credebatis; ortus est longe saevior Ca-  
 10 tulus. Tumultus intercessit Bruto et Mamerco consulibus,  
 dein C. Curio ad exitium usque insontis tribuni dominatus  
 est.

11 "Lucullus superiore anno quantis animis ierit in L.  
 Quintium vidistis: quantae denique nunc mihi turbae  
 concitantur! Quae profecto incassum agebantur, si prius  
 quam vos serviundi finem, illi dominationis facturi erant,  
 praesertim cum his civilibus armis dicta alia, sed certatum

<sup>5</sup> quam . . . pertaesum est] *Arus. GL 7.500.14 = p. 229DC*

<sup>3</sup> The right to hold further political office (see fr. 2.44).

<sup>4</sup> A tribune in 76. Cic. (*Brut.* 216) gives Gnaeus as his praenomen.

<sup>5</sup> The revolt of M. Lepidus in 77.

<sup>6</sup> The tribune was Sicinius (cf. §8). The word *exitium* (destruction) need not denote death but may refer instead to an otherwise unattested, politically motivated prosecution launched by Curio (cos. 76) after Sicinius ceased to be tribune on December 10, 76.

<sup>7</sup> A tribune in 74, Quin(c)tius demanded the restoration of the powers of that office (cf. fr. 3.100).

presently, if you take back what is yours, most of them will flock to you; for just a few people have the courage to stand up for their own views; the rest are controlled by the stronger. Do you, whom men feared even in your weakness and indifference, have any doubt about whether anything can get in your way when you advance with a single purpose? Unless, perhaps, for some other motive than fear Gaius Cotta, a consul right from the core of the oligarchs, restored certain rights to the plebeian tribunes.<sup>3</sup> In fact, although Lucius Sicinius,<sup>4</sup> who was the first to dare to talk about the tribunician power, was thwarted while you only murmured, yet those opponents feared a backlash even before you had had your fill of the wrong done you. At this, Citizens, I cannot sufficiently marvel; for you realized that your hope had been in vain. On the death of Sulla, who had imposed wicked slavery upon you, you believed there was an end of evil; up rose Catulus, far more cruel. A rebellion intervened in the consulship of Brutus and MamerCUS;<sup>5</sup> then Gaius Curio played the tyrant, even to the extent of destroying a guiltless tribune.<sup>6</sup> [fr. 15]

“You have seen how vehemently Lucullus assailed Lucius Quintius last year.<sup>7</sup> Finally, what turmoil is now being stirred up against me! But assuredly that activity was in vain, if those men were intending to make an end of their mastery before you did likewise to your slavery,<sup>8</sup> especially since in this armed civil conflict, other motives have been

<sup>8</sup> I.e., surely the powerful few would not have gone to such great lengths to resist restoration of the powers of the tribunate, if it was their intention all along voluntarily to surrender their tyranny over the commons.

- 12 utrimque de dominatione in vobis sit. Itaque cetera ex licentia aut odio aut avaritia in tempus arsere;<sup>6</sup> permansit una res modo, quae utrimque quaesita est et erepta in posterum: vis tribunicia, telum a maioribus libertati paratum.
- 13 Quod ego vos moneo quaesoque ut animadvortatis neu nomina rerum ad ignaviam mutantem otium pro servitio adpelletis. Quo iam ipso frui, si vera et honesta flagitium superaverit, non est condicio; fuisset, si omnino quiessetis. Nunc animum advortere et, nisi viceritis, quoniam omnis iniuria gravitate tutior est, artius habebunt.
- 14 “Quid censes igitur?” aliquis vostrum subiecerit. Primum omnium omittendum morem hunc quem agitis<sup>7</sup> inpigrae linguae, animi ignavi, non ultra contionis locum memores libertatis. Deinde—ne vos ad virilia illa vocem, quo tribunos plebei, modo patricium magistratum, libera ab auctoribus patriciis suffragia maiores vestri paravere—quom vis omnis, Quirites, in vobis sit et quae iussa nunc

<sup>6</sup> itaque . . . arsere] *Arus. GL 7.486.30 = p. 178DC*

<sup>7</sup> omittendum (amittendum *codd. Arus.*) . . . agitis] *Arus. GL 7.453.10–11 = p. 58DC*

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<sup>9</sup> Fair-sounding but hollow slogans such as *concordia, pax, otium* (cf. *Cat.* 38.3).

<sup>10</sup> *Otium* (tranquility, freedom from troubles), the term used to mask the people's “slavery.”

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Jug.* 31.14.

<sup>12</sup> Where “liberty” is the rallying cry of the public orators.

<sup>13</sup> The second of Maccus's specific recommendations for action is postponed until §17, where *censebo* (shall advise) recalls *cenes* (advise) in §14.

<sup>14</sup> The consulship, at first a preserve almost exclusively of patricians, was opened to plebeians by a bill passed by the tribunes C. Licinius and L. Sextius in 367.

put forward,<sup>9</sup> but the struggle on both sides has been focused on mastery over you. Therefore, other disturbances have flared up for a time out of lack of restraint or hatred or avarice; only one issue has persisted, which has been the object of contention on both sides and has been snatched from you for hereafter: the tribunician power, a weapon established by your ancestors for the defense of liberty. I warn you, and I beg you to pay attention to this and not to change the names of things to suit your own cowardice, substituting the term “tranquility” for “slavery.” And there is no option to enjoy that very thing,<sup>10</sup> if wickedness triumphs over integrity and decency; there would have been the option, if you had remained altogether passive. Now they are paying attention, and if you do not gain the victory, they will hold you in tighter bonds, since every wrongful act is more shielded from retribution by its formidableness.<sup>11</sup>

“What, then, do you advise?” some one of you may interject. First of all, that you must give up this habit you maintain of being all talk and no action, forgetful of liberty outside of the place of our public meetings.<sup>12</sup> Next<sup>13</sup>—have no fear that I shall urge you to those manly deeds whereby your ancestors established tribunes of the commons, gained access to a magistracy previously patrician<sup>14</sup> and voting free of patrician oversight<sup>15</sup>—when all power is in your hands, Citizens, and you are undoubtedly able

<sup>15</sup> First the *lex Publilia* of 339 required patrician senators to sanction in advance votes taken on legislation in the centuriate assembly, thereby freeing voting from patrician oversight. Later, the *lex Hortensia* of 287/6 gave bills passed in the plebeian assembly the force of law binding on the whole community.

- pro aliis toleratis pro vobis agere aut non agere certe pos-  
16 sitis, Iovem aut alium quem deum consultorem expecta-  
tis? Magna illa consulum imperia et patrum decreta vos  
exequendo rata efficitis, Quirites, ultroque licentiam in  
17 vos auctum atque adiutum properatis. Neque ego vos ul-  
tum iniurias hortor,<sup>8</sup> magis uti requiem cupiatis, neque  
discordias, uti illi criminantur, sed earum finem volens  
iure gentium res repeto; et si pertinaciter retinebunt, non  
arma neque secessionem, tantum modo ne amplius san-  
18 guinem vestrum praebeatis censebo. Gerant habeantque  
suo modo imperia, quaerant triumphos, Mithridatem,  
Sertorium et reliquias exsulum persequantur cum imagi-  
nibus suis, absit periculum et labos, quibus nulla pars fruc-  
tus est.
- 19 “Nisi forte repentina ista frumentaria lege munia vos-  
tra pensantur; qua tamen quinque modis libertatem om-  
nium aestumavere, qui profecto non amplius possunt  
alimentis carceris. Namque ut illis exiguitate mors prohi-

<sup>8</sup> neque (ego om.) vos ultum iniurias hortor] *Arus. GL*  
7.477.29 = p. 147DC

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<sup>16</sup> The “relief” or “rest” (*quies*), as defined in the next sentence and in §18, turns out to be a form of passive resistance, viz., the refusal to lift a finger to serve or fight for their country in support of the tyranny of the oligarchs.

<sup>17</sup> Here, metaphorical: strictly speaking, the term denotes a demand made to a foreign power (as though the powerful *nobiles* at Rome were such) for restitution of stolen property (here, the tribunician powers rightfully belonging to the people).

<sup>18</sup> I.e., let them rely on their noble lineage (as represented by the wax masks, *imagines*, of their ancestors: see *Jug.* 4.5n.), in lieu of soldiers—and see how far that will take them.

to execute or to refrain from executing for your own benefit the orders to which you now submit for the benefit of others, are you waiting for the prompting of Jupiter or some other god? That lofty power of the consuls and the decrees of the senate you yourselves ratify, Citizens, by carrying them out; and you hasten voluntarily to increase and abet their license over you. Nor am I urging you to avenge the wrongs done you but instead to desire relief from them;<sup>16</sup> and I seek, according to the law of nations,<sup>17</sup> restitution of what is rightfully ours, not out of a desire for strife, as those men charge, but from a desire for an end to it. If they hold out stubbornly, I shall advise not arms and secession, but merely that you no longer shed your blood for them. Let them administer and hold their official powers in their own way; let them seek triumphs, let them pursue Mithridates, Sertorius, and the remnants of the exiles in the company of their ancestral images;<sup>18</sup> let those who have no share in the profits be free also from dangers and toil.

“Unless, perhaps, your public duties have been counterbalanced by that hastily enacted grain law,<sup>19</sup> by which they have valued the freedom of all as being worth five pecks per man, which cannot really be much greater than the rations in a prison.<sup>20</sup> For just as that scanty sup-

<sup>19</sup> Sponsored by the current consuls (of 73), it provided for the state to purchase grain in order to stabilize prices and assure an adequate supply. It gave a limited number of citizens a monthly allowance of five *modii* (pecks) at a fixed price (Cic. 2 *Verr.* 3.163, 173; 5.52).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. fr. 1.49.11, where Lepidus likened the allowance to that afforded to mere slaves.

betur, senescunt vires, sic neque absolvi<t><sup>9</sup> cura familiari  
 tam parva res et ignavi quouisque tenuissimas spes frus-  
 20 tratur.<sup>10</sup> Quae tamen quamvis ampla quoniam serviti pre-  
 tium ostentaretur, quouis torpedinis erat decipi et vos-  
 21 trarum rerum ultro iniuriae<sup>11</sup> gratiam debere? Cavendus  
 dolus est;<sup>12</sup> namque alio modo neque valent in univorsos  
 neque conabuntur. Itaque simul comparant delenimenta et  
 differunt vos in adventum Cn. Pompei, quem ipsum ubi  
 pertimuere, sublatum in cervices suas, mox dempto metu  
 22 lacerant. Neque eos pudet, vindices uti se ferunt libertatis,  
 tot viros sine uno aut remittere iniuriam non audere aut  
 23 ius non posse defendere. Mihi quidem satis spectatum est  
 Pompeium, tantae gloriae adulescentem, malle principem  
 volentibus vobis esse quam illis dominationis socium auc-  
 toremque in primis fore tribuniciae potestatis.  
 24 "Verum, Quirites, antea singuli cives in pluribus, non  
 in uno cuncti praesidia habebatis. Neque mortalium quis-  
 25 quam dare aut eripere talia unus poterat. Itaque verborum  
 26 satis dictum est; neque enim ignorantia res claudit,<sup>13</sup> ve-

<sup>9</sup> *Putschius*                    <sup>10</sup> ignavi . . . frustratur] *Gronovius*: ignam  
 quiusque tenuissimas perfrustratur *V*: ignaviam quouisque tenui-  
 ssima spe frustratur *Orelli*                    <sup>11</sup> *Kritz*: iniuria *V*                    <sup>12</sup> ca-  
 vendus dolus est] *Arus. GL 7.488.23 = p. 184DC*: post namque  
 . . . conabuntur *V*: huc *transp. Fabri*                    <sup>13</sup> neque . . . claudit]  
*Donat. ad Ter. Eun. 164*

<sup>21</sup> Text uncertain; see textual notes.

<sup>22</sup> Like slaves (*lecticarii*) carrying their master in a litter.

<sup>23</sup> After the revolt of Lepidus had been crushed with the help of Pompey's forces in 77 and he had been sent to fight Sertorius in Spain, the senate failed to give him the backing he needed to win the war (see fr. 2.86.2).



ply keeps off death in the case of prisoners, while their strength wanes, so this terribly small allowance does not relieve you of financial worry, and it disappoints the slenderest hopes of everyone who is fainthearted.<sup>21</sup> Still, no matter how great the allowance, since it was being offered as the price of your slavery, what mark of passivity was it to be taken in by it and to feel spontaneous gratitude for the misuse of your own property. You must guard against deception; for by no other means do they prevail against the people as a whole, nor will they try to. Hence, they simultaneously devise soothing measures and put you off until the coming of Gnaeus Pompey, the very man whom they raised up upon their necks<sup>22</sup> when they feared him, but presently, their fear dispelled,<sup>23</sup> they tear to pieces. And these men, self-styled defenders of liberty, despite their great number, are not ashamed not to dare to right a wrong without the backing of one man, or not to be able to defend what is right. For my own part, I am fully convinced that Pompey, a young man of such renown, prefers to be a chief figure with your consent rather than a partner in the tyranny of those men, and that he will take the lead in restoring the power of the tribunes.<sup>24</sup>

“But previously, Citizens, you, as individual members of the community, used to find safety in numbers and did not rely as a collective group on just one person. Nor was any one mortal able to give or take away such things.<sup>25</sup> I have, therefore, said enough; for it is not as a result of ignorance that the enterprise falls short, but a kind of pas-

<sup>24</sup> A thing he did as consul with Crassus in 70 (cf. *Cat.* 38.1).

<sup>25</sup> As the restoration of the powers of the tribunate.

rum occupavit nescio quae<sup>14</sup> vos torpedo, qua non gloria movemini neque flagitio, cunctaque praesenti ignavia mutavistis, abunde libertatem rati, <scilicet> quia tergis abstinetur<sup>15</sup> et huc ire licet atque illuc, munera ditium dominorum. Atque haec eadem non sunt agrestibus, sed caeduntur inter potentium inimicitias donoque dantur in provincias magistratibus. Ita pugnatur et vincitur paucis; plebes, quodcumque accidit, pro victis est et in dies magis erit, si quidem maiore cura dominationem illi retinuerint, quam vos repetiveritis libertatem.”

<sup>14</sup> *Carrio*: qua V  
I.211: scilicet om. V

<sup>15</sup> scilicet . . . abstinetur] *Serv. ad Aen.*

### THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR (73–72 BC), FRR. 16–37

16\* 19M, 9Mc, inc. 51D, inc. 17K

exercitum maiorum more vorteret

*Serv. auct. ad Aen.* 5.408 [*Serv. ibid. (exercitum vertere)*]: mistakenly to illustrate *verto* = *considero* (to examine).

sivity has taken possession of you, as a result of which neither glory nor disgrace moves you. You have traded everything for your present slothfulness and regard your freedom as ample, no doubt, because your backs are spared,<sup>26</sup> and you are allowed to go here and there—kindnesses of your rich masters. Yet even these privileges are denied to the populace in the countryside, but they are being slaughtered amid the feuds of their powerful neighbors, and they are being handed over as gifts to magistrates in the provinces.<sup>27</sup> Thus fighting and conquest are for the benefit of a few; whatever happens, the commons are treated as vanquished. And this will be more so every day, if indeed those men put more care into retaining their mastery than you do into regaining your freedom.”

<sup>26</sup> Thanks to the Porcian laws (cf. *Cat.* 51.22).

<sup>27</sup> I.e., sent to serve in wars abroad, where they are at the mercy of magistrates.

### THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR (73–72 BC), FRR. 16–37

16\* 19M, 9Mc, inc. 51D, inc. 17K

*Soon after arriving in Asia in early 73 BC, Lucullus corrected the indiscipline of the Fimbrian troops (cf. Plut. Luc. 7.3).*

he was curbing<sup>1</sup> the army in keeping with ancestral custom

<sup>1</sup> Without context, it is impossible to determine the precise meaning of *verto* (lit., “to turn” around or in some direction). Conceivably *verto* here = *ducto* (lead) or *rego* (control).

17 20M, 10Mc, 14D, 11K

equis<sup>1</sup> et armis decoribus cultus<sup>2</sup>

Prisc. *GL* 2.236.1–2, quoting this fragment and fr. 20: to illustrate the third decl. adj. *(de)decor*, *(de)decoris* = *(de)decorus*, -a, -um.

<sup>1</sup> equus *B*      <sup>2</sup> cultis *R*

18\* 21M, 11Mc, inc. 14D, 3.12K

***Curribus falcatis*** usos esse maiores et Livius et Sallustius docent.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.476

{*Schol. Stat.* ad *Theb.* 10.544: attests that S. described scythe-bearing chariots.}

19† 23M, 12Mc, 2.58D, 2.67K

At illi, quibus vires aderant, cuncti ruere ad portas, inconditi<sup>1</sup> tendere.<sup>2</sup>

Serv. ad *Ecl.* 2.4 (cited from S. “*in libro V*”): to illustrate *inconditus* = *inconscripta* (without order).

<sup>1</sup> incondita *M*, *Thilo*      <sup>2</sup> *Gerlach ed. mai.*: temnere *P*:  
tempnere *LHM*: temp̄r̄ *R*: tenere *Heinse*

20 24M, 13Mc, 74D, 91K

Dedecores<sup>1</sup> inultique<sup>2</sup> terga ab hostibus caedebantur.

Prisc. *GL* 2.236.2–3: see fr. 17.

<sup>1</sup> decores *RK*      <sup>2</sup> multique *RDKH*

**17** 20M, 10Mc, 14D, 11K

*In the war with Lucullus, in contrast with the previous conflict with Sulla, Mithridates abandoned richly appointed weapons in favor of strict discipline of his troops and weapons on the Roman model (Plut. Luc. 7.4–5).*

adorned with showy horses and arms

**18\*** 21M, 11Mc, inc. 14D, 3.12K

*Mithridates' army had a complement of scythe-bearing chariots (cf. Plut. Luc. 7.5).*

*Both Livy [37.41.5] and Sallust indicate that men of an earlier age employed **scythe-bearing chariots**.*

**19†** 23M, 12Mc, 2.58D, 2.67K

*The Roman troops under P. Rutilius Nudus, legate of M. Cotta (cos. 74), were put to flight by Mithridates outside the walls of Chalcedon and cut down in the course of a disorderly dash for the gates (cf. App. Mithr. 71).*

But those who had the strength rushed en masse to the gates and made their way in disorder.

**20** 24M, 13Mc, 74D, 91K

*Same context as fr. 19: disorderly flight of Roman soldiers.*

Shamefully and without avenging themselves, they were struck in their backs by the enemy.

**21** 26M, 14Mc, 17D, 15K

Ad Cyzicum perrexit firmatus<sup>1</sup> animi.

Arus. *GL* 7.475.10–11 = p. 139DC: to illustrate *firmatus* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ursinus*: firmatum *NI*

**22** 28M, 15Mc, 18D, 17K

castrisque conlatis, pugna tamen ingenio loci prohibebatur

Non. p. 323M = 506L.4–5: to illustrate *ingenium* = an inherent quality, applied to things (*OLD* 2).

**23** 30M, 17Mc, 20D, 21K

unde pons in oppidum pertinens explicatur

Arus. *GL* 7.503.11–12 = p. 241DC: to illustrate *pertineo* construed with *in* + acc.

**24** 31M, 18Mc, 79D, 97K

exaudirique sonus Bacchanaliorum

Non. p. 489 = 786L.27: to illustrate the spelling of the gen. pl. in *-iorum*, instead of *-ium*.

{*Bacchanaliorum*: Macrob. *Sat.* 1.4.6 (*in tertia*); Charis. *GL* 1.162.19 = p. 77B.24.}

**21** 26M, 14Mc, 17D, 15K

*After his victory over M. Cotta's forces at Chalcedon, Mithridates "moved with confidence against Cyzicus to put the town under siege" (Memnon, FGrH 434F28.1; cf. Plut. Luc. 9.1).*

With strengthened resolve, he proceeded toward Cyzicus.

**22** 28M, 15Mc, 18D, 17K

*A description of conditions in the vicinity of Cyzicus after the arrival of Mithridates, who was closely pursued by Lucullus (cf. App. Mithr. 72).*

although the camps had been placed in close proximity, fighting was nonetheless impeded by the nature of the place

**23** 30M, 17Mc, 20D, 21K

*Two bridges, or one (cf. fr. 25n.1), connected Cyzicus to the mainland (Strabo 12.8.11, p. 575).*

from where a bridge stretches out, extending into the town

**24** 31M, 18Mc, 79D, 97K

*Possibly part of S.'s description of the territory lying near Cyzicus, including Mt. Dindymon, where the goddess Cybele was worshipped (Amm. Marc. 22.8.5) with ecstatic rites similar to those of the god Bacchus.*

and the sound of Bacchanalian orgies <was able?> to be heard from afar

25 37M, 23Mc, 19D, 20K

Duos<sup>1</sup> quam maximos utris levi tabulae subiecit, qua<sup>2</sup> super omni corpore quietus invicem tracto pede<sup>3</sup> quasi gubernator existeret; ea inter molem<sup>4</sup> atque<sup>5</sup> insulam mari vitabundus classem hostium<sup>6</sup> ad oppidum pervenit.

Non. p. 186M = 274L.18–21: to illustrate *vitabundus* meaning *vitans* (avoiding).

<sup>1</sup> *om. L*

<sup>2</sup> *corr. ed. a. 1480: quam codd.*

<sup>3</sup> *ed. Ald. 1513: pedes codd.*

<sup>4</sup> *corr. ed. a. 1470: inolem codd.*

<sup>5</sup> *Junius: quae codd.*

<sup>6</sup> *honestium L*

26 33M, 19Mc, 36D, 41K

quarum<sup>1</sup> unam epistulam<sup>2</sup> forte cum servo nanti praedatores Valeriani scorpione<sup>3</sup> in castra misere

Non. p. 553M = 888L.22–23: to give an instance of the noun *scorpio* (OLD 3), a form of catapult, apparently sometimes hand held (Veg. *Mil.* 4.22.6), capable of discharging arrows, vel. sim., at close range and in rapid succession (Caes. *B Gall.* 7.25.2–3).

<sup>1</sup> *quorum Quichert*

<sup>2</sup> *Junius: una epistula codd.*

<sup>3</sup> *Junius: scorpionem codd.*



## 25 37M, 23Mc, 19D, 20K

*By means of a floatation device, a Roman soldier sent by Lucullus managed to slip through enemy lines, covering a distance of some seven miles by sea and entering Cyzicus to encourage the people to hold out against Mithridates on the assurance that Lucullus' army was coming to their aid (Frontin. Str. 3.13.6; Flor. 1.40.16; Oros. 6.2.14).*

He placed two [inflated] leather sacks of the largest size possible underneath a light board, on top of which, while remaining still with this whole body, he played the part of a steersman, as it were, by trailing each foot by turns. After this fashion, he came to the town by sea, between the breakwater and island,<sup>1</sup> taking evasive action against the enemy's fleet.

<sup>1</sup> According to Frontin. (Str. 3.13.6), the island [*sic*] on which the city lay was connected to the mainland by a single, narrow bridge.

## 26 33M, 19Mc, 36D, 41K

*The Romans taunt Mithridates after intercepting one of his letters that was possibly sent to request reinforcements and supplies (so Dietsch) or to broach the subject of desertion on the part of Lucullus' two Valerian legions (so Maurenbr. citing App. Mithr. 72 and Memnon, FGrH 434F28.2).*

pillaging Valerians<sup>1</sup> by chance stumbled upon one of these letters along with the slave [messenger carrying it] and sent it back into the camp by means of a catapult

<sup>1</sup> The Valerians comprised two legions in Lucullus' army. They had been sent to Asia Minor more than a decade earlier under the command of L. Valerius Flaccus (cos. 86) to fight in the First Mithridatic War (App. *Mithr.* 72).

27\* 34M, 20Mc, 23D, 24K

et onere turrium incertis navibus

Serv. auct. ad *Aen* 1.576: mistakenly to illustrate *incertus* meaning *tardus* (slow), when, in fact, in S. it means “unsteady” (*OLD* 13).

28 35M, 21Mc, 21D, 22K

manus ferreas et alia adnexu<sup>1</sup> idonea inicere

Arus. *GL* 7.487.8–9 = p. 179DC: to illustrate the adj. *idoneus* + supine.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindemann*: adnexa *NI*

29 36M, 22Mc, 22D, 23K

Saxaque ingentia et orbis axe<sup>1</sup> iuncti per pronum incitabantur, axibusque eminebant<sup>2</sup> in modum erici<sup>3</sup> militaris veruta binum pedum.

Non. p. 554.30–555M.3 = 890L: to illustrate the noun *verutum*, defined as a short, thin missile (*telum beve et angustum*).

{*in modum ericii militaris* (Serv. ad *Aen*. 9.503, and *Isid. Etym.* 18.12.6): to illustrate the noun *ericius* (hedgehog), a military device named after the animal.}

<sup>1</sup> *Turnebus*: ingentia turbae saxae *codd.* <sup>2</sup> *A*<sup>A</sup>: minebant  
*L B*<sup>A</sup>: minabant (*Bamb.*) *C*<sup>A</sup> <sup>3</sup> *Lindsay*: ericii *ed. Ald.* 1513:  
erigi *L A*<sup>A</sup>: erigo *C*<sup>A</sup>: hirci *B*<sup>A</sup>: iricii *Serv., Isid.*

30† 4.16M, 4.50Mc, 3.26D, K

**27\*** 34M, 20Mc, 23D, 24K

*At the siege of Cyzicus, Mithridates attacked the wall of the town by means of a bridge lowered from a tower erected on two quinqueremes lashed together (App. Mithr. 73-74).*

and the ships being unsteady owing to the burden  
of towers

**28** 35M, 21Mc, 21D, 22K

*The defenders of Cyzicus used various methods to thwart Mithridates' siege engines and battering rams (App. Mithr. 74).*

they hurled [against the siege engines?] grappling  
irons and other devices suitable for forming an at-  
tachment

**29** 36M, 22Mc, 22D, 23K

*From high ground, the besieged people of Cyzicus rolled heavy objects down the slope to smash Mithridates' engines of war (cf. App. Mithr. 74).*

Huge boulders and wheels joined with an axle were set rolling down the slope, and from the axles projected thin darts, each two feet long, arranged after the fashion of a military hedgehog.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A wooden beam with projecting spikes used in war to form a barrier. (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.67.5)

**30†** 4.16M, 4.50Mc, 3.26D, K

*Although both Nonius and Priscian assign this fragment to Book 4, the description most closely resembles circumstances that occurred during the siege of Cyzicus in the winter of 73/72, when a*

Quasi<sup>1</sup> par in oppido festinatio, et ingens terror erat ne ex latere nova munimenta madore infirmarentur; nam omnia oppidi stagnabant, redundantibus cloacis advorso aestu maris.

Non. p. 138M = 200L.4–6: to illustrate the noun *mador*.

{Prisc. GL 2.235.3–4 (*munimenta madore infirmarentur*): to illustrate the noun *mador*, *-oris*; Exc. Bob. GL 1.552.12: attesting S.'s use of *mador* in the *Historiae*.} Both Non. and Prisc. assign to bk 4.

<sup>1</sup> quas C<sup>A</sup> D<sup>A</sup>

31\* 38M, 24Mc, 27D, 28K

et morbi graves ob inediam insolita<sup>1</sup> vescentibus

Donat. ad Ter. *Hec*. 337: to illustrate the adj. *gravis* with *morbus*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindembrog*: *insolitam codd.*

32\* 39M, 25Mc, 28D, 27K

Ordinem secutus est (sc. Virgilius in peste describenda) quem et Lucretius tenuit et Sallustius: primo **aerem**, inde **aquam**, post **pabula** esse **corrupta**.

Serv. ad G. 3.481.

*violent storm suddenly fell upon and wrecked Mithridates' naval siege engines (Plut. Luc. 10.3). It caused consternation in the city as well, part of whose wall had hastily been repaired shortly before the storm (App. Mithr. 74).*

In the town there was nearly equal scurrying and tremendous fear that the new fortifications of brick<sup>1</sup> might be weakened by the damp; for all regions of the town were flooded seeing that the underground drains were overflowing from the incoming swell of the sea.

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *ex latere* can also mean "from the side" (so McGushin and Frassinetti, "di lato"), if *latere* is to be construed as the abl. of *latus* (neut.). However, in this context, *latere* is better interpreted as abl. of *later* (m.), "brick" (so Kritz). Cf. Cato, *Agr.* 14.4, *parietes ex latere* (walls of brick), and S. *Hist.* fr. 4.70, *lateribus*.

**31\*** 38M, 24Mc, 27D, 28K

*At the siege of Cyzicus, Mithridates' army was cut off from supplies by Lucullus and suffered starvation and plague during the winter 73/72, causing them even to resort to cannibalism (App. Mithr. 76; Strabo 12.8.11, p. 576; Plut. Luc. 11.1-2).*

and serious illnesses <befell?> those eating unaccustomed fare on account of starvation

**32\*** 39M, 25Mc, 28D, 27K

*Plague in the camp of Mithridates at the siege of Cyzicus in winter 73/72.*

*[In describing the plague, Virgil] follows the order adhered to by Lucretius and Sallust: first the air, then the water, lastly the fodder were infected.*

**33\*** 78M, 26Mc, deest in D et K

quia prominens aquilonibus<sup>1</sup> minus gravescit quam  
cetera

*Adnot. super Luc.* 6.104: to explicate Lucan's description of how the North wind, blowing over the sea, lessened the effect of the pestilence in Pompey's camp at Dyrrachium in 48.

<sup>1</sup> G: aquilo WV

**34\*** 1.43M, 3.27Mc, 3.25D, 3.29K

ne simplici quidem morte moriebantur

Serv. ad G. 3.482: explicating a line describing torturous death in a plague

**35** 40M, 28Mc, 72D, 87K

ut sustinere corpora plerique nequeunt arma sua  
quisque stans<sup>1</sup> incumberet

Arus. *GL* 7.478.26–27 = p. 151DC: to illustrate *incumbere* + acc. of thing.

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 9.227 (*ut fessi arma sua quisque stantes incumbere*): to illustrate the stance of Roman soldiers after experiencing fatigue from long periods of standing in place.}

<sup>1</sup> *Gerlach ed. mai.*: instans NI Arus.: stantes Serv.

**33\*** 78M, 26Mc, not included in D and K

*Possibly describing some region of Cyzicus that was less troubled by the outbreak of pestilence owing to the healthy air brought by the North Wind, as in the passage of Lucan on which the scholiast commented (so La Penna). Maurenbr., on the contrary, assigned this fragment to a description of the Tauric Chersonesus.*

because, jutting out, it was less burdened than the other regions thanks to the North Wind

**34\*** 1.43M, 3.27Mc, 3.25D, 3.29K

*Possibly describing deaths in the plague at the siege of Cyzicus (so Kritz and La Penna). Maurenbr., on the contrary, linked these words to the death of Marius Gratidianus (see fr. 1.36) and other victims of Sulla's bloodletting, comparing Oros. 5.21.6, "and the pathway of death itself was not simple, nor was it the only suffering" (nec ipsius mortis erat via simplex aut una condicio).*

they were dying from multifarious deaths

**35** 40M, 28Mc, 72D, 87K

*Either (a) a description of the defenders of Cyzicus, faint with hunger (cf. similar language in Liv. 5.48.7 describing the Gallic siege of Rome in 390/387), or (b) a description of those of Lucullus' soldiers who fell behind, worn out by the cold of winter and fatigue, when in pursuit of Mithridates' forces withdrawing from Cyzicus (Plut. Luc. 11.4).*

so that the majority, being unable to support the weight of their bodies, stood each leaning on his own arms

36\* 42M, 29Mc, 29D, 30K

Σαλουστίου . . . τότε πρώτον ὄφθαι Ῥωμαίοις  
καμήλους λέγοντος

Plut. *Luc.* 11.6.

[Cf. Amm. Marc. 23.6.56, *cameli a Mithridate exinde perducti et primitus in obsidione Cyzicena visi Romanis.*]

37\* 29M, 16Mc, 16D, K

*laudat Sallustius duces, qui<sup>1</sup> victoriam incruento exercitu reportaverunt*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.421; Isid. *Etym.* 18.2.1.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Isid.*

<sup>2</sup> *deportasse Isid.*

THE SLAVE UPRISING LED  
BY SPARTACUS: YEAR ONE  
(73 BC), FRR. 38–45

38 90M, 60Mc, deest in D et K

*Spartacus princeps gladiatorum, de illis quattuor et*



**36\*** 42M, 29Mc, 29D, 30K

*The scene, according to Plut., is the siege of Cyzicus, when Lucullus brought back a large number of prisoners and pack animals captured at the battle near the river Rhyndacus. Amm. Marc. (loc. cit.), without referring to S., similarly mentions "camels brought by Mithridates from there [the land of the Bactrians: mod. N. Afghanistan] and seen by the Romans for the first time at the siege of Cyzicus."*

*Sallust says that camels were then seen by the Romans for the first time.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The novelty to which S. drew attention was the Romans' first encounter with camels having two humps (the Bactrian species). The single-humped Arabian dromedary was well known to them.

**37\*** 29M, 16Mc, 16D, K

*Lucullus cut off Mithridates' supplies, forcing him to lift the siege of Cyzicus, thus winning a bloodless victory (Oros. 6.2.20; cf. Plut. Luc. 9.3; App. Mithr. 72).*

*Sallust praises generals who have brought back a victory without spilling the army's blood*

THE SLAVE UPRISING LED  
BY SPARTACUS: YEAR ONE  
(73 BC), FRR. 38-45

**38** 90M, 60Mc, not included in D and K

*The slave uprising began with the escape of Spartacus and seventy-four fellow gladiators from a training school (ludus) in Capua (Liv. Per. 95).*

*Spartacus, chief of the gladiators, one of those 74 who*

*septuaginta qui ludo egressi, ut Sallustius in tertio historiarum refert, grave proelium cum populo Romano gesserunt.*

Schol. Γ ad Hor. *Epod.* 16.5.

**39** 91M, 61Mc, 13D, 10K

ingens ipse virium atque animi

Arus. *GL* 7.480.21 = p. 157DC: to illustrate *ingens* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

**40\*** 93M, 62Mc, inc. 21D, 3.67K

Sin vis obsistat, ferro quam fame aequius perituros

Serv. ad *Aen.* 3.265: to illustrate the painful nature of hunger.

**41\*** 94M, 63Mc, 65D, 75K

Cossinius<sup>1</sup> in proxuma villa fonte lavabatur.

Cledon. *GL* 5.59.11: to illustrate the passive of *lavo* meaning “to wash” = “to wash oneself” (*OLD* 2b).

<sup>1</sup> *Kritz*: Cossutius *cod.*

**42** 96M, 64Mc, 67D, 77K

*escaped from a gladiatorial establishment and fought a major battle with the Roman people, as Sallust reports in Book 3 of his Histories.*

**39** 91M, 61Mc, 13D, 10K

*Plut. (Crass. 8.3) thus describes Spartacus.*

being himself mighty in strength and spirit

**40\*** 93M, 62Mc, inc. 21D, 3.67K

*The attempt of the Roman praetor Clodius (C. Claudius Glaber) to trap Spartacus and his followers in their place of refuge on Mt. Vesuvius failed when the runaways escaped by means of ladders constructed of vines and lowered from a sheer cliff (cf. Plut. Crass. 9.2).*

But if force blocks the way, <Spartacus reminded his followers that?> it would be preferable for them to perish by the sword than by hunger

**41\*** 94M, 63Mc, 65D, 75K

*Spartacus surprised and nearly captured L. Cossinius, a praetor commanding forces sent against him, when Cossinius was bathing near Salinae, not far from Pompeii (Plut. Crass. 9.5).*

In a nearby villa, Cossinius was washing in a spring.

**42** 96M, 64Mc, 67D, 77K

*Events leading up to the sound defeat of Roman forces under the praetor P. Varinius in 73 at the hands of Spartacus: at one point the fugitive slaves made a strategic, nighttime withdrawal from their camp, dressing up the scene with corpses propped up to look like sentries in order to fool the Romans (cf. Frontin. Str. 1.5.22). (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

- 1 [A] . . . <sudes<sup>1</sup> ig>|ni torrere, quibus praeter | speciem  
 bello necessariam | haud multo secus quam | ferro noceri  
 poterat.
- 2 At | Varinius, dum haec aguntur a fugitivis, aegra parte  
 militum autumnī gravitate, neque ex postrema | fuga,  
 quom<sup>2</sup> severo edicto | iuberentur,<sup>3</sup> ullis ad signa redeun-  
 tibus,<sup>4</sup> et qui relicui erant, per summa flagitia detractan-  
 tibus militiam, quaestorem suum | C. Thoranium, ex quo  
 praesente vera facillime<sup>5</sup> noscerentur<r, Roma>m<sup>6</sup> mise-  
 rat;<sup>7</sup> et talmen interim cum<sup>8</sup> vellentibus numero quattuor  
 3 [B] <milium, iuxta illos castra | poni>t va<llo, fossa, per-  
 mag>|nis<sup>9</sup> operibus commun<ita>. |
- 4 Deinde fugitivi, con<sump>|tis iam alimentis, ne  
 p<rae>|dantibus ex propin<quo hos>|tis instaret, soliti  
 m<ore mi>|littiae vigiliās sta<tiones>|que et alia munia  
 ex<equi; | secunda vigilia, <silentio> | cuncti egredi<untur  
 re>|licto bucinato<re in cas>|tris; et ad vigil<um speciem>

A–D = four columns of text, each originally 21 lines in length and 18–23 letter-spaces in width, inscribed on the recto (AB) and verso (CD) of a single leaf forming one-half of a partially preserved double leaf (bifolium) that once belonged to the so-called Fleury manuscript (*Floriacensis*), which most likely contained a complete text of S.'s *Historiae*. The two leaves are preserved as fol. 92r–v (containing this fragment) and fol. 93r–v (containing fr. 44) of the codex *Vaticanus Reginensis 1283B* (R). Ends of lines in the manuscript are indicated by |, from which it can be seen that there are sizeable gaps at the end of lines in the right-hand column of the recto (B) and at the beginning of lines of the corresponding left-hand column of the verso (C), owing to the loss of the outer edge of the leaf. Italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain.

... with fire to harden *stakes* by charring them, by which, [fr. 42] besides the look required for war, it was possible to inflict virtually as much injury as with steel.

But while these activities were being performed by the runaways, since part of the soldiers were ill owing to the oppressive autumn weather, and since after the most recent flight neither were any of the soldiers returning to their regiments, although they had been ordered to do so by a stern edict, and those who were left were shirking their military duties in a most shameful fashion, Varinius had sent his quaestor Gaius Thoranius to Rome so that from him in person a true assessment of the situation might most easily be made. Meanwhile, nevertheless, with those who were willing, [B] some 4,000 in number, *he pitched a camp near the enemy*, one fortified with a *rampart, ditch*, and vast earthworks.

Afterward the runaways, now that their supply of food had been used up, were accustomed to carry out in military fashion watches and guard duty and other functions so as to prevent the enemy from pressing upon them while they were raiding from close by; in the second watch [of the night] they went out enmasse, in silence, leaving behind in camp a trumpeter; and to give onlookers from a

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<sup>1</sup> *Kritz*: hastas *Maurenbr. ex Serv. ad Aen.* 9.740  
<sup>2</sup> cum R      <sup>3</sup> *Dousa*: iuverentur R      <sup>4</sup> *Dousa*:  
 deeuntibus R      <sup>5</sup> facillime R      <sup>6</sup> noscerentu<r Roma>m]  
*Dousa*: noscerentum R      <sup>7</sup> *Dousa*: miserant R      <sup>8</sup> quom  
 R (cf. *Ep.* 1.6.5, 1.7.4; *TLL* 4.1339.65–1340.17)      <sup>9</sup> <milium  
 ... permag>nis] *Maurenbr.*: <milium loco tuto castra poni>t va<llo  
 aliisque mag>nis *Hauler*

- | procul visen<tibus palis<sup>10</sup> ere>|xerant fulta <ante por-  
 tam><sup>11</sup> | recentia ca<davera et cre>|lbros igni<s fecerant  
 for>|midine f . . . <Va>|rini <milites . . . i>|te<r> . . . |\* \* \* |  
 5 \* \* \* [C] \* \* \* | . . . oa . . . | . . . inviis convertere. At<sup>12</sup> |  
 <Var>inius multa iam luce | <desi>derans solita a fugil<tivis>  
 convicia et in casl<tra c>|oniectus lapidum, | <ad ho>c stre-  
 pitus tumull<usque e>t sonores undique | <urgent>ium,<sup>13</sup>  
 mittit equites <in tumul>um circum pro<minentem>, ut  
 6 explorarent, | <insequente>s<sup>14</sup> propere vestil<gia. Sed  
 fugativ>os<sup>15</sup> credens lon<ge abesse muni>to<sup>16</sup> tamen  
 agl<mine insidia>s pavens se | <recepit, ut exercitu>m  
 duplil<caret novis militibus. At> Cumas | . . . ga | \* \* \* | \*  
 7 \* \* [D] \* \* \* | . . . <Post> | aliquot<sup>17</sup> dies contra contra molrem  
 8 fiducia augeri nosl<tris coepit et promi lingua. | Qua Vari-  
 nius contra sl<pectatam rem incaute<sup>18</sup> | motus novos  
 incognitosl<que et aliorum casibus per<culosos milites ducit  
 tamen | ad castra fugitivorum | presso gradu, silentis iam |  
 neque tam magnifice sumentis proelium quam postulla-  
 9 verant. Atque illi certal<mine consili inter se iuxlta<sup>19</sup> sedi-  
 tionem erant, Crilxo et gentis eiusdem Gallis atque  
 Germanis obviam | ire et ultro <of>ferre<sup>20</sup> pugnam | cu-  
 pientibus, contra Sparta<co impetum dissuadente>.

<sup>10</sup> *Maurenbr.*: visen<tibus ere>xerant *vulgo* <sup>11</sup> ante  
 portam] *Maurenbr. ex Frontin. Str. 1.5.22*: palis fixis  
*Kritz* <sup>12</sup> ad R <sup>13</sup> *Hauler*: ruentium *Kreyssig*: inru-  
 entium *Jordan* <sup>14</sup> *Maurenbr.*: fugitivos *Kritz*: insidiato-  
 res *Hauler* <sup>15</sup> *Maurenbr.* <sup>16</sup> munito] *Hauler*  
<sup>17</sup> *Dousa*: aliquod R <sup>18</sup> *Dousa*: incautae R <sup>19</sup> *Dousa*:  
 iusta R <sup>20</sup> *Dousa*: ferre R

distance the appearance of watchmen, they had propped up with stakes, *in front of the gate*, fresh corpses and had kindled numerous fires *so that Varinius' soldiers . . . out of fear . . . a journey . . .* [2 lines are missing] [C] [2 lines are missing] . . . inaccessible <regions?> . . . to turn back. But Varinius, now that it was quite light, missing the accustomed jeers from the runaways and the volleys of stones into his camp, besides the din and uproar and noise of those bustling all about, sent cavalry up onto a mound having a prospect in all directions to reconnoiter and quickly *follow after* their tracks. Yet, although he believed *the runaways were far off*, nonetheless *he withdrew with a reinforced line of march*, dreading *an ambush, with the goal of doubling the size of his army with fresh soldiers*. But to Cumae . . . [3 lines are missing] [D] [2 lines are missing] . . . <*after*> some days, contrary to their past behavior, the confidence of our troops began to increase and be expressed in speech. Varinius was incautiously stirred by this in the face of observed reality, and he led troops, though raw and untried and demoralized by the mishap of the others, in the direction of the camp of the runaways at a steady pace; the men were now remaining silent and were not so boastful in taking up battle as they had been in demanding it. And the enemy were close to mutiny in their own ranks thanks to dissension over strategy: Crixus and his fellow Gauls and Germans desiring to go on the offensive and give battle of their own accord, while Spartacus on the contrary <*urged against an attack*> . . .

43 97M, 65Mc, 66D, 76K

incidere in colonos Abellanos praesidentis agros  
suos

Arus. *GL* 7.498.26 = p. 223DC: to illustrate *praesideo* + acc. of thing.

44 98M, 66Mc, 67D, 77K

- 1 [A] . . . | . . . <ali>lenis<sup>1</sup> et ei . . . | ne, qua <ratione<sup>2</sup> vagarentur a>d | id temp<oris . . . tu>mlque seclu<derentur itinere<sup>3</sup> ia>m | et extin<guerentur<sup>4</sup> . . . simu>l | curam . . . is|set hau<d . . . i>taque<sup>5</sup> | quam c<elerrime abirent.
- 2 H>aud | aliam f<ugae rationem c>apilundam<sup>6</sup> <sibi esse pauci> prudentes p<robare, liberi ani>mi inobiles<que, ceteri> . . . laudantque, q<uod ille iubet fac>ere; | pars sto<lidè copi>is adffluenti<bus ferocique inge>nio fildens, ali<i inhonest>e patrilae inmem<ores, at plu>rumi<sup>7</sup> | servili <indole nihil> ultra | prae<dam et crudeli>tatem<sup>8</sup> | <appe-

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<sup>1</sup> *alieni Hauler*                      <sup>2</sup> *Dietsch*                      <sup>3</sup> *secluderentur*  
itinere] *Dietsch*                      <sup>4</sup> *Dietsch*



43 97M, 65Mc, 66D, 76K

*After their victory over Varinius (see preceding fragment), Spartacus and his followers overran the whole of Campania (Flor. 2.8.5).*

they happened upon farmers of Abella,<sup>1</sup> safeguarding their fields

<sup>1</sup> A town in Campania.

44 98M, 66Mc, 67D, 77K

*Several no longer extant leaves must have separated the leaf bearing this fragment from the leaf joined to it and bearing fr. 42 since now Spartacus counsels his followers to flee from Italy, back to their respective native lands, but the slaves prefer plunder. They overrun southern Campania and proceed farther south into Lucania. Brutal atrocities are committed before the praetor Varinius can take the field with a reinvigorated army. Italic type in the translation signifies that the supplements to the lacunose text in sections A and D are highly conjectural.*

[A] . . . [2 lines are missing] . . . *other* and . . . <fearing> that, *in the fashion in which they were wandering up until that time . . . they might be cut off on their journey and destroyed . . . at the same time* the concern . . . and in this way to get away as quickly as possible. A few sensible individuals, those of a *free and noble spirit*, approved the need to adopt precisely this *policy of flight, others . . .* and they praised that *which he [Spartacus] ordered them to do*. Some [of the fugitives] *stupidly* relying on the recruits pouring in *and on their fierce temperament*, others *dishonorably having no thought* for their native lands, but

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<sup>5</sup> *Hauler*      <sup>6</sup> c>apielendam R      <sup>7</sup> immem<ores, at  
plu>rimi] Jordan      <sup>8</sup> praedam et crudelitatem] *Hauler*

- tere . . . [B] . . . | . . . | cons<ilium . . . op>ltimum<sup>9</sup> vide-  
 3 batur. Deiniceps monet in <l>axioris agros | magisque  
 pecuarios | ut egrediantur, ubi, priu<s>|quam refecto ex-  
 exercitu | adesset Varinius, auger<e>|tur numerus lectis  
 vir<is>; | et prope nactus idoneum ex captivis ducem |  
 Picentinis, deinde Eburilnis iugis occultus ad N<a>|ris  
 Lucanas, atque inde prima luce pervenit ad Anni Forum,  
 4 ignaris cultoribus. Ac statim fugitivi co<n>|tra praecep-  
 tum ducis | rapere ad stuprum virg<i>|nes matr<ona>|sque,<sup>10</sup>  
 et alii . . . [C] . . . | . . . | . . . n>unc resistentes et eludebant  
 simul | nefandum in modum per<verso> volnere, et  
 interdum lacerum corpus semianimum omittentes; | alii  
 in tecta iaciebant ignis, multique ex loco servi, quos in-  
 genium socios dabat, abdita a domilnis aut ipsos trahebant  
 | ex occulto; neque sanctum | aut nefandum quicquam |  
 5 fuit irae barbarorum | et servili ingenio. Quae | Spartacus  
 nequens prohibere, multis precibus<sup>11</sup> quom | oraret, cele-  
 ritate praeverterent <de re><sup>12</sup> nuntios [D] . . . | . . . | . . .  
 6 tur neque | e . . . <odiu>|m in se | c<onvertere>. Quo>s  
 crudel<iter> caedibus occ>upatos | a<c> . . . gravis ple<r>|ique  
 . . . a>t illum dilem <atque proxumam><sup>13</sup> noctem | ib<idem>  
 commoratu>s duplica<to iam> fugitiv>orum nulme<ro><sup>14</sup>  
 castra movet p>|rima cum | luc<e> et consedit> in campo |

<sup>9</sup> timum R      <sup>10</sup> Ac statim fugitivi . . . matronasque] Non.  
 p. 456M = 731L.14-15      <sup>11</sup> praecibus R      <sup>12</sup> Hauler  
<sup>13</sup> Kreyszig      <sup>14</sup> duplicato . . . numero] Kritze

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<sup>1</sup> The precise location of this town, probably in southern Cam-  
 pania, is not known.      <sup>2</sup> Taking their name from the Lucanian  
 town Eburum ca. twelve miles to the east and slightly north of  
 Nares Lucanae.

the vast majority owing to their slavish disposition *sought nothing beyond booty and cruelty* . . . [B] . . . [2 lines are missing] . . . seemed the best plan. Afterward, he advised them to go out into more open territory, more abounding in cattle, where their number might be increased with picked men, before Varinius appeared with a reinvigorated army; and after quickly obtaining a suitable guide from the captives taken at Picentia,<sup>1</sup> he then in concealment came to Nares Lucanae by way of the Eburian hills<sup>2</sup> and from there he reached Anni Forum<sup>3</sup> at first light, without the inhabitants being aware of their approach. And immediately the runaways, contrary to the order of their leader, raped the maidens and wives, and others . . . [C] . . . [2 lines are missing] . . . those now putting up resistance, and at the same time they treated them outrageously by inflicting malicious wounds in an unspeakable manner and at times by leaving in their wake mutilated, half-alive bodies. Others tossed fire into houses, and many slaves from the region, whose temperament made them natural allies, dragged out property hidden by their masters and their masters themselves from their places of concealment. Nothing was sacred or off limits to the wrath of the barbarians and to their servile temperament. Spartacus, being unable to prevent these acts, when he begged them with many prayers quickly to forestall messengers *concerning their deed* [D] . . . [2 lines are missing] . . . nor . . . to *turn hatred* against themselves. Those who were cruelly *engaged with slaughter and* . . . serious, the majority . . . *but after staying in the same place* that day and the following night, now that the number of runaways had

<sup>3</sup> Location in Lucania unknown.

- sat<is lato, ubi colo>nos<sup>15</sup> aedific<i>is e<gressos videt>; et  
 tum | mat<ura in agri>s erant | autu<mni frume>nta.<sup>16</sup> |  
 7 Sed in<colae iam ple>no die gna<ri ex <fuga finit>u-  
 morum | fugi<tivos ad se a>dventare, p<roperant cum  
 o>mnibus | <suis in montes vicinos>.

<sup>15</sup> satis lato et colonos Kritz      <sup>16</sup> ex Porphy. ad Hor.  
*Epist. 2.1.140, nam et autumnus frumenta Sallustius dixit*

45 99M, 67Mc, 69D, 79K

Vnus constitit<sup>1</sup> in agro Lucano gnarus loci, nomine Publi-  
 por.

Prisc. *GL* 2.236.14–15: to illustrate a compound noun having the  
 element *-por* (= *puer*); cf. Prob. *GL* 4.16.18, the third decl. noun  
 Publipor in S.

<sup>1</sup> consistit *K*

FINAL PHASE OF PIRATE WAR  
 WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS  
 (73–72 BC), FRR. 46–54

*An Account of the Geography and  
 History of Crete (frr. 46–51)*

46\* 10M, 68Mc, 57D, 60K

doubled, *he moved camp with first light and took up a position in quite a wide plain, where he saw that the farmers had come out of their buildings; and the grain of autumn was then ripe in the fields.*

*But now in the full light of day, the inhabitants being aware from the flight of their neighbors that the runaways were drawing near to them, had hastened with all the members of their families <into the nearby mountains>.*

**45** 99M, 67Mc, 69D, 79K

*Lucania was overrun by Spartacus and his followers.*

There existed<sup>1</sup> in the Lucanian district a single man acquainted with the region, Publipor by name.

<sup>1</sup> Or “halted” (sc. from flight)—so Kritz—if *constitit* is perf. of *consisto*, rather than *consto*. It is impossible to tell without more context.

FINAL PHASE OF PIRATE WAR  
WAGED BY M. ANTONIUS  
(73–72 BC), FRR. 46–54

*An Account of the Geography and  
History of Crete (fr. 46–51)*

**46\*** 10M, 68Mc, 57D, 60K

*In 73, Marcus Antonius moved with his fleet against the pirates in Crete, which the first-century AD geographer Pomponius Mela (2.112) similarly describes as being situated “mid sea” (in medio mari), a description of Crete’s location that may be traced back to Homer (Od. 19.172).*

**MEDIO PONTO**, *potest quidem intellegi secundum Salustium longe a continenti.*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.104: to explicate Virgil's description of Crete as lying *medio ponto*.

**47\*** 11M, 69Mc, 58D, 61K

*Creta altior est qua parte spectat orientem.*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 6.23: to explicate Virgil's description of Crete as *elata mari* (raised up out of the sea).

**48\*** 12M, 70Mc, 30D, 34K

*Tota autem insula modica et cultibus variis est.*

Mart. Cap. 5.520 (p. 180W.19–20): in a discussion of prose rhythm, to illustrate the need for an anapest (in this instance, *variis*), or cretic, to precede a final monosyllabic word that is short (*est*).

The expression "*mid sea*" can be understood, according to Sallust, to mean far from the mainland.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If *medio ponto*—or more likely *medio mari* (cf. Mela 2.112)—is what S. wrote (so Maurenbr.), and *longe a continenti* are not S.'s words (as Kritz and Dietsch assumed), then Servius possibly misunderstood S.'s point, which was to indicate that Crete lies at the intersection of several seas: the Aegean and Cretan on the north, the Libyan on the south (so Strabo 10.4.2, p. 474).

47\* 11M, 69Mc, 58D, 61K

Part of S.'s description of Crete. It is not clear whether Servius is quoting or paraphrasing.

Crete is more elevated in the region where it faces east.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In fact, the highest elevations are Mt. Ida in the central region, and the Leuca Mountains in the west (Strabo 10.4.4, p. 475).

48\* 12M, 70Mc, 30D, 34K

If, as Maurenbr. speculated, this fragment formed part of S.'s description of Crete (cf. *fr.* 46–47), *modica* (*moderate*) is best interpreted as a reference to Crete's climate—between the extremes of Scythia in the north and Cyrenica in the south—thus complementing the mention of a variety of crops (especially vines and trees: *Solin.* 11.12; *Isid. Etym.* 14.6.16). Less apt is "of moderate size" (so McGushin, in agreement with Frassinetti), since Crete ranks fifth in size among islands of the Mediterranean (after Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, and Corsica).

Moreover, the whole island is temperate and subject to various forms of cultivation.

49\* 13M, 71Mc, 59D, 62K

*est . . . Otus in Creta, secundum Sallustium; unde  
Otii campi*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.578: in commenting on S.'s placement of Otus in Crete (a giant best known for joining with his brother Ephialtes in assaulting heaven by attempting to pile Mt. Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa in the region of Thessaly, on the mainland of Greece [Hom. *Od.* 11.305–20]).

50\* 14M, 72Mc, 60D, 63–64K

*Hanc totam opinionem, quasi a poetis fictam, Sal<l>ustius respuit, uoluitque ingeniose interpretari, cur altores Iouis dicantur Curetes fuisse; et sic ait:*

**quia principes intellegendi divini fuerunt, vetustatem, uti cetera, in maius componentem, altores Iouis celebravisse.**

Lactant. *Div. inst.* 1.21.41.

{Cf. Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.104, Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.352: S. accounted for the belief that Jupiter was raised in Crete by observing that the Cretans were traditionally viewed as the inventors of religion.}



49\* 13M, 71Mc, 59D, 62K

*Part of S.'s description of Crete (cf. frs. 46–48).*

*. . . **Otus is in Crete**,<sup>1</sup> according to Sallust; whence the plains of Otus<sup>2</sup> [take their name]*

<sup>1</sup> The bones of a giant 46 cubits (= ca. 67 feet) tall were said to have been uncovered in Crete when a mountain was split apart by an earthquake; some identified them with Otus, some with the giant hunter Orion (Plin. *HN* 7.73). According to Solinus (1.91) bones of a giant 33 cubits (= ca. 48 feet) tall were discovered on Crete, after a flood, during the conquest of the island by Q. Caecilius Metellus (68–67 BC). <sup>2</sup> Location unknown.

50\* 14M, 72Mc, 60D, 63–64K

*Part of S.'s description of Crete (cf. frs. 46–49). The Curetes, semidivine Cretan warriors, were portrayed in mythology as attendants of Jupiter in his infancy.*

*Sallust rejected this entire view as a poetic fiction [viz. legends assigning a role to the Curetes and Corybantes in concealing the baby Jupiter on Crete]; he was in favor of this clever explanation for why the foster-fathers of Jupiter are said to have been the Curetes, stating that*

**because they [the Curetes] were the originators of grasping the divine, men in antiquity, in keeping with their habit of exaggerating, glorified them as the foster-fathers of Jupiter.**

51\* 15M, 73Mc, inc. 8D, 1.78K

**Cares<sup>1</sup> insulani populi fuerunt, piratica famosi, victi a Minoe, ut et Thucydides et Sallustius dicunt.**

Serv. ad Aen. 8.725: background information concerning the Carians mentioned by Virgil.

<sup>1</sup> Gerlach ed. mai.: Carae Serv.

52 8M, 74Mc, 56D, 88K

et forte in navigando cohors una, grandi phaselo vecta, a ceteris deerravit, marique placido a duobus praedonum myoparonibus circumventa

Non. p. 534M = 857.18–20: to illustrate the noun *myoparo*, defined as a pirate ship.

{Non. p. 534M = 857.26–27 (*et forte . . . deerravit*): to illustrate the noun *phaselus*, defined as a Campanian vessel.}

53 9M, 75Mc, 4.40D, 4.48K

in quis notissimus quisque ex malo dependens<sup>1</sup> verberabatur, aut inmutilato corpore in prori<sup>2</sup> patibulo eminens adfigebatur.

Non. p. 366M = 582L.13–15: to illustrate *patibulum* = *crux* (a cross).

<sup>1</sup> ed. Ald. 1513: et m. deperdens *codd.*  
*codd.*: inprobe Lipsius

<sup>2</sup> Carrio: inprobi

51\* 15M, 73Mc, inc. 8D, 1.78K

*Part of S.'s description of Crete (cf. fr. 46–50).*

***The Carians were an island people,<sup>1</sup> notorious for piracy, subdued by Minos, as both Thucydides and Sallust state.***

<sup>1</sup> Thuc. (1.4, 1.8.1–2) and Herodotus (1.171) credit Minos, the legendary king of Crete, with expelling the Carians from the Cyclades; later they dwelled in southwest Asia Minor.

52 8M, 74Mc, 56D, 88K

*The assignment of this fragment to Book 3 by the testimonia and the reference to a Roman detachment falling foul of pirates points to some action in Antonius' campaign against the pirates.*

and by chance, on the voyage, one cohort, which was being transported by a large, light craft, strayed from the rest and in a calm sea was surrounded by two galleys of pirates

53 9M, 75Mc, 4.40D, 4.48K

*The Cretans defeated Antonius and made a mockery of their Roman captives (cf. Flor. 1.42).*

among whom, all the most eminent were flogged while dangling from a mast or, with their bodies intact, were fastened on the prow to a fork-shaped yoke, projecting from the ship.

54\* 16M, 76Mc, inc. 20D, 3.64K

ibi triennio frustra trito

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.271: to illustrate *tero* meaning to “use up carelessly” (*per negligentiam consumere*).

CONCLUSION OF THE SERTORIAN  
WAR (73–72 BC), FRR. 55–63

55\* 81M, 77Mc, 3D, 64K

Hanc<sup>1</sup> igitur redarguit Tarquitius.<sup>2</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Ad.* 312: to illustrate different shades of meaning (quality and quantity) of *hic*, *haec*, *hoc*. *Hanc* is identified in this context as referring to something written by a Celtiberian (*scriptum Celtiberi*), sc., perhaps, *epistulam*.

<sup>1</sup> hunc C

<sup>2</sup> *Carrio*: tarquin(i)us *codd.*

56 82M, 78Mc, 2D, K

cavere<t><sup>1</sup> imperator a<sup>2</sup> perfuga<sup>3</sup> Celtibero

Arus. *GL* 7.488.26 = p. 184DC: to illustrate *cavere* construed with *ab* + abl.

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch*: cavete <ab> *Lindemann*

<sup>2</sup> *Dietsch*: imperatore *NI*: imperatorem *Maurenbr.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lindemann*: per kaga *NI*: perfido a *Maurenbr.*

**54\*** 16M, 76Mc, inc. 20D, 3.64K

*The reference to three wasted years is perhaps to be connected with Antonius' fruitless campaign against the pirates, begun in 74 and ending with his death abroad in 72, or early 71 (Liv. Per. 97), after he was forced to conclude a treaty with the Cretans (Diod. 40.1).*

after three years had been wasted there in vain

### CONCLUSION OF THE SERTORIAN WAR (73–72 BC), FRR. 55–63

**55\*** 81M, 77Mc, 3D, 64K

*The scholiast identifies the object of the denial ("this") as "something written by a Celtiberian." Hence, the context may be an attempt by Tarquitiu Priscus, a staff officer of Sertorius (Frontin. Str. 2.5.31) and one of the conspirators who plotted with Perpenna to murder Sertorius (cf. fr. 57), to refute some written message that was designed to thwart the plot. Maurenbr. assigns this and the following fragment to an otherwise unattested "first" conspiracy that was unmasked.*

And so Tarquitiu refuted this.

**56** 82M, 78Mc, 2D, K

*Same context as fr. 55: a warning to Sertorius.*

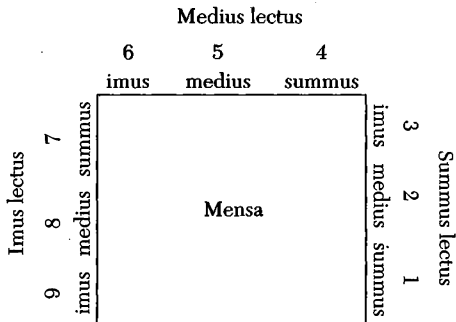
that the commander be on his guard against the  
Celtiberian deserter

Igitur discubere: Sertorius inferior in medio, super eum L.<sup>1</sup> Fabius Hispaniensis senator ex proscriptis; in summo Antonius, et infra scriba Sertori Versius; et alter scriba Maecenas<sup>2</sup> in imo, medius inter Tarquitium<sup>3</sup> et dominum Perpernam.

Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.698 (attributed to S. without specifying title of work): to illustrate Virgil's *mediam locavit* at a banquet.

{Non. p. 281M = 434L.29–30 (*alter scriba . . . Perpernam*: assigned to Book 3): to illustrate *dominus* meaning the "host of a dinner party."}

<sup>1</sup> *Commelinus*: tucius BK: tut . . . us L: titus M      <sup>2</sup> mac-  
cenas Ay *Servii*: accenas B *Servii*: scribam et c(a)enas *codd.*  
*Nonii*      <sup>3</sup> *Kritz*: Tarquinium *NPbM Servii et codd. Nonii*:  
arguinium *rell. Servii*



2. Antonius 3. Versius 4. Fabius 6. Sertorius  
7. Perperna 8. Maecenas 9. Tarquitius

## 57 83M, 79Mc, 4D, 3K

*The banquet given by Perperna at the town of Osca (Vell. 2.30.1), in the course of which Sertorius was assassinated. Diod. (37.22a) reports a different placement of the guests, having Sertorius recline between Tarquitius and Antonius, the latter of whom, according to Plut. (Sert. 26.11) struck the first blow.*

And so they reclined at table: Sertorius in the lower position on the middle couch, above him Lucius Fabius Hispaniensis, one of the proscribed senators; on the top couch, Antonius, and below him Sertorius's scribe Versius; and the other scribe, Maecenas, in the middle position on the bottom couch, between Tarquitius and the host Perperna.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Couches were placed along three sides of the table, each having room for as many as three diners to recline. The diagram shows the arrangement. Servius, who seems to have mistakenly concluded that Sertorius was the host, quoted Sallust in support of the view that Virgil's "*mediamque locavit*" described the usual position of the host. Sertorius, in fact, was the guest of honor, and as such he occupied the place reserved for that person, the *locus consularis*, the lowest (*imus*) position on the middle couch. Fabius, who shared the couch with Sertorius, was a former quaestor under C. Annius, governor of Spain in 81 (MRR 3.86).

58 84M, 80Mc, 68D, 78K

<turba<sup>2</sup>><sup>1</sup> . . . divorsa, uti solet rebus perditis, capessivit;<sup>2</sup> namque alii fiducia gnaritatis locorum occultam fugam sparsi, <pars><sup>3</sup> globis eruptionem temp-  
taverē

Non. p. 116 = 167L.25–28: to illustrate the noun *gnaritas* (knowledge). Cf. *TLL* 6.2.2121.68–75: outside of S., attested only in Amm. Marc. and Donat.

{Prisc. *GL* 2.535.7 (*diversa . . . capessivit*): to illustrate verbs in –so having the perfect in –sivi.}

<sup>1</sup> Müller in *app., exempli gratia*      <sup>2</sup> *laccessivit GLK Prisc.*:  
capessunt *Bentinus* (*Non. nov. ed. Ald. 1526*)      <sup>3</sup> *Colerus*:  
fugam, pars globis *Mercier*

59\* 85M, 81Mc, 5D, 5K

Perpernam forte cognoscit mulio redemptoris.

Porph. ad Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.72: to illustrate the noun *redemptor* (a contractor supplying animals for public couriers).

60\* 86M, 82Mc, inc. 62D, inc. 28K

ubi multa nefanda<sup>1</sup> esca<sup>2</sup> super ausi atque passi

Prisc. *GL* 3.46.1–2: to illustrate *super* supposedly employed as an adv., not a prep.; at the same time, Prisc. offers the more plausible explanation that in this context *super* is a postponed prep.

<sup>1</sup> *Hertz, vulgo*: nefande *B r*: nefandae *DHGLK*

<sup>2</sup> *Bernays* (cf. *Sulpicius Severus, Chron.* 2.30.3, omnia nefanda esca super ausi): casu *codd.*



**58** 84M, 80Mc, 68D, 78K

*Maurenbr. connected this fragment with the flight of Sertorian forces led by Perperna, after their defeat at the hands of Pompey (Plut. Pomp. 20.4–6; Frontin. Str. 2.5.32; App. B Civ. 1.115). Kritz and Dietsch less plausibly assigned this fragment to a description of the runaway Germanic and Gallic slaves under Crixus, who were defeated in 72 by the consul Gellius (cf. fr. 3.68–69).*

<the throng?> . . . had recourse to various expedients, as usual in desperate situations: some, relying on their familiarity with the locale, scattered and attempted undetected flight; others tried a break out in tightly packed bands.

**59\*** 85M, 81Mc, 5D, 5K

*Same context as fr. 58. After his defeat, Perperna tried to hide in a thicket but was discovered and dragged before Pompey for execution (App. B Civ. 115; Amm. Marc. 26.9.9).*

By chance a contractor's muleteer recognized Perperna.

**60\*** 86M, 82Mc, inc. 62D, inc. 28K

*During the lengthy siege of the Sertorian stronghold Calagurris, by Pompey's lieutenant Afranius, the defenders resorted to eating the dead bodies of their women and children when their food failed (Val. Max. 7.6 ext. 3; Oros. 5.23.14).*

when, after committing and suffering many abominations respecting their food<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Construing *super* as a prep., = “with regard to” (OLD 11); or, if the *paradosis casu super* is retained, “over and above what occurs by mere chance,” (OLD s.v. *super* 12b), cf. K-S 1.572.

**61** 87M, 83Mc, 6D, 7K

parte consumpta, relicua cadaverum<sup>1</sup> ad diuturnitatem usus sallerent<sup>2</sup>

Prisc. *GL* 2.546.12–13: to illustrate the verb *sallo* (–*ere*) in contrast with the verb *sallio* (–*ire*), both meaning “to salt.”

{*Diom. GL* 1.375.19–20, assigned to Book 4 (*reliqua . . . sallere*): to give an example of *sallo*.}

<sup>1</sup> *cadavera Diom.*

<sup>2</sup> *sallere Diom.*

**62** 88M, 84Mc, 7D, 6K

Sed Pompeius a prima adulescentia sermone fautorum similem fore se credens Alexandro regi, facta consultaque eius quidem aemul[at]us<sup>1</sup> erat.<sup>2</sup>

Non. p. 239M = 357L.4–6: to illustrate *aemulus* meaning *sectator* (a follower) or *imitator*. Non. p. 502M = 805L.2–3: to illustrate an acc. (*facta consultaque*) in place of a gen.

<sup>1</sup> *Victorius: aemulator Dietsch*      <sup>2</sup> *facta . . . erat] om: codd., uno versu archetypi praetermisso, Non. p. 502M*

**63\*** 89M, 85Mc, 4.29D, 4.53D

de victis<sup>1</sup> Hispanis tropaea in Pyrenaei iugis constituit

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.6: to illustrate the practice of placing monuments celebrating a victory on high ground.

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch: devictis codd.*

## 61 87M, 83Mc, 6D, 7K

Same context as fr. 60.

after eating part, they salted the remnants of the  
corpses to extend their usefulness

## 62 88M, 84Mc, 7D, 6K

*To commemorate his victory in the Sertorian war, Pompey set up a trophy monument on a summit at Col de Pertus, near the town of Panissars, in the Pyrenees (Plin. HN 7.96; Exsuper. 8 [56Z]; Dio 41.24.3), slight remains of which have survived in situ to this day. In a similar fashion, Alexander the Great had marked the easternmost extent of his conquests in India with a set of twelve massive altars (Arr. Anab. 5.29.1; Strabo 3.5.5, p. 171).*

But Pompey, believing from his earliest youth, thanks to the flattery of his supporters, that he would be like King Alexander, was an emulator of that man's deeds and intentions.

## 63\* 89M, 85Mc, 4.29D, 4.53D

Same context as fr. 62.

he [Pompey] set up on the slopes of the Pyrenees  
trophies for his conquests of the Spaniards<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *De* + abl. of the persons over whom a victory is won (OLD s.v. 6b); or, if the *paradosis devictis* is retained, "after defeating the Spaniards, he. . ." Pliny (HN 7.96) credits the absence of Sertorius' name from this monument to Pompey's high-mindedness (*maiore animo*). Florus 2.10.9 more perceptively points out that Metellus and Pompey both wanted to present the war as a foreign one (not a civil war) so that they would be eligible to be awarded triumphs upon returning to Rome.

THE SLAVE UPRISING LED  
BY SPARTACUS: YEAR TWO  
(72 BC), FRR. 64–70

64 100M, 86Mc, 64D, 69K

locum nullum, nisi quo armati institissent, ipsis tu-  
tum fore

Arus. *GL* 7.481.15 = p. 160DC: to illustrate the verb *insisto* +  
abl. of place.

65\* 101M, 87Mc, inc. 22D, 3.68K

exuant armis equisque

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.80: to illustrate stripping arms from dead war-  
riors.

66† 102M, 14Mc, 4.1D, 4.22K

Hi locorum pergnari<sup>1</sup> et soliti nectere ex viminibus vasa

Non. p. 554M = 890L.19–22 (assigned to “lib. IV”): to illustrate  
the noun *parma* = *scutum breve* (a small shield).

{Cf. Serv. ad *Aen.* 7.632, *dicit Sallustius de Lucanis qui de vimine  
facta scuta coriis tegebant.*}

<sup>1</sup> *Douza*: perignari *codd.*

THE SLAVE UPRISING LED  
BY SPARTACUS: YEAR TWO  
(72 BC), FRR. 64–70

64 100M, 86Mc, 64D, 69K

*These words are perhaps to be connected with the efforts of Spartacus to fashion weapons for his forces and form a cavalry (so Kritz). Florus (2.8.6–7) puts these activities at the end of the first year of marauding, in the winter of 73/72 (cf. App. B Civ. 1.116).*

<Spartacus asserted?> . . . that no place would be safe for them except where they had taken a stand equipped with weapons

65\* 101M, 87Mc, inc. 22D, 3.68K

*Perhaps the same context as fr. 64, Spartacus instructing his men to strip the dead of whatever could be put to use in war.*

to take arms and horses <from the slain>

66† 102M, 14Mc, 4.1D, 4.22K

*Appian (1.116) and Florus (2.8.6) credit Spartacus' followers with arming themselves by fashioning makeshift weapons during the winter of 73/72 (hence this fragment belongs in Book 3, not 4, as cited), and Florus (l.c.) and Frontinus (Str. 1.7.6) include among those weapons shields made of wickerwork, covered with hides, of the type referred to in this and the following fragment. The men described in this fragment may be Lucanians, shepherds and herdsmen in southern Italy who flocked to join Spartacus (cf. Plut. Crass. 9.4), since according to Servius (ad Aen. 7.632), S. mentioned the manufacture of such hide-covered, wicker shields by Lucanians.*

These men being very familiar with the locale and accus-

agrestia, ibi tum, quod inopia scutorum fuerat,<sup>2</sup> ea arte se quisque in formam parmae equestris <clupeo><sup>3</sup> armabat.

<sup>2</sup> *H*<sup>2</sup>: fuere ad *codd. plerique*      <sup>3</sup> *Dietsch*: <scuto> post armabat *ins. Maurenbr.*

**67\*** 103M, 4.15Mc, 4.2D, 4.23K

Coria recens detracta quasi<sup>1</sup> glutino adolescebant.<sup>2</sup>

Serv. ad G. 3.156: to illustrate *recens* meaning *statim*.

{Charis. *GL* 1.88.4 = p. 110B.18 (*quasi glutino adolescebant*), Charis *GL* 1.131.27 = p. 167B.28 (*glutino – inquit – adolescebant*); *Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. *G.* 4.40 (*hic glutino adolescebat*): to illustrate the second decl. *glutinum*, in contrast with the third decl. *gluten*; cf. Bede, *GL* 7. 274.5–6, attesting S.'s use of the neut. noun *glutinum*.}

<sup>1</sup> veluti *codd. Serv.*      <sup>2</sup> adhaerescebant *Funari*

**68\*** 104M, 88Mc, inc. 18D, 3.57K

Germani intectum renonibus corpus tegunt.

Isid. *Etym.* 19.23.4: to give an instance of the word *reno* (an article of clothing made from reindeer hide), which Isid. describes as a native garment of the Germans, one that covered the upper torso, and was water repellent and hairy.

**69\*** 105M, 89Mc, inc. 19D, 3.58K

Vestes de pellibus renones vocantur.

Serv. ad G. 3.383: to give an example of primitive clothing made of animal skin.

{Cf. *Schol. Bern.* ad G. 3.383, *vestes de pellibus, quae vocantur renones, ut Sallustius dicit.*}

tomed to weave rude containers from wickerwork, there, on that occasion, because they had experienced a shortage of shields, each by means of that art armed himself with a shield after the manner of the small round type carried by cavalry.

**67\*** 103M, 4.15Mc, 4.2D, 4.23K

*Same context as fr. 66.*

Hides immediately after being removed cure<sup>1</sup> as though applied with glue.

<sup>1</sup> Context appears to require that *adolesco* (lit., to “grow up, become mature”) have the meaning “adhere” (so *OLD* 6; *TLL* 1.801.73–74 leaves the matter in doubt). See textual note.

**68\*** 104M, 88Mc, inc. 18D, 3.57K

*A large contingent of Germans, under the commander Crixus, a Gaul, parted company with Spartacus and was defeated in a decisive battle in 72 near Mt. Garganus in Apulia (Plut. Crass. 9.9; App. B Civ. 1.117; Liv. Per. 96; Oros. 5.24.4).*

The Germans cover their bare bodies with short cloaks of reindeer hide.

**69\*** 105M, 89Mc, inc. 19D, 3.58K

*Same context as fr. 68.*

Garments made of animal hides are called “*renones*.”

70 106M, 90Mc, 70D, 80K

et eodem tempore Lentulus duplici acie locum<sup>1</sup>  
editum multo sanguine suorum defensum,<sup>2</sup> post-  
quam ex angustiis<sup>3</sup> paludamenta extare<sup>4</sup> et delectae  
cohortes intellegi coepere . . . <reliquit et in hostes  
impetum fecit><sup>5</sup>

Non. p. 538M.32–539.3 = 864L: to give an instance of the word  
*paludamentum* (scarlet general's cloak), which Non. states was  
in his day referred to by the equivalent Greek term *c(h)lamys*.

<sup>1</sup> *Bentinus*: longum *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> *Kritz*: defensus *codd.*: de-  
fensans *Quicherat*: defessus *Bamb.*      <sup>3</sup> *Müller*: sarcinis  
*codd.*      <sup>4</sup> *Dietsch*: ostari *B<sup>A</sup>C<sup>A</sup>*: astari *A<sup>A</sup>*: adstari *L<sup>1</sup>*: ostentari  
*Kritz*      <sup>5</sup> *suppl. Dietsch in app., exempli gratia*

THRACIAN CAMPAIGN OF  
M. LUCULLUS (72 BC), FRR. 71–73

71\* 51M, 4.11Mc, inc. 72D, inc. 38K

Aenum et Maroneam viamque militarem

Serv. ad *Aen.* 3.17: to identify places in Thrace associated with  
the Aeneas legend.



## 70 106M, 90Mc, 70D, 80K

*After the consul Gellius defeated Crixus and the German gladiators (fr. 68), Spartacus marched north, where he defeated Gellius' consular colleague Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus and Gellius in separate battles in Picenum, and later their combined forces (App. B Civ. 1.117; cf. Plut. Crass. 9.9). This fragment may refer to the first or the second battle in which Lentulus suffered a loss despite, apparently, receiving support from a relief force led either by his own legates or by his colleague Gellius. (Italics in the translation signifies that the text or a supplement is uncertain.)*

and at the same time, after the generals' cloaks began to *stand* out from the *defile* and the picked cohorts to be discerned, Lentulus <abandoned> the high ground that *had been defended* with a double line of battle, at the cost of much blood on the part of his soldiers, <*and made an attack on the enemy*>

THRACIAN CAMPAIGN OF  
M. LUCULLUS (72 BC), FRR. 71-73

## 71\* 51M, 4.11Mc, inc. 72D, inc. 38K

*Towns on the coast of Thrace, where M. Lucullus (cos. 73, procos. of Macedonia 72-71) campaigned (cf. Liv. Per. 97).*

Aenos and Maronea, and the military road<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Doubtless the *via Egnatia* (built ca. 130 BC), which ran along the Thracian coast to Byzantium.

72\* 4.18M, 4.12Mc, 4.38D, 4.46K

**Moesii**, quos Sallustius a Lucullo dicit esse **superatos**.

Serv. ad Aen. 7.604: identifying the Gaetae, mentioned by Virgil, with the Moesii.

73\* 4.19M, 4.13Mc, 4.39D, 4.47K

zo: *hac quoque syllaba nullum nomen repperi terminatum nisi unum barbarae civitatis lectum in Sallustio, Vizzo, Vizzonis.*<sup>1</sup> <Bizone>

Prob. GL 4.11.10–12

<sup>1</sup> Vizo Vizonis s

THE MITHRIDATIC WAR (72BC),  
FRR. 74–81

74 52M, 35Mc, 77D, 94K

Fine inguinum ingrediuntur mare.

Arus. GL 7. 475.5 = p. 138DC: to illustrate *fine* + gen. of thing, *Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. G. 3.53: to illustrate *fine* = *tenuis* (as far as, up to). [Cf. *OLD* s.v. *finis* 3 quasi-prep. + abl. or gen.]

72\* 4.18M, 4.12Mc, 4.38D, 4.46K

*The conquests of M. Lucullus in 72–71 extended well into Moesian territory, north of Thrace and south of the Ister (Danube), Eutr. 6.10.*

**Inhabitants of Moesia, who, Sallust states, were conquered by Lucullus.**

73\* 4.19M, 4.13Mc, 4.39D, 4.47K

*Kritz surmised that S. may have mentioned among the towns in Thrace and Moesia that were conquered by M. Lucullus during his governorship of Macedonia Bizone (Mela 2.2.22; Pliny HN 4.44; and Strabo 7.6.1, p. 319), on the basis of which Probus falsely concluded that the nom. was Vizzo (Vizo = Bizo).*

*–zo: no noun ending in this syllable is to be found except the one instance of a foreign city mentioned in Sallust: Vizzo, Vizzonis. <Bizone>*

## THE MITHRIDATIC WAR (72BC), FRR. 74–81

74 52M, 35Mc, 77D, 94K

*In the spring of 72, Lucullus landed troops on the island of Lemnos (Plut. Luc. 12.4), or on the nearby island of Chryse (App. Mithr. 77), to attack Mithridates' ships from the rear, when it proved impossible for the Roman fleet to dislodge the enemy's ships from their beached position on the shore.*

They [the Romans] waded into the sea up to their groins.

75 53M, 36Mc, 33D, 36K

postquam egressus angustias

Arus. *GL* 7.469.29–30 = p. 119DC: to illustrate *egredior* + acc. of thing.

76 54M, 37Mc, 24D, 25K

Nam qui enare conati fuerant, icti saepe fragmentis<sup>1</sup> navium aut adflicti alveos<sup>2</sup> undarum vi,<sup>3</sup> mulcato foede<sup>4</sup> corpore, postremo<sup>5</sup> intereunt<sup>6</sup> tamen.

Non. p. 406M = 653L.10–12: mistakenly, it seems, to illustrate *tamen* having the meaning *tandem* (cf. [*Ad Caes. sen.*] 2.7.4. *postremo tamen*).

{Arus. *GL* 7.456.5–6 = p. 71DC (*adflicti . . . interibant*), citing this fragment and fr. 2.101: to illustrate *adflictus* + acc. of thing [complementary, instead of the customary dat.].}

<sup>1</sup> *Mercier*: frumentis *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> *NI Arus.*: alveo *N2*  
*Arus.*: asuis *codd.* *Non.*: alveis *Mercier*: alvos *Dietsch*  
<sup>3</sup> *om. Arus.*      <sup>4</sup> *fide L A<sup>A</sup> Non.*: *om. Arus.*      <sup>5</sup> *corr.* (*ex*  
*postre[mum]*) *L B<sup>A</sup> Non.*: *postremum rell. Non.*: *om.*  
*Arus.*      <sup>6</sup> *Müller*: *interibant NI Arus.*: *intereni L<sup>1</sup> Non.*: *i(n)-*  
*terent rell. Non.*: *interiere Mercier*

77 56M, 38Mc, 31D, 35K

neque iam sustineri poterat inmensum aucto mari  
et vento gliscente

Non. p. 22M = 33L.17–18: to illustrate the meaning of the verb *gliscit* (to swell).

**75** 53M, 36Mc, 33D, 36K

*In the spring of 72, Mithridates put to sea from the Bithynian city Nicomedia, lying at the head of the northernmost bay of the Propontis. Owing to the negligence of Lucullus' legate Voconius, Mithridates was able to sail through the Bosphorus into the Black Sea (Plut. Luc. 13.1–2).*

when, upon emerging from the narrows [the Bosphorus<sup>2</sup>],

**76** 54M, 37Mc, 24D, 25K

*In the spring of 72, soon after Mithridates entered the Black Sea on his retreat to Sinope in Pontus, a massive storm destroyed a large portion of his fleet and left wreckage floating for days (Plut. Luc. 13.2; App. Mithr. 78).*

Indeed, those who had tried to swim away, after having been often struck by the debris of the ships, or dashed against the hulls<sup>1</sup> by the violence of the waves, still perished at last with horribly battered bodies.

<sup>1</sup> Or, if the emendation *alvos* (acc. of resp.) is adopted, “injured as to their bellies.”

**77** 56M, 38Mc, 31D, 35K

*Same context as fr. 76, possibly describing the swamping of the merchantman in which Mithridates was sailing (Plut. Luc. 13.3; App. Mithr. 78).*

nor could it any longer be kept afloat, with the sea enormously swollen and the wind becoming stronger

78\* 57M, 39Mc, 50D, 9K

Amisos<sup>1</sup>

Prob. *GL* 4.28.24–26; Sacerd. *GL* 6.479.16–18: attesting in S. the Greek spelling *Amisos* (= *Amisus* in Latin).

<sup>1</sup> *camisos codd. Prob., corr. edd. nitentes lectione Sacredotis loci paralleli*

79 58M, 40Mc, 35D, 42K

castella, custodias<sup>1</sup> thesaurorum, in deditionem acciperent<sup>2</sup>

Charis. *GL* 1.107.12–13 = p. 137B.5–6: to illustrate first decl. gen. sing. in *-as*, instead of *-ae*.

{*Serv. & Serv. auct. ad Aen.* 11.801 (*castella . . . thesaurorum*): reporting that the second-century AD commentator Aemilius Asper regarded *custodias* as a gen. sing. (= *custodiae*), while others construed it as acc.}

<sup>1</sup> *custodiae F Serv.*      <sup>2</sup> *Gerlach ed. min.: acciperentur N fort. recte*

80 59M, 41Mc, 37D, 39K

At Oppius, postquam orans nihil proficiebat, timide veste tectum pugionem expedire conatus a Cotta Vulscioque<sup>1</sup> inpeditur.

Non. p. 553M.31–554M.1 = 889L: to give an example of the noun *pugio* (a dagger), defined as a short sword.

<sup>1</sup> *Vulscioque B<sup>A</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> In his speech in defense of Oppius in 69, Cicero argued that it was unclear whether the dagger was drawn by Oppius to commit suicide or to injure Cotta (Quint. 5.10.69).

**78\*** 57M, 39Mc, 50D, 9K

*After the storm reported in fr. 76–77, Mithridates traveled on a pirate ship to Sinope in his kingdom of Pontus and from there made his way to Amisos (App. Mithr. 78).*

Amisos

**79** 58M, 40Mc, 35D, 42K

*Lucullus' troops were displeased that their commander did not devote more attention to the capture of sources of plunder and enrichment when he invaded Mithridates' kingdom of Pontus in the summer of 72 (Plut. Luc. 14.2)*

<Lucullus' troops demanded?> that they receive the surrender of fortresses dedicated to the safekeeping of treasures<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Even in antiquity, opinion was divided over whether to construe *custodias* as an acc. pl. or an archaic gen. sing., on the model of such expressions as *pater (mater) familias*. In order for *custodias* to be acc., the text must be emended as printed here (see textual note). Cf. fr. 4.10, where *custodias* is acc., though the grammarians want it to be gen.

**80** 59M, 41Mc, 37D, 39K

*The proquaestor P. Oppius was dismissed by his commander M. Cotta (cos. 74) and charged with bribery and conspiracy when the two were serving in Bithynia (Dio 36.40.3). The incident may have taken place at the siege of Heraclea in 72.*

But Oppius, after he accomplished nothing by pleading, was restrained by Cotta and Vulcius when he tried timidly to unsheathe a dagger hidden in his clothing.<sup>1</sup>

81\* 60M, 42Mc, 38D, 40K

Dicit se eius opera non usurum, eumque ab armis dimittit.

Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.844: to illustrate the expression *dimittere ab armis* meaning to discharge from military service.

EXCURSUS ON TOPOGRAPHY  
OF PONTUS, FRR. 82-99

82\* 61M, inc. 22Mc, 3.39D, 33K

*DARDANIAE Troiae. Aut a Dardano Iovis et Electrae filio, . . . aut certe, secundum Sallustium, a rege Dardanorum Mida, qui Phrygiam tenuit.*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.325: to explain how "Dardania" came to be a metonymy for Troy.

83\* 62M, 43Mc, 43D, 50K

*"Lata" autem ideo, quia se angustiae Pontici oris illic dilatant, ut Sallustius dixit.*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 2.312: commenting on *lata* as a description of the "Sigeon strait," so called from the Sigeon promontory on the northwest coast of Asia Minor (where the Hellespont widens in the vicinity of Troy).

84\* 63M, 44Mc, 44D, 49K



81\* 60M, 42Mc, 38D, 40K

*Same context as fr. 80. Servius states that Cotta uttered these words at a public meeting when he dismissed Oppius.*

He says that he will not employ his service, and he discharges him from the army.

## EXCURSUS ON TOPOGRAPHY OF PONTUS, FRR. 82-99

82\* 61M, inc. 22Mc, 3.39D, 33K

*S. mentioned King Midas in describing the mythical history of Troy and the towns in that region.*

*“DARDANIA” “Troy.” [derived] either from Dardanus [founder of the Trojan royal house], the son of Jupiter and Electra . . . or indeed, according to Sallust, **from the king of the Dardanians, Midas, who controlled Phrygia.***

83\* 62M, 43Mc, 43D, 50K

*S.’s description of the Hellespont near the Sigeon promontory (cf. Isid. Etym. 14.7.2).*

*[Virgil calls the Sigeon strait] “broad” because **at that place the narrows of the mouth of the Pontic Sea grows wide, as Sallust stated.***

84\* 63M, 44Mc, 44D, 49K

*S.’s description of the outline of the Black Sea, which ancient writers often likened to the shape of a Scythian bow (Mela 1.102; Pliny HN 4.76; Strabo 2.5.22, p. 125). The Crimea, with bays to the east and the west, produced a northern shoreline resembling the inward-bulging bow handle with its curving horns, while the*

Nam<sup>1</sup> speciem efficit Scythici arcus.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.533: to illustrate Virgil's use of the expression *in arcum* to describe the curving of a harbor.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv.*

85\* 65M, 45Mc, 45D, 51K

utque ipsum<sup>1</sup> mare Ponticum dulcius quam cetera,  
nebulosumque et brevius<sup>2</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.228: to illustrate a comparative adj. standing for the positive degree. *Exc. Andecav. p. 7DeN*: to illustrate a comparative denoting less than the positive degree (*dulcior non magis dulcis, sed paene non dulcis*).

{*mare . . . cetera*, Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.143: to illustrate *litotes*; Macrobian. *Sat.* 7.12.34: commenting on the fresh water of rivers flowing into the Black Sea; cf. Donat. *Ars GL* 4.374.29–30; Serv. *Comm. in Don. GL* 4.431.10–11; Pomp. *GL* 5.155.28; Diom. *GL* 1.325.4; Prisc. *GL* 2.92.15; Prisc. *GL* 3.74.27; Consent. *GL* 5.342.30; Cledon *GL* 5.38.32; *Ars anon. Bern. GL* 8.78.10–11.}

<sup>1</sup> utque ipsum] *om. omnes praeter Serv. auct. et Exc. Andecav.*  
(*aliqua et ipse*)      <sup>2</sup> nebulosumque et brevius] *De Nonno: om.*  
*omnes praeter Exc. Andecav.* (*nebulosam †quiete† brevius*)

86\* 66M, 46Mc, 41D, 53K

qua<sup>1</sup> tempestate vis piscium<sup>2</sup> Ponto<sup>3</sup> erupit

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.132, and *Gloss.* 5, p. 254.7: to illustrate *vis = multitudo*, "a large quantity" (*OLD* s.v. *vis* 8); *Schol. in Iuv.* ad 4.42: commenting on the fish released by the spring thaw of the ice.

relatively straight southern shore could be pictured as forming the bow string.

For it produces the appearance of a Scythian bow.

85\* 65M, 45Mc, 45D, 51K

*S.'s description of the Black Sea.*

and as the Pontic Sea itself, less salty than the rest,<sup>1</sup>  
and subject to fog, and rather shallow

<sup>1</sup> Owing to a great quantity of fresh water from the large number of rivers that flow into it (cf. Amm. Marc. 22.8.46; Isid. *Etym.* 13.16.4).

86\* 66M, 46Mc, 41D, 53K

*The release of great quantities of fish in the Black Sea when the ice of winter thaws.*

the season in which a great quantity of fish bursts  
from the Pontus

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<sup>1</sup> *Serv.*: quia *Gloss.*: itaque *Schol. Iuv.* <sup>2</sup> vis piscium]  
piscium vis *Schol. Iuv.* <sup>3</sup> ex Ponto *Serv.* & *Serv. auct. ante*  
vis piscium

**87\*** 67M, 47Mc, deest in D et K

Mari nomen inhospitali[a]<sup>1</sup> quaesierant.<sup>2</sup>

*Adnot. super Luc.* 9.960; *Comm. Bern. ad Luc. ibid.*: in commenting on the name *Euxinus* (hospitable) for the Black Sea, the scholiasts remark that it was once the *Axinus* (inhospitable).

<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.*: inospitalia *C Adnot.*: inhospitalibila *W Adnot.*: inhospitalibile *U Adnot.*: inhospitalable *Comm. Bern.* <sup>2</sup> quaesiverunt *Comm. Bern.*

**88** 68M, 48Mc, 50D, 4.21K

namque primum Iasonem novo itinere maris Aetae hospitis domum violasse

*Prisc. GL* 2.246.5–6: to illustrate the spelling of the gen. sing. of the Greek first decl. masc. noun *Aeetes* in *-ae*.

**89\*** 69M, 49Mc, 40D, 32K

primum Graecorum Achillem

*Serv. & Serv. auct. ad Aen.* 1.96: explaining how Diomedes could be described as “bravest of the Greeks” after the deaths of Achilles and Ajax, who surpassed him.

**87\*** 67M, 47Mc, not included in D and K

*The Pontus Euxinus (Hospitable Sea), the name by which the Black Sea was later known, had previously been called Axinus (Inhospitable), because of its roughness (Plin. HN 6.1), or because of the fierce natives dwelling on its shores (Amm. Marc. 22.8.33; Mela 1.102).*

They had selected the name “Inhospitable” for the sea.

**88** 68M, 48Mc, 50D, 4.21K

*The first Greeks to visit the Black Sea region were Jason, on his quest for the golden fleece, and later Achilles, who conducted raids there during the Trojan War (Adnot. super Luc. 9.960; Comm. Bern. ad Luc. *ibid.*).*

for indeed <it is said that?> Jason was the first, by way of a new route over the sea, to violate the house of his host Aetes

**89\*** 69M, 49Mc, 40D, 32K

*Same context as fr. 88. McGushin speculated that S. may have referred to sites in the Black Sea region where Achilles was worshipped, such as the island in the mouth of the Ister (Danube) River (Paus. 3.19.11) or a cape to the east of the mouth of the Borysthenes (Dnieper) River (Strabo 7.3.19, p. 307), or to a temple near Panticapaeum, at the mouth of Lake Maeotis (Strabo 11.2.6, p. 494).*

Achilles, foremost of the Greeks

90\* 70M, 50Mc, 46D, 43K

Igitur introrsus prima Asiae Bithynia est, multis antea nominibus adpellata. Nam prius Bebrycia dicta, deinde Mygdonia, mox a Bithyno rege Bithynia nuncupata.<sup>1</sup>

Serv. ad *Aen.* 5.373 (*Igitur . . . appellata*): to explain a reference to a person "of the Bebrycian race" as standing for a native of Bithynia. *Isid. Etym.* 14.3.39 (*Prima Asiae minoris Bithynia in Ponti exordio ad partem solis orientis adversa Thraciae iacet, multis antea nominibus appellata. Nam . . . nuncupata*): excerpted and slightly modified, without attribution to S.

{Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.203 (*igitur . . . Bithynia est*): to illustrate *interior*.}

<sup>1</sup> Nam . . . nuncupata] *Isid.*: *om. Dietsch, Kritz*

91\* 71M, 51Mc, 47D, 44K

*Anacreon, lyricus poeta, <T>eius<sup>1</sup> fuit, ab urbe Teio, quam in Pa[m]flagonia<sup>2</sup> esse Sallustius indicat, cum de situ Pontico loquitur.*

Porph. ad Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.18.

<sup>1</sup> *Holder*: eius *M*: theius *P*

<sup>2</sup> *impamflagonia M*: in *Paplagonia P*

92 72M, 52Mc, deest in D et K

per hos<sup>1</sup> fluit, qui quondam Lydiae regna disiunxit a Persicis

*Annot. super Luc.* 3.272: to identify the river Halys as the boundary between the Lydian kingdom of Croesus and the Persian kingdom of Cyrus.

{*Isid. Etym.* 14.3.37: (without attribution to S.) *Halys amnis per eam fluit, qui quondam Lydiae regna disiunxit a Persis.*}

90\* 70M, 50Mc, 46D, 43K

*S. described the region of the Black Sea, proceeding from west to east along the south shore. Bithynia also serves as the point of departure for Strabo (12.3.2, p. 541), Solinus (42.1), and Amm. Marc. (22.8.14).*

And so, within [after one enters the Black Sea through the Bosphorus] the first part of Asia is Bithynia, a region formerly known by many names. For previously it was called Bebrycia, then Mygdonia, and eventually was named Bithynia from King Bithynus.

91\* 71M, 51Mc, 47D, 44K

*The lyric poet Anacreon was Teian, from the city Teios,<sup>1</sup> which Sallust, when describing the geography of the Pontic region, indicates is in Paphlagonia.*

<sup>1</sup> The scholiast on Horace confuses the city of T(e)ios (Tieion), on the shore of the Black Sea, with the Ionian city of Teos (Anacreon's native city), on the Aegean shore, in Lydia. Mela (1.104) identifies the Paphlagonian T(e)ios as a colony of Miletus.

92 72M, 52Mc, not included in D and K

*In the eastern region of Paphlagonia, where the Chalybes once dwelled, is found the river Halys ("Salt"), the longest in Asia Minor, which in S.'s day formed the boundary between Nicomedes' kingdom of Bithynia and Mithridates' kingdom of Pontus.*

through these [the Chalybes/their lands?] flows  
<the river Halys>, which formerly divided the kingdom of Lydia from that of the Persians,

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<sup>1</sup> <Halys> post hos adiec. Usener

**93\*** 73M, 53Mc, 49D, 46K

dein campi Themiscyrei, quos habuere Amazones,  
a Tanai flumine, incertum quam ob causam, digres-  
sae

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.659: commenting on the migration of the Amazons from the Tanais River to the region of the Thermodon River in Pontus, which Serv. mistakenly places in Thrace.

{Isid. *Etym.* 14.3.37 (without attribution to S.): *Themiscyrios campos, quos habuere Amazones.*}

**94\*** 74M, 54Mc. 52D, 48K

Namque omnium ferocissimum ad hoc tempus Ach<a>ei<sup>1</sup>  
atque Tauri sunt quod, quantum ego conicio, locorum  
[a]legetate<sup>2</sup> raptō vivere coacti.

*Schol. in Iuv.* ad 15.115: explicating the “Maeotid altar,” referring to Lake Maeotis, where the savage Tauri lived.

<sup>1-2</sup> corr. *Wessner*

**95\*** 75M, 55Mc, inc. 17D, 3.19K



**93\*** 73M, 53Mc, 49D, 46K

*The plains near the coastal town of Themiscyra, beside the Thermodon River, in Mithridates' kingdom of Pontus, were traditionally inhabited for a time by Amazons (Strabo 11.5.4, p. 505).*

next the plains of Themiscyra, which were possessed by the Amazons after they had migrated from the Tanais River,<sup>1</sup> it being uncertain<sup>2</sup> for what reason

<sup>1</sup> The Don, which flows into the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis) and was commonly regarded as forming the demarcation between Europe and Asia (Mela 1.15). <sup>2</sup> Amm. Marc. 22.8.18–19 claims that the Amazons were forced to migrate to a more peaceful abode when their ambitious raids as far west as Athens were unsuccessful and heavy losses weakened their fighting force.

**94\*** 74M, 54Mc, 52D, 48K

*A description of savage people living along the north shore of the Black Sea: the Achaei (Ov. Pont. 4.10.27; Mela 1.13) and the Tauri (a Scythian people inhabiting the Tauric Chersonesus, mod. Crimea).*

For the fiercest of all people up to this time are the Achaei and Tauri because, so far as I can tell, they have been compelled by the poverty of their territories to live by banditry.

**95\*** 75M, 55Mc, inc. 17D, 3.19K

*Possibly a reference to the territory of the Maeotici (Mela 1.14; Plin HN 6.19), a Scythian people who, according to Strabo (11.2.3, pp. 493–94), occupied the north shore of Lake Maeotis (mod. Sea of Azov), which is often described as a marsh (palus or stagnum), because of its shallow waters. In that case, the river will*

quem trans stagnum omnis usque ad flumen

*Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. *G.* 4.293: to illustrate the adv. *usque* in combination with a prepositional phrase.

96\* 76M, 56Mc, 51D, 47K

Scythae nomades tenent, quibus plaustra sedes sunt

Porph. ad Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.9: to illustrate Horace's remark that the Scythians lead a simple life, having wagons for homes.

{Ps.-Acro ad Hor. *ibid.* (*quibus . . . sunt*): commenting on the nomadic lifestyle of Scythians.}

97\* 77M, 57Mc, 48D, 45K

**PROXIMUM . . . ita Sallustius in situ Ponti de promunturiis Paphlagonum et <eo><sup>1</sup> quod Criu Metopon appellavit, posuit.**

Non. p. 524M = 842L.9–10: to illustrate the use of *proximus* (nearest, closest) to describe objects that are some distance apart but have no object in between.

<sup>1</sup> *Müller*

98 79M, 58Mc, 9D, 55K

Nomenque Danuvium habet, <q>uoad<sup>1</sup> Germanorum terras adstringit.

Porph. ad Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.39 {Ps.-Acro ad Hor. *Ars P.* 18 and Arus. *GL* 7.494.19 = p. 206DC (*nomenque . . . habet*): to illustrate how the neuter nouns *flumen* and *nomen* cause the name of a river (e.g., Danuvius) to be treated as though it were neuter.

<sup>1</sup> *Christ*: ut ad *codd.* Porph.

be the Tanais (cf. fr. 93), which flows into the eastern end of Lake Maeotis.

and beyond that marsh, all <coastal lands<sup>p</sup>> right up to the river

96\* 76M, 56Mc, 51D, 47K

Possibly describing a branch of the Scythian race, the Sarmatians, called Amaxobioi, = "Wagon dwellers" (Mela 2.2).

nomadic Scythians, whose abodes are wagons, possess <that region?<sup>p</sup>>

97\* 77M, 57Mc, 48D, 45K

*Criu Metopon* (Ramsbrow: Κριοῦ Μέτροπον), the promontory at the tip of the Tauric Chersonesus (Crimea), lay across the Black Sea from the promontory of Carambis on the coast of Paphlagonia (Strabo 7.4.3, p. 309) and another, on which Sinope stood, ca. eighty miles to the east.

In his geographical description of the Pontus, S. employed "**proximus**" [= "next"] concerning the **promontories of the Paphlagonians** and the one he called **Criu Metopon**.

98 79M, 58Mc, 9D, 55K

The river Danuvius (Danube) was identified by S. as the upper course of the river Ister, which empties into the western end of the Black Sea (cf. Mela 2.8).

And it has the name Danuvius so long as it borders the lands of the Germans.

99\* 80M, 59Mc, 10D, 56K

*Omnium fluminum, quae in maria, qua imperium Romanum est, fluunt . . . maximum esse Nilum consentitur; proxima magnitudine esse Istrum scripsit Sallustius.*

Gell. 10.7.1.

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
CONTEXT IN BOOK 3, FRR. 100–108

*Assigned To Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
frr. 100–104*

100 17M, 8Mc, 62D, 84K

male iam adsuetum ad omnis vis controvorsiarum

Prisc. *GL* 2.249.14–15: to illustrate the pl. *vis*, of the noun *vis*, in place of *vires*.

101 25M, 93Mc, 71D, 86K

Quod ubi frustra temptatum est, socordius<sup>1</sup> ire miles obcipere,<sup>2</sup> non aptis armis, ut in principio, laxiore<sup>3</sup> agmine.

Non. p. 235M = 350L.14–16: to illustrate the adj. *aptus* meaning “joined or bound together.”

<sup>1</sup> *vulgo*: socerdus *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *Müller*: obcepere *codd.*

<sup>3</sup> <et> laxiore *Iunius*

99\* 80M, 59Mc, 10D, 56K

*Relative size of Ister (Danube) in comparison with the Nile (cf. Mela 2.8).*

*It is agreed that of all the rivers that flow into the seas where the Roman empire exists the Nile is the largest. Sallust wrote that the next in size is the Ister.*

FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN  
CONTEXT IN BOOK 3, FRR. 100–108

*Assigned To Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
frr. 100–104*

100 17M, 8Mc, 62D, 84K

*A description of a politician who was adept at using intimidation: possibly the plebeian tribune of 74 L. Quinctius (Cic. Clu. 77, 79; cf. fr. 3.15.11), so Maurenbr.; or the political boss P. Cornelius Cethegus (Plut. Luc. 5.4, 6.1–4), so McGushin.*

having now become wickedly accustomed to all  
strongarm tactics in disputes

101 25M, 93Mc, 71D, 86K

*Maurenbr. assigned this fragment to the failed attempt of L. Lucullus' soldiers in 73 to persuade their commander to invade and seize control of Mithridates' kingdom of Pontus in his absence, rather than to go to the relief of M. Cotta (cos. 74), who had been defeated by Mithridates and was being besieged in Chalcidon (Plut. Luc. 8.3).*

And when this attempt failed, the soldiers began to march more negligently, with arms not properly arrayed, as they had been in the beginning, and with a looser line of march.

**102** 27M, 94Mc, 15D, 14K

Nam tertia luna<sup>1</sup> erat, et sublima nebula coelum obscurabat.

Non. p. 489M = 785L.9–10: to illustrate the collateral form *sublimus*, *-a*, *-um*, = *sublimis*, *-e*.

<sup>1</sup> *Mähly*: tunc *codd.*: tunc <luna> *Müller*

**103** 32M, 95Mc, 80D, 98K

coniuratione claudit

Prisc. *GL* 2.514.16–17: to illustrate *claudio* = *claudio* (to be deficient).

**104** 95M, 96Mc, 73D, 89K

Ac tum maxume, uti solet in extremis rebus, sibi quisque carissimum domi recordari,<sup>1</sup> cunctique omnium ordinum <munia><sup>2</sup> extrema sequi.<sup>3</sup>

Non. p. 137M = 199L.8–10: to illustrate *munia* = *officia* (duties).

<sup>1</sup> *corr. ed. a. 1480*: recordavi *codd.* <sup>2</sup> *Junius*

<sup>3</sup> *exequi Dietsch* (*sed cf. fr. 5.8*, sequebantur = exsequebantur)

**102** 27M, 94Mc, 15D, 14K

*Maurenbr.*, adopting the view of Kritz, assigned this fragment to the description of Mithridates' clandestine withdrawal from Chalcedon soon after the evening meal, on a damp night, with the intention of attacking Cyzicus (*Plut. Luc.* 9.1). However, if the *paradosis tunc*, in place of the conjecture *luna*, is allowed to stand, then the text presumably refers to the Roman third hour, hence early morning, 7–9 AM, depending on the season of the year.

For it was the third moon,<sup>1</sup> and a high haze was darkening the sky.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., the third after the new moon (cf. *Hor. Carm.* 4.2.58; *Plin. HN* 2.219). Text uncertain.

**103** 32M, 95Mc, 80D, 98K

*Maurenbr.* detected in this fragment a possible reference to Mithridates' failed attempt to cause the Valerians to defect (cf. fr. 26). Gerlach, on the contrary, assumed a connection with the plot against Sertorius (cf. fr. 55–57).

falters as a result of the conspiracy

**104** 95M, 96Mc, 73D, 89K

*Maurenbr.* connected the desperation felt by the troops with the panic experienced by the soldiers under P. Varinius (pr. 73) in the war against Spartacus (cf. fr. 42.2).

And then especially, as usually happens in desperate circumstances, each recalled the one dearest to him at home, and all men of all ranks carried out their final duties.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., put their affairs in order, possibly by drawing up wills—so understood by Kritz and Dietsch—as the soldiers in Caesar's camp did in 58 out of fear of Ariovistus (*Caes. B Gall.* 1.39.5).

Miscellaneous, frr. 105–8

**105** 107M, 97Mc, 75D, 92K

Perculsis et animi incertis succurritur.

Arus. *GL* 7.487.29–30 = p. 181DC: to illustrate *incertus* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

**106** 108M, 98Mc, 76D, 93K

muros successerant

Arus. *GL* 7.507.16 = p. 256DC, quoting fr. 1.128, this fragment, and fr. 4.3: to illustrate *succedo* + acc. of thing. [cf. *OLD* 2a].

**107** 109M, 99Mc, 78D, 96K

Contra ille calvi ratus quaerit extis num<sup>1</sup> somnio portenderetur thesaurus.

Eutyh. *GL* 5.485.7–8: to illustrate the third conj. verb *calvo* = *decipio* (to deceive).

[*contra* . . . *ratus*, Non. p. 7M = 11L.7, and Pris. *GL* 2.506.10: to illustrate the same as above.]

<sup>1</sup> quaerit extis num] *Kritz*: quaerit extisne an *Maurenbr.*: ratusq. retextis ne somnio *B*: e querere tectis ne asomno *t*: q. rite textis netui somnio *f*: extis an *P*

**108** 110M, 100Mc, 81D, 99K

dubius consilii

Arus. *GL* 7.468.12 = p. 112DC: to illustrate *dubius* + gen. [of resp.: *OLD* 1a].



**105** 107M, 97Mc, 75D, 92K

Assistance is offered to the demoralized and faltering in spirit.

**106** 108M, 98Mc, 76D, 93K

they had approached close to the walls

**107** 109M, 99Mc, 78D, 96K

*“That man” (ille) may possibly be Lucullus, since dreams play a prominent role in Plutarch’s account of Lucullus’ campaigns against Mithridates—e.g., before the naval battle of Lemnos/Chryse (Luc. 12.1; cf. fr. 74) and before the capture of Sinope (op. cit. 23.3)—and Lucullus had been advised by Sulla in his Memoirs to put faith in dreams (op. cit. 23.6).*

That man, on the contrary, thinking that he was being misled, inquired by means of entrails whether a treasure was being foretold in his dream.

**108** 110M, 100Mc, 81D, 99K

undecided in intention<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., regarding what plan to adopt.

## BOOK 4

### OUTLINE

- I. URBAN AFFAIRS (72 BC), FRR. 1-2
- II. MITHRIDATIC WAR (71 BC), FRR. 3-10
- III. CONCLUSION OF THE SLAVE UPRISING UNDER SPARTACUS (autumn 72—spring 71 BC), FRR. 11-31  
*Description of the Geography of Southern Italy, to which Spartacus Withdrew, frs. 14-20*
- IV. URBAN AFFAIRS (71 BC), FRR. 32-41
- V. MITHRIDATIC WAR (70 BC), FRR. 42-46
- VI. URBAN AFFAIRS (70 BC), FRR. 47-51
- VII. LUCULLUS' INVASION OF ARMENIA (69 BC), FRR. 52-59
- VIII. LETTER OF MITHRIDATES, FR. 60

- IX. LUCULLUS' MARCH INTO ARMENIA (mid 69-68), FRR. 61-70
- X. URBAN AFFAIRS (68 BC), FR 71
- XI. FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN CONTEXT  
IN BOOK 4, FRR. 72-77  
*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr., fr.  
72-73*  
*Miscellaneous, fr. 74-77*

## LIBER IV

URBAN AFFAIRS (72 BC), FRR. 1-2

I 1M, 1Mc, 35D, 50K

At Cn. Lentulus patriciae gentis, collega eius, quoi cognomentum Clodiano fuit, perincertum stolidior an vanior, legem de pecunia, quam Sulla emptoribus bonorum remiserat, exigunda promulgavit.

Gell. 18.4.4: providing the basis for a discussion of the contrast S. draws between two apparent synonyms, *stolidior* and *vanior*.

## BOOK 4

### URBAN AFFAIRS (72 BC), FRR. 1–2

#### I 1M, 1Mc, 35D, 50K

*The introductory word “At” (“But”) and the description of Lentulus as “his colleague” invite the surmise that L. Gellius Publicola (Lentulus’ colleague) was mentioned in the preceding sentence. The two shared the consulship in 72 and censorship in 70, but Lentulus’ act of proposing legislation establishes 72 as the context, since censors did not have legislative powers (Momm. StR 2.354 n. 1). The law appears not to have been passed, since two years later, in 70, Cicero refers to several decrees of the Senate, rather than a law, as the means by which the treasury sought to recover monies owed from the Sullan proscriptions (Cic. 2 Verr. 3.81).*

But his colleague Gnaeus Lentulus, of patrician stock, who had the further name Clodianus—it being entirely unclear whether he was more slow of wit<sup>1</sup> or more devious—sponsored a law to exact the money Sulla had rebated to buyers of property.

<sup>1</sup> The second-century AD scholar Sulpicius Apollinaris (ap. Gell.) claims that *stolidus*, in this context, means “disagreeable” (*taeter*) or “churlish” (*molestus*).

2 2M, 2Mc, 11D, 8K

eum atque Metrophanem senatus magna industria  
perquirebat, quom per tot scaphas, quas ad ostia  
cum paucis fidis percontatum miserant

Non. p. 535M = 858L.8–10: to illustrate the noun *scaphae*, defined as “small ships that accompany larger ones.”

#### MITHRIDATIC WAR (71 BC), FRR. 3–10

3† 4M, 3Mc, 50D, 61K

Turmam equitum castra regis succedere et prope rationem<sup>1</sup> explorare iubet.

Arus. *GL* 7.507.16–17 = p. 256DC, quoting fr. 1.128, fr. 3.106, and this fragment, which is assigned to “*Hist. II*”: to illustrate *succedo* + acc. of thing. [cf. *OLD* 2a]

<sup>1</sup> *properationem codd.*: *propere stationem vel prope stationem Bondam*: *proeli rationem Dietsch*: *prope munitionem Keil in app.*: *properatim vel prope* (= *iuxta*) *rationem Clausen*

## 2 2M, 2Mc, 11D, 8K

If the "him," companion of Metrophanes, is L. Fannius—the two being last attested as commanders of Mithridatic forces at the time of the siege of Cyzicus in the winter of 73/72 (Oros. 6.2.16)—the context may be the desertion of Fannius and his fellow ex-Fimbrian L. Magius to the Romans (Ps.-Ascon. p. 244St.4–5). L. Fannius later took part in Lucullus' Armenian campaign (Dio 36.8.2), and Metrophanes served as an envoy of Pompey to Mithridates in 66 (Dio 36.45.2). Cf. fr. dub. 21.

the Senate was searching for him and Metrophanes with great diligence, both by means of so many skiffs, which they had sent to the outlets [of the river] with a few trusty men to make inquiry, <and . . . >

## MITHRIDATIC WAR (71 BC), FRR. 3–10

### 3† 4M, 3Mc, 50D, 61K

This third of three examples cited by Arusianus from S. to illustrate the same construction is said to have been taken from "Hist. II", but since examples 1 and 2 come from "Hist. I" and "Hist. III", respectively, and since this fragment refers to "the king's camp" (surely, Mithridates), "II" should probably be corrected to "IV." Possibly the text concerns the cavalry engagement that took place in the plain near the city of Cabira in Pontus, where Mithridates had gathered his forces (Plut. Luc. 15.1–2).

He orders a squad of cavalry to draw near the king's camp and investigate the situation from close at hand.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, "the nearby lay of the land" (sc. *locorum* with *rationem*: so Keil and Maurenbr.). The text is uncertain at this point (see textual note).

4 5M, 4Mc, 16D, 43K

Igitur legiones pridie in monte positas arcessivit.

Prisc. *GL* 2.535.8–9: to illustrate the formation of the pf. in *-ivi* of verbs ending in *-so*.

5\* 7M, 5Mc, inc. 63D, inc. 29K

quo cupidius in ore ducis se quisque bonum et strenuom ostentantes

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 10.370 (Isid. *Etym.* 9.3.22 (*quo cupidius . . . bonum*)): to illustrate that a *rex* is referred to as *dux* when he leads troops in battle.

6† 8M, 6Mc, 3.34D, 3.38K

At Lucullum regis cura machinata fames brevi fatigabat.

Prisc. *GL* 2.382.4 (“*in II historiarum*”): to illustrate the passive of the depon. verb *machinor*.

7\* 9M, 7Mc, deest in D et K

Qua nocte ipse fiebat anceps.

*Schol. Stat.* ad *Theb.* 3.2: to illustrate the adj. *anceps*.



#### 4 5M, 4Mc, 16D, 43K

*Possibly the legions were summoned from the mountains to the northwest of Cabira (App. Mithr. 80) to the new location of the Roman camp near Cabira, on high ground, a shift of position that had been made possible thanks to friendly Greek guides, who showed Lucullus how to skirt Mithridates' forces (Plut. Luc. 15.3-4).*

And so he summoned the legions stationed the previous day on the mountain.

#### 5\* 7M, 5Mc, inc. 63D, inc. 29K

*Possibly describing the personal intervention of Lucullus to arrest the flight of a detachment of his men near Cabira (Plut. Luc. 15.6-7).*

all the more eagerly each man showing himself to be valiant and energetic before the eyes of his commander

#### 6† 8M, 6Mc, 3.34D, 3.38K

*Possibly describing Mithridates' strategy to interdict supplies being transported from Cappadocia to Lucullus' army near Cabira (App. Mithr. 81).*

But Lucullus was soon afflicted by famine contrived by the king's effort.

#### 7\* 9M, 7Mc, not included in D and K

*Panic caused in the camp of Mithridates by news of the failed attack on Lucullus' supply train ultimately led to a disastrous, disorderly evacuation of Mithridates' forces (Plut. Luc. 17.4-5; App. Mithr. 81).*

And on that night, he himself became undecided.

8 10M, 8Mc, 45D, 3K

Ita<sup>1</sup> castra sine vulnere introitum.

Arus. *GL* 7.488.14–15 = p. 183DC; Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.628 and *Aen.* 11.230: to illustrate the acc. as the object of an impersonal passive verb.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv. (bis)*

9 11M, 9Mc, 4D, 26K

et <re>vors<sup>1</sup> postero die multa, quae properantes deseruerant in castris, nacti, quom se ibi vino ciboque laeti invitarent

Non. p. 321 = 504L.25–27: to illustrate *invitare* meaning *replere* (to give a person his fill): “to regale” (*OLD* 1).

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch: et versi codd.: reversi Junius*

10\* 12M, 10Mc, 47D, 5K

thesaurus<sup>1</sup> custodias regias

Pomp. *GL* 5.180.5–7; *Ars anon. Bern. GL* 8.94.13: mistakenly treating *custodias regias* as an instance of the first decl. Greek gen. sing. in *-as*, as if =  $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$  *custodias*  $\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma$  *regias*. [Cf. on fr. 3.79, *castella custodias*.]

<sup>1</sup> *thesaurus Ars anon. Bern., A cod. Pomp.*

**8 10M, 8Mc, 45D, 3K**

*The Romans seized Mithridates' hastily evacuated camp near Cabira (App. Mithr. 81–82).*

In this way entry was made into the camp without a wound [being suffered].

**9 11M, 9Mc, 4D, 26K**

*Same context as fr. 8.*

and upon returning the next day, they came upon many objects that in their haste the enemy had left behind in the camp, and while they were joyfully regaling themselves there with food and wine

**10\* 12M, 10Mc, 47D, 5K**

*Pomponius supplies the words tenuit Lucullus (Lucullus had in his power) to provide context. Plut. (Luc. 18.1) states that Mithridates' treasures and fortresses fell under Lucullus' control after he defeated Mithridates' forces at Cabira.*

<Lucullus had in his power> the royal treasuries and prisons

CONCLUSION OF THE SLAVE  
UPRISING UNDER SPARTACUS  
(autumn 72–spring 71 BC), FRR. 11–31

11 20M, 16Mc, 3D, 24K

Rursus iumenta nancti ad oppidum ire contendunt.

Non. p. 258M = 394L.33: to illustrate the verb *contendere* = *intendere* (strive).

12 21M, 17Mc, 63D, 64K

omnis, quibus senecto corpore animus militaris erat

Prisc. *GL* 2.484.5; id. *GL* 2.512.13: treating (incorrectly) the adj. *senectus*, *-a, um* (aged) as a pf. partic. of the intransitive verb *seneo* (to be old).

13\* 22M, 18Mc, 6D, 27K

Sorte ductos fusti necat.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.201: to illustrate *sorte* (abl.) with *ductus*. Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 6.22: to provide a counter example to Virgil's *ductis sortibus* (the lots having been drawn).

**CONCLUSION OF THE SLAVE  
UPRISING UNDER SPARTACUS**  
(autumn 72–spring 71 BC), FRR. 11–31

**11** 20M, 16Mc, 3D, 24K

*The context may be a raid carried out by Spartacus' band, which had occupied the mountains in the vicinity of Thurii and the town itself in south Lucania (cf. App. B Civ. 1.117).*

Having once more obtained pack animals, they strive to go to the town.

**12** 21M, 17Mc, 63D, 64K

*The raising of new Roman forces after M. Crassus assumed command of the slave war in the autumn of 72. This fragment may refer to the recruitment of seasoned soldiers from among Sulla's veterans who had been discharged a decade earlier, in late 82. They will have had a vested interest in defending their allotments of land against the threat posed by Spartacus' uprising.*

all who possessed a martial spirit, despite having an aged body

**13\*** 22M, 18Mc, 6D, 27K

*Crassus decimated the troops that had shown the greatest cowardice in the defeat suffered by his legate Mummius at the hands of the fugitive slaves (Plut. Crass. 10.4).*

He killed with a cudgel those selected by lot.

*Description of the Geography of Southern  
Italy, to which Spartacus Withdrew*  
(cf. *Plut. Crass. 10.6-7*), frs. 14-20

**14\*** 23M, 19Mc, 18D, 33K

Omnis Italia coacta in angustias finditur<sup>1</sup> in duo promunturia, Bruttium et Sallentinum.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.400: to illustrate the location of the promontory Sallentinum at the tip of the extreme southeast ("heel") of Italy.

<sup>1</sup> funditur *F*

**15\*** 24M, 20Mc, 17D, 32K

Italiae plana ac mollia

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.522: to illustrate Virgil's description of Italy as "low-lying" (*humilis*) when viewed at a distance by Aeneas and his Trojan companions approaching Calabria by sea, from the east.

**16** 25M, 21Mc, 19D, 34K

*Description of the Geography of Southern  
Italy, to which Spartacus Withdrew  
(cf. Plut. Crass. 10.6–7), frs. 14–20*

14\* 23M, 19Mc, 18D, 33K

*S. refers to the "heel" of Italy (Calabria) by the name of the promontory at its tip, Sallentinum, whereas he uses the name of the broader ager Bruttius to refer to the "toe."*

All Italy, which terminates in narrow land masses, is split into two promontories: Bruttium and Sallentinum.

15\* 24M, 20Mc, 17D, 32K

*A description of Calabria, which is relatively low-lying and flat in contrast with the rugged ager Bruttius, the other of the two large peninsulas in which Italy terminates.*

the flat, smooth regions of Italy

16 25M, 21Mc, 19D, 34K

*S. reckons the shortest distance from coast to coast in the ager Bruttius as roughly 35 Roman miles, which is approximately the distance by air at the latitude of Thurii (ca. 40 English miles). The neck of land is even narrower (ca. 20 English miles) at the latitude of Scolacium. Plut. appears to have mistaken this measurement for the far shorter distance that must have been spanned by the wall and trench (15 feet wide and 15 feet deep) built by Crassus to blockade Spartacus and his men in the ager Bruttius (Plut. Crass. 10.7–8). Plut. claims that the wall stretched 300 stades (ca. 37.5 Roman miles), an impossible length to garrison. More realistically, the wall and ditch were probably intended to cut off the promontory of Scyllaeum (mod. Scilla), to which Spartacus retreated, on the coast of the ager Bruttius, opposite Cape Pelorus in Sicily (so Ward, Crassus, 89–90).*

ad Siciliam vergens faucibus ipsis non amplius patet  
milibus quinque et triginta

Arus. *GL* 7.500.17 = p. 230DC: to illustrate *pateo + tot pedibus*  
[an abl. of measure of distance].

17\* 26M, 22Mc, 20D, 35K

Nam olim<sup>1</sup> Italiae Siciliam coniunctam constat fuisse; sed  
medium spatium aut per<sup>2</sup> humilitatem obrutum<sup>3</sup> est, aut  
per<sup>3</sup> angustiam scissum. Ut autem<sup>4</sup> curvom sit facit natura  
mollioris Italiae, in quam asperitas et altitudo Siciliae aes-  
tum relidit.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.414; *Schol. Stat.* ad *Theb.* 3.597: to  
explicate the tradition, found in Virgil and Statius, that Italy and  
Sicily were in an earlier age joined together.

{Cf. Isid. *Etym.* 13.18.3, *Sallustius . . . dicens Italiae olim Siciliam  
coniunctam fuisse, et dum esset una tellus, medium spatium aut  
per humilitatem obrutum est aquis, aut per angustiam scissum;*  
14.6.34, *Sallustius autem dicit Italiae coniunctam fuisse Siciliam,  
sed medium spatium impetu maris divisum et per angustiam scis-  
sum.*}

<sup>1</sup> nam olim] *om.* Serv.

<sup>2</sup> propter *Schol. Stat.*

<sup>3</sup> obruptum *Pa Schol. Stat., NTa Serv.:* abruptum *L Schol. Stat.*

<sup>4</sup> dum *Schol. Stat.*

18\* 27M, 23Mc, 21D, 36K



stretching out in the direction of Sicily, it is not wider than 35 miles at its narrowest point

17\* 26M, 22Mc, 20D, 35K

*Creation of the strait between Italy and Sicily.*

For it is agreed that Sicily had once been joined to Italy, but the intervening section had either been submerged as a result of its low-lying nature or severed as a result of its narrowness. Moreover, the rounding of the coast was brought about by the nature of the softer composition of the Italian mainland against which the roughness and height of Sicily casts back the sea's swell.

18\* 27M, 23Mc, 21D, 36K

*S. describes the region on the coast of the ager Bruttius, to which Spartacus withdrew. The mythical Homeric monster Scylla is connected with a rock formation projecting from the Italian coast, opposite Cape Pelorus in the Strait of Messina, near present-day Scilla.*

Scyllam accolae saxum mari imminens adpellant, simile celebratae formae procul visentibus. Et monstrosam speciem fabulae illi dederunt, quasi formam hominis caninis succinctam capitibus, quia conlisi ibi fluctus latratus videntur exprimere.

Isid. *Etym.* 13.18.4: either the exact words of S., or a paraphrase, to judge from the verbal similarities to the report of S.'s account in Serv. & Serv. auct., combined with the fact that Isid. identifies S. as his source for the version of fr. 17 given at 13.18.3.

{Cf. Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.420: SCYLLA . . . *Sallustius saxum esse dicit simile formae celebratae procul visentibus. Canes vero et lupi ob hoc ex ea nati esse finguntur, quia ipsa loca plena sunt monstis marinis et saxorum asperitas illic imitatur latratus.*}

#### 19 28M, 24Mc, 22D, 37K

Charybdis, mare vorticosum, quo<d><sup>1</sup> forte inlata naufragia sorbens gurgitibus occultis milia XL<sup>2</sup> Tauromenitana ad litora trahit, ubi se laniata navigia<sup>3</sup> fundo<sup>4</sup> emergunt

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.117 (*Charybdis mare verticosum*): in explanation of the noun *vertex* (whirlpool); Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.425 (*quo<d> . . . trahit*): to illustrate the verb *traho*; Arus. *GL* 7.472.16 = p. 128DC (*ubi . . . emergunt*): to illustrate *se emergere*.

{Paraphrased Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.420; Isid. *Etym.* 13.18.5 (*Charybdis . . . mare verticosum, et inde ibi laniata naufragia profundo emergunt*); cf. Sen. *Q Nat.* 7.8.2, attesting S.'s use of the adj. *vorticosus* of a whirling motion; words and phrases borrowed from this description in Plin. *HN* 3.87; *Pan. Lat.* 2.26.4.}



**20\*** 29M, 25Mc, 24D, 39K

*PELORI: promontorium Siciliae est,<sup>1</sup> secundum Sallustium dictum a gubernatore Hannibalis illic sepulto*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.411; *Isid. Etym.* 14.7.4.

<sup>1</sup> est] respiciens Aquilonem *Isid.*

**21** 30M, 26Mc, 8D, 29K

*doxia quae<sup>1</sup> sub trabes locata vitibus aut tergis vinciebant*

Arus. *GL* 7.509.14–15 = p. 262DC: to illustrate *sub* + acc. of thing with *locatus*.

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 9.410 (*tergis vinciebant*): to illustrate *tergum* = *tergus*, *-oris* (“hide” from an animal’s back used as a material [*OLD* s.v. *tergum* 7b and *OLD* s.v. *tergus* 3a].)}

<sup>1</sup> *Lindemann*: cum *NI*: quoque *Keil*

**22** 31M, 27Mc, 9D, 30K

*Implicatae<sup>1</sup> rates ministeria prohibebant.*

Prisc. *GL* 2.473.8–9: to illustrate *implicatus*, in contrast with *implicitus*.

<sup>1</sup> *implicitae D*: *implicitae GK*: *implicite B*

**20\*** 29M, 25Mc, 24D, 39K

Same context as fr. 18–19. There was a tradition that Hannibal put his pilot Pelorus to death when, on a voyage, the general could not make out in the distance the narrow Strait of Messina (between Cape Pelorus and the “toe” of Italy) and so mistakenly believed that Pelorus had betrayed him by steering him into a trap (Serv. loc. cit.; Mela 2.116; Val. Max. 9.8 ext. 1).

**PELORUS:** it is a **promontory of Sicily named, according to Sallust, after Hannibal’s helmsman buried there**

**21** 30M, 26Mc, 8D, 29K

When the fugitive slaves failed to secure passage to Sicily on pirate vessels belonging to Cilicians, who had struck a bargain with them but then sailed away, leaving them stranded (Plut. Crass. 10.6–7), Spartacus and his men tried to cross the Strait of Messina on makeshift rafts (Flor. 2.8.13; cf. Cic. 2 Verr. 5.5), setting out, no doubt, from their base of operations on Cape Scyllaeum.

large earthenware vessels which they placed underneath planks and secured with vines or strips of leather

**22** 31M, 27Mc, 9D, 30K

Same context as fr. 21.

The entangled rafts hindered their management.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ministerium* in this context must refer to the duties of steering and controlling the craft (so Kritz), a meaning not taken into account by OLD or Lewis and Short (but see TLL 8.1010.19–53, = *negotium, munus* [i.e., an assigned task]).

**23\*** 32M, 28Mc, 10D, 31K

C. Verres litora Italia<sup>1</sup> propinqua firmavit.

Arus. *GL* 7.500.29 = p. 231DC: to illustrate *propinquus* + abl. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> Italiae *Dietsch* (cf. *Jug.* 48.4, 89.5)

**24\*** 35M, 29Mc, deest in D et K

frigida nocte

*Schol. Berni.* ad G. 4.104: included in a note on the expression *frigida tecta* (beehives that are abandoned and without activity).

**25** 36M; 30 Mc, 65D, 66K

infrequentem stationem nostram incuriosamque  
tum<sup>1</sup> ab armis

Arus. *GL* 7.487.19–20 = p. 180DC: to illustrate the adj. *incuriosus* construed with *ab* + abl. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> *Gerlach ed. min.* (cf. *Dict. Cret.* 2.42, tum incuriosique ab armis): tam *N*: iam *Keil in app.*

**26\*** 33M, 31Mc, 7D, 28K

in silva Sila fuerunt<sup>1</sup>

Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.715: quotes S. as part of his discussion of the corruption *silva* for *Sila* in some manuscripts of the *Aen.*

<sup>1</sup> fugerunt *R*: ficerunt *H*: in silvam Silam fugerunt *Dietsch*

**23\*** 32M, 28Mc, 10D, 31K

*Same context as fr. 21. Cicero in his prosecution of Verres in 70 scoffed at the claim of the ex-governor that he deserved credit for preventing the war with Spartacus from spreading across the Strait of Messina to Sicily (2 Verr. 5.5). Yet contrary to Cicero's portrayal, it may have been Verres' defensive measures that caused the Cilician pirates to break their agreement to transport Spartacus and his men to the coast of Sicily (Plut. Crass. 10.7).*

Gaius Verres fortified the shores near Italy.

**24\*** 35M, 29Mc, not included in D and K

*Maurenbr., comparing Plut. Crass. 10.9, detected in these words a reference to the snowy and wintry night on which one-third of Spartacus' forces managed to cross the trench and wall with which Crassus had attempted to seal off Cape Scyllaeum in the vicinity of Rhegium, where the slaves had taken up a position.*

on a cold night

**25** 36M, 30 Mc, 65D, 66K

*Same context as fr. 24.*

our picket being sparse and inattentive to its arms  
on that occasion

**26\*** 33M, 31Mc, 7D, 28K

*Servius states that the quotation from S. concerns fugitives. Since Sila is a vast, forested mountain in northeast Bruttius ager (Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom. 20.15 [fr. 20.5 Ambr.]), ca. eighty miles in length (Strabo 6.1.9, p. 261), it made a logical hiding place for Spartacus and his band after their escape from Crassus' entrenchment to the south (cf. frr. 24–25).*

they were in the forest of Sila

**27** 37M, 32Mc, 12D, 40K

Dissidere inter se coepere, neque in medium consultare.

Arus. *GL* 7.482.27–28 = p. 165DC: to illustrate *in medium* = *in commune*.

**28** 38M, 33Mc, 13D, 41K

sapor iuxta fontis dulcissimos<sup>1</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.510.12 = p. 266DC: to illustrate *sapor* construed with *iuxta* + acc of thing.

<sup>1</sup> dulcissimus *Keil in app.*

**29** 40M, 34Mc, 15D, 42K



**27 37M, 32Mc, 12D, 40K**

*Possibly a reference to a division of the fugitives into two rival factions that came into being shortly after their escape from Crassus' blockade (Plut. Crass. 11.1): one of Gauls and Germans under the leadership of Castus and Cannic(i)us (Frontin. Str. 2.4.7, 2.5.34; Plut. Crass. 11.4; named Castus and Gannicus in Liv. Per. 97); the rest remaining loyal to Spartacus. Alternatively, this fragment may describe dissension between Pompey and Crassus during their joint consulship in 70 (Syme, Sallust, 212 n. 149).*

They began to disagree among themselves and not to take counsel for a common purpose.

**28 38M, 33Mc, 13D, 41K**

*The German and Gallic contingent of fugitives is said to have encamped in Lucania, near a lake whose water by turns changed from sweet to bitter and back to sweet (Plut. Crass. 11.1).*

a taste on a par with the most pleasant springs

**29 40M, 34Mc, 15D, 42K**

*Soldiers who had been sent surreptitiously by Crassus to take up a strategic position prior to an attack on the Gallic-Germanic band of rebels were spotted by two women of the enemy (Plut. Crass. 11.5). According to Plut., those women were engaged in offering sacrifices on behalf of the group. Possibly Plut., or his source, misunderstood S.'s menstrua as referring to "monthly sacrifices" (menstrua <sacra>, the meaning assigned to menstrua in this passage by Lewis and Short). The parallel in Lucretius (6.796, quo menstrua solvit; cf. Tac. Hist. 5.6) makes it clear that the women were going off to attend to their menstrual cycles in seclusion.*

Quom interim, lumine etiamtum incerto, duae Gal-  
liae mulieres<sup>1</sup> conventum vitantes<sup>1</sup> ad menstrua sol-  
venda<sup>2</sup> montem ascendunt

Non. p. 492M = 790L.27-29: to illustrate *Galliae* in place of the  
adj. *Gallicae*.

<sup>1</sup> *ed. princ. (a. 1470): mulieris . . . vitantis codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *ad struem movendam Dietsch in app.*

**30** 39M, 35Mc, 14D, 44K

avidior modo properandi factus

Arus. *GL* 7.450.11 = p. 46DC: to illustrate *avidus* + gen. of thing.

**31\*** 41M, 36Mc, inc. 29D, 4.45K

haud<sup>1</sup> inpigre<sup>2</sup> neque inultus occiditur

Donat. ad Ter. *An.* 205: interpreting (incorrectly) *neque . . . haud*  
. . . *non* in Ter. as equivalent to a simple negative, and apparently  
regarding *haud . . . neque inultus* in S. as comparable.

<sup>1</sup> *secl. Vogel (cf. Flor. 1.38.18, Rex . . . dimicans inpigre nec*  
*inultus occiditur)*      <sup>2</sup> *impune V (man. 2 in rasura): inpigro*  
A: *inpigre <pugnans> Dietsch*

When, meanwhile, in the first uncertain light of daybreak, two Gallic women went up a mountain to attend to their monthly discharge in isolation from the general throng

**30** 39M, 35Mc, 14D, 44K

*In the last phase of the war, after Crassus had defeated the Gallic-Germanic detachment (referred to in frs. 27–29), he made great haste to crush the remaining force under Spartacus in order to forestall Pompey from robbing him of the credit for ending the war (Plut. Crass. 11.8; Nic.-Crass. 3(36).2)—haste characterized as reckless (Plut. Pomp. 21.2).*

having become more eager just now for hurrying

**31\*** 41M, 36Mc, inc. 29D, 4.45K

*This description of a warrior who is killed in battle after a great struggle, taking many of the enemy with him, fits the narrative of Spartacus' death (Flor. 2.8.14; Plut. Crass. 11.9–10; cf. App. B Civ. 1.120: Spartacus' body not found).*

he is cut down by no means with dispatch<sup>1</sup> and not without inflicting vengeance [on his foes]

<sup>1</sup> Text is uncertain (see textual note); a similar problem is posed by *haud impigre* at Liv. 32.16.11 (see Briscoe ad loc.). If *haud* is deleted, trans. "he is cut down fiercely but not without. . . ." For *impigre* (meaning *agiliter* or *acriter*) with *occidor*, cf. Jug. 101.6, *satis impigre occiso pedite*.

URBAN AFFAIRS (71 BC), FRR. 32-41

32\* 42M, 37Mc, 31D, 56K

multisque suspicionibus volentia plebi facturus  
habebatur

Non. p. 186M = 274L.23: to illustrate *volentia* meaning "what people want" (*quae vellent*).

33 43M, 38Mc, 25D, 57K

M. Lollius<sup>1</sup> Palicanus, humili loco Picens, loquax  
magis quam facundus

Quint. 4.2.2: (without attribution to S.) as an example of a character sketch.

{Gell. 1.15.13 (*loquax . . . facundus*): S.'s rendering of a pithy descriptive phrase coined by the fifth-century Greek comic playwright Eupolis (fr. 95 Kock).}

<sup>1</sup> *Pighius*: m. olliis A: macilius B

34 44M, 39Mc, 70D, 73K

magnam exorsus orationem

Arus. *GL* 7. 472.18 = p. 128DC: to illustrate the expression *exorsus orationem*.

## URBAN AFFAIRS (71 BC), FRR. 32–41

### 32\* 42M, 37Mc, 31D, 56K

*Upon his return to Italy from the Sertorian War in Spain in the spring of 71, Pompey was regarded by some as being too inclined to promote measures popular with the masses (Plut. Pomp. 21.7).*

and as a result of many presentiments, it was thought that he was going to do things desired by<sup>1</sup> the commons

<sup>1</sup> For this use of *volentia* (= *optata*) + dat., cf. Tac. Ann. 15.36; Hist. 3.52.

### 33 43M, 38Mc, 25D, 57K

*After Pompey's election to the consulship of 70, M. Palicanus (tribune of the plebs 71) summoned a contio, at which Pompey delivered a speech in which he promised to restore the powers of the tribunes. (Ps.-Ascon. p. 220St.18–20; Cic. Verr. 45).*

M. Lollius Palicanus, from Picenum, of lowly stock, loquacious rather than eloquent,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. (*Brut.* 223) characterizes Palicanus as a speaker well suited for unruly public meetings, where there was no appreciation for true eloquence (*aptior . . . auribus imperitorum*).

### 34 44M, 39Mc, 70D, 73K

*Same context as fr. 33. The speaker is Pompey.*

commencing a lengthy speech

35 45M, 40Mc, 30D, 55K

si nihil ante adventum suum inter plebem et patres  
convenisset, coram se daturum operam

Prisc. *GL* 3.52.10–12: to illustrate the adv. *coram* meaning “out in the open,” the opposite of *clam*.

36 46M, 41Mc, 26D, 59K

qui quidem mos<sup>1</sup> ut tabes in urbem coiectus<sup>2</sup>

Festus p. 359M = 490L.34: to illustrate *tabes* used metaphorically, meaning “that which produces decay.”

<sup>1</sup> *Ant. Augustinus (ed. Venetiis, 1559): nos codd.*      <sup>2</sup> *con-*  
*iectus VWXZ: coiecit U: coierit Müller*

37 47M, 42Mc, 32D, 58K

multitudini ostendens quam colere plurimum, ut  
mox cupitis ministrum<sup>1</sup> haberet,<sup>2</sup> decreverat,

Arus. *GL* 7. 494.7–8 = p. 205DC: to illustrate *minister* + *dat.*

<sup>1</sup> *ministram Hoeven*      <sup>2</sup> *Hoeven: habere codd.*

38 49M, 43Mc, 28D, 52K

**35 45M, 40Mc, 30D, 55K**

*Same context as fr. 33–34. Commitment made by Pompey, looking ahead to his consulship in 70.*

that if no understanding had been achieved between the commons and the senate before his arrival, he would in person devote his effort <to achieving it?> . . .

**36 46M, 41Mc, 26D, 59K**

*Possibly the same context as fr. 33–35. The “plague” may be the notorious corruption of provincial administration and the failure of the criminal courts under senatorial juries in the 70s to punish malefactors, serious concerns addressed by Pompey in his contio speech (Cic. Verr. 45).*

which habit, in truth, foisted upon the City, like a plague,

**37 47M, 42Mc, 32D, 58K**

*Pompey promoted populist measures in order to strengthen and expand his political base (Plut. Pomp. 22.3).*

showing to the throng, which he had resolved to cultivate very assiduously so as to have it soon as an agent for furthering his wishes, that

**38 49M, 43Mc, 28D, 52K**

*The return of Metellus Pius from the Sertorian War in the latter half of 71, sometime after the election of Pompey to the consulship (App. B Civ. 1.121). In contrast with Pompey, who retained his army upon returning to Italy in order to deal with the uprising of Spartacus, as he had been authorized to do by the senate, Metellus dismissed his army.*

Exercitum dimisit, ut primum Alpibus degressus<sup>1</sup> est.

Arus. *GL* 7.464.26–27 = p. 102DC: to illustrate *digredior* [sic] + acc. of place.

<sup>1</sup> *Keil in app.*: digressus *N1*, *edd. Sall.*

39 50M, 44Mc, 69D, 72K

quod in praesens modo satis cautum fuerat

Arus. *GL* 7.487.5–6 = p. 179DC: to illustrate *in praesens* = *ad praesens*.

40 48M, 45Mc, 33D, 54K

collegam minorem et sui cultorem expectans

Arus. *GL* 7.461.10–11 = p. 88DC: to illustrate *cultor* + *sui*.

41 51M, 56Mc, 34D, 62K

Crassus, obtreptans potius collegae quam boni aut mali publici gravis<sup>1</sup> exactor,<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.496.30–497.1 = p. 215DC: to illustrate *obtreptans* + *dat.*

<sup>1</sup> *G P*: *gravus N1 N2*; *gnavus Keil*

<sup>2</sup> *codd.*: *aestumator vel existumator Dietsch*: *auctor Kritz*

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<sup>1</sup> *Exactor* is to be understood in two different senses: = *custos* (guardian) with “public good” and = *expulsor* (remover) with “disorder” (*TLL* 5.2.1136.56ff. and 1135.27ff., resp.). Twice elsewhere (*Cat.* 37.8 and *Hist.* 1.77M.13), S. uses *malum publicum* (modeled on *bonum publicum*); see Briscoe on Sisenna, *FRHist* 26F92 = fr. 111P, now with the corrigendum, per litteras, that Livy has *malum publicum* at 4.44.9.



He disbanded his army as soon as he had descended<sup>1</sup> the Alps.

<sup>1</sup> Since just ahead of this fragment Arus. cites *Jug.* 50.1 as *colli digredi*, for which the manuscripts of S. give *colle degredi*, there is good reason to accept here the emendation *degressus* (descended) for the paradosis *digressus* (departed). For a comparable error in the text tradition of Arusianus, cf. fr.4.72, *dimissus* (*dimissus* N1).

**39** 50M, 44Mc, 69D, 72K

*Possibly a reference to the brief political alliance made by Pompey and Crassus before their election to the consulship in 71, a reconciliation of their differences that soon dissolved into rivalry during their year in office (Plut. Pomp. 22.2–3; Crass. 12.1–3).*

for which adequate precaution had been taken for the time being only

**40** 48M, 45Mc, 33D, 54K

*Pompey supported Crassus' candidacy for the consulship in 71 so as to put him under obligation to him (Plut. Crass. 12.2).*

hoping for a junior colleague, one devoted to him

**41** 51M, 56Mc, 34D, 62K

*Text is uncertain; see textual notes. Possibly the same context as fr. 39–40, describing how the reconciliation between Pompey and Crassus was short-lived.*

Crassus, more a disparager of his colleague than a stern overseer<sup>1</sup> of public good or disorder,

MITHRIDATIC WAR (70 BC),  
FRR. 42–46

42 13M, 46Mc, 42D, 1K

Amisumque adsideri sine proeliis audiebat

Prisc. *GL* 2.435.14–15: to illustrate the passive of *adsideo*.

43 14M, 47Mc, 55D, 14K

scalas pares moenium altitudine

Arus. *GL* 7.500.2–3 = p. 228DC: to illustrate *par* + abl. of thing.  
[Abl. of measure: cf. K-S 1.391.10.]

44 15M, 48Mc, 43D, 69K

quia<sup>1</sup> praedatores<sup>2</sup> facibus sibi praelucentes ambus-  
tas in tectis<sup>3</sup> sine cura reliquerant

Arus. *GL* 7.503.15–16 = p. 242DC: to illustrate *praeluceo* + dat.  
of person and *lumine* [abl.].

<sup>1</sup> quae *Keil*      <sup>2</sup> *Linker*: praetores *codd.*      <sup>3</sup> ambustas  
in tectis] *codd.* (ambustum *PI*): ambustis tectis *Keil*

MITHRIDATIC WAR (70 BC),  
FRR. 42-46

42 13M, 46Mc, 42D, 1K

*The logical person to receive this news is Lucullus, on his journey back to Pontus from Lesser Armenia, after his victory over Mithridates near Cabira in the summer of 71 (Plut. Luc. 19.1). The city of Amisus held out for two years after it was put under siege in 72.*

and he heard that Amisus was being besieged without any pitched battles

43 14M, 47Mc, 55D, 14K

*Lucullus captured the Pontic city Eupatoria and soon afterward Amisus, by having his soldiers employ ladders to mount a part of the ramparts that were temporarily left unattended (Memnon, FGrH 434F30.4; cf. Plut. Luc. 19.3). Ladders were likewise employed in Lucullus' capture of Sinope (Memnon, FGrH 434F37.8).*

ladders equal to the height of the ramparts

44 15M, 48Mc, 43D, 69K

*Roman soldiers added to the destruction of Amisus, which had already been set ablaze by the fleeing garrison, by ransacking the houses with flaming torches (Plut. Luc. 19.5).*

because pillagers, lighting their way with torches, had carelessly left them smoldering in the buildings

45 56M, 57Mc, 49D, 7K

Tetrarchas regesque territos<sup>1</sup> animi firmavit.

Arus. *GL* 7.470.23–24 = p. 122DC: to illustrate *exterritus* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

<sup>1</sup> <ex>territos *Dietsch*

46\* 57M, 58Mc, 48D, 6K

insolens vera accipiundi

Donat. ad Ter. *An.* 907: to illustrate *insolens* meaning “unaccustomed” (*insuetus, insolitus*).

#### URBAN AFFAIRS (70 BC), FRR. 47–51

47 17M, 51Mc, 37D, 51K

atque hiavit humus multa vasta et profunda

Non. p. 318M = 498L.31: to give an instance of the verb *hiare* meaning *aperiri* (to be opened up).

45 56M, 57Mc, 49D, 7K

*After Mithridates' flight from Cabira (summer 71), Lucullus' brother-in-law Ap. Claudius (cos. 54) was sent to Tigranes, king of Armenia and Mithridates' son-in-law, to demand his cooperation in bringing about the capture of Mithridates. While Claudius waited at Antioch for Tigranes to return from settling affairs in Phoenicia, he tampered with the loyalty of many rulers who were vassals of Tigranes (Plut. Luc. 21.2).*

He strengthened the resolve of tetrarchs and kings cowed in spirit.

46\* 57M, 58Mc, 48D, 6K

*Same context as fr. 45. The bold and threatening words spoken to king Tigranes by Ap. Claudius were unlike any he had heard for decades, in as much as the king was used to being surrounded by flatterers and subservient courtiers (Plut. Luc. 21.6; cf. 25.1-2, Mithrobarzanes the first to tell Tigranes the truth).*

unaccustomed to hearing the truth

URBAN AFFAIRS (70 BC), FRR. 47-51

47 17M, 51Mc, 37D, 51K

*Phlegon of Tralles (FGrH 257F12.4) reports an earthquake that did considerable damage at Rome, placing it after Lucullus wintered at Cabira (71/70) and before the census of 70. S. may be referring to that event or to an earthquake in Phrygia mentioned by Nicolaus of Damascus (FGrH 90F74) as having occurred at the time of the Mithridatic War, without any precise indication of the exact year.*

and the ground gaped in an extensive fissure, vast and deep

48† 3.47M, 4.52Mc, 3.63D, 3.85K

post reditum eorum quibus senatus belli Lepidani  
gratiam fecerat

Arus. *GL* 7.476.10–11 = p. 142DC (assigned to Book 3: “*Sal. Hist. III*”); to illustrate *gratiam* + dat. of person and gen. of offense.

49\* 52M, 53Mc, inc. 114D, inc. 85K

fenoribus copertus<sup>1</sup> est<sup>2</sup>

Gell. 2.17.7: to illustrate that the prefix *con-* is lengthened not just before words beginning with *s* and *f*; Gell. 4.17.6: the prefix *con-* is lengthened when the *n* is dropped.

<sup>1</sup> *coopertus* (*compertus* *P* 4.17.6) *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *om. Gell. 4.17.6*

50 53M, 54Mc, 11D, 63K

48† 3.47M, 4.52Mc, 3.63D, 3.85K

*Those who had participated in the rebellion of Lepidus in 78–77 were not restored until 70 BC, when the tribune Plautius passed a bill granting pardon (MRR 2.128), a bill that appears from this fragment to have been sanctioned by a decree of the senate. Clearly, therefore, the book number given for this fr. (III) needs to be emended to “IV,” since Book 3 leaves off in the year 72, while Book 4 covers the remainder of 72, ending with events in 68.*

after the return of those to whom the senate had granted a pardon for [their participation in] the Lepidan war

49\* 52M, 53Mc, inc. 114D, inc. 85K

*The censors of 70 deprived sixty-four senators of their seats, and one of the grounds for stripping senators of their rank was indebtedness. These words may describe such a person as Cicero’s future consular colleague in 63 C. Antonius Hybrida, who was removed from the senate in part for the great magnitude of his debts (Ascon. p. 84C).*

he was buried deep in debt<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lit., “overwhelmed by interest on loans.”

50 53M, 54Mc, 11D, 63K

*Possibly from S.’s account of the trial of Gaius Verres in 70, but the text is uncertain and heavily emended. Verres was accused by Cicero of having taken bribes from robbers to release them from custody, or to allow them a free hand to operate, when Verres was the governor of Sicily from 73 to 71 (2 Verr. 1.9 and 12).*

suspectusque fuit, incertum vere<sup>1</sup> an<sup>2</sup> per<sup>3</sup> negligentiam, societatem praedarum cum latronibus composuisse[t]<sup>4</sup>

Non. p. 257M = 392L.44–46 (lib. III A<sup>A</sup>: lib. IIII LB<sup>A</sup>): to illustrate the verb *componere* = *coniungere* (to join together).

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch*: vero *codd.*      <sup>2</sup> *Iunius*: ac *codd.*      <sup>3</sup> *prop-*  
*ter Dietsch*      <sup>4</sup> *Iunius*

**51** 55M, 55Mc, 27D, 60K

L. Hostilius<sup>1</sup> Dasianus, inquires animi

Arus. GL 7.488.3–4 = p. 182DC: to illustrate *inquires* + gen. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see on fr. 1.136.]

<sup>1</sup> *Ruhnken*: hostibus *codd.*

## LUCULLUS' INVASION OF ARMENIA (69 BC), FRR. 52–59

**52** 58M, 59Mc, 6D, 3.85K

Dein lenita iam ira, postero die liberalibus verbis permulcti sunt.

Prisc. GL 2.487.5–6: to illustrate *mulctum* (as well as *mulsum*) as the pf. partic. of *mulceo*.



and he was under the suspicion of having formed—  
it being doubtful whether in actual fact or through  
neglect of his duties—a compact with robbers for  
sharing booty<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What S. appears to be saying is that it is doubtful whether it was through negligence or an alliance with robbers that some dereliction of duty occurred on the part of a Roman official (perhaps Verres).

**51 55M, 55Mc, 27D, 60K**

*Same context as fr. 50. The Gronovian Scholiast (p. 331St.8, on Cic. Verr. 6) states that either Piso or Dasianus was said to be the name of the "Achaicus inquisitor," who allegedly colluded with Verres in 70 to cause a postponement of Verres' case, by setting in motion a rival prosecution for extortion in Achaea. Possibly the L. Hostilius mentioned here is to be identified with L. Hostilius tribune of the plebs in 68 (so MRR 2.138).*

L. Hostilius Dasianus, restless of spirit,

**LUCULLUS' INVASION OF ARMENIA  
(69 BC), FRR. 52-59**

**52 58M, 59Mc, 6D, 3.85K**

*Lucullus' soldiers grumbled when they were made to embark upon a campaign against Tigranes of Armenia in the spring of 69 (Plut. Luc. 24.1).*

Then, after their anger had been calmed, they were as-  
suaged on the following day with generous words.

53 59M, 60Mc, 51D, 10K

Quam maxumis itineribus per regnum Ariobarzanis contendit ad flumen Euphraten, qua in parte Cappadocia ab Armenia disiungitur; et quamquam ad <D><sup>1</sup> naves caudicariae occulte per hiemem fabricatae aderant . . .

Non. p. 535M = 858L.13–16: to illustrate a kind of river boat or barge called *codicaria* (sc. *navis*).

<sup>1</sup> *Müller*

54\* 60M, 61Mc, inc. 97D, inc. 66K

ut tanta repente<sup>1</sup> mutatio non sine deo videretur

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 875; Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.632; *Schol. Veron.* ad *ibid.*: to illustrate how a sudden and unexpected turn of events is often credited to the will of a god.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv. auct.*

55 61M, 62Mc, 54D, 13K

**naphthas**,<sup>1</sup> *genus olei cedro simile*

Prob. *GL* 4.29.8; Sacerd. *GL* 2.480.8: treat this Greek first decl. noun as an anomaly, mistakenly classifying it as neut., or possibly as indecl.

{Prob. *GL* 4.22.22 (*naphthas*), Sacerd. fr. line 98 (*naphthas*): indecl. noun.}

<sup>1</sup> *Prob. 4.22: naphtha Prob. 4.29: naptas Sacerd. 2.480*

*Sallustius scribit in historiis quod napta genus sit fomitis apud Persas quo vel maxume nutriantur incendia*

53 59M, 60Mc, 51D, 10K

*Lucullus' march to the Euphrates and crossing in the spring of 69.*

By forced marches he hastened through the kingdom of Ariobarzanes to the Euphrates River, in the place where Cappadocia is separated from Armenia; and although there were on hand about 500(?) river barges, which had secretly been constructed during the winter, . . .

54\* 60M, 61Mc, inc. 97D, inc. 66K

*Same context as fr. 53. The sudden lessening of the winter spate of the Euphrates seemed heaven sent (Plut. Luc. 24.2-3). As further evidence of divine favor toward Lucullus, a sacrificial heifer made a seemingly miraculous appearance after the army had crossed to the other side (Plut. Luc 24.4).*

so that such a sudden change of circumstances seem  
to be not without the will of a god

55 61M, 62Mc, 54D, 13K

*Siege of Tigranocerta. Naphtha, a flammable mineral oil found in Mesopotamia (Plin. HN 2.235), was employed by the defenders of Tigranocerta to set fire to Lucullus' siege engines (Dio 36.1b.1-2). Beyond the fact that S. mentioned naphtha, it is impossible to say to what extent, if any, the words used to describe it are quoted directly.*

**naphtha**, a kind of oil, like cedar oil

*Sallust writes in the Histories that **nap(h)t(h)a** is a kind of fire-starter among the Persians by which fires are very greatly fed*

Hieron. in *Dan.* 3:46; *Gloss.* 5, p. 225.7 (cf. pp. 312.59, 621.44, without mention of S.): to give a description of *napta* [sic], according to S.

**56** 63M, 63Mc, 56D, 15K

Pluteos rescindit ac munitiones demolitur, locoque summo potitur.

Non. p. 95M = 135L.22–23: to illustrate *demoliri* = *diruere* (destroy).

**57\*** 64M, 64Mc, 58D, 17K note

et sequebantur equites<sup>1</sup> catafracti

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.770: to give an example of the expression *equites catafracti*.

<sup>1</sup> *edd.*: equi *codd.*

**58** 65M, 65Mc, 59D, 17K

Equis paria operimenta erant, <nam>que<sup>1</sup> linteo<sup>2</sup> ferreas laminas<sup>3</sup> in modum plumae adnexuerant.

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.770: same context as fr. 57.

<sup>1</sup> *Thilo dubitanter in app.*: quae (q. R) *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *ASMF*: lina R: linco H

<sup>3</sup> *Thilo dubitanter in app.*: ferreis laminis *codd.*

**56** 63M, 63Mc, 56D, 15K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 55. Lucullus breached the wall of Tigranocerta. Dietsch and Maurenbr., by contrast, (followed by McGushin) interpret as a sally by the defenders against the Roman position, it being possible to understand pluteos as referring to “defensive screens” erected by the besiegers (OLD 1) as opposed to “parapets” (OLD 2), as translated.*

He tore down the parapets and destroyed the fortifications, and gained control of the high ground.

**57\*** 64M, 64Mc, 58D, 17K note

*The battle near Tigranocerta and defeat of Tigranes.*

*One of the most formidable elements of Tigranes’ vast army was his troop of seventeen thousand cataphracts (Plut. Luc. 26.7), men and horses covered with chain mail (Tac. Hist. 1.79; Amm. Marc. 16.10).*

and mail-clad cavalrymen followed

**58** 65M, 65Mc, 59D, 17K

*Same context as fr. 57.*

The horses had equal coverings, for they fastened iron plates to canvas after the fashion of plumage.

59 66M, 66Mc, 57D, 16K

qui<sup>1</sup> praegrediebantur equites catafracti ferrea  
omni<sup>2</sup> specie

Non. p. 556M = 893L.14–15: to illustrate the adj. *catafractus*.

<sup>1</sup> cui (quoi) Müller

<sup>2</sup> omnes Coler: omnis Müller

60 69M, 67Mc, 61D, 19K

### Epistula Mithridatis<sup>1</sup>

- 1 “Rex Mithridates regi Arsaci salutem. Omnes qui secundis rebus suis ad belli societatem orantur considerare debent liceatne tum pacem agere, dein quod quaesitur satisne
- 2 pium, tutum, gloriosum an indecorum sit. Tibi si perpetua

<sup>1</sup> The title and text of this letter are transmitted by V (*Vat. lat.* 3864, ff. 126r–27r). Citations from §§15, 16, and 19, as noted below, are assigned to Book 4 by Charisius and Arusianus.

59 66M, 66Mc, 57D, 16K

*In the battle between Lucullus and Tigranes, the cataphracts were posted in front of the right wing of the Armenian army (Plut. Luc. 27.7).*

mail-clad cavalrymen who went in the vanguard,  
having a uniform appearance of iron

60 69M, 67Mc, 61D, 19K

### Letter of Mithridates

*In the winter of 69/68, after Lucullus crushed the vast forces of King Tigranes of Armenia in the battle near Tigranocerta (cf. §15), Mithridates writes to Phraates III, king of Parthia (whose dynastic name was Arsaces [XII]). His aim is to convince Arsaces that it is in the Parthians' self interest to join in the fight to drive the Romans out of Asia, since the Parthians are bound to be the next victim of Roman aggression. The picture that Mithridates paints grossly distorts the ultimate aims of Rome's foreign policy in that region. Like Pompey's dispatch (fr. 2.86), this letter serves as a substitute for a speech to provide variation, and once again, Thucydides may have provided a model: viz., the letter of appeal for succor written by the ostracized Athenian hero Themistocles to King Artaxerxes of Persia (Thuc. 1.137.4).*

“King Mithridates sends greeting to King Arsaces. All persons who in time of prosperity are entreated to enter into an alliance for making war ought to consider whether they are in a position to maintain peace at that time; next, whether what is being asked of them is sufficiently righteous, safe, and honorable or, on the contrary, disgraceful.

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pace frui licet,<sup>2</sup> nisi hostes opportuni et scelestissimi, egregia<sup>3</sup> fama, si Romanos oppresseris, futura est, neque petere audeam societatem et frustra mala mea cum bonis tuis misceri sperem. Atque ea quae te morari posse videntur, ira in Tigranem recentis belli et meae res parum<sup>4</sup> prosperae, si vera existumare voles, maxume hortabuntur. Ille enim obnoxius qualem tu voles societatem accipiet, mihi fortuna multis rebus ereptis usum dedit bene suadendi et, quod florentibus optabile est, ego non validissimus praebeo exemplum, quo rectius tua conponas.

5       “Namque Romanis cum nationibus, populis, regibus cunctis una et ea vetus causa bellandi est, cupido profunda imperi et divitiarum; qua primo cum rege Macedonum Philippo bellum sumpsere, dum a Carthaginensibus premebantur amicitiam simulantes. Ei subvenientem Antiochum concessione Asiae per dolum avortere, ac mox fracto Philippo Antiochus omni cis Taurum agro et decem milibus talentorum spoliatus est. Persen deinde, Philippi filium, post multa et varia certamina apud Samothracas

<sup>2</sup> liceret *Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509)       <sup>3</sup> <ni> ante egregia  
*ins. Madvig*       <sup>4</sup> *Manutius* (ed. Ald. 1509); rarum V

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<sup>1</sup> Tigranes had been placed on the Armenian throne by the Parthians shortly after 100 but subsequently grew strong and invaded Parthian territory, inflicting serious losses (*Plut. Luc.* 21.4).

<sup>2</sup> A euphemism for the loss of Mithridates' kingdom.

<sup>3</sup> The Second Macedonian War (200–196), against Philip V.

<sup>4</sup> Protracted diplomatic exchanges postponed an open clash between the Romans and Antiochus III, the Great, king of the Seleucid Empire in the Middle East, until after the conclusion of the war against Philip. By the Peace of Apamea in 188, Antiochus gave up claim to territories in Asia Minor north of the Taurus Mountains.



If you are in a position to enjoy uninterrupted peace, if you are not threatened by strategically placed and utterly treacherous foes, not destined to have outstanding renown if you crush the Romans, I would not venture to seek an alliance with you, and I would hope in vain to unite my own unfavorable circumstances with your favorable ones. But those considerations which seem able to give you pause, such as your anger against Tigranes in connection with the recent war,<sup>1</sup> and my not very favorable circumstances<sup>2</sup>—if you are willing to make a true appraisal—will be major incentives. For Tigranes, since he is at your mercy, will accept an alliance on any terms you desire, while so far as I am concerned, although Fortune has deprived me of much, she has bestowed upon me the means of giving good advice; and being no longer at the height of my power, I furnish a model for you to arrange your own affairs more correctly, something that those enjoying prosperity should welcome.

“In fact, the Romans have one inveterate motive for making war upon all peoples, nations, and kings: namely, a deep-seated desire for dominion and for riches. For this reason, they first undertook war with Philip, king of the Macedonians,<sup>3</sup> though they put up a pretense of friendship as long as they were being hard pressed by the Carthaginians. When Antiochus came to Philip’s aid, they craftily diverted him from his purpose by the surrender of Asia, and then, after Philip’s power had been broken, Antiochus was robbed of all territory this side of the Taurus, and of ten thousand talents.<sup>4</sup> Next Perseus, the son of Philip, after many contests of varying results—after he

- 8 deos acceptum in fidem, callidi et repertores perfidiae, quia pacto vitam dederant, insomniis occidere. Eumenes, quoius amicitiam gloriose ostentant, initio prodidere Antiocho, pacis mercedem: post, habitum custodiae agri captivi, sumptibus et contumeliis ex rege miserrum servorum effecere, simulatoque impio testamento filium eius Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium
- 9 more per triumphum duxere. Asia ab ipsis obsessa est, postremo Bithyniam Nicomede mortuo diripere, quom filius Nysa, quam reginam adpellaverat, genitus haud dubie esset.
- 10 “Nam quid ego me adpellem? Quem diiunctum undique regnis et tetrarchiis ab imperio eorum, quia fama erat divitem neque servituum esse, per Nicomedem bello laccessiverunt, sceleris eorum haud ignarum et ea quae accidere testatum antea Cretensis, solos omnium liberos
- 11 ea tempestate, et regem Ptolemaeum. Atque ego ultus

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<sup>5</sup> The island to which Perseus had fled after his defeat at Pydna in 168.

<sup>6</sup> In 162, Perseus died in captivity at Alba Fucens in Italy, after having been exhibited in the triumph of Aemilius Paulus. His death is said to have resulted either from self-starvation or at the hands of jailors who prevented him from sleeping (Plut. *Aem.* 37.2–3).

<sup>7</sup> Eumenes II of Pergamum was given a share of Seleucid territory taken from Antiochus in 188 (see n. above).

<sup>8</sup> So called because in it Attalus III (d. 133), son of Eumenes II (d. 158), bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. Aristonicus, an illegitimate(?) son of Eumenes II, led an unsuccessful revolt aimed at preventing the Romans from taking control of the kingdom of Pergamum under the terms of Attalus' will and turning it into the Roman province of Asia.

had surrendered on good faith, as witnessed by the gods of Samothrace<sup>5</sup>—was killed by those crafty inventors of faithlessness from want of sleep, since they had granted him his life according to a compact.<sup>6</sup> Eumenes, whose friendship they boastfully exhibit, they at first betrayed to Antiochus as the price of peace; later, having treated him as serving the function of a custodian of captured territory,<sup>7</sup> they transformed him by means of imposts and insults from a king into the most wretched of slaves. Then, having concocted an unholy will,<sup>8</sup> they led his son Aristonicus in triumph like an enemy, because he had tried to recover his father's kingdom. Asia was taken possession of by them; lastly, on the death of Nicomedes,<sup>9</sup> they snatched away Bithynia, although a son had unquestionably been born of Nysa, whom Nicomedes had addressed as queen.

“Why should I name myself as an example? Although I was separated from their dominion on every side by kingdoms and petty monarchies, yet because word had spread that I was rich and would not be a slave, they provoked me to war through Nicomedes,<sup>10</sup> though I was by no means unaware of their wickedness and had previously called, as my witnesses to what happened, the Cretans—the only ones truly free at that time—and king Ptolemy.<sup>11</sup> But I took vengeance for the wrongs inflicted upon me;

<sup>9</sup> In 75 (see fr. 2.57); like Attalus, Nicomedes IV left his kingdom by will to the Roman people.

<sup>10</sup> In 89, Nicomedes IV was pressured by Rome's legate M. Aquilius (cos. 101), who had restored him to the Bithynian throne, to raid Mithridates' neighboring kingdom, and this invasion precipitated the First Mithridatic War (89–85).

<sup>11</sup> Ptolemy IX, ruler of Egypt from 88 until his death, in 80.

- iniurias Nicomedem Bithynia expuli Asiamque spoliū regis Antiochi recepi et Graeciae dempsi grave servitium.
- 12 Incepta mea postremus servorum Archelaus exercitu pro-  
dito impedivit, illique, quos ignavia aut prava calliditas, ut  
meis laboribus tuti essent, armis abstinuit, acerbissimas  
poenas solvunt, Ptolemaeus pretio in dies bellum prola-  
tans, Cretenses impugnati semel iam neque finem nisi
- 13 excidio habituri.<sup>5</sup> Equidem quom mihi ob ipsorum interna  
mala dilata proelia magis quam pacem datam intellege-  
rem, abnuente Tigraue, qui mea dicta sero probat, te re-  
moto procul, omnibus aliis obnoxiiis, rursus tamen bellum  
coepi Marcumque Cottam, Romanum ducem, apud Cal-  
chedona terra fudi, mari exui classe pulcherruma. Apud
- 14 Cyzicum magno cum exercitu in obsidio moranti frumen-  
tum defuit, nullo circum adnitente; simul hiems mari pro-  
hibebat. Ita, sine vi hostium regredi conatus in patrium

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<sup>5</sup> *Manutius (ed. Ald. 1509): habitur V*

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<sup>12</sup> In 88, Mithridates overran the province of Asia and ordered a general massacre of all Romans and Italians living in the territory.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. §6.

<sup>14</sup> In 88–87, Mithridates' army under the Greek general Archelaus (see next n.) overran most of central Greece.

<sup>15</sup> In 86, Archelaus was defeated by Sulla in two separate battles in Greece and was authorized by Mithridates to work out the peace agreement ending the First Mithridatic War in 85. Later, in 83, Archelaus went over to the Roman side when he fell out with Mithridates.

<sup>16</sup> Ptolemy XII Auletes, who came to power in 80 and relied heavily on support from the Romans, which he purchased with bribes, to maintain his position.

I drove Nicomedes from Bithynia, recovered Asia,<sup>12</sup> the spoil taken from king Antiochus,<sup>13</sup> and lifted oppressive servitude from Greece.<sup>14</sup> My undertakings were frustrated by Archelaus, basest of slaves, who betrayed my army;<sup>15</sup> and those whom cowardice or perverse cunning kept from taking up arms in order to remain safe while I did all the work, are paying most grievous penalties: Ptolemy is averting hostilities from day to day by the payment of money,<sup>16</sup> while the Cretans, now that they have already been attacked once, will have no end of war except by their annihilation.<sup>17</sup> As for myself, when I realized that it was more a postponement of the struggle than a genuine peace that had been offered to me on account of the Romans' own domestic troubles<sup>18</sup>—though Tigranes refused to join with me (he belatedly endorses what I said at the time), though you were far removed from me, and all the rest had submitted—I nevertheless commenced war anew<sup>19</sup> and routed Marcus Cotta, the Roman general, on land at Chalcedon; on the sea, I stripped him of a fine fleet. While at Cyzicus with a large army, mired in a siege, I ran short of grain; no one in the neighborhood gave support; at the same time, winter cut me off the sea. When I, therefore,

<sup>17</sup> First attacked by M. Antonius (pr. 74) in his campaign against the pirates, Crete was reduced to a Roman province in 66 and attached to Cyrene at the conclusion of further campaigns against the pirates carried out by Q. Metellus (cos. 69) in 68–67.

<sup>18</sup> The Peace of Dardanus, which ended the First Mithridatic War in 85, was negotiated at a time when Sulla was preparing to invade Italy and drive out his political enemies, who, led by L. Cinna (cos., 87, 86, 85, 84), had seized power in his absence and declared him an outlaw.

<sup>19</sup> In 74.

- 15 regnum, naufragiis apud Parium et Heracleam militum optimos cum classibus amisi. Restituto deinde apud Caberam<sup>6</sup> exercitu et variis inter me atque Lucillum proeliis, inopia rursus ambos incessit;<sup>7</sup> illi suberat regnum Ariobarzani bello intactum, ego vastis circum omnibus locis, in Armeniam concessi; secutique Romani non me, sed morem suum omnia regna subvertendi, quia multitudinem artis locis pugna prohibuere, imprudentiam Tigranis pro victoria ostentant.
- 16 “Nunc, quaeso, considera nobis oppressis utrum firmiorem te ad resistendum, an finem belli futurum putes. Scio equidem tibi magnas opes virorum armorum et auri esse; et ea re a nobis ad societatem, ab illis ad praedam peteris. Ceterum consilium est, Tigranis regno integro, meis militibus <belli prudentibus>,<sup>8</sup> procul ab domo, parvo labore<sup>9</sup> per nostra corpora bellum conficere,<sup>10</sup> quom<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cabera *Cortius*: Cabira *ed. Ven. 1560* [τὰ Κάβειρα] <sup>7</sup> inter . . . incessit] *Charis. GL 1.119.11 = p. 152B.27-28*  
<sup>8</sup> *Charis.: om. V* <sup>9</sup> parvo labore] *om. Charis.* <sup>10</sup> scio equidem . . . conficere] *Charis. GL 1.196.18-22 = p. 255B.21-25*  
<sup>11</sup> quō *V*: quo[m] *Gerlach ed. min.:* quoniam *Reynolds (sed alibi in V, semper quoniam, numquam abbrev. quoniā: Hauler 1895, p. 141)*

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<sup>20</sup> Actually, M. Cotta's consular colleague L. Lucullus forced Mithridates to lift the siege of Cyzicus in the winter of 73/72.

<sup>21</sup> Towns on the south shore of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) and Black Sea, respectively.

<sup>22</sup> Near Cabira, an inland stronghold in Pontus, Lucullus defeated Mithridates in late 71, causing him to flee for safety to Armenia.

without compulsion from the enemy,<sup>20</sup> attempted to return into my ancestral kingdom, I lost, by shipwrecks at Parium and at Heraclea, my best soldiers together with the fleets.<sup>21</sup> Then when I had reconstituted my army at Cabira and done battle with Lucullus with varying success, scarcity once more befell us both.<sup>22</sup> He had at his disposal the kingdom of Ariobarzanes,<sup>23</sup> unravaged by war, while I, since all the country round about had been devastated, withdrew into Armenia. And the Romans, pursuing not me but rather their custom of overthrowing all monarchies, hold up Tigranes' lack of judgment as if it were a victory because they kept Tigranes' massive forces out of the fight by means of the narrowness of the terrain.<sup>24</sup> [fr. 60]

“Do consider now, please, whether you think that when we have been crushed you will be in a stronger position to put up resistance, or that there will be an end of war. Indeed I know that you have great stocks of men, of arms and of gold; and it is for that reason that you are being targeted by us with a view to an alliance, by the Romans with a view to spoils. Yet my advice is, while the kingdom of Tigranes is intact, and while I still have soldiers skilled in war, to finish the war far from your homes and with little labor, using our bodies, since we cannot conquer or

<sup>23</sup> Cappadocia, a client kingdom, where Sulla, when governor of Cilicia in the mid 90's, had reinstated Ariobarzanes to the throne.

<sup>24</sup> In 69, near the major city of Tigranocerta. Despite a warning from Mithridates (App. *Mith.* 85), Tigranes, relying upon his vast hordes, risked a battle with Lucullus on unfavorable terrain.

- 17 neque vincere neque vinci sine tuo periculo possumus. An ignoras Romanos, postquam ad occidentem pergentibus finem Oceanus fecit, arma huc convortisse? Neque quicquam a principio nisi raptum<sup>12</sup> habere, domum, coniuges, agros, imperium? Convenas olim sine patria, parentibus, pesti<sup>13</sup> conditos orbis terrarum,<sup>14</sup> quibus non humana ulla neque divina obstant quin socios amicos, procul iuxta sitos, inopes potentisque trahant excendant, omniaque non serva et maxume regna hostilia ducant.
- 18 "Namque pauci libertatem, pars magna iustos dominos volunt, nos suspecti sumus aemuli et in tempore vindices
- 19 adfuturi. Tu vero, quoi Seleucea, maxuma urbium, regnumque Persidis inclutis divitiis est, quid ab illis nisi dolum in praesens et postea bellum expectas?<sup>15</sup> Romani arma in omnis habent, acerruma in eos, quibus victis spolia maxuma; audendo et fallundo et bella ex bellis serundo
- 20 magni facti. Per hunc morem extinguent omnia, aut occident—quod haud difficile est—si tu Mesopotamia, nos

<sup>12</sup> *Ciacconius*: partum V      <sup>13</sup> *Douza*: peste · V  
<sup>14</sup> pesti (pestem *codd.* AS *Serv.*: perte *rell.*) . . . terrarum] *Serv. ad Aen.* 7.303      <sup>15</sup> quid . . . expectas (*exspectans codd. Arus.*)] *Arus. GL* 7.487.6 = p. 179DC

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<sup>25</sup> In the former case, the Parthians will have to risk making the Romans their enemies by supporting Mithridates in order to insure his victory; in the later case (if they do nothing and Mithridates succumbs to the Romans), the Parthians will be the next victim of Roman aggression.

<sup>26</sup> The text is uncertain. If *peste*, the reading of V is retained; the meaning is "they have been formed from the scum of the earth."



be conquered without danger to you.<sup>25</sup> Or are you not aware that the Romans turned their arms in this direction only after Ocean put an end to their westward progress? That from the beginning they have possessed nothing except what they have stolen: their homes, wives, lands, and dominion? That having been once upon a time refugees without a native land or parents, they have been established to serve as a plague upon the whole world,<sup>26</sup> being men who are prevented by nothing human or divine from plundering and destroying allies and friends—those situated far away or nearby, weak and powerful too—and from considering as their enemies all powers not subservient to them and especially monarchies,.

“For in fact, while few men want freedom, a great many want fair-minded masters; we have fallen under suspicion as rivals to the Romans and as, in due course, avengers to be. But you, who possess the magnificent city of Seleucea<sup>27</sup> and the kingdom of Persia with its renowned riches, what do you expect from them other than guile for the present and war in the future?<sup>28</sup> The Romans have weapons against all men, the sharpest against those from whom conquest yields the greatest spoils; they have grown mighty by audacity and deceit and by sowing wars from wars. In keeping with this custom, they will destroy everything, or they will perish in the attempt—a thing that is by no means difficult to bring about—if you from Mesopota-

<sup>27</sup> On the west bank of the Tigris, wrested from the Seleucid Empire by the Parthians in 141.

<sup>28</sup> In 54, M. Crassus embarked on a war of aggression against the Parthians, which ended in the disastrous defeat of the Romans at Carrhae in 53.

- 22 Armenia circumgredimur exercitum sine frumento, sine  
 auxiliis, fortuna aut nostris vitiis adhuc incolumem. Teque  
 illa fama sequetur, auxilio profectum magnis regibus la-  
 23 trones gentium oppressisse. Quod uti facias moneo hor-  
 torque, neu malis pernicie nostra tuam prolatare quam  
 societate victor fieri.”

LUCULLUS' MARCH INTO ARMENIA  
 (mid 69–68), FRR. 61–70

61\* 71M, 68Mc, 5.9D, 5.11K

Lucullus pecuniam Quintio dedit ne sibi<sup>1</sup> succederetur.

*Schol. Gronov.* ad Cic. *De imp. Cn. Pomp.* 28 (p. 320St.17–18):  
 quoting S. to explicate Cicero's comment on political figures who  
 coveted (*concupiverunt*) provincial assignments.

<sup>1</sup> *scripsi: illi cod.*

62††† 70M, 69Mc, 5.6D, 4.8K

imperi prolatandi percupidus habebatur, cetera  
 egregius

Arus. *GL* 7.470.19–20 = p. 122DC (mistakenly assigned to *Jug.*):  
 to illustrate *egregius* + acc. [of respect].

63\* 5.10M, 4.70Mc, 5.5D, 5.10K

Σαλούστιος μὲν οὖν φησι χαλιπῶς διστεθῆναι τοὺς  
 στρατιώτας πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πολέμου

mia and we from Armenia surround their army, which is without grain, without reinforcements, and intact up until now only thanks to good luck or our own shortcomings. In the course of having set out to aid great kings, you will attain the fame of having crushed the robbers of nations. I warn and urge you to do this and not to prefer merely to postpone your own ruin at the expense of ours rather than to be the victor by means of an alliance.”

### LUCULLUS' MARCH INTO ARMENIA (mid 69–68), FRR. 61–70

61\* 71M, 68Mc, 5.9D, 5.11K

*L. Quinctius (tribune of the plebs 74, cf. fr. 3.15.11) as praetor in 68 played a leading role in having Lucullus' province of Cilicia reassigned to Q. Marcius Rex (cos. 68): Plut. Luc. 33.6. The bribery reported by S., if it took place, presumably occurred in 69, before Quinctius entered office.*

Lucullus gave Quin(c)tius money so as not to be replaced by a successor.

62††† 70M, 69Mc, 5.6D, 4.8K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 61 and included in S.'s character sketch of Lucullus.*

he was regarded as very desirous of prolonging his command, but outstanding in other respects

63\* 5.10M, 4.70Mc, 5.5D, 5.10K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 61–62.*

*Sallust states that Lucullus' soldiers were ill-disposed toward him right from the beginning of the war, when*

πρὸς Κυζίκῳ καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Ἀμίσῳ, δύο χειμῶνας  
ἕξης ἐν χάρακι διαγαγεῖν ἀναγκασθέντας.

Plut. *Luc.* 33.3.

64\* 72M, 71Mc, 60D, 18K

Apud Gorduenos amomum et alii leves odores gignuntur.

*Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. *G.* 4.49: to give an example of a contrasting expression to *odor gravis* (a pungent/strong scent).

65 74M, 72Mc, 62D, 20K

Tum vero<sup>1</sup> Bithynii propinquantes iam amnem Arsaniam<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.500.27–28 = p. 231DC: to illustrate *propinquare* + acc. of place.

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch*: utro *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *Dietsch*: Tartanium *codd.*

66 76M, 73Mc, 44D, 2K

Simul eos et cunctos iam inclinatos laxitate<sup>1</sup> loci plures cohortes atque omnes, ut in secunda re, pariter acres<sup>2</sup> invadunt.

Non. p. 132M = 192.21–23: to illustrate *laxitas*.

<sup>1</sup> *Mercier*: laxitas et *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *Mercier*: acre *codd.*

**stationed before Cyzicus and again before Amisus, since they were compelled to spend two consecutive winters in camp.**

**64\* 72M, 71Mc, 60D, 18K**

*In the winter of 69/68 Lucullus visited Gordyene, a region of Armenia (present-day Kurdistan) south of Tigranocerta (Plut. Luc. 29.9; Dio 36.2.3–5).*

In the land of the Gordyenes, amonum and other pleasant-scented plants grow.

**65 74M, 72Mc, 62D, 20K**

*Lucullus defeated Tigranes in a series of battles fought in 68, and then moved against Tigranes' capital, Artaxata, crossing the Arsanius/mod. Murat (Plut. Luc. 31.5–6), a river in western Armenia that rises near Mt. Ararat and is a principal source of the Euphrates.*

Then indeed the Bithynians,<sup>1</sup> now approaching the river Arsanius

<sup>1</sup> Possibly a contingent of native troops reinforcing Lucullus' army.

**66 76M, 73Mc, 44D, 2K**

*Possibly the same context as fr. 65, since the spaciousness of the battlefield does not suit the locales of the other two chief scenes of Lucullus' victories in Book 4 (over Mithridates at Cabira or over Tigranes near Trigranocerta).*

More cohorts and all equally ferocious, as to be expected in favorable circumstances, attack both those troops [the first ones to be routed?] and the whole throng now that they wavered as a result of the spaciousness of the locale.

67 73M, 77Mc, 71D, 74K

Inpotens et nimius animi est.

Arus. *GL* 7.495.17 = p. 209DC: to illustrate *nimius* + gen. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see fr. 1.136.]

68\* 77M, 74Mc, 52D, 11K

*Sallustius autem, auctor certissimus, asserit Tigrim et Euphratem uno fonte manare in Armenia, qui per diversa euntes longius dividuntur spatio medio relicto multorum milium; sed terra quae ab ipsis ambitur Mesopotamia dicitur.*

Isid. *Etym.* 13.21.10.

{Hieron. *Sit. et nom.* p. 150.12–13 (*Sallustius . . . asserit tam Tigris quam Eufratis in Armenia fontes demonstrari*.)}

69\* 78M, 75Mc, 53D, 12K

*Mesopotameni homines effrenatae libidinis sunt in utroque sexu; Sallustius meminit.*

*Schol. in Iuv.* ad 1.104.

70 79M, 76Mc, 64D, 65K

**67** 73M, 77Mc, 71D, 74K

*After his victory over Tigranes, early winter weather and a mutiny of Lucullus' troops compelled him to abandon his goal of capturing Artaxata; he turned back and returned to Mesopotamia (Plut. Luc. 32.4). The following description may come from the criticism of Lucullus by his discontented soldiers.*

He is headstrong and too high-spirited.

**68\*** 77M, 74Mc, 52D, 11K

*Lucullus' return to Mesopotamia (see previous fragment) may have provided the context for S. to give a description of the region.*

*Moreover, Sallust, a most reliable authority, claims that **the Tigris and Euphrates flow from a single source in Armenia**;<sup>1</sup> those rivers flowing through separate regions are quite widely parted by a space of many miles left in the middle; the land that is encircled by them is called Mesopotamia.*

<sup>1</sup> So the text of Isidore, whereas the version of Jerome states "that the source of the Tigris, as well as that of the Euphrates, is pointed out in Armenia."

**69\*** 78M, 75Mc, 53D, 12K

*Same context as fr. 68.*

*The people of Mesopotamia are of unbridled lust in the case of both sexes. Sallust relates this.*

**70** 79M, 76Mc, 64D, 65K

*After his return to Mesopotamia (see fr. 67), Lucullus moved in the late summer of 68 against the city of Nisibis, which was being*

clausi lateribus altis pedem

Arus. *GL* 7.456.10 = p. 71DC: to illustrate *altus* + *tot pedes*.

## URBAN AFFAIRS (68 BC), FR 71

71 81M, 78Mc, 36D, 61K

Sestertium tricies pepigit a C. Pisone.

Arus. *GL* 7.498.10–11 = p. 221DC: to illustrate *paciscor* (to strike a bargain) over something (acc.) with someone (*a* + abl.).

## FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN CONTEXT IN BOOK 4, FRR. 72–77

*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
frr. 72–73*

72 3M, 49Mc, 41D, 49K

demissis partem quasi tertiam antemnis

Arus. *GL* 7.499.24 = p. 227DC: to illustrate *partem* + *demissus* (corr. *Lindemann*: *dimissus N1*).



held by Tigranes' brother Guras (*Plut. Luc. 32.5; Dio 36.6.1-3*).  
The phrase below may describe some feature of the city's elaborate  
fortifications, whose walls were made of brick and immense in size  
(*Dio 36.6.3*).

enclosed by bricks<sup>1</sup> a foot high

<sup>1</sup> Or "sides" (so McGushin), another possible meaning of *lateribus*, but this gives a less satisfactory sense. Here *lateribus* is best interpreted as abl. pl. of *later* (m.) "brick" (so Frassinetti; cf. fr. 3.30, *ex latere*).

#### URBAN AFFAIRS (68 BC), FR 71

71 81M, 78Mc, 36D, 61K

In 68, the consul-elect C. Piso escaped prosecution for corrupt  
electioneering (*ambitus*) by paying vast bribes to buy off his  
accuser(s) (*Dio 36.38.3*).

He settled with Gaius Piso on a sum of 3 million sesterces.

#### FRAGMENTS OF UNCERTAIN CONTEXT IN BOOK 4, FRR. 72-77

*Assigned to Various Contexts by Maurenbr.,  
frr. 72-73*

72 3M, 49Mc, 41D, 49K

A naval maneuver carried out prior to entering battle (cf. [Caes.]  
B Alex. 45.2-3) or to reduce speed in the face of strengthening  
gales (cf. Sen. Ep. 77.2).

with the yardarms lowered about a third of the way

**73** 68M, 79Mc, 72D, 75K

anxius animi atque incertus

Arus. *GL* 7.456.11 = p. 71DC: to illustrate *anxius* + gen. of thing. [For comparable instances of *animi* in the *Historiae*, see fr. 1.136.]

*Miscellaneous, frs. 74–77*

**74** 82M, 80Mc, 66D, 67K

qui proximi locos<sup>1</sup> hostium errant<sup>2</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.498.19 = p. 222DC: to illustrate *proximus* + acc.

<sup>1</sup> loca G, Lindemann      <sup>2</sup> erant GP

**75** 83M, 81Mc, 67D, 68K

stolide castra subgressus

Arus. *GL* 7.510.6 = p. 266DC: to illustrate *subgredior* + acc. of place.

**76** 84M, 82Mc, 73D, 76K

consili aeger

Arus. *GL* 7.453.1 = p. 57DC: to illustrate *aeger*, + gen.

**73** 68M, 79Mc, 72D, 75K

*Possibly a description of Tigranes, who suffered dejection after his defeat by Lucullus near Tigranocerta in October 69 (Plut. Luc. 29.2); so Maurenbr. It might equally well, however, describe Mithridates after his defeat at Cabira in summer 71 (so McGushin).*

uneasy in his mind and unsure

*Miscellaneous, frs. 74–77*

**74** 82M, 80Mc, 66D, 67K

(those) who were wandering closest to the enemy's positions

**75** 83M, 81Mc, 67D, 68K

having foolishly come close up to the camp

**76** 84M, 82Mc, 73D, 76K

unsound in counsel

ne inrumpendi<sup>1</sup> p<ontis><sup>2</sup> . . . [*desunt c. 15 litt.*]<sup>3</sup> . . .  
sublicibus cavata . . . [*desunt c. 17 litt.*] . . . <es>sent<sup>4</sup>

Festus p. 293M = 376L.3–5 (*Sallustius libro qua<rt>*): part of a lacunose passage concerning the pons Sublicius in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> *Ursinus*: inrumiendi *codd.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ursinus*

<sup>3</sup> <vis flumini esset> *Maurenbr. in app.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ursinus*

77 85M, 83Mc, 74D, 77K

*Possibly from a description of a flood of the Tiber (such as the one described by Dio 37.58.3), included in urban affairs of 69 or 68. Text is very poorly preserved. See textual notes.*

so that <the river might not have the force<sup>1</sup>> to  
smash the bridge . . . had been hollowed out with  
wooden supports

<sup>1</sup> Translating the tentative supplement of Maurenbr.



## BOOK 5

### OUTLINE

- I. CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WAGED BY LUCULLUS (68 [autumn]–67 BC), FRR. 1–14
- II. WAR AGAINST THE PIRATES, FRR. 15–20

## LIBER V

### CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WAGED BY LUCULLUS (68 [autumn]–67 BC), FRR. 1–14

1\* 1M, 1Mc, inc. 46D, inc. 12K

Repente incautos agros invasit.

*Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. G. 3.469: to illustrate the adj. *incautus* meaning “undefended, vulnerable.”

2\* 2M, 2Mc, inc. 25D, 3.72K

Simul inmanis hominum vis multis e locis invasere paten-  
tis tum et pacis modo effusas <urbis>.<sup>1</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.298: cited as evidence that at *Aen.* 1.298  
*pateant* (= lit., “stand open [to greet]”) can mean “peaceful.”

<sup>1</sup> *Dietsch*



## BOOK 5

### CONCLUSION OF THE WAR WAGED BY LUCULLUS (68 [autumn]–67 BC), FRR. 1–14

**1\*** 1M, 1Mc, inc. 46D, inc. 12K

*Because of its close resemblance to Dio's description of a surprise attack on the Romans while they wandered the countryside (36.9.1; cf. App. Mith. 88), this fragment may describe Mithridates' sudden incursion into his former kingdom of Pontus in the autumn of 68 by way of Lesser Armenia, while Lucullus was engaged in the siege of Nisibis (so Maurenbr.). Alternatively, since this fragment is not assigned to a specific book, it could conceivably concern a raid by Spartacus in the Servile War (73–71): so Gerlach (3.71), and La Penna (1963), 47.*

Suddenly he invaded undefended territory.

**2\*** 2M, 2Mc, inc. 25D, 3.72K

*Same context as fr. 1.*

A huge force of men from many locales simultaneously attacked <cities> that were then standing open and, after the fashion of peacetime, were off guard.

**3\*** 3M, 3Mc, 1D, 1K

Adeo illis ingenita est sanctitas regii nominis.<sup>1</sup>

Serv. ad *G.* 4.211; *Schol. Bern.* and *Schol. Vatic.* ad loc. cit.: quoted to describe the inhabitants of Media.

<sup>1</sup> regi nominis *M Serv.*: regi in omnibus *AH Serv.*: religionis *Schol. Vatic.*

**4\*** 4M, 4Mc, inc. 31D, 5.5K

et in proeliis actu promptus

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 783: commenting on the duty of an *imperator* not to expose himself to danger.

**5** 5M, 5Mc, 3D, 4K

peractis LXX annis armatus equom insilire

Arus. *GL* 7.488.16–17= p. 183DC: to illustrate *insilire* + acc. of thing.

**6\*** 6M, 6Mc, 2D, 2K

luxo pede

Prob. *GL* 4.31.16; *Sacerd. GL* 6.482.22: mistakenly crediting S. with treating the fourth decl. noun *luxus* (luxury) as if it belonged to the second decl., when, in fact, *luxo* in S. is the adj. *luxus*, *-a*, *-um* (dislocated, sprained).

**3\* 3M, 3Mc, 1D, 1K**

*Since the three scholiasts who preserve this fragment state that S. was describing the inhabitants of Media (mod. Azerbaijan), it may belong to the same context as fr. 1 and refer to the former subjects of Mithridates who reverted to loyalty to him out of respect for his hereditary title as king (Dio 36.9.2).*

To such an extent was the sacrosanctity of the title king ingrained in those people.

**4\* 4M, 4Mc, inc. 31D, 5.5K**

*Possibly the same context as fr. 1. The comment made by the scholiast who preserves this fragment suggests that these words may have formed part of S.'s description of the battle in which Mithridates was wounded (Dio 36.9.5).*

and quick to action in battles

**5 5M, 5Mc, 3D, 4K**

*Possibly the same context as fr. 1, since Dio (36.9.5) mentions the fact that Mithridates took a direct role in battle, even though he was more than seventy years of age.*

though over seventy <he was accustomed/able?>  
when fully armed to spring up onto his horse

**6\* 6M, 6Mc, 2D, 2K**

*Possibly a reference to the wound suffered by Mithridates in a battle with Lucullus' legate Fabius Hadrianus in late 68, although that wound, caused by a stone, is said to have injured Mithridates' knee, not his foot (App. Mith. 88; cf. Dio 36.9.6).*

with a dislocated foot

7\* 7M, 7Mc, inc. 30D, 5.3K

Prohibebit<sup>1</sup> nocere venenum, quod tibi datur.

*Dub. nom. GL 5.593.15–16.:* to illustrate that the gender of the noun *venenum* is neuter.

<sup>1</sup> *M: prohibet V*

8\* 9M, 8Mc, 8D, 8K

ceteri negotia sequebantur<sup>1</sup> familiaria legatorum  
aut tribunorum, et<sup>2</sup> pars sua com meatibus mercatis

*Non. p. 138M = 201L.8–9:* to illustrate the pf. particip. *mercatis* standing for the present *mercantibus*.

<sup>1</sup> *exequebantur Dietsch (sed cf. fr. 3.104, sequi = exsequi)*  
<sup>2</sup> *del. Diestch*

9 11M, 9Mc, 7D, 9K

quod<sup>1</sup> uxori eius frater erat

*Arus. GL 7.474.10 = p. 135DC:* to illustrate *frater + dat.*

<sup>1</sup> *qui (corr. ex et) VI A, Keil*

10\* 12M, 10Mc, inc. 77D, inc. 43K

ex<sup>1</sup> insolentia avidus male faciundi

*Serv. ad Aen. 9.341:* to illustrate the indiscriminate slaughter carried out by Euryalus, an inexperienced soldier, in contrast with his seasoned companion Nisus, who killed chieftains during their night raid.

<sup>1</sup> *F: et rell.*

**7\* 7M, 7Mc, inc. 30D, 5.3K**

*The wound suffered by Mithridates (fr. 6) was healed by a Scythian physician, who applied the poison of a serpent (App. Mithr. 88). The fragment below may be part of the healer's words to Mithridates.*

It [an antidote?] will prevent the poison that is being given to you from doing harm.

**8\* 9M, 8Mc, 8D, 8K**

*Possibly describing the breakdown of discipline in Lucullus' army, especially among the Valerians, after the capture of Nisibis and the winter (of 68/67) spent there in luxury (Dio 36.14.3).*

the rest were looking after the domestic affairs of the legates or the tribunes, and part their own, selling the army's supplies

**9 11M, 9Mc, 7D, 9K**

*P. Clodius Pulcher, the brother of Lucullus' wife, fomented a mutiny in Lucullus' army during its stay at Nisibis, winter 68/67 (Plut. Luc. 34.1-5; Dio 36.14.4, 17.2).*

because he was his wife's brother

**10\* 12M, 10Mc, inc. 77D, inc. 43K**

*Same context as fr. 9. Dio (36.14.4) credits Clodius with inborn zeal for stirring up revolution.*

eager for misconduct owing to his arrogance

**11 13M, 11Mc, 10D, 14K**

legiones Valerianae, conperto lege Gabinia Bithyniam et Pontum consuli datam, sese<sup>1</sup> missos esse

Prisc. *GL* 3.225.17–19, quoting fr. 12 and this fragment: to illustrate an inf. (with subj. acc.) depending on a word in the abl. (absol.).

<sup>1</sup> *Dousa*: esse *codd.*

**12 14M, 12Mc, 11D, 12K**

At Lucullus, audito<sup>1</sup> Q. Marcium Regem pro consule per Lycaoniam cum tribus legionibus ad<sup>2</sup> Ciliciam tendere

Prisc. *GL* 3.225.15–17: see fr. 11.

<sup>1</sup> *auditoq(ue) MDSLn*      <sup>2</sup> *R*: in *rell.*

**13 15M, 13Mc, 12D, 13K**

sed ubi ille militum voluntatem causatus

Arus. *GL* 7.489.16–17 = p. 187DC: to illustrate *causatus* [ppp. of depon. verb *causor* = “to plead as an excuse”] + acc.

## 11 13M, 11Mc, 10D, 14K

*News of the reassignment of Lucullus' command caused the Valerians to hold Lucullus in contempt (Dio 36.14.4).*

the Valerian legions, after it was learned that Bithynia and Pontus had been assigned by Gabinius' law to the consul<sup>1</sup> and that they had been discharged

<sup>1</sup> M'. Acilius Glabrio (cos. 67), by the *lex Gabinia de provinciis consularibus* (or *de bello Mithridatico*), not to be confused with Gabinius' law assigning Pompey the command to clear the seas of pirates.

## 12 14M, 12Mc, 11D, 12K

*News of the reassignment of Lucullus' command caused his army to refuse further fighting against Mithridates and Tigranes. The troops who remained under arms (after the Valerians accepted their discharge: see fr. 11) withdrew to Cappadocia (Dio 36.15.1-3).*

But Lucullus, having heard that the proconsul Q. Marcius Rex was making his way with three legions through Lycania toward Cilicia

## 13 15M, 13Mc, 12D, 13K

*Q. Marcius Rex (cos. 68), who had replaced Lucullus as governor of Cilicia, made excuses for refusing to come to Lucullus' aid in the neighboring region of Cappadocia (Dio 36.17.2).*

but when he, alleging as his reason [for not coming to Lucullus' aid?] the will of his soldiers

14 16M, 14Mc, 4D, 7K

regem avorsabatur

Arus. *GL* 7.456.24 = p. 73DC: to illustrate the depon. verb *aversor* (to turn away from a person in horror or disgust) + acc.

WAR AGAINST THE PIRATES,  
FRR. 15–20

15\* 18M, 15Mc, inc. 74D, inc. 40K

*Ostia exitus fluminum in mare neutro genere semper pluraliter dicuntur. Sed si urbem significare voles, singularem potius numerum observabis, quamvis Sallustius frequenter etiam plurali numero urbem significet.*

Charis. *GL* 1.98.14–16 = p. 125B.6–10

16 20M, 16Mc, 13D, 16K



**14** 16M, 14Mc, 4D, 7K

*Maurenbr. speculates that this fragment may refer to Menemachus, a courtier of Tigranes who deserted the king and received sanctuary from Q. Marcius Rex in Cilicia (Dio 36.17.2).*

he was recoiling from the king

**WAR AGAINST THE PIRATES,  
FRR. 15–20**

**15\*** 18M, 15Mc, inc. 74D, inc. 40K

*As part of the background information supplied to justify assigning to Pompey an extraordinary command against the pirates, S. may have recounted the shockingly bold raid carried out by pirates on Ostia, the port of Rome (Cic. De imp. Cn. Pomp. 33; Dio 36.22.2).*

*The outlets of rivers into the sea, “ostia,” are always expressed in the neuter plural. But if you want to indicate the city, you will be careful to use rather the singular, although S. frequently indicates the city even with the plural.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The more common form is the first decl. *Ostia*, –ae (f.).

**16** 20M, 16Mc, 13D, 16K

*Conceivably Pompey was credited with making this remark in the context of the debate over Gabinius' proposal to authorize an extraordinary command against the pirates (so Maurenbr.). The reflexive sibi reveals that these words, which take the form of an indirect statement, are to be attributed to Pompey.*

quibus de causis Sullam [in victoria]<sup>1</sup> dictatorem  
uni sibi descendere equo,<sup>2</sup> adsurgere sella,<sup>3</sup> caput  
aperire solitum

Non. p. 236M = 352–53L.18–19: to illustrate *apertum* meaning *nudatum* (bare).

{Arus. *GL* 7.454.29–30 = p. 65DC (*Sullam . . . solitum*): to illustrate the dat. (of person honored) with *adsurgo*. Non. p. 397M = 638L.15–16 (*sella surgere, caput aperire solitum*): to illustrate *surgere* meaning “to get up.” Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.107 and 3.206 (*caput aperire solitus* [sic]), “to bare one’s head.”}

Both citations in Non. are assigned to Book 5.

<sup>1</sup> *del. Kritz ut dittographiam vocis dictatorem: om. Arus.: victorem ac dictatorem Madvig* <sup>2</sup> descendere equo] Arus.: equo descendere Non. p. 236M <sup>3</sup> adsurgere sella] Arus. (*cf. Val. Max.* 5.2.9, sella adsurrexit): surgere de sella Non. p. 236M: sella surgere Non. p. 397M

17 21M, 17Mc, 14D, 17K

spe<ciem et> celebritate<m><sup>1</sup> nominis intellego ti-  
mentem

Prisc. *GL* 3.225.20–226.1, quoting this fragment and fr. 18: to illustrate the substitution of a participle in the acc., in place of an inf., after a verb introducing indirect discourse.

<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.:* spe celebritate *codd.:* super celebritate *Hertz dubitanter in app.*

18 22M, 18Mc, 15D, 18K

for which reasons, for him alone [Pompey] the dictator Sulla was accustomed to dismount from his horse, rise from his official chair, and bare his head

**17** 21M, 17Mc, 14D, 17K

*The speaker may be Gabinius (cf. his speech in Dio 36.27–29), and the person referred to as experiencing fear may be Pompey, who feigns reluctance to assume the burden of such a great command.*

I understand his fearing the splendor and renown attached to the title [of commander in chief of such a mighty force?]

**18** 22M, 18Mc, 15D, 18K

*Same context, possibly, as fr. 17, a speech of Gabinius in support of his piracy bill. The person accused of seeking bribes will be an opponent, such as the tribune of the plebs Trebellius, who tried to block the measure with his veto (Ascon. p. 72C).*

Video ingentia<sup>1</sup> dona quaesitum<sup>2</sup> properantem.

Prisc. *GL* 3.226.1–2: see fr. 17.

<sup>1</sup> *DOSL* (*N corr.*): ingentem *R*: indigentia *M*: indigentem  
*Hertz*                    <sup>2</sup> *Krehl*: quaesiturum *S*: –uram *L*: –ura *NRMOD*

**19\*** 23M, 19Mc, inc. 33D, 5.19K

sane bonus ea tempestate contra pericula et ambitionem

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.195: to illustrate *bonus = fortis*.

**20** 24M, 20Mc, 16D, 20K

Nam si in Pompeio quid humani evenisset,

Arus. *GL* 7.470.25–26 = p. 123DC: to illustrate *eventire* with *in* + abl.

I see him scurrying to seek huge<sup>1</sup> bribes.

<sup>1</sup> Or, reading *indigentem*: “I see the needy fellow scurrying to seek bribes.”

**19\*** 23M, 19Mc, inc. 33D, 5.19K

*Possibly describing one of the leading senatorial opponents of Gabinius' bill, Q. Catulus (cos. 78): cf. Dio 36.30.4–36.*

at that time, truly stalwart in standing up to the dangers [resulting from incurring the wrath of the people in opposing the bill?] and the ambition [of Pompey?]

**20** 24M, 20Mc, 16D, 20K

*In opposing the bill, Q. Catulus (cf. fr. 19) pointed out that it was risky to rely so heavily upon a single man, Pompey, since, if he were to be killed on the mission, the Roman people would be hard-pressed to replace him with another (Cic. De imp. Cn. Pomp. 59; Vell. 2.31.1; Val. Max. 8.15.9; Dio 36.36a).*

For if anything such as can befall mortals<sup>1</sup> should happen in the case of Pompey,

<sup>1</sup> A common euphemism for death (cf. Enn. Ann. 125V; Cic. Phil. 1.10).

# FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

## WAR AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, FRR. 1–25

1\* 1.27M, inc. 5Mc, inc. 67D, inc. 33K

exercitum argento fecit

Sen. *Ep.* 114.17: inspired by this expression in S., where *facere* = *parare*, the historian L. Arruntius overused *facere* in various contexts.

2\* 1.83M (Serv. auct.), inc. 12Mc, 2.10D (Serv. auct.), 2.15K (Serv. auct.)

- 1 . . . . . | [ . . . . ] *guber*[ . . . . ] | [ . . . . . ] *e*[ . . . . . ] | |  
.. ±6 .. ] ar .. [ . . . . <relf>ertus ir<a>e et doloris in| talibus  
2 sociis amissis. Ar|mati navibus e[i]volant<sup>1</sup> | <s>caphis aut

*Pap Ryl III 473, recto*<sup>A</sup> (*r<ef>ertus . . . in Hispaniam*) = lines 4–18 of a column ca. 20 lines long and ca. 18–22 letters in width, written in rustic capitals in a papyrus roll of the second/third century(?), from which 2.7M/8R is also preserved. Supplements are by Roberts, unless otherwise indicated; italics indicates that the transcription is uncertain; ends of lines in the papyrus are marked by |.

{Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.329 (§3 *perrexere . . . Sardiniam*): to illustrate the use of *an* as a disjunctive conj., = “or rather” (*OLD* s.v. 9).}

## FRAGMENTS NOT ASSIGNED TO BOOKS

### WAR AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, FRR. 1-25

1\* 1.27M, inc. 5Mc, inc. 67D, inc. 33K

*S. may have been describing various persons, either L. Cinna in 87, when he was expelled from Rome by his consular colleague Octavius (so Maurenbr. adducing Schol. Gronov. p. 286St.8, pretio collegit exercitum, "he assembled an army by means of money"), or Pompey, when he raised troops for Sulla (so Dietsch) or for the Sertorian War (cf. fr. 2.86.9), or Lepidus (so de Brosses), or M. Crassus, to repress the Spartacan revolt (cf. Crassus' well-known definition of true wealth as that which is enough to maintain an army, Cic. Parad. 45, Off. 1.25).*

he created an army with cash

2\* 1.83M (Serv. auct.), inc. 12Mc, 2.10D (Serv. auct.), 2.15K (Serv. auct.)

*Sundry contexts have been proposed, but certainty is impossible: the revolt of Lepidus (Kritz, Dietsch, Maurenbr., and Rylands), the wandering of Sertorius (Last), or the campaign of M. Antonius (pr. 74) against the pirates (Lepori).*

... <he was?> filled with rage and grief at the loss of such

nando, pars | <p>uppibus in litus algosum | <i>n>pulsis; ne-  
 que eos diuti<u>s hostes mansere genus | <tre>pidissu-  
 3 mum<sup>2</sup> Graecol<r>um et Afrorum semermil<u>m. Dein  
 sociis pro fortul<n>a humatis et omnibus | <qu>ae usui  
 erant ex propin<quo> conreptis, ubi nulla | <spe>s esset<sup>3</sup>  
 patrandi incepti, | <pe>rrexere in Hispaniam | <an Sardi-  
 niam><sup>4</sup> [ . . . 2 lines. . . ]

<sup>1</sup> corr. Ed. Fraenkel                      <sup>2</sup> -ssimum pap.                      <sup>3</sup> Roberts:  
 est pap.                      <sup>4</sup> suppl. ex Serv.

3\* 5.8M, inc. 31Mc, inc. 66D, inc.32K

pressi undique multitudine

Donat. ad Ter. Ad. 302: to describe the press of enemy forces.

4\* 2.57M, inc. 16Mc, inc. 16D, 3.18K

atque edita<sup>1</sup> undique, tribus tamen cum<sup>2</sup> muris et  
 magnis turribus

Donat. ad Ter. An. 94: to illustrate *tamen* in the absence of a  
 preceding concessive clause.

<sup>1</sup> edicta A: dicta TC                      <sup>2</sup> tum vel circum Pecere

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<sup>1</sup> With this translation, if *cum* + abl. is retained; if, instead, the  
 abls *muris* and *turribus* were governed by a word such as *munita*  
 (fortified), then possibly *tum* or *circum* is the correct reading in  
 place of *cum*.



confederates. Armed they flew forth from the ships by means of skiffs or by swimming, some did so after the sterns of the ships had been driven aground on the seaweed-strewn shore; and the enemy, a very timorous sort composed of poorly armed Greeks and Africans, did not stand up to them for very long. Next, after burying their comrades as best they could and after seizing everything in the vicinity that was useful, when there was no hope of accomplishing their undertaking, they made their way to Spain or Sardinia . . .

3\* 5.8M, inc. 31Mc, inc. 66D, inc.32K

*Maurenbr. assigned this fragment to the Battle of Zela in the summer of 67, near Gazioura in Pontus, where the Roman forces under Lucullus' legate Triarius were surrounded and overwhelmed by the numerically superior troops of Mithridates (Dio 36.12.4). But this could be a description of any number of other battles.*

hemmed in on all sides by a throng [of hostile forces?]

4\* 2.57M, inc. 16Mc, inc. 16D, 3.18K

*The description of a well-fortified city; among possible candidates are Carthago Nova (Maurenbr. citing Strabo 3.4.6, p. 158) or Nisibis (de Brosses) or Tigranocerta (Gerlach), or Carthage (cf. App. Pun. 95). Less probably it describes Lucullus' camp at Cyzicus (Kritz).*

and elevated on all sides, with<sup>1</sup> nevertheless [despite its natural defenses] three walls and great towers

5\* inc. 10M, inc. 46Mc, inc. 60D, inc. 26K

non repugnantibus modo, sed ne deditis quidem a.  
b. e. m.<sup>1</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 98: to illustrate the figure *auxesis*, whereby a succeeding phrase or clause amplifies the preceding one. Cf. fr. 1.77 and fr. 2.108 for similar instances of abbreviated text in Donat.

<sup>1</sup> a<rmis> b<ellum> e<xcitare> m<etuentibus> *Maurenbr.*:  
a<trocis> b<elli> c<lades> m<etuentibus> *de Broses*

6\* inc. 5M, inc. 41Mc, inc. 84D, inc. 51K

pactione amisso Publio legato

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 141: to illustrate *amittere* = *dimittere* (send away), a meaning common in comedy (*OLD* s.v. *amitto* 1).

7\* 4.62M, inc. 28Mc, 59D, inc. 25K

in nuda, intecta<sup>1</sup> corpora

Diom. *GL* 1.447.9: to illustrate homoeoteleuton.

<sup>1</sup> intecta corpora] *Gerlach ed. min.*: intectato pora *cod.*: in tecta corpora *Maurenbr.*: iniecta corpora *Carrio*

5\* inc. 10M, inc. 46Mc, inc. 60D, inc. 26K

*The text is too abrupt and abbreviated to permit any firm interpretation. Since it is cited as an example of the figure auxesis, the second half should somehow amplify what precedes. Perhaps these words are datives dependent on a predicate of the sort non pepercerunt (they did not spare), and the reference is to the slaughter of the inhabitants of a captured city (so Kritz).*

not only those putting up resistance but not even  
those who had surrendered \* \* \* \*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, if we adopt Maurenbr.'s expansion of the abbreviated text "a. b. e. m.": "not only putting up resistance, but not even after the surrender <of their arms, being afraid to awaken war>."

6\* inc. 5M, inc. 41Mc, inc. 84D, inc. 51K

*Since the person is referred to only by the common praenomen Publius, it is impossible to be certain that the reference is P. Clodius and his dismissal from the staff of his brother-in-law L. Lucullus in the winter of 68/67 (so de Brosses and Kritz), after which Clodius served under his other brother-in-law, Marcus Rex (cos. 68), the governor of Cilicia (MRR 2.148).*

the legate Publius having been dismissed by agree-  
ment

7\* 4.62M, inc. 28Mc, 59D, inc. 25K

*Possibly referring to the Germans in Spartacus' army (cf. fr. 3.68).*  
against bare, uncovered bodies

8\* 3.41M, inc. 19Mc, inc. 41D, inc. 7K

paululum requietis militibus

Serv. ad *Ecl.* 8.4: to illustrate the verb *requiesco* meaning to “cause to rest, stay” (*OLD* 5).

9\* 4.34M, inc. 26Mc, deest in D et K

diu noctuque laborare, festinare

Serv. ad *G.* 1.287 [*Schol. Bern.* ad *ibid.* (*diu . . . laborare*)]: to illustrate the adv. *noctu*.

10\* 1.14M, inc. 4Mc, inc. 26D, 3.74K

apertae<sup>1</sup> portae,<sup>2</sup> repleta arva cultoribus

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.27: to illustrate open gates as a sign of peace.

<sup>1</sup> aparte C: aperte *corr.* C<sup>5</sup>      <sup>2</sup> portae *om.* C

11\* inc. 8M, inc. 44Mc, inc. 49D, 15K

neu quis miles neve pro milite

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.157: claiming that *pro milite* can designate a veteran called back to active duty, soldiers commonly referred to as *evocati*.

8\* 3.41M, inc. 19Mc, inc. 41D, inc. 7K

*Maurenbr. speculated that this fragment formed part of the description of the hardships that befell Lucullus' army when it went in pursuit of Mithridates on his withdrawal from the siege of Cyzicus in the winter of 73/72 (Plut. Luc. 11.4).*

the soldiers having been given a brief rest

9\* 4.34M, inc. 26Mc, not included in D and K

*Maurenbr. saw a reference to the toil and speed with which Crassus' army blockaded Spartacus and his followers on the peninsula near Rhegium (Plut. Crass. 10.8), but the context could be any number of other military operations.*

to toil and hurry day and night

10\* 1.14M, inc. 4Mc, inc. 26D, 3.74K

*Possibly a description of conditions in Campania and Lucania at the time of the uprising by Spartacus (so de Brosses and Kritz). Maurenbr., on the contrary, detects a reference to the prosperity enjoyed by Italy after the destruction of Carthage and the conquest of Greece.*

the gates open, the plowed fields filled with farmers

11\* inc. 8M, inc. 44Mc, inc. 49D, 15K

*If the meaning Servius assigns to pro milite is correct, then this fragment may possibly describe the army assembled by Crassus (cf. fr. 4.12) to meet the emergency posed by Spartacus' uprising (so McGushin).*

and so that no soldier or recalled veteran

**12\*** 4.80M, inc. 30Mc, inc. 104D, inc. 73K

<nubes> . . . foedavere lumen

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.286: commenting on the metaphorical use of *foedare* (to sully), giving as an example S.'s use of this verb in speaking of clouds (*de nubibus*).

**13\*** inc. 37M, inc. 73Mc, inc. 89K

**VICES** pugnas, quia per vicissitudinem pugnabatur, ut Sallustius docet.

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.433.

**14\*** 1.30M, inc. 6Mc, inc. 38D, inc. 4K

speciem captae urbis efficere

Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.557: to illustrate *species* = *imago* (a likeness).

**15\*** inc. 4M, inc. 40Mc, inc. 56D, inc. 22K

12\* 4.80M, inc. 30Mc, inc. 104D, inc. 73K

*Maurenbr. speculated that the context may have been the moonless and stormy night on which L. Lucullus breached the walls of Nisibis in the winter of 68/67 (Dio 36.7.1); cf. fr. 4.70. Here, however, Servius indicates that S. was referring to clouds, not the darkness of night.*

<clouds> marred the daylight

13\* inc. 37M, inc. 73Mc, inc. 89K

*S. appears to have used the noun vices to describe the alternating fortunes of fighting.*

**"HAZARDS"** [meaning] "battles," because fighting was in the habit of occurring with vicissitudes, as Sallust points out.

14\* 1.30M, inc. 6Mc, inc. 38D, inc. 4K

*Possibly, according to Maurenbr., describing the bloodshed and looting carried out by Cinna and Marius after their entry into Rome in the autumn of 87 (Dio fr. 102.9; Liv. Per. 80, velut captam eam caedibus et rapinis vastaverunt, "they [Marius and Cinna] laid it waste with looting and slaughter, as if it were a captured city"). Alternatively, the scene described could be a city looted by Spartacus (so Kritz), or the looting of Sinope by the fleeing garrison installed by Mithridates (Memnon, FGrH 434F37.7): so Gerlach.*

to produce the appearance of a captured city

15\* inc. 4M, inc. 40Mc, inc. 56D, inc. 22K

*A maneuver to improve the striking of blows, which Servius characterizes as "Gallic." Possibly, according to Maurenbr., the con-*

regressi ad faciliores ictus loco cedebant<sup>1</sup>

Serv. ad *Aen.* 9.746: to illustrate a type of blow styled “Gallic” by Servius.

<sup>1</sup> loco cedebant] locos quaerebant *Guelferbyt. I*

**16\*** 4.75M, inc. 29Mc, inc. 55D, inc. 21K

more equestris proeli sumptis tergis atque redditis

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.619: to illustrate the tactic of controlled retreat as a stock maneuver in a cavalry battle.

**17\*** 1.87M, 1.76Mc, Inc 65D, Inc 31K

togam<sup>1</sup> paludamento mutavit

Serv. auct. ad *G.* 1.8 (without attribution to S.): to illustrate *mutare* + acc. and abl.

*Schol. in Iuv.* ad 6.400 and Isidor. *Etym.* 19.24.9 both credit this expression to S. without specifying the work, the former as part of a note on Juv.’s *paludatis ducibus* (generals in military cloaks), and the latter to provide an instance of *paludamentum*, after defining the meaning of the word.

<sup>1</sup> coiam *L* (*Serv.*): cogam *S* (*Schol. in Iuv.*)

**18\*** 1.109M, inc. 13Mc, inc. 61D, inc. 27K



*text was fighting by Pompey in Gaul on his way to Spain in 77 or the fighting against the Gauls and Germans under Crixus in 72 (fr. 3.42.9).*

having pulled back for easier striking, they gave ground<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, "sought positions (from which) to inflict . . . ," if the reading *locos quaerebant* is adopted (see textual note).

**16\*** 4.75M, inc. 29Mc, inc. 55D, inc. 21K

*The description of an infantry battle fought more in the style of a cavalry engagement, possibly in the war with Mithridates or Tigranes. Maurenbr. assigned this fragment to the battle at the river Arsianus in the summer of 68 (Plut. Luc. 31.5–8). Cf. fr. 4.65.*

after the fashion of a cavalry battle, attacking the rear of the fleeing enemy and then themselves retreating

**17\*** 1.87M, 1.76Mc, inc. 65D, inc. 31K

*Possibly describing Sertorius in a sketch of his military career (so Dietsch and Maurenbr.) or M. Lepidus (cos. 78) when he embarked upon armed rebellion in 77 (so de Brosse and Gerlach). Cf. fr. dub. 52.*

he exchanged his toga for a military cloak

**18\*** 1.109M, inc. 13Mc, inc. 61D, inc. 27K

*Possibly describing the success of Sertorius in Spain as foreshadowed by his initial battles in 80 against Cotta and Fufidius, the governor of Further Spain (Plut. Sert. 12.3–4): so Maurenbr. Alternatively, the reference could be to a victory of some other foreign or Roman commander.*

Ita sperat pugnam illam pro omine<sup>1</sup> bello<sup>2</sup> futuram.

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.456: to illustrate *pugna* = *proelium*.

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.311 (*pugnam . . . futuram*): to illustrate Virgil's *omen pugnae*.}

<sup>1</sup> omni Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.456: SRHM (Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.311): omine <omni> *Dietsch dubit. in app.* <sup>2</sup> belli *Stephanus*

19\* inc. 2M, inc. 38Mc, inc. 44D, inc. 10K

in secunda cohortis festinas composuerat

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 9.486: to illustrate the adj. *festinus* = *festinans*.

20\* inc. 1M, inc. 37Mc, inc. 43D, inc. 9K

ex<sup>1</sup> parte cohortium praepropere<sup>2</sup> instructa [et]<sup>3</sup>  
stationes locatae pro castris

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 12.661: to illustrate *pro* + abl. = *ante* + acc.

<sup>1</sup> F: et *rell.* <sup>2</sup> *Maurenbr.*: praecipere F: pro opere *Thilo in app.*: pro tempore *Dietsch*: praesi<dia pro>pere *Frassinetti-Di Salvo in app.* <sup>3</sup> *Putschius*

21\* 1.70M, inc. 9Mc, inc. 23D, 3.70K

quae cis paucos dies iuncta<sup>1</sup> in armis foret<sup>2</sup>

Cledon. *GL* 5.76.23–24: to illustrate the prep. *cis*.

<sup>1</sup> cuncta *Kritz dubit. in app.* <sup>2</sup> sunt *Gelach*

Thus he hopes that that battle will serve as an omen  
for the war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, "for the war as a whole," if Diestch's supplement *omni* is adopted.

**19\*** inc. 2M, inc. 38Mc, inc. 44D, inc. 10K

he had drawn up the fast-moving<sup>1</sup> cohorts in the  
second line of battle

<sup>1</sup> Presumably those lightly armed (*expeditae*, or *leves*), hence maneuverable.

**20\*** inc. 1M, inc. 37Mc, inc. 43D, inc. 9K

pickets stationed in front of the camp from a hastily  
marshaled portion of the cohorts

**21\*** 1.70M, inc. 9Mc, inc. 23D, 3.70K

*Possibly describing the uniting of Etruria in support of M. Lepidus' uprising in 77 (so Maurenbr.); cf. fr. 1.59. Alternatively, the context may be the war with Sertorius or Spartacus. Kritz, reading sunt in place of foret, supposed the subject to be servitia, viz. the slaves who flocked to Spartacus.*

which [some region?] would be united in arms  
within a few days

**22\*** inc. 3M, inc. 39Mc, inc. 54D, inc. 20K

profectus quidam Ligus ad requisita naturae

Pomp. *GL* 5.293.23: to illustrate a periphrasis for describing a bodily function.

{Quint. 8.6.59 (*ad requisita naturae*) as an example of a periphrasis.}

**23\*** 3.92M, inc. 24Mc, inc. 40D, inc. 6K

radicem montis accessit

*Schol. Stat. ad Theb.* 3.116: to illustrate the omission of a prep. with a verb that normally requires one.

**24\*** inc. 9M, inc. 45Mc, inc. 39D, 5K

Vt res magis quam verba agerentur, liberos parentisque in muris locaverant.

*Schol. Stat. ad Theb.* 10.573: quoted to illustrate the principle that the sight of one's children can rouse soldiers to fight fiercely.

**25\*** inc. 6M, inc. 42Mc, inc. 52D, 18K

hostes aut oppressi aut dilapsi forent

Isid. *Etym.* 18.2.7: to illustrate the two ways of eliminating an enemy force: by destruction or by dispersal.

**22\*** inc. 3M, inc. 39Mc, inc. 54D, inc. 20K

*This description of an auxiliary soldier briefly leaving the Roman camp is reminiscent of Jug. 93.2 (foret quidam Ligus) and also of fr. 4.29 describing the departure of two Gallic women from the camp of Spartacus' followers.*

a Ligurian having departed to attend to the demands of nature

**23\*** 3.92M, inc. 24Mc, inc. 40D, inc. 6K

*Maurenbr. advocated connecting this fragment with the attempt of the praetor Clodius (C. Claudius Glaber) to trap Spartacus' band of escaped gladiators on Mt. Vesuvius (Plut. Crass. 9.2), but the reference is too general to permit identification of the context.*

he [or, "the army"] approached the foot of the mountain

**24\*** inc. 9M, inc. 45Mc, inc. 39D, 5K

*Part of a narrative marking a transition from talk of a settlement to fighting, the aim being to prevent the capture of a native city besieged by the Romans (possibly Nisibis).*

To produce deeds rather than words, they had placed their children and parents on the walls.

**25\*** inc. 6M, inc. 42Mc, inc. 52D, 18K

the enemy would either have been crushed or have dispersed

SHIPS AND SAILING, FRR. 26–31

**26\*** 3.64M, inc. 23Mc, 3.42M, 3.52K

crebritate fluctuum, ut aquilone solet

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.116: to illustrate Servius' remark that Aquilo (the North Wind) produces constant waves.

**27\*** inc. 13M, inc. 49Mc, inc. 57D, inc. 23K

impediebant iussa nautarum

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.129: to illustrate *celeuma* (= the boatswain's call giving the time to the rowers), a Greek term glossed as *praeceptum* (a command).

**28\*** 3.55M, inc. 21Mc, 4.23D, 4.38K

triplici fluctu

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.116: cited as a Latin expression modeled on the Greek *τρικυμία* (= a huge wave).

## SHIPS AND SAILING, FRR. 26–31

**26\*** 3.64M, inc. 23Mc, 3.42M, 3.52K

*Most previous editors place this fragment in the context of S.'s excursus on the region of the Black Sea in Book 3, but it could equally well have been part of S.'s description of the storm that wrecked Mithridates' fleet on his voyage from Nicomedia to Sinope in spring 72 (see fr. 3.76).*

owing to the frequency of the waves, as is common  
with the North wind

**27\*** inc. 13M, inc. 49Mc, inc. 57D, inc. 23K

*The close resemblance of this fragment to Ov. Met. 11.484 (impediunt adversae iussa procellae, "hostile gales hamper the orders") suggests that the subject may have been foul weather (so Funari). Possibly it belongs to the same context as fr. 26 and 28.*

[stormy gales?] were interfering with the orders  
given to the sailors

**28\*** 3.55M, inc. 21Mc, 4.23D, 4.38K

*Maurenbr. assigns this fragment to S.'s account of the storm that wrecked Mithridates' fleet on his voyage from Nicomedia to Sinope in spring 72 (cf. fr. 3.76). On the contrary, Kritz and Dietsch, rejecting Servius' interpretation of the expression, assumed that it formed part of S.'s description of the mythical whirlpool Charybdis (treated in fr. 4.19), which was said to undergo each day three cycles of absorption and regurgitation (Hom. Od. 12.104–6; Isid. Etym. 13.18.5).*

with a huge (lit., triple) wave

**29\*** 1.56M, inc. 8Mc, inc. 45K, inc. 11K

Sed ubi tempore anni mare classibus patefactum  
est,

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.146: to illustrate the verb *aperio* (to open)  
with reference to making the sea accessible to navigation.

**30\*** inc. 12M, inc. 48Mc, deest in D et K

et parvis modo velorum alis remissis<sup>1</sup>

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.520: to illustrate the metaphor *velorum* . . .  
*alas*.

<sup>1</sup> demissis *Maurenbr.* (cf. fr. 4.72)

**31\*** inc. 11M, inc. 47Mc, deest in D et K

dorso fluctus trieris adaequata<sup>1</sup>

*Gloss.* 5, p. 251.3 (attributed to S.; title of work not specified): to  
illustrate the adj. *trieris* (sc. *navis*).

<sup>1</sup> *Schmitz*: adaequatum *cod.*

POLITICS AND CIVIL AFFAIRS,  
FRR. 32–37

**32\*** 5.19M, inc. 33Mc, inc. 32D, 5.15K



**29\*** 1.56M, inc. 8Mc, inc. 45K, inc. 11K

*Possibly describing the dispatch of P. Servilius (cos. 79) in 78 to combat the pirates in Cilicia (so Maurenbr.), or the naval expedition against the pirates under either M. Antonius in 74 or Pompey in 67. But it could equally well describe the departure of any governor for his posting abroad.*

But when the season of the year had opened up the sea to ships,

**30\*** inc. 12M, inc. 48Mc, not included in D and K

*Although Serv. cites this fragment to illustrate the common poetic metaphor of sails resembling wings, alas velorum (wings of the sails) at Aen. 3.520 (the example also singled out by Isid. Etym. 19.3.1), here in S., alis, described as "small" (parvis), most probably = the ends or corners of the sails, the "reefs" (so OLD 3).*

and with only small reefs of the sails slackened

**31\*** inc. 11M, inc. 47Mc, not included in D and K

*A storm at sea.*

a trireme made level with the ridge of the wave<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., was lifted up to the crest of the wave.

## POLITICS AND CIVIL AFFAIRS, FRR. 32-37

**32\*** 5.19M, inc. 33Mc, inc. 32D, 5.15K

*Possibly describing the eagerness of Pompey (Kritz, Maurenbr., citing Dio 36.24.5), or of the Roman people (Dietsch), for the passage of Gabinius' bill that in 67 assigned the pirate war to Pompey. The law referred to, however, could equally well be, for*

cupientissimus legis

Diom. *GL* 1.311.28–29; Dosith. *GL* 7.426.10: to illustrate a partic. (in the superl.) + (obj.) gen.

**33\*** 4.54M, inc. 27Mc, 2.37D, 2.46K

Canina, ut ait Appius, facundia exercebatur.

Non. p. 60M = 84L.17: to amplify his discussion of *rabula* (a ranting speaker).

{Lactant. *Div. inst.* 6.18.26 (*sed quia ipse [Cicero] caninam illam facundia, sicut Sallustius ab Appio dictum refert, exercuit.* Cf. Hier. *Ep.* 119.1, 134.1, attributing the expression *canina facundia* to Appius, without mentioning S.)

**34\*** inc. 16M, inc. 52Mc, inc. 92D, inc. 60K

genua patrum advolvuntur

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.307: to illustrate the omission of a prep. with a verb that normally requires one.

{Arus. *GL* 7.514.23 = p. 282DC (*genua advolvebantur*), a brief notation of the sort “*Sal. Hist.*” identifying S. as the author appears to have dropped out of the text immediately ahead of the quotation.)

*instance, the one sponsored by C. Cotta in 75 to lift one of the restrictions imposed upon the tribunate by Sulla (cf. fr. 2.44 and 3.15.8), or the legislation of Pompey and Crassus in 70 that restored the powers of the plebeian tribunate, or the law of L. Cotta in the same year that reformed the jury courts.*

most eager for the law

**33\*** 4.54M, inc. 27Mc, 2.37D, 2.46K

*Possibly belonging to the same context as fr. 2.22 and describing the sharp wit of the tribune Sicinius, who in 76 verbally attacked leading senatorial politicians who opposed the popular demand for the restoration of the plebeian tribunate (Plut. Crass. 7.8): so Kritz and Dietsch. Maurenbr., on the contrary—chiefly, it seems, because Lactantius applied this pejorative to Cicero's eloquence—speculated that S. was describing Cicero in the context of his prosecution of Verres in 70 (cf. fr. 4.23). La Penna (1973) proposed placing it in the preface to Book 1, where S. commented on the state of contemporary rhetoric.*

He cultivated a snarling<sup>1</sup> eloquence, as Appius<sup>2</sup> called it.

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "canine."

<sup>2</sup> This Appius may be Ap. Claudius Caecus (cens. 312) or a much later Appius, perhaps either the consul of 79, who was the father of Cicero's enemy P. Clodius (Cic. *De or.* 2.246), or the father of the consul of 79 (Cic. *De or.* 2.284).

**34\*** inc. 16M, inc. 52Mc, inc. 92D, inc. 60K

*Presumably a description of foreign ambassadors who appeared as suppliants before the senate to beg for redress of wrongs committed by some Roman official.*

they prostrate themselves at the knees of the senators

35\* 1.76M, inc. 10Mc, 2.41D, 2.50K

in hunc modum disseruit

Prisc. *GL* 3.305.16–17: to illustrate the phrase *in hunc modum*, in place of *hoc modo*.

36\* 5.27M, inc. 36Mc, deest in D et K

manum in os intendens

Placid. *Gloss.* p. 27.2: to illustrate *intendere* = *minari* (to threaten).

37\* 5.26M, inc. 35Mc, inc. 99D, inc. 68K

eo redeunte domum, salutatum<sup>1</sup> apud aedem Bel-  
lonae

*Schol. Veron.* ad *Aen.* 5.80: to illustrate *salve* in the sense of “hail and farewell.”

{*Schol. Stat.* ad *Theb.* 4.31 (*cum ab eo domum rediens salutaretur*): to illustrate *salutare* meaning “to bid farewell” (*vale*).}

<sup>1</sup> *Maurenbr.*: salutaret *Schol. Veron.*

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<sup>1</sup> Impersonal pass. accepting Maurenbr.’s emendation; text uncertain. The *Schol. Veron.* is very lacunose immediately preceding this fragment, and the fragment is quoted differently by *Schol. Stat.* Both scholiasts quote S. in the mistaken belief that *salutare* in this fragment has the same meaning as *salve* in Virgil = “farewell” (s.v. *OLD* 3) and *salutare* in Statius (s.v. *OLD* 3).

**35\*** 1.76M, inc. 10Mc, 2.41D, 2.50K

*Possibly introducing the speech of Philippus (fr. 1.67), so Maurenbr. The verb dissero is similarly used to introduce speeches at Jug. 30.4, 84.5 and Hist. 2.43.1a.*

he spoke in this fashion

**36\*** 5.27M, inc. 36Mc, not included in D and K

*A threatening gesture: possibly that made against the consul C. Piso in 67 when he tried to prevent the tribune C. Cornelius from reading the text of his bill despite the veto of a tribunician colleague (so Maurenbr. citing Ascon. p. 58C, cum ille eos qui sibi intentabant manus prendi a lictore iussisset, "when Piso had ordered his lictor to seize those who were threatening him with their fists").*

extending his hand to his [opponent's] face

**37\*** 5.26M, inc. 35Mc, inc. 99D, inc. 68K

*The occasion is apparently the return of some general to Rome, since the temple of Bellona lay in the Campus Martius, near the Circus Flaminius, outside the pomerium, and for that reason was a frequent meeting place of the senate when it was desirable for a commander possessing military imperium to attend. Possibly the person returning was Pompey, after the completion of the first phase of his campaign in 67 to eradicate piracy (so Maurenbr. citing Plut. Pomp. 27.1–2). If so, this fragment provides the sole piece of evidence that S. gave a reasonably full account of Pompey's eradication of the pirates.*

upon his return home, he was greeted<sup>1</sup> in the temple of Bellona

MISCELLANEOUS, FRR. 38-56

38\* inc. 1Mc, deest in M, D, et K,

Multi murmurantium vuculis in luco<sup>1</sup> eloquentiae oblectantur.

Fronto p. 148.9: to illustrate the gradual development of eloquence.

<sup>1</sup> manus 2: loco manus 1

39\* inc. 15M, inc. 51Mc, inc. 81D, inc. 47K

atque ipse cultu<sup>1</sup> rei

Porph. ad Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.66: to demonstrate that *cultus* (= "mode of life," *OLD* 8) is neither positive nor negative in connotation, requiring a modifier or context to give it color.

<sup>1</sup> cultus *Kritz*

40\* inc. 26M, inc. 62Mc, inc. 106D, inc. 75K

ad Iovis mane veni<sup>1</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Ad.* 582: to illustrate that the noun *templum* can be omitted with *ad* + gen. of the name of a diety.

<sup>1</sup> mane veni] *Langraf*: mandeuani C: manaeuam *cod.* *Cuiacii*: mande iram V *et dett.*

41\* inc. 23M, inc. 59Mc, inc. 107D, inc. 76K

nihil socordia claudicabat<sup>1</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 164: to illustrate the verb *claudicare*, which Donat. wrongly equates with *claudier* in Ter.

<sup>1</sup> claudicabat C: claudiebat T: claudebat *rell.*

## MISCELLANEOUS, FRR. 38-56

**38\*** inc. 1Mc, not included in M, D, and K

*Possibly from S.'s description of the style of early historians.*

Many are delighted by the thin voices of mutterers in the grove<sup>1</sup> of eloquence.

<sup>1</sup> Or, "in lieu of eloquence," if *loco* is what S. wrote (see textual note).

**39\*** inc. 15M, inc. 51Mc, inc. 81D, inc. 47K

*If rei is the gen. of reus (so Kritz), then a plaintiff or prosecutor may have sought to score points off the defendant by making reference to his style of living. Frassinetti, by contrast, ignoring the meaning the scholiast assigns to cultus in this fragment, interprets rei as the gen. of res (sc. familiaris) and translates "by cultivation of his assests."*

and he himself [the prosecutor, or plaintiff, argued?] from the accused's style of living

**40\*** inc. 26M, inc. 62Mc, inc. 106D, inc. 75K

*I came in the morning<sup>1</sup> to the temple of Jupiter*

<sup>1</sup> Italics signifies that the text is uncertain.

**41\*** inc. 23M, inc. 59Mc, inc. 107D, inc. 76K

*Possibly a comment on someone's talent (ingenium) or on an orator's eloquence.*

was not at all deficient as a result of sloth

42\* 2.23M, 2.19Mc, inc. 83D, inc. 50K

multos tamen<sup>1</sup> ab adolescentia<sup>2</sup> bonos insultaverat

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 285; Serv. ad *Aen.* 9.631, id. ad *Aen.* 10.643: to illustrate *insulto* + acc. [instead of dat. or *in* + acc. ; cf. *OLD* 3b].

<sup>1</sup> om. Serv. (*bis*)

<sup>2</sup> pueritia Serv. ad 9.631

43\* inc. 24M, inc. 60Mc, inc. 58D, 24K

quae pacta in conventionem non praestitissent

Donat. ad Ter. *Eun.* 467, see fr. 1.79.

44\* inc. 25M, inc. 61Mc, inc. 95D, inc. 64K

atque ea cogentis non coactos, scelestos magis  
quam miseros, obstringi<sup>1</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Hec.* 536: to illustrate the principle that the word *miser* is only applicable to one who is not *scelestus* (wicked).

<sup>1</sup> distringi B: dici dignum *Dietsch*



42\* 2.23M, 2.19Mc, inc. 83D, inc. 50K

*Possibly a description of Pompey (so Kritz and McCushin), or Licinius Macer, tribune in 73 and historian (so Dietsch), or the political power broker Cethegus (so de Brosses), or Marcus Philippus (so Gerlach), or Sicinius, tribune in 76 (so Maurenbr.).*

nevertheless, from early manhood he had behaved insultingly toward many conservatives [defenders of the status quo]

43\* inc. 24M, inc. 60Mc, inc. 58D, 24K

*Possibly to be connected with the money that C. Curio exacted in 75 from the Dardanians, under terms imposed by his predecessor (see fr. 2.66).*

which [communities?] would not have fulfilled the terms negotiated in the compact

44\* inc. 25M, inc. 61Mc, inc. 95D, inc. 64K

*These words may have been reported in indirect discourse and represent the claim by someone (possibly a senator or a prosecutor in a court) who denies that persons involved in some enterprise such as, perhaps, the uprising of M. Lepidus in 78–77 (so La Penna) were forced to join in because of their wretched circumstances, but rather they were bad men to begin with.*

[he asserted . . .?] and that not those who had been pressured to do so but instigators of the deeds, men who were wicked rather than wretched, were implicated<sup>1</sup> [in the enterprise?]

<sup>1</sup> Italics signifies that the text is uncertain. If we adopt Dietsch's *dici dignum*, translate "the instigators of the deeds had not been compelled; it was fitting for them to be called wicked rather than wretched."

45\* 1.9M, inc. 3Mc, inc. 102D, inc. 71K

maxumis ducibus, fortibus strenuisque ministris

Diom. *GL* 1.447.14–15: to illustrate homoeoptoton (the repetition of inflections at the ends of phrases).

46\* 5.17M, inc. 32Mc, inc. 27D, 3.73K

qui nullo certo exilio vagabantur

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.2: to illustrate *exul* (exile, = wanderer), in contrast with *profugus* (fugitive, = one with a fixed place of abode).

47\* 5.25M, inc. 34Mc, inc. 101D, inc. 70K

rebus supra vota fluentibus

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 2.169: to illustrate that the metaphorical sense of *fluo* (= [of events, plans, etc.] to proceed, develop [in a given manner], *OLD* 9b) varies with context, having in Virgil the meaning of *delabor* (to ebb), whereas in *S.* it signifies the opposite.

48\* inc. 19M, inc. 55Mc, inc. 100D, inc. 69K

**45\*** 1.9M, inc. 3Mc, inc. 102D, inc. 71K

*Possibly identifying the causes of Rome's greatness (so de Brosses, Maurenbr.), but certainty is impossible. Cf. Cat. 53.4, paucorum civium egregiam virtutem cuncta patravisse (all [the great deeds of the Roman people] had been accomplished by the eminent merit of a few citizens).*

the greatest commanders, brave and energetic subordinates

**46\*** 5.17M, inc. 32Mc, inc. 27D, 3.73K

*S. may refer to those who threw in their lot with pirates (so Dietsch and Maurenbr.), or with Spartacus' band (Kritz), or with Lepidus' uprising in 77 (de Brosses and Gerlach).*

who were wandering with no fixed place of exile<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e., people who were rootless either by choice (because they felt no attachment to any one place) or from an inability to find a secure place of refuge.

**47\*** 5.25M, inc. 34Mc, inc. 101D, inc. 70K

*One among any number of possible instances in which a successful result exceeded expectation may be Pompey's rapid progress in clearing the seas of pirates (so Maurenbr., citing Pomp. Plut. 27.2).*

events proceeding beyond their prayers

**48\*** inc. 19M, inc. 55Mc, inc. 100D, inc. 69K

*Possibly S. gave the date of an event by linking it to the time of the heliacal rising of Orion, which occurs annually soon after the summer solstice (Plin. HN 18.268; cf. Ov. Fast. 6.717–19).*

**(Orion) qui oritur ut Sallustius dixit iuxta solis  
aestivi pulsum**

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 5.626: explicating a reference to the rising of Orion at *Aen.* 1.535.

**49\*** 1.5M, inc. 2Mc, inc. 78D, inc. 44K

in quis longissimo aevo plura<sup>1</sup> de bonis falsa<sup>2</sup> in  
deterius composuit

Serv. auct. ad *Ecl.* 8.27: to illustrate that *aeuum* can stand for *tempus*.

<sup>1</sup> multa *Dietsch*

<sup>2</sup> falso *Kritz*

**50\*** 3.18M, inc. 17Mc, 4.46D, 4.4K

cultu corporis ornata egregio

Serv. auct. ad *G.* 1.3, also quoting *Jug.* 33.1: to illustrate *cultus* meaning “attire” or “adornment,” as opposed to physical attributes.

**(Orion) which rises, as Sallust stated, immediately after the repulse(?)<sup>1</sup> of the summer sun**

<sup>1</sup> If *pulsum* is what S. wrote (doubted by Kritz and Dietsch, but defended by Hauler, *Arch. f. lat. Lexik.* 5.1888, p. 143), it may stand for *repulsum* and refer to the thrusting back of the sun from its apparent northerly course at the summer solstice (June 20–22).

**49\*** 1.5M, inc. 2Mc, inc. 78D, inc. 44K

*Possibly the same context as fr. 38 above. The criticism may be of the Elder Cato (so Kritz, Maurenbr.) or of the scholar and Pompeian partisan M. Terentius Varro (so Dietsch), both of whom were octogenarians.*

in which [books, writings?], over the course of a very long (life)time, he perversely wrote a great many falsehoods about decent men

**50\*** 3.18M, inc. 17Mc, 4.46D, 4.4K

*Possibly the description of some woman; among candidates suggested are Praecia, the mistress of the political boss Cethegus (so Maurenbr.); Monime, the Milesian wife of Mithridates (so de Brosse, Kritz, Dietsch), whom he won over with the gift of a diadem (Plut. Luc. 18.3); Clodia, the wife of Lucullus and the sister of P. Clodius (La Penna).*

decked out with distinctive adornment of her body<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or “endowed with exceptional physical beauty” (McGushin, = Frassenetti), adopting Maurenbr.’s view that *cultu corporis* is a description of physical endowment, not attire. Servius, however, cites this fragment and *Jug.* 33.1 as counterexamples to the meaning *habitus corporis*. *Pace* Maurenbr., the word *corporis* does not exclude the meaning “attire,” since *cultu corporis* at *Cat.* 48.2 undeniably refers to objects of clothing.

51\* 2.24M, inc. 14Mc, inc. 91D, inc. 59K

ad mutandum modo in melius servitium

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.281: to illustrate the phrase *in melius* meaning “for the better.”

52\* 2.50M, inc. 15Mc, inc. 90D, inc. 58K

quae causa fuerit<sup>1</sup> novandis rebus

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 4.290: to provide a parallel (in nearly identical language) for Virgil’s use of the dat. with *causa* (*quae rebus sit causa novandis*), in place of the gen.

<sup>1</sup> *T*: fuer *F*: fuerat *Kritz*

**51\*** 2.24M, inc. 14Mc, inc. 91D, inc. 59K

*Maurenbr., building on a suggestion of Kritz that the fragment might concern complaints by a tribune against the Sullan constitution (servitium also being the word used by the tribune of the plebs Licinius Macer to describe the reforms imposed by Sulla, 3.15.1), saw a reference to the demand of the tribune Sicinius in 76 for the restoration of the tribunate. Alternatively, the “slavery” could be literal and refer to the aim of Spartacus and the gladiators when they made their escape from Capua in 73 (so de Brosset and Gerlach), or it could describe some oppressed nation suffering at the hands of Mithridates or the Romans.*

so as to alter slavery [i.e., their condition of servitude?] merely for the better

**52\*** 2.50M, inc. 15Mc, inc. 90D, inc. 58K

*Maurenbr., noting the past tense of the verb, conjectured that S. was describing the effect of the lex Aurelia of 75, which removed Sulla’s ban on further political offices for tribunes of the plebs (see fr. 2.44). Alternatively, it could refer to the activity of the Gracchi (so de Brosset and Gerlach), or to any number of revolutionary designs, or to simply a change in the course of action being pursued (see note below).*

which has been [will have been?] a cause for insurrection<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or “for a change of plans,” if the passage from *Aen.* 4.290 can be taken as a guide, since the language is nearly identical, and at *Aen.* 4.290 *res novae* does not have its customary political meaning (“revolution”) but rather describes Aeneas’ altered course of action.

53\* inc. 14M, inc. 50Mc, inc. 96D, inc. 65K

Quom<sup>1</sup> inferior omni via<sup>2</sup> grassaretur,

Macrob. *Exc. Bob.*, GL 5.652.3; Macrob. *Exc. Paris.* GL 5.626.22:  
to illustrate *grassor*, the frequentative of *gradior*.

<sup>1</sup> dum ex codice Pithoei (GL 5.626), edd. Sall. praeter Gerlach  
ed. 1856 et Maurenbr.      <sup>2</sup> omni vi Douza

54\* inc. 22M, inc. 58Mc, inc. 103D, inc. 72K

inbecilla est fortitudo dum pendet

*Schol. Stat. ad Theb.* 5.384 (also quoting *Luc.* 3.692–93): to illustrate how the force of blows is lessened when dealt from a position of instability caused by rolling seas.

55\* inc. 27M, inc. 63Mc, deest in D et K

<datis in><sup>1</sup> | publicum studiis, conrup<e>|rant [2] |  
me ver[1]u [2/3] | unum p[2/3]

*Schol. Bemb.* in Ter. *Haut.* 490: to support the claim that *vera* (lit., “true”) in Ter. = *utilia* (useful). The number of letter-spaces indicated within square brackets is approximate for the ends of lines, which are marked with |.

<sup>1</sup> Maurenbr. in *app. crit.*



**53\*** inc. 14M, inc. 50Mc, inc. 96D, inc. 65K

*Lack of context makes it impossible to say whether inferior (lit., “more lowly”) refers to a physical situation (e.g., a military force trying to make its way through mountain passes occupied by the enemy: so La Penna) or is applied metaphorically to a person lacking the resources or standing to compete on a level playing field in politics or business and therefore sought his objectives by any means possible.*

Since the man of lower standing was pressing on by every avenue,

**54\*** inc. 22M, inc. 58Mc, inc. 103D, inc. 72K

*Lack of context and the brevity of the text make it impossible to say whether S. was referring to strength that was of body or of spirit. The two passages to which the scholiast likens this fragment describe hindrances to physical valor from without.*

valor is ineffective while it has no firm footing<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> OLD s.v. *pendeo* 10; or “while it depends on \_\_\_\_\_” (OLD 13, if an abl. with, or without, *ab* or *ex* completed the meaning of *pendet*).

**55\*** inc. 27M, inc. 63Mc, not included in D and K

*The text is too lacunose for its meaning to be recovered. It presumably once contained some form of the word *verus*, since the scholiast quoted S. to give an example of that word with the meaning “useful.” Italics in the translation signifies that the text is uncertain.*

<having devoted> zeal <toward> the public good,  
they had seduced . . . me . . . one \* \* \*

**56\*** inc. 28M, inc. 64Mc, deest in D et K  
adcommodatum<sup>1</sup> mandatum credat

Gloss. 5, p. 220.29: glossing *mandet* as *credat* (entrust).

<sup>1</sup> At cum[modatum] *Maurenbr.*

### SHORT PHRASES AND SINGLE WORDS, FRR. 57–69

**57\*** inc. 34M, inc. 70Mc, inc. 110D, inc. 93K  
duci probare

Quint. 9.3.12: to illustrate the figure *heteroiosis* (a variation of a stock expression) for the sake of novelty, and usually with brevity, citing first *Jug.* 10.1 (the periphrasis *falsum me habuit* for *me fefellit*) and then this fragment and the following two (58 and 59). None is assigned to a specific work by S.

**58\*** inc. 35M, inc. 71Mc, inc. 108D, inc. 77K  
non paenitutum

Quint. 9.3.12: see fr. 57; glossed as *non actutum paenitentiam*.

**59\*** inc. 36M, inc. 72Mc, inc. 109D, inc. 92K  
visuros

Quint. 9.3.12: see fr. 57; glossed as *ad videndum missos*.

**60\*** inc. 31M, inc. 67Mc, deest in D et K  
hic proconsule

Prob. GL 4.126.12: commenting on the seemingly anomalous *hic proconsule* (as opposed to *hic proconsul*).

**56\*** inc. 28M, inc. 64Mc, not included in D and K  
let him entrust an appropriate commission<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Or, "but when/since he entrusts the commission," if Maurerbr.'s emendation is adopted.

SHORT PHRASES AND SINGLE  
WORDS, FRR. 57-69

**57\*** inc. 34M, inc. 70Mc, inc. 110D, inc. 93K  
to be thought<sup>1</sup> to prove (or "to prove to be led")

<sup>1</sup> *Duci* may be a verb (as translated), or the dat. of *dux*, in which case = "to justify . . . to the leader" (so Frassennetti and McGushin).

**58\*** inc. 35M, inc. 71Mc, inc. 108D, inc. 77K  
not about to experience regret

**59\*** inc. 36M, inc. 72Mc, inc. 109D, inc. 92K  
men whose mission it was to see

**60\*** inc. 31M, inc. 67Mc, not included in D and K  
*Possibly a reference to the appointment of Pompey as proconsul to pursue the war in Spain against Sertorius (so La Penna).*  
he as proconsul

61\* inc. 29M, inc. 65Mc, inc. 98D, inc. 67K

<confestim>

Charis. *GL* 1.196.3–4 = p. 255B.2–3: to illustrate *confestim* = *continuo, sine intervallo* (without delay).

62 inc. 17M, inc. 53Mc, inc. 9D, 1.109K

rumore primo

Charis. *GL* 1.216.25 = p. 280B.7 (book number missing in N and its descendants, but transmitted as “I” = Book 1 by the now lost manuscript consulted by Cuyck [pre-1551] and later by Putschen [ed. 1605]): the second-century AD commentator Asper interpreted—incorrectly, it seems—*primo* as an adv., not an adj., comparing it with *primo aspectu* (Verg. *Aen.* 1.613), where *primo* appears to be answered by *deinde* in the next verse and may have an adverbial overtone: “at the first sight of him” = “firstly at the sight of him.”

63††† inc. 32M, inc. 68Mc, inc. 118D, inc. 91K

cuncta potiundi

Arus. *GL* 7.498.5 = p. 220DC (assigned to IVG, perhaps a corruption of “IV”): to illustrate *potior* + acc. of thing.

64\* inc. 30M, inc. 66Mc, inc. 116D, 88K

lucēs

Serv. *Comm. in Don.* *GL* 4.432.20–21: noting that S. employs the anomalous pl. *paces* of *pax* and *lucēs* of *lux*. Neither word is assigned to a particular work. While *paces* is attested at *Jug.* 31.20, *lucēs* does not occur in *Cat.* or *Jug.*

**61\*** inc. 29M, inc. 65Mc, inc. 98D, inc. 67K

*For a discussion of the textual issues, see fr. dub. 10.*

without delay

**62** inc. 17M, inc. 53Mc, inc. 9D, 1.109K

*Some action taken in response to unsubstantiated information (cf. the same expression at Tac. Ann. 2.77.5). There is very tenuous evidence in the manuscript tradition of the quoting source that this fragment may belong to Book 1.*

at the first hearsay

**63†††** inc. 32M, inc. 68Mc, inc. 118D, inc. 91K

of getting control of everything

**64\*** inc. 30M, inc. 66Mc, inc. 116D, 88K

days(?)<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since S. employs the singular *lux* in the sense of “(light of) day” (e.g., *Jug.* 91.3, 99.1), conceivably the pl. was used as an equivalent of *dies* (pl.). Alternatively, the pl. *lucēs* may have been introduced under the influence of being included in a series of pl. nouns, after the fashion of *paces* at *Jug.* 31.20.

65\* inc. 38M, inc. 74Mc, inc. 112D, inc. 79K

*ut primo mense veris novum dicatur ver, secundo adultum, tertio praeceps; sicut etiam Sallustius dicit ubique.*

Serv. ad G. 1.43.

*AESTATE NOVA. Bene “nova,” quia est aestas<sup>1</sup> et adulta et praeceps, secundum Sallustium.*

Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 1.430.

<sup>1</sup> *om. Serv.*

66\* inc. 20M, inc. 56Mc, inc. 105D, 74K

soleas<sup>1</sup> festinate

Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 12.425: to give an example from S. in support of the explanation that *properare* + *arma* in Virgil = “give” (*dare*) quickly.

<sup>1</sup> *Masvicius: solas F*

67\* 1.39M, inc. 7Mc, inc. 120D, deest in K

Samnitiū

*Fr. Bob. GL 5.561.2:* to illustrate an exception to the principle that words of the third decl. such as *Samnis*, *Samnitis* that end in *-is* in the nom. sing. and are not parisyllabic in the gen. form the gen. pl. in *-um*.

65\* inc. 38M, inc. 74Mc, inc. 112D, inc. 79K

*As time markers, S. apparently subdivided each season of the year into three parts, corresponding roughly to the three months comprising each of the four seasons.*

*such that in the first month of spring the season is called "early" (novum), in the second "full" (adultum), in the third "waning" (praeceps); this is precisely the way Sallust puts it throughout*

EARLY SUMMER. Rightly "early" (nova), because there is also "full" (adulta) and "waning" (praeceps) summer, according to Sallust.

66\* inc. 20M, inc. 56Mc, inc. 105D, 74K

*The request to fetch sandals may have been made by guests hurriedly departing from a banquet (so Kritz) or by the praetor L. Cossinius, who had to flee from his bath when attacked by Spartacus in 73 (Plut. Crass. 9.5–6; cf. fr. 3.41): so Maurenbr.*

be quick with the sandals

67\* 1.39M, inc. 7Mc, inc. 120D, not included in K

*Possibly, according to Maurenbr., describing the Samnites who marched against Rome in November 83 in a desperate attempt to draw off the Sullan forces that were blockading the younger Marius in Praeneste.*

of the Samnites

68\* inc. 18M, inc. 54Mc, deest in D et K

admodum vanus

Serg. *Explan. GL* 4.559.28: to illustrate *admodum* = *valde* (OLD s. v. *admodum* 2).

69\* inc. 21M, inc. 57Mc, deest in D et K

bene posita urbs

*Schol. Bern.* ad Verg. G. 3.13: to illustrate *pono* = *constituo*.



**68\*** inc. 18M, inc. 54Mc, not included in D and K  
extremely unreliable (foolish?)

**69\*** inc. 21M, inc. 57Mc, not included in D and K  
a well-positioned city

## FRAGMENTA DUBIA ET SPURIA

1\* deest in M, Mc, D, K, nuovo 2 Funari

aquis hiemantibus

Sen. *Ep.* 114.19: inspired by this expression in S., the historian L. Arruntius overused *hiemare* metaphorically in various contexts.

2\* dub. 2M, deest in Mc, inc. 111D, inc. 78K

†volgus<sup>1</sup> amat fieri<sup>2</sup>

Quint. 9.3.17: to illustrate a Graecism in S.—presumably *amo* + *inf.* in the sense of Gk. φιλέει = “to be accustomed,” a usage first attested in S. (*TLL* 1.1956.35–59)—but the text may be corrupt. Recent editors of Quintilian delete *volgus* to produce the equivalent of φιλέει γίγνεσθαι = “tends to happen” (cf. Thuc. 3.81.5).

<sup>1</sup> del. Radermacher: om G<sup>1</sup> (corr. G<sup>2</sup>) sed vix consulto: vulgo Francius: illud Wölfflin      <sup>2</sup> fieri <in rebus dubiis> Winterbottom dubitanter per litt. (cf. *Amm. Marc.* 16.12.40, 17.1.7)

3\* 1.18M (testimonia), 1.16Mc (comm.), 1.33D (testim.), 1.38K (testim.)

omne ius in validioribus esse

Fronto p. 157.14–15: to illustrate a distinctive Sallustian turn of phrase.

## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

1\* not included in M, Mc, D, K, nuovo 2 Funari

*This may be a misquotation of Jug. 37.4 (hiemalibus aquis), but Seneca quotes to illustrate the verb hiemare, not the adj.*

amid the wintry waters

2\* dub. 2M, not included in Mc, inc. 111D, inc. 78K

*Dietsch speculated that Quintilian misquoted Jug. 34.1 (quae ira fieri amat) and that volgus came to be added under the influence of the context in Jug. 34.1, which describes an angry multitudo at a public meeting.*

\* \* \*<sup>1</sup> tends to happen

<sup>1</sup> In view of the uncertainties, I have obelized *uulgus*; if the *paradosis* is retained, the meaning is "a mob tends to form" (as pointed out to me by D. H. Berry *per litteras*).

3\* 1.18M (testimonia), 1.16Mc (comm.), 1.33D (testim.), 1.38K (testim.)

*Possibly a paraphrase, or loose quotation of omne ius in viribus esset (fr. 1.16).*

that all right is in the possession of stronger men

4\* 2.68M, deest in Mc, 2.20D, 2.26K

sed Metellus in †ulipie h.†<sup>1</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *An.* 310: to illustrate *sed* as an inceptive conj., virtually equivalent to *atque* (a common usage in S., noted by Serv. ad *Aen.* 10.411, without citing a specific example).

<sup>1</sup> in ulipie h.] in *rasura* V<sup>2</sup>: ulipie h. C: in ulipie hoc T: in ulpie hoc D: olimpie h. (h. om. L) P L: in ulteriorem H(ispaniam) *Wessner*: in volnere *edd. Sall.*

5\* 3.45M, inc. 20Mc, 2.24D, 2.30K

sed Metellus in ulteriorem<sup>1</sup> provinciam<sup>2</sup>

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 192: to illustrate *sed* employed to introduce the conclusion to some previous remark.

<sup>1</sup> in ulteriorem] om. R C O      <sup>2</sup> provincia R O

6 p. 212M, deest in Mc, 1.41D.5n., inc. 81K

aequor<e><sup>1</sup> et terra

Donat. ad Ter. *Phorm.* 243: following upon a quotation of fr. 1.49.4, *nam quid a Pyrrho, Hannibale* (see ad loc.), in commenting on the use of asyndeton side by side with the expression of a conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindenbrog*

7\* p. 212M, deest in Mc, 119D, deest in K

**4\*** 2.68M, not included in Mc, 2.20D, 2.26K

*Most editors of S. accept the conjecture volnere for the obviously corrupt ulipie h. and connect this fragment with the wounding of Metellus in the Sertorian War (see fr. 2.55). If, however, we restore with Wessner in ulteriorem H., the scholiast may have had in mind either a garbled version of fr. 3.10.1 (so McGushin) or fr. dub. 5, if indeed the latter is separate from fr. 3.10.1 (see immediately below).*

moreover Metellus in \* \* \*

**5\*** 3.45M, inc. 20Mc, 2.24D, 2.30K

*This fragment so closely resembles the opening words of fr. 3.10.1 (at Metellus in ulteriorem Hispaniam) that it may simply be a paraphrase, and yet the scholiast presents it specifically to illustrate sed meaning "so."*

so Metellus . . . to the farther province

**6** p. 212M, not included in Mc, 1.41D.5n., inc. 81K

*If Donatus did not misquote fr. 1.49.4 by substituting these words for Philippoque et Antiocho, it is possible that they were taken from another passage in S.'s Historiae. If that is the case, they provide the only example of the poetic aequor = mare in S.*

on sea and land

**7\*** p. 212M, not included in Mc, 119D, not included in K

*It is by no means certain that Arusianus attributed these words to S. They come after a quotation from Jug. 43.1 and are introduced by id est, which Lindemann emended to idem, thereby identifying S. as the author. (For Arusianus' use of idem to introduce a second quotation from the same author, cf. the next frag-*

## SALLUST

advorsus ille<sup>1</sup> nobilitatis

Arus. *GL* 7.451.15 = p. 51DC: following upon a quotation of *advorso populi* (*Jug.* 43.1), to which these words are linked merely by the expression *id est*.

<sup>1</sup> *Lindemann in app: illi codd.*

8\* inc. 33M, inc. 69Mc. deest in D et K

sciens horum<sup>1</sup>

Arus. *GL* 7.509.25 = p. 265DC (credited to S. without specifying the title of a work; followed by fr. 2.87, which is introduced with the words *idem* "*Hist. II*"): to illustrate *sciens* + gen. of thing.

<sup>1</sup> locorum *Ruhnken, fort. recte* (*cf.* *Jug.* 85.46 locorum sciens)

9 dub. 4M, deest in Mc, 3.32D, 3.37K

ment.) Conceivably, however, *adversus illi* of the *paradosis* was not part of the quotation but instead the heading (to introduce an example of *adversus* + *dat.*), since the preceding heading is *adversus illius*.

that well-known opponent of the nobility

8\* inc. 33M, inc. 69Mc, not included in D and K

*Arusianus*, who does not assign this fragment to a specific work by S., is possibly misquoting from memory Jug. 85.46 (*locorum sciens*).

knowing these

9 dub. 4M, not included in Mc, 3.32D, 3.37K

The form of citation ("Crispus III"—as opposed to *Charisius'* practice elsewhere of writing always "*Sallustius*," frequently accompanied by a title, never with a bare numeral) casts suspicion on this quotation. If the word *historiarum* has dropped out in front of "III" and the quotation is from Book 3 of S.'s *Historiae*, the context, as suggested by Kritz, may be shortly after the storm that destroyed Mithridates' fleet on his retreat from Cyzicus in the spring of 72 (cf. *fr.* 3.76–77). At that time Mithridates sent letters of appeal to Tigranes of Armenia and other neighboring kings (*App. Mithr.* 78; Memnon, FGrH 434F29.6). He conceivably argued that the war being waged by the Romans against him in Pontus was likely to spread to bordering kingdoms after the fashion of a raging fire.

Keil (GL 1.609, *Addenda*), on the other hand, adopted the view of Lang, who postulated a lacuna after "Crispus III," speculating that there dropped out of *Charisius'* text a quotation from S., which was followed by the name of a poet who was the author of the fragment given here. Keil altered the text to produce two *trochaic septenarii* (*Nonne . . . acriter / haud . . . proxumae*) and assigned them to some unknown comic poet (*Com. Inc.* 46–47 *Ri.*<sup>3</sup>). But none of this is certain.

Non<sup>1</sup> tu scis? Si quas<sup>2</sup> aedis ignis cepit acriter, haud facile<sup>3</sup> est<sup>4</sup> defensu quin<sup>5</sup> conburantur proxumae.

Charis. *GL* 1.195.21–23 and Addenda, p. 609 = p. 254B.13–15 (attributed to “Crispus III”): to give an example of the adv. *acriter*.

<sup>1</sup> nonne Keil      <sup>2</sup> quando *add. post* quas Fleckisen  
<sup>3</sup> faciles Wagner      <sup>4</sup> Keil: sunt N      <sup>5</sup> Kritz.:  
quine N: quin ne C

**10\*** dub. 5M, deest in Mc, inc. 98D, inc. 67K

†fessit ut†<sup>1</sup> nuntiis confestim lugubribus

Charis. *GL* 1.196.3–4 = p. 255B.2–3: to illustrate *confestim* = *continuo, sine intervallo* (without delay).

<sup>1</sup> fecit ut *ed. princ. Neap.* (1532): <funus> faxitur *Della Casa*

**11\*** inc. 7M, inc. 43Mc, inc. 47D, inc. 13K

virtuti<sup>1</sup> satis credebant

Serv. ad *Ecl.* 2.17 and *Gloss.* 5, p. 186.20: to illustrate *credere* = *confidere* (credited to S. without specifying a work by title).

<sup>1</sup> virtutis *Gloss.*



Do you not know? If a fire has violently seized a house, it is not an easy matter to protect the neighboring houses from being burned up.

**10\*** dub. 5M, not included in Mc, inc. 98D, inc. 67K

*The absence of a numeral in the text of Charisius after the words Sallustius libro, which immediately precede the opening words of this fragment, has led editors of Charisius to postulate a lacuna of indeterminate length between libro and fessit. Furthermore, since the fragment is directly followed by an annotation credited to the second-century AD commentator Statilius Maximus, Maurénbr. argued that the quotation itself is not from S. but from either Cic. or Cato, since they are the only two authors on whom Statilius is known to have commented. Consequently confestim (without delay), the word Charisius is treating in his discussion, is the sole word that can be restored with certainty to the presumed lacuna and credited to S. (fr. inc. 61). On the other hand, nothing precludes the assumption that the only thing missing from Charisius' text is the book number and that the quotation is indeed from S., having been treated by Statilius perhaps in his commentary on Cato, an author S. is known to have imitated.*

\* \* \* speedy, mournful messages

**11\*** inc. 7M, inc. 43Mc, inc. 47D, inc. 13K

*Since the two quoting sources merely attribute this fragment to S. without assigning it to a specific work, it may be a loose quotation from Jug. 106.3 (virtuti suorum satis credere).*

they had sufficient confidence in valor

12\* 1.135M (testimonia), deest in Mc, 1.71D (testimonia), inc. 82K

cornua occanuerunt

Serv. ad G. 2.384 (credited to S. without specifying the title of a work): to illustrate the pf. *occanui* of *occano* (of trumpets/trumpeters "to sound a call").

13\* 3.14M testimonia, deest in Mc, 3.60D testimonia, 3.63K

*licet dicat Sallustius Cretenses primos invenisse religionem, unde apud eos natus fingitur Iuppiter*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.352: to take note of a rival view contradicting the tradition that the earliest humans were dwellers in Arcadia.

{Serv. & Serv. auct. ad *Aen.* 3.104 (*ut Sallustius dicat . . . quia primos Cretenses constat invenisse religionem*): quoting S. to give the reason for the tradition that baby Zeus was suckled on Crete.}

14\* p. 211M, deest in Mc, inc. 115D, inc. 86K

senecta iam aetate

Serv. ad *Aen.* 11.165: to illustrate *senecta* + *aetas*, as opposed to *senecta* on its own, with *aetas* to be supplied as is the case in Virgil, loc. cit.

DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

**12\*** 1.135M (testimonia), not included in Mc, 1.71D (testimonia), inc. 82K

*Possibly Servius misquotes from memory cornicines occanuere (fr. 1.107).*

the horns sounded

**13\*** 3.14M testimonia, not included in Mc, 3.60D testimonia, 3.63K

*Maurenbr. concluded that Servius was paraphrasing fr. 3.50.*

*although Sallust states that the **Cretans were the first to invent religion**, whence the invention of the story that Jupiter was born among them*

**14\*** p. 211M, not included in Mc, inc. 115D, inc. 86K

*Maurenbr. views this as a loose quotation of acta iam aetate from Cotta's speech (fr. 2.43.2). On the other hand, Serv. quoted specifically to illustrate the adj. senecta accompanied by the noun aetas.*

now in old age

15\* 4.6M, inc. 25Mc, inc. 24D, 3.71K

*SIC OMNES AMOR UNUS HABET* "Sic," *id est, dum paullatim suis invicem subveniunt, omnes in bellum<sup>1</sup> coacti sunt. Sic Sallustius.*

Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.282: to define the sense of *sic* (thus) in Virgil's account of how war flared up again between the Trojans and Latins after the breaking of the truce.

<sup>1</sup> proelium *Dietsch (sed cf. fr. dub. 26)*

16\* deest in M, inc. 11Mc, deest in D, K

angustissimo divortio

*Schol. in Iuv.* ad 10.1: a periphrasis for the Strait of Gibraltar in giving the location of Gades in Spain.

17\* 1.66M (testimonia), deest in Mc, D, K, nuovo 3 Fünari

maturrumum

Placid. *Gloss.* p. 83.18: to illustrate S.'s preference in the *Hist.* for *maturrimum*, instead of *maturissimum*.

18††† dub. 3M, deest in Mc, 1.63D, K

**15\*** 4.6M, inc. 25Mc, inc. 24D, 3.71K

*It is impossible to say which, if any, of these words are being directly attributed to S., as opposed to the concept as a whole.*

**THUS ALL ARE POSSESSED BY ONE DESIRE [TO SETTLE THE MATTER WITH STEEL].** "Thus," that is, while little by little they mutually come to each other's aid, all were swept along into war. So Sallust.

**16\*** not included in M, inc. 11Mc, not included in D, K

*Identified by Syme (Eranos 55 [1957]: 171–74) as a possible fragment of S. on the grounds that although this phrase (used to refer to the Strait of Gibraltar) is not credited in the least way to S., the only other instance of the noun divortium with a superlative adj. (artissimus) in the sense of fretum (strait) is in Tacitus (Ann. 12.63.1, describing the Bosporus), an author who drew upon S. in dealing with the geography of the Black Sea region.*

by a very narrow separation

**17\*** 1.66M (testimonia), not included in Mc, D, K, nuovo 3 Funari

*This may be a misquotation of maturrume (found in fr. 1.58 and 1.67.16) on the part of the glossator.*

very timely

**18†††** dub. 3M, not included in Mc, 1.63D, K

*The assignment of this fragment to S.'s Jugurtha by the two quoting sources led Maurenbr. to surmise that it is loosely based on Jug. 18–19. The fragment may, however, belong to Book 1 of the Historiae, where, after mentioning Sertorius' frustrated desire to withdraw to the Isles of the Blessed (fr. 1.88–90), S. recounted*

Maurique, vanum genus, ut alia Africae, contendebant antipodas ultra Aethiopiam cultu Persarum iustos et egregios agere

Prisc. *GL* 3.46.27–47.2 (in *Iugurthino*): to illustrate the prep. *ultra* (beyond).

{Non. p. 416M = 672L.29–30 (*Mauri, vanum genus*) in *Iugurtae* [sic] *bello*: to illustrate *vanum* = *mendax* (untruthful). Tert. *De anim.* 20.3: S. applied the description *vani* to the Mauri.}

19 dub. 6M, deest in Mc, 1.64D, 1.121K

Ἄζιλις, πόλις Λιβύης, οἱ δὲ περὶ Σαλλούστιον οὐ πόλιν ἀλλὰ τόπον φασὶ καὶ ποταμὸν εἶναι.

Steph. Byz. p. 32M.

20\* M (fasc. 2, p. 60), deest in Mc, 2.2D, 2.4K

## DOUBTFUL AND SPURIOUS FRAGMENTS

*Sertorius' sojourn in Mauretania and participation in a successful expedition against the princeling Ascalis in 81 BC (Plut. Sert. 9.2–5): so Kritz and Dietsch.*

the Moors, a deceitful race, like others in Africa, claim that fine, upright people adhering to Persian culture are living on the other side of the world, beyond Ethiopia

**19** dub. 6M, not included in Mc, 1.64D, 1.121K

*Kritz speculated that Azilis may be a corruption of Zelis, a town south of Tingis (mod. Tangier), not far from the Atlantic coast of northwestern Mauretania (Strabo 17.3.6, p. 827), which S. may have treated in connection with Sertorius' activities mentioned in the preceding fragment. Maurenbr. doubted that the Sallust referred to by the sixth-century writer Stephanus of Byzantium was the Roman historian.*

*Azalis, a city of Libya, but Sallust and others<sup>1</sup> say that it is not a city but a region and river.*

<sup>1</sup> The Greek says lit., "Sallust and his associates," but the phrase can mean simply "Sallust" (see LSJ *περί* + acc. C I.2), or Stephanus may have chosen a vague expression to imply multiple authorities.

**20\*** M (fasc. 2, p. 60), not included in Mc, 2.2D, 2.4K

*Since Isidore is known to have drawn upon S. at Etym. 14.7.1 for information concerning the geography of Sardinia (see fr. 2.2), Isid. may also have relied upon S. for his account of the eponymous hero Sardus. Pausanias (10.17.2) gives the same account, including the detail that Sardus was the son of Makeris (i.e., the Phoenician god Melkart), whom the Egyptians and Phoenicians equated with Herakles.*

***Sardus Hercule procreatus cum magna multitudine a Libya profectus Sardiniam occupavit et ex suo vocabulo insulae dedit.***

Isid. *Etym.* 14.6.39.

21\* 3.22M, inc. 18Mc, deest in D et K

Metrophanes promeruit gratiam Mithridatis obsequendo.

Isid. *Etym.* 2.11.1 (repeated at 2.21.14): offered, without indication of author, as one of two examples of a *chria* (Greek, *χρεία*), which differs from a *sententia* (maxim)—a generalizing statement of the sort “subservience produces friends, the truth enemies”—by making a like observation with reference to a specific case.

22\* p. 212M, deest in Mc, 1.34D, 1.38K (testimonia)

qui <plus><sup>1</sup> poterat, plus iuris habere videbatur

*Schol. Luc.* 1.175 (Guelf. manuscript), p. 33W: to illustrate Lucan’s observation that “might (*vis*) became the measure (*mensura*) of right (*ius*).”

<sup>1</sup> *Roth*

23\* p. 212M, deest in Mc, inc. 87D, inc. 55K

***Staphylus . . . primus docuit vinum aqua misceri, C. Plinius et Sal(l)ustius auctor est.***

Ps.-Apul. *De orthogr.* §12 (p. 104).



**Sardus, the son of Hercules, upon setting out from Africa with a large throng took possession of Sardinia and gave his name to the island.**

**21\*** 3.22M, inc. 18Mc, not included in D and K

*It is pure speculation that S. is the author, based on the mention of Metrophanes (cf. fr. 4.2), a general of Mithridates who played a role in the fighting around Cyzicus in 73 (Oros. 6.2.16). Maurenbr. assigned this fragment to the first mention of Metrophanes, at the time of Mithridates' invasion of Bithynia in early 74 BC.*

Metrophanes gained the favor of Mithridates by being subservient.

**22\*** p. 212M, not included in Mc, 1.34D, 1.38K (testimonia)

*Maurenbr., following Kritz, classified this fragment as spurious on the grounds that it is not found in the best sources for scholia on Lucan (one manuscript only preserves it). It looks suspiciously like a dim reflection of ut omne ius in viribus esset (fr. 1.16). Cf. fr. dub. 3.*

the one who was more powerful seemed to possess  
more right

**23\*** p. 212M, not included in Mc, inc. 87D, inc. 55K

*The work De orthographia, said to be by one L. Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius, is most probably a forgery of the fifteenth century, although, in that case, it is difficult to imagine where the author drew his information concerning S., since the Historiae had long vanished by the fifteenth century. Pliny does mention this detail at HN 7.199.*

**Staphylus was the first to teach the mixing of wine with water, according to Pliny and Sallust.**

24\* p. 212M, deest in Mc, inc. 86D, inc. 54K

***Pyrrhus . . . rex Epiri . . . interemptusque fuit . . . in aede Dianae a quadam muliere, Trogo, Sal<l>u<stio>que et Luc<c>eio <auctoribus>***

Ps.-Apul. *De orthogr.* §16 (p. 105).

{Serv. ad *Aen.* 2.469: credits S. with deriving the name "Pyrrhus" from the color of his hair.}

PRESERVED IN PEROTTI'S  
*CORNUCOPIAE*, FRR. 19-49

25\* inc. 75Mc

postquam unum in locum omnes convenere

*Corn.* 406: to illustrate *convenio* = *congregor* or *coeo*.

26\* inc. 76Mc

in eo bello trecenti milites desiderati

*Corn.* 517: to illustrate *bellum* = *proelium*.

27\* inc. 77Mc

Bona pars militum inde discesserat.

*Corn.* 518: to illustrate *bonus* = *magnus*.

24\* p. 212M, not included in Mc, inc. 86D, inc. 54K

*On the suspect nature of the source preserving this fragment, see fr. 23. If, in fact, the content of fr. 24 goes back to S. (Serv. does attest that S. had occasion to mention Pyrrhus), S. may have alluded to the death of King Pyrrhus in his account of past fighting in southern Italy, where the devastation caused by Spartacus' bands took place (so Gerlach). However, according to Plutarch (Pyrrh. 34.2–3; cf. Justin. 25.5.1), Pyrrhus died after being struck by a roof tile hurled from above by an Argive woman.*

***Pyrrhus . . . king of Epirus . . . and was killed . . . in Diana's temple by some woman, according to Trogus, Sallust and Lucceius***

PRESERVED IN PEROTTI'S  
CORNUCOPIAE, FRR. 19–49

25\* inc. 75Mc

*Possibly a loose quotation of postquam in una moenia convenere (Cat. 6.2).*

after all gathered into a single place

26\* inc. 76Mc

in that combat the loss of 300 soldiers

27\* inc. 77Mc

A good part of the soldiers had departed from there.

**28\*** inc. 78Mc

his actuariæ naves circiter triginta, decem onerariæ erant

*Corn.* 568: to illustrate two types of ship: an *oneraria*, so named from carrying burdens (*onera*), and an *actuaria*, a ship noted for its speed, so named from the fact that it can be driven (*agi*) easily.

**29\*** inc. 79Mc

prostratisque militibus, fugæ se dedit

*Corn.* 599: to illustrate *prosterno* = *vincere*, *profligare*, or *extinguere*.

**30\*** inc. 80Mc

Qua victoria elati hostes, nostri territi atque animis consternati, discessere.

*Corn.* 600: to illustrate the first conj. verb *consterno* = *deicere* (to cast down); cf. fr. 1.122.

**31\*** inc. 81Mc

in medio campus iacet aquis undique scatens

*Corn.* 707: to illustrate *iacere* in the metaphorical sense of *esse* or *extare*.

**32\*** inc. 82Mc

dummodo putetis vos tutos esse, quoad reliqua multitudo advenerit

*Corn.* 713: to illustrate *quoad* = *quousque*.

**28\*** inc. 78Mc

*At 2.90M, S. mentioned actuariæ in connection with pirate vessels. Nonius, who preserves that fragment, and Perotti use nearly identical language to explain the nature of actuariæ.*

these men had at their disposal roughly thirty light galleys, ten cargo ships

**29\*** inc. 79Mc

and after the soldiers had been annihilated, he gave himself up to flight

**30\*** inc. 80Mc

*McGushin saw here a possible reference to the decisive victory of Mithridates over Lucullus' legate Triarius at the Battle of Zela in the summer of 67 (Dio 36.12.4); cf. fr. inc. 3.*

And by the victory the enemy was exalted, while our men, frightened and downcast in spirit, scattered.

**31\*** inc. 81Mc

in the middle lies a plain gushing with water everywhere

**32\*** inc. 82Mc

provided that you think yourselves safe until the rest of the throng has arrived

**33\*** inc. 83Mc

pauca timide remissequē locutus abscessit

*Corn.* 625: to illustrate the adv. *remisse*, derived from *remitto*, = *humiliter*.

**34\*** inc. 84Mc

tum scelerum suorum in primisque conspirationis  
conscientia solliciti, quo se verterent non vide-  
bant

*Corn.* 836: to give an example of *conscientia*, derived from *consciūs*, applied to multiple objects of a sense of guilt.

**35\*** inc. 85Mc

priusquam hostis<sup>1</sup> invaderet

<sup>1</sup> *hosteis Corn.*

*Corn.* 302: to illustrate *invado* = *aggredior*.

**36\*** inc. 86Mc

et piscatoria scapha in altum navigat

*Corn.* 721: to illustrate *altum* meaning the deep sea, far from land.

**37\*** inc. 87Mc

quo nemo vir melior nec praestantior

*Corn.* 86: one of several examples of *homo* (or *vir*) expressed with *nemo*, offered to counter Servius' claim (ad *Aen.* 9.6) that *homo* is implicit in *nemo*.

**33\*** inc. 83Mc

after uttering a few words apprehensively and submissively, he departed

**34\*** inc. 84Mc

*The language, in part, resembles Philippus' description of those who joined the revolt led by M. Lepidus (cos. 78): scelerum conscientia exagitati (fr. 1.67.7).*

anxious owing to their sense of guilt over their own crimes and especially over the conspiracy, they did not know where to turn

**35\*** inc. 85Mc

before he attacked the enemy

**36\*** inc. 86Mc

*Possibly part of S.'s description of the flight of C. Marius in 88 (so McGushin); cf. fr. 1.23.*

and he sails out to the deep in a fishing skiff

**37\*** inc. 87Mc

*McGushin suggested that the description may be of Sertorius; cf. fr. 1.76–77.*

than whom no man [was] better or more outstanding

**38\*** inc. 88Mc

effuso ac profligato peditatu, paulatim retrocedere  
coeperunt

*Corn.* 280: to illustrate the metaphorical use of *effundere* = *pro-sternere* or *profligare*.

**39\*** inc. 89Mc

bis fusos milites

*Corn.* 278: to illustrate *fundere* = *profligare*.

**40\*** inc. 90Mc

antequam arcem proderet hostibus

*Corn.* 292: to illustrate *prodo* = *trado*.

**41\*** inc. 91Mc

Verum hostes tandem robore ac viribus praevaluerunt.

*Corn.* 879: to illustrate *praevaleo* = *antecello*, *praestantior sum*.

**42\*** inc. 92Mc

quom montem undique circumplexus obsideret

*Corn.* 276: to illustrate the compound, depon. verb *circumplexor*, from *plico*.

**43\*** inc. 93Mc

circumdatus militibus saltus mox occupavit

*Corn.* 284: to illustrate *circumdo* = *circu(m)eo* (to encircle).



**38\*** inc. 88Mc

after the infantry had been routed and scattered,  
they began to withdraw gradually

**39\*** inc. 89Mc

twice routed soldiers

**40\*** inc. 90Mc

before he handed over the citadel to the enemy

**41\*** inc. 91Mc

But at last the enemy prevailed through strength and  
might.

**42\*** inc. 92Mc

*McGushin proposed connecting this fragment with the attempt of the praetor Clodius (C. Claudius Glaber) in 73 to trap Spartacus' band of escaped gladiators on Mt. Vesuvius (Plut. Crass. 9.2); cf. fr. 3.40.*

when he had completely surrounded the mountain  
and was besieging it

**43\*** inc. 93Mc

*Possibly some operation of Sertorius in Spain (so McGushin).*

soon he seized the defiles which had been encircled  
with soldiers

**44\*** inc. 94Mc

iam omnem exercitum traiecerat

*Corn. 8: to illustrate *traiiicio* = *transporto* (to convey across).*

**45\*** inc. 95Mc

quibus dictis mox proelium commisere

*Corn. 626: to illustrate *committo* = *initio, inchoo* (to begin).*

**46\*** inc. 96Mc

hinc late patescentibus campis exercitum tuto emit-  
tit

*Corn. 692: to illustrate the verb *patesco* (to be made open) = *pateo* (to lie open).*

**47\*** inc. 97Mc

armati fores obsidebant

*Corn. 151: to illustrate *armo* (to equip with arms), a verb derived from *arma* (arms).*

**48\*** inc. 98Mc

ne forte desperatione adducti vitae mortem prae-  
ferrent

*Corn. 759: to illustrate the noun *desperatio* (despair).*

**44\*** inc. 94Mc

*Possibly to be connected with Lucullus' crossing of the Euphrates on his Armenian campaign (so McGushin); cf. fr. 4.53–54.*

already he had conveyed the whole army across

**45\*** inc. 95Mc

*McGushin saw here a possible reference to the haughty words uttered by Tigranes before his disastrous defeat at the hands of Lucullus at the Battle of Tigranocerta in 69 (belittling the Romans as too few to be a fighting force and too many to be ambassadors: Plut. Luc. 27.4; App. Mithr. 85).*

and soon after this had been said, they began the battle

**46\*** inc. 96Mc

from here, with the plains lying wide open, he safely dispatches his army

**47\*** inc. 97Mc

*Possibly a reference to the angry mob that forced the consuls of 75 to seek refuge in the house of Octavius (see fr. 2.41).*

armed men were besieging the door

**48\*** inc. 98Mc

so that they might not happen to be influenced by despair to prefer death to life

**49\*** inc. 99Mc

dum subtendit insidias militi

*Corn.* 295: to illustrate *subtendo* used metaphorically of devising something for the sake of deception.

**50\*** inc. 100Mc

multi in eo congressu perierunt

*Corn.* 150: to illustrate *congressus* = *pugna*.

**51\*** inc. 101Mc

quom forte in eum irruerent, facile repulsi sunt

*Corn.* 868: to illustrate *irruo* = *proruo* (to rush violently forward).

**52\*** inc. 102Mc

Quom paludatus incederet, inire quamprimum proelium cogitavit.

*Corn.* 216: to illustrate the adj. *paludatus* = “wearing a commander’s cloak or other insignia of a commander.”

**53\*** inc. 103Mc

postquam hi qui signa praeferebant intellecto discrimine constitere

*Corn.* 29: to illustrate the compound verb *praefero*.

**49\*** inc. 99Mc

while he lays an ambush for the soldier

**50\*** inc. 100Mc

many perished in that engagement

**51\*** inc. 101Mc

when they happened to charge against him, they were easily driven back

**52\*** inc. 102Mc

*Cf. fr. inc. 17.*

Since he was advancing in a general's cloak, he contemplated beginning battle as soon as possible.

**53\*** inc. 103Mc

after these men who were carrying the standards in front of them, upon grasping the dangerous situation, halted

**54\*** inc. 104Mc

tum *propere* consul educit exercitum

*Corn.* 108: to illustrate the adv. *propere*.

**55\*** inc. 105Mc

consurrexere omnes simulque in eum impetum fecerunt

*Corn.* 104: to illustrate *consurgo* = *simul* (at the same time) + *surgo*.

54\* inc. 104Mc

then the consul quickly led out his army

55 \* inc. 105Mc

*Possibly a description of the assailants who murdered Sertorius at the banquet (Plut. Sert. 26.11): so La Penna.*

all rose up together [from their couches?] and made a simultaneous attack on him





# LETTERS TO CAESAR



## INTRODUCTION

Two essays, cast in the form of open letters of advice addressed to Julius Caesar at the time of the civil war (49–45 BC), have survived thanks to having been copied into a single manuscript written in the late ninth century, V = *Vaticanus lat.* 3864, which preserves a collection of the speeches and letters excerpted from the genuine works of Sallust (see vol. 1, pp. lviii, lxi). The letters addressed to Caesar are not directly attributed to S. in the manuscript and appear to have been written as school exercises under the Empire in direct and deliberate imitation of S.'s style (see vol. 1, pp. xxix–xxxi). The first letter discusses problems facing Caesar after his victory in the civil war, chiefly those having to do with debt (5.4–7), but it offers no specific remedies of the sort proposed in the second letter. It is not clear how much time has elapsed since Caesar's victory over Pompey in August 48 (referred to at *Ad Caes. sen.* 1.2.2, cf. 2.7, 4.1), but the absence of any allusion to further fighting or victories in the African campaign of 46 or the Spanish campaign of 45 makes it seem likely that the fictional date is the autumn of 48.

The second essay, by contrast, pictures conditions a year or two earlier, at the outbreak of the civil war. Since there is no explicit reference to fighting, to say nothing of any indication of Caesar's victory over Pompey or other

foes, the context is either late 50 or early 49, just shortly before hostilities commenced in January. This second essay identifies the abuse of wealth as the chief problem facing Caesar the reformer. To combat that evil, four specific reforms are recommended: (1) New citizens are to be added to the citizen body, and a mixture of old and new citizens are to be settled in colonies with the aim of restoring the love of freedom by the infusion of new blood (5.7–8); (2) the pool from which jurors are selected should henceforth no longer be restricted to senators and members of the equestrian class but is to be expanded to include citizens of the first census class, and the size of juries is to be increased (7.10–12); (3) the five census classes in the Centuriate assembly are no longer to vote, as they always have, with preference being given to the wealthiest but in an order determined by lot (8.1–2); and finally, (4) the size of the senate is to be increased and voting in that body is to be by secret ballot (11.2–7).

## SIGLA

<b>V</b>	cod. Vaticanus lat. 3864 (9th c.)
<b>V<sup>1</sup></b>	the first hand
<b>V<sup>2</sup></b>	a correcting hand
<b>ed. Rom.</b>	editio princeps Romana (1475)
<b>ed. Mant.</b>	editio Mantuana (1476–1478)
<b>Laet.</b>	editio Pomponii Laeti (1490)
<b>Ald.</b>	editio Aldina (1509)
<b>Faernus</b>	corrections/conjectures reported by Reynolds (1991) from notations marked with “f.” (= Gabrielus Faernus, Gabriello Faerno?) found in Bodleian copy of 1521 Aldine edition (Auct. 2R 5.7)

<EPISTULAE> AD CAESAREM  
SENUM DE RE PUBLICA

<I>

1. Pro vero antea optinebat regna atque imperia fortunam  
dono dare, item alia quae per mortaleis avide cupiuntur,  
quia et apud indignos saepe erant quasi per libidinem data  
2 neque quoiquam incorrupta permanserant. Sed res docuit  
id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse  
suae quemque fortunae, atque in te maxume, qui tantum  
alios praegressus es, ut prius defessi sint homines lau-  
3 dando facta tua quam tu laude digna faciundo. Ceterum

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<sup>1</sup> This is the heading in our sole manuscript V (fol. 127r). Since both essays appear to have been cast in the form of an open letter—the second explicitly referred to as such (2.12.1, *perlectis litteris*)—“*Epistulae*” is easily understood. See volume I, p. xxix n. 34 for a discussion. “Elder” (*senem*) is designed to distinguish Caesar the Dictator (100–44 BC) from his adopted son Octavian Caesar (63 BC–AD 14), the future emperor Augustus. The need for a distinction did not arise until after the spring of 44, when Octavian took the name C. Julius Caesar under the terms of his great-uncle’s will (Cic. *Att.* 14.12[366].2).

<sup>2</sup> The war with Pompey is in the past (§2.2, *bellum tibi fuit*), so the letter postdates the defeat of Pompey at the Battle of

<LETTERS> TO THE ELDER  
CAESAR CONCERNING THE  
AFFAIRS OF STATE<sup>1</sup>

<I>

[ca. Oct. 48 BC]<sup>2</sup>

1. Previously, it used to be taken for granted that Fortune makes a gift of kingdoms and empires, as well as other objects eagerly coveted among mortals, because those possessions were often in the hands of the undeserving, as if given capriciously, and they had not remained intact under anyone's control. But experience has demonstrated that what Appius<sup>3</sup> stated in his verses is true, that "every man is the fashioner of his own fortune," and especially so with regard to you, who have excelled others so much so that men have sooner become weary in praising your deeds than you have in doing deeds worthy of praise. But

Pharsalus (August 9/June 7, 48 Jul.). 46 BC (the date assigned by Vretska 1.1961, 48) seems unlikely in view of the absence of any mention of the African campaign in 46 and Cato's suicide.

<sup>3</sup> Appius Claudius Caecus (cens. 312) composed *Sententiae* in the Saturnian meter, in imitation of the "Golden Verses" of Pythagoras (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.4).

ut fabricata sic virtute parta quam magna industria habere decet, ne incuria deformatur aut conruant infirmata.

4 Nemo enim alteri imperium volens concedit, et quamvis  
5 bonus atque clemens sit qui plus potest, tamen quia malo  
6 esse licet formeidatur. Id eo evenit, quia plerique rerum  
7 potentes perverse consulunt et eo se munitiores putant,  
8 quo ille quibus imperitant nequiores fuere. At contra id  
9 eniti decet, cum ipse bonus atque strenuus sis, uti quam  
10 optimis imperites. Nam pessumus quisque asperrume  
11 rectorem patitur.

7 Sed tibi hoc gravius est, quam ante te omnibus, armis  
8 parta componere, quod bellum aliorum pace mollius ges-  
9 sisti. Ad hoc victores praedam petunt, victi cives sunt.  
10 Inter has difficultates evadendum est tibi atque in poste-  
11 rum firmanda res publica non armis modo neque advor-  
12 sum hostis, sed, quod multo multoque asperius est, pacis  
13 bonis artibus. Ergo omnes magna, mediocri<sup>1</sup> sapientia res  
14 huc vocat, quae quisque optuma potest, utei dicant. Ac  
15 mihi sic videtur: qualeicumque modo tu victoriam com-  
16 posueris, ita alia omnia futura. 2. Sed iam, quo melius  
17 faciliusque constituas, paucis quae me animus monet ac-  
18 cipe.

<sup>1</sup> *Asulanus*: mediocris V

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<sup>4</sup> It is a topos that tyrants feel kinship with wicked men and look with suspicion upon the virtuous as a potential threat to their power (cf. *Cat.* 7.2; *Plin. Pan.* 45.1–2).

<sup>5</sup> Those who fought for Caesar in the civil war.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Jug.* 110.6, *paucis accipe de + abl.*



with what great diligence is it fitting for achievements of prowess, as well as material creations, to be maintained so that they may not be spoiled by neglect or be weakened and fall in ruin. For no one willingly yields power to another; and however virtuous and merciful a person may be who has more power, he is nevertheless feared because there is nothing to stop him from being bad. This happens because most people in charge of affairs reason incorrectly and think themselves to be the more secure, the greater the worthlessness of those over whom they exercise authority.<sup>4</sup> But on the contrary, since you yourself are virtuous and valiant, it is fitting for you to aim to exercise authority over the best possible subjects. For the worse a person is, the less inclined he is to put up with control.

But it is a heavier task for you than for all before you to set in order your conquests because you waged war with greater gentleness than others exercise in time of peace. In addition, the victors<sup>5</sup> are demanding booty, while the vanquished are our fellow citizens. Amid these difficulties, you must find your way clear and strengthen the nation for the future, not only by arms and against foreign foes, but also by means of the fine arts of peace, a task far, far thornier. Therefore, the situation calls upon all men, those of great or moderate wisdom, to offer you the best advice each person is capable of giving. And this is my view: in whatever way you solidify your victory, so will all things unfold in the future. 2. But now, so that you may arrange matters better and more easily, hear briefly<sup>6</sup> what my mind prompts me to say.

2 Bellum tibi fuit, imperator, cum homine claro, magnis  
opibus, avido potentiae, maiore fortuna quam sapientia,  
quem secuti sunt pauci per suam iniuriam tibi inimici,  
3 item quos adfinitas aut alia necessitudo traxit.—Nam par-  
ticeps dominationis neque fuit quisquam neque, si pati  
4 potuisset, orbis terrarum bello concussus foret.—Cetera  
multitudo volgi more magis quam iudicio, post alium alium  
5 quasi prudentiorem secuti. Per idem tempus maledictis  
ineiquorum occupandae rei publicae in spem adducti  
homines, quibus omnia probro ac luxuria polluta erant,  
concurrere in castra tua et aperte quieteis mortem, rapi-  
nas, postremo omnia quae corrupto animo lubebat, mini-  
6 tari. Ex quibus magna pars, ubi neque creditum condona-  
rei<sup>2</sup> neque te civibus sicuti hostibus uti vident, defluxere,  
pauci restitere, quibus maius otium in castris quam Romae  
7 futurum erat: tanta vis creditorum inpendebat. Sed ob  
easdem causas immane dictust quanti et quam multi mor-  
tales postea ad Pompeium discesserint, eoque per omne  
tempus belli quasi sacro atque inspoliato fano debitores  
usi.

<sup>2</sup> *Jordan*: condonari *Cortius*: condonare V

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<sup>7</sup> Here and twice in the *Second Epistle* (6.6, 12.1), Caesar is addressed as *imperator*, a title accorded to victorious Roman generals, one that Caesar took as a permanent honor and one that later, from the time of Vespasian, became the official title of the Roman emperor. Cf. *Ep.* 2.12.5.

<sup>8</sup> Pompey: named at 2.7 and 4.1.

<sup>9</sup> I.e., those who had a falling out with Caesar through committing a wrongful act (*iniuria*) against him, wrongful because it was unprovoked.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., those who at the outbreak of the war in 49 falsely, or

You waged war, commander,<sup>7</sup> with a distinguished man<sup>8</sup> endowed with great resources, one greedy for personal power and blessed with greater good fortune than wisdom. He was followed by a few who were your enemies through their own fault,<sup>9</sup> likewise by those who were drawn to his side by a marriage connection or some other tie.—For no one of them had a share in his despotism, and if he had been able to put up with sharing power, the world would not have been convulsed by war.—The rest of the throng followed more in keeping with the habit of the common herd than from deliberate choice, one man lining up behind another, as if the latter were more sensible. At the same time, men whose whole being was stained with infamy and debauchery were influenced by the slanders of unfair critics<sup>10</sup> to hope for an opportunity to seize control of the state; they flocked into your camp and openly threatened peaceable citizens with death, robbery, in short, with everything that appealed to a perverted mind. A considerable number of these, however, when they saw that you were not canceling debts and not treating your fellow citizens as enemies, slipped away; a few remained, who had the prospect of enjoying more peace and quiet in your camp than in Rome, so great was the throng of creditors that threatened them there. But it is shocking to relate how many prominent men went over to Pompey afterward from those same motives; and debtors throughout the whole period of the war employed him like a sacred and inviolable shrine.<sup>11</sup>

mistakenly, predicted that Caesar would not uphold the rights of property owners but pillage and plunder Italy. <sup>11</sup> I.e., a place of asylum, as a means of shielding themselves from the demands of their creditors.

3. Igitur quoniam tibi victori de bello atque pace agi-  
tandum est, hoc uti civiliter deponas, illa <ut><sup>3</sup> quam ius-  
tissima et diuturna sit, de te ipso primum, qui ea compo-  
2 siturus es, quid optimum factu sit existima. Equidem ego  
cuncta imperia crudelia magis acerba quam diuturna arbi-  
tror, neque quemquam multis metuendum esse, quin ad  
eum ex multis formido reccidat; eam vitam bellum aeter-  
num et anceps gerere, quoniam neque adversus neque ab  
tergo aut lateribus tutus sis, semper in periculo aut metu  
3 agites. Contra qui benignitate et clementia imperium tem-  
peravere iis laeta et candida omnia visa, etiam hostes ae-  
quiores<sup>4</sup> quam malis<sup>5</sup> cives.

4 Haud scio an qui me his dictis corruptorem victoriae  
tuae nimisque in victos bona voluntate praedicent. Scilicet  
quod ea, quae externis nationibus, natura nobis hostibus,  
nosque maioresque nostri saepe tribuere, ea civibus danda  
arbitror, neque barbaro ritu caede caedem et sanguinem  
sanguine expianda.

4. An illa, quae paulo ante hoc bellum in Cn. Pom-  
peium victoriamque Sullanam increpabantur, oblivio in-  
tercepit:<sup>6</sup> Domitium, Carbonem, Brutum alios item, non  
armatos neque in proelio belli iure, sed postea supplices

<sup>3</sup> Aldus      <sup>4</sup> Asulanus: nequiores V      <sup>5</sup> Kaster per lit-  
teras: alii Asulanus: alii V      <sup>6</sup> Faernus (cf. Plin. Pan. 75.1):  
interfecit V

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. the line directed at Caesar when D. Laberius was com-  
pelled by Caesar to perform in one of his mimes in 46 (Sen. *De*  
*ira* 2.11.3; Macrob. *Sat.* 2.7.1–5; Suet. *Iul.* 39.2): “inevitably the  
man whom many fear, fears many” (*necesse est multos timeat*  
*quem multi timent*).

3. Therefore, since you must deal as victor with war as well as peace, in order to end this conflict in the spirit of a good citizen, and to make peace as just as possible and long-lasting, first consider what is the best course of action as you embark upon settling affairs. For my own part, I believe that every instance of the cruel exercise of power produces more bitterness than stability, and that no one inspires fear in many without fear recoiling on him from many;<sup>12</sup> such a manner of life wages a never ending, hazardous war inasmuch as you are not safe in front, in the rear, or on the flanks, and you are always living in peril or dread. By contrast, those who have tempered their rule with kindness and mercy experience total joy and cheeriness; even foreign foes are more kindly disposed toward them than fellow citizens are to the wicked.

Possibly some people will describe me, on the basis of the preceding remarks, as a spoiler of your victory and as being too well disposed toward the vanquished. Doubtless because I believe that the same considerations that we and our forefathers have often accorded to foreign peoples, our natural enemies, ought to be granted to our fellow citizens, and that we should not, like barbarians, atone for slaughter by slaughter and for bloodshed by bloodshed.

4. Or has forgetfulness blotted out those complaints that shortly before this war were directed against Gnaeus Pompey and the Sullan victory: namely, that Domitius, Carbo, Brutus and others as well were slain, not in arms nor in battle according to the right of war but afterward, through the utmost wickedness, while they were suppli-

- per summum scelus interfectos, plebem Romanam in villa  
 2 publica pecoris modo conscissam? Eheu quam illa occulta  
 civium funera et repentinae caedes, in parentum aut libe-  
 rorum sinum fuga mulierum et puerorum, vastatio do-  
 muum ante partam a te victoriam saeva atque crudelia  
 3 erant! Ad quae te idem illi hortantur; [et]<sup>7</sup> scilicet id cer-  
 tatum esse, utrius vestrum arbitrio iniuriae fierent, neque  
 receptam sed captam a te rem publicam, et ea causa [ex-  
 ercitus]<sup>8</sup> stipendiis confectis optimos et veterrimos om-  
 nium advorsum fratres parentisque [alii liberos]<sup>9</sup> armis  
 contendere, ut ex alienis malis deterrumi mortales ventri  
 atque profundae lubrici sumptus quaerent atque es-  
 sent opprobria victoriae, quorum flagitiis commacularetur  
 4 bonorum laus. Neque enim te praeterire puto, quali quis-

<sup>7</sup> Burnouf

<sup>8</sup> Kaster per litteras

<sup>9</sup> Jordan

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<sup>13</sup> All died at the hands of Pompey: Cn. Papirius Carbo (cos. 85, 84, 82) in 82 in Sicily (see *Hist.* 1.45), and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (son-in-law of Cinna, cos. 87–84) in 81 at Utica, in the African campaign (see *ibid.* 1.46)—both in the Sullan civil war; M. Iunius Brutus (father of Caesar’s famous assassin) after the surrender of Mutina in Cisalpine Gaul in 77 (see *ibid.* 1.69), at the time of the Lepidan revolt against Sulla’s regime. Among those designated here by “others as well” is M. Perperna (pr. 82), whom Val. Max. 6.2.8 adds to the three named victims. Perperna was put to death in 72 while fighting in the Sertorian revolt in Spain (see *ibid.* 3.58–59).

<sup>14</sup> Not strictly the “Roman commons” (*plebs Romana*) but soldiers, chiefly from Samnium, who surrendered after the battle at the Colline Gate outside Rome on November 1, 82. Thousands of these unarmed prisoners were executed by Sulla (the figure ranges from 4,000 [Flor. 2.9.24] to as high as 8,000 [Liv. *Per.* 88]

ants;<sup>13</sup> that the Roman commons were cut to pieces in the Villa Publica just like cattle!<sup>14</sup> Alas! How savage and cruel were those covert deaths and sudden murders of citizens, the flight of women and children to the bosom of their parents or offspring, and the ransacking of houses before your victory was achieved!<sup>15</sup> It is to such atrocities that those same men<sup>16</sup> are urging you; doubtless it was the object of the contest to determine which of you two would have the authority to commit outrages, and the nation was not rescued by you but seized; and doubtless the reason why the best and most senior of all soldiers, after finishing their term of service, contended in battle against their brothers and parents was so that the most degenerate mortals might derive from the woes of others the resources to gratify their boundless gluttony and lust, and sully your victory by staining the renown of upright men with their shameful deeds. For I do not think that you failed to ob-

or 9,000 [*De vir. ill.* 75.10]). They were confined in the Villa Publica, a largely open space, equipped with porticoes, in the Campus Martius. It served as the headquarters of state officials when taking the census or levying troops.

<sup>15</sup> The dating of the savagery relative to the achievement of Caesar's victory (in 48) produces the impression that the acts of terror just mentioned in this and the preceding sentence had occurred in the 50s, and yet all of the victims explicitly named in 4.1 belong to 82–77. Presumably the author means that the ever-present fear that Pompey and his supporters might renew those grim acts of revenge was finally put to rest both by the removal of Pompey, the perpetrator of the killings enumerated in 4.1, and by Caesar's enlightened policy of pardoning his defeated enemies.

<sup>16</sup> I.e., political figures who switched allegiance after Caesar's victory over Pompey.

que eorum more aut modestia, etiam tum dubia victoria, sese gesserit quoque modo in belli administratione scorta aut convivia exercuerint non nulli, quorum aetas ne per otium quidem talis voluptatis sine dedecore attingerit.

5. De bello satis dictum. De pace firmanda quoniam tuque et omnes tui agitis, primum id quaeso, considera quale sit de quo consultas; ita bonis malisque dimotis patienti via ad verum perges. Ego sic existimo: quoniam orta omnia intereunt, qua tempestate urbi Romanae fatum excidii adventarit, civis cum civibus manus conserturos, ita defessos et exsanguis regi aut nationi praedae futuros. Aliiter non orbis terrarum neque cunctae gentes conglobatae
- 2  
3  
4  
5  
6
- movere aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur sunt vel concordiae bona et discordiae mala expellenda. Id ita eveniet, si sumptuum et rapinarum licentiam dempseris, non ad vetera instituta revocans, quae iam pridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt, sed si suam quoique rem familiarem finem sumptuum statueris; quoniam is incessit mos, ut homines adulescentuli sua atque aliena consumere, nihil libidinei atque aliis rogantibus denegare pulcherrimum putent, eam virtutem et magnitudinem animi, pudorem atque modestiam pro socordia aestiment.
- Ergo animus ferox prava via ingressus, ubi consueta non suppetunt, fertur accensus in socios modo, modo in civis,

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<sup>17</sup> An allusion to the comforts in Pompey's camp, as compared with the Spartan conditions in Caesar's (*Caes. B Civ.* 3.96.1; *Plut. Pomp.* 72.5–6), and to the grandiose plans for revenge and rewards that were made by Pompey's followers (*Caes. B Civ.* 3.83).



serve with what conduct and self-control each one of them behaved, even at the time when the victory was uncertain; and how some of them, in the course of managing the war, indulged in prostitutes or feasts;<sup>17</sup> even in peace time, it would have been disgraceful for men of such an age to have any contact with pleasures of those sorts.

5. Concerning the war enough has been said. Concerning the establishment of peace, since both you and all your followers are making plans about this, first, I implore you, consider what sort of thing it is about which you are deliberating; in that way, after separating the good from the bad, you will proceed to the truth along an open highway. My own opinion is this: since everything that has come into being eventually passes away, at the time when Rome's fated destruction approaches, citizens will do battle with their fellow citizens; thus worn out and enfeebled, they will fall prey to some king or nation. Otherwise, not the whole world, nor all the nations banded together, can move or crush this dominion. You must establish, therefore, the blessings of harmony, and cast out the evils of discord. This will come about if you remove unrestrained extravagance and looting, not by calling men back to the old customs, which have long since become a farce thanks to the corruption of our morals, but if you fix each man's material assets as the limit of his expenditures. For it has become the custom for mere youths to think it a very fine thing to waste their own substance as well as that of others, to refuse nothing to their lust and to the requests of others, to regard such conduct as manliness and high mindedness, while regarding modesty and self-control as faintheartedness. Therefore, once a person of savage spirit has embarked on a crooked path, when his usual resources do not

7 movet composita et res novas veteribus abiectis<sup>10</sup> conqui-  
8 rit. Quare tollendus est fenerator in posterum, uti suas  
quisque res curemus. Ea vera atque simplex via est ma-  
gistratum populo, non creditori gerere et magnitudinem  
animi in addendo non demendo rei publicae ostendere.

6. Atque ego scio quam aspera haec res in principio  
futura sit, praesertim is qui se in victoria licentius liberius-  
que quam artius futuros credebant. Quorum si saluti po-  
tius quam lubrici consules, illosque nosque et socios in  
pace firma constitutes; sin eadem studia artesque iuventuti  
erunt, ne ista egregia tua fama simul cum urbe Roma brevi  
concidet.

2 Postremo sapientes pacis causa bellum gerunt, laborem  
spe otii sustentant; nisi illam firmam efficis, vinci an vicisse  
3 quid retulit? Quare capesse, per deos, rem publicam et  
4 omnia aspera, uti soles, pervade. Namque aut tu mederi  
potes aut omittenda est cura omnibus. Neque quisquam  
te ad crudelis poenas aut acerba iudicia invocat, quibus  
civitas vastatur magis quam corrigitur, sed ut pravas artis  
5 malasque libidines ab iuventute prohibeas. Ea vera cle-  
mentia erit, consuluisse ne merito cives patria expelleren-  
tur, retinuisse ab stultitia et falsis voluptatibus, pacem et

<sup>10</sup> *Kroll*: aec V: neglectis *Kurfess*

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<sup>18</sup> The text is corrupt and the meaning consequently uncer-  
tain.

<sup>19</sup> Of the sorts that were introduced by Pompey's judicial re-  
forms in 52 (see *Ep.* 2.3.3n.).

suffice, he furiously assaults now our allies, now his fellow citizens, he disturbs the established order of things and quests after revolution, rejecting the status quo.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the moneylender must be eliminated for the future so that each one of us may look after his own property. This is the true and straightforward path, namely that a magistrate govern for the benefit of the people, not a creditor; that he show high mindedness by adding to, not subtracting from our nation's resources.

6. And I know how offensive this policy is going to be in the beginning, especially to those who believed that they would experience in victory more license and freedom than restraint. And if you consult the interests of their welfare rather than their desires, you will establish both them and us, as well as our allies, upon a solid foundation of peace. But if our youths continue to have the same inclinations and practices as at present, truly that eminent renown of yours will shortly come to an end, along with the city of Rome.

Finally, wise men wage war for the sake of peace, they endure toil in the hope of repose; unless you bring about a lasting peace, what difference does it make whether you are defeated or have been victorious? Therefore, by the gods!—take the nation in hand, and surmount all difficulties, as you customarily do. For either you can provide a cure, or everyone must despair of a solution. And no one calls upon you for cruel punishments or harsh sentences<sup>19</sup>—by which our country is ravaged more than it is corrected—but to bar our youths from depraved practices and evil passions. True mercy will consist in these acts, in having taken counsel so that citizens may not deserve to be banished from their native land, in having kept them from folly and deceptive pleasures, in having put peace

concordiam stabilivisse, non si flagitis opsecutus, delicta perpressus praesens gaudium quom<sup>11</sup> mox futuro malo concesseris.

7. Ac mihi animus, quibus rebus alii timent, maxime fretus est: negotii magnitudine et quia tibi terrae et maria simul omnia componenda sunt. Quippe res parvas<sup>12</sup> tantum ingenium attingere nequeiret, magnae curae magna  
2 merces est. Igitur provideas oportet uti plebs, largitionibus et publico frumento corrupta, habeat negotia sua quibus ab malo publico detineatur; iuventus probitati et industriae, non sumptibus neque divitiis studeat. Id ita  
3 eveniet, si pecuniae, quae maxuma omnium perniciēs est, usum atque decus<sup>13</sup> dempseris. Nam saepe ego quom<sup>14</sup>  
4 animo meo reputans quibus quisque rebus clari viri magnitudinem invenissent quaeque res populos nationesve magnis auctibus<sup>15</sup> auxissent, ac deinde quibus causis amplissima regna et imperia conruissent, eadem semper  
5 bona atque mala reperiēbam, omnesque victores divitias contempsisse et victos cupivisse. Neque aliter quisquam extollere sese et divina mortalis attingere potest, nisi omis-  
sis pecuniae et corporis gaudiis, animo indulgens non adsentando neque concupita praebendo, pervorsam gratiam gratificans, sed in labore, patientia, bonisque praecceptis et factis fortibus exercitando.

<sup>11</sup> sic V (cf. 7.4, *infra et fr.* 3.42.3n.)  
pravas V  
*supra*)

<sup>13</sup> *Asulanus*: dedecus V

<sup>15</sup> *Ciacconius*: auctoribus V

<sup>12</sup> parvas *ed. Rom.*:

<sup>14</sup> sic V (cf. 6.5n.)

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<sup>20</sup> In 58, the tribune P. Clodius passed a law abolishing the price charged for the monthly allotment of grain given to the people of Rome. In 46, Caesar reduced the number of recipients from 320,000 to 150,000 (Suet. *Iul.* 41.3).

and harmony on a firm footing—not if you grant them momentary pleasure, along with future ruin, by being indulgent to shameful acts and putting up with offenses.

7. And for my own part, my spirit derives tremendous confidence from the circumstances that inspire fear in others; namely, the greatness of the task and because you must set in order simultaneously all lands and seas. Naturally such a great talent as yours could not engage in small matters; great is the reward for great responsibility. Therefore, you ought to see to it that the commons, which has been demoralized by bounties and the public grain dole,<sup>20</sup> have their own jobs to keep them from public mischief; likewise that our youths cultivate honesty and industry, not extravagance and the pursuit of wealth. This will come about, if you remove from money, which is the greatest of all sources of destruction, its advantage and luster. For when I often turned over in my mind how it is that various eminent men had acquired greatness, and what qualities had increased peoples and nations with great growth, and then what causes had brought about the downfall of grand kingdoms and empires, I always discovered the same virtues and vices, and that riches had been scorned by all victors and coveted by the vanquished. In fact, in no other way can any mortal exalt himself and touch upon the divine unless he casts off the delights of wealth and bodily pleasures and devotes himself to his soul, not by giving in to and indulging its cravings, thereby allowing it a perverse gratification, but by exercising it in labor, in patience, and in virtuous precepts and brave deeds.

8. Nam domum aut villam exstruere, eam signis, aulaeis, alieisque operibus exornare et omnia potius quam semet visendum efficere, id est non divitias decori habere, 2 sed ipsum illis flagitio esse. Porro ei,<sup>16</sup> quibus bis die ventrem onerare, nullam noctem sine scorto quiescere mos est, ubi animum quem dominari decebat, servitio oppres- 3 sere, nequequam eo postea hebeti atque claudo pro exercito uti volunt. Nam imprudentia pleraque et se praecipitat. Verum haec et omnia mala pariter cum honore pecuniae desinent, si neque magistratus neque alia volgo cupienda venalia erunt.

4 Ad hoc providendum est tibi, quonam modo Italia atque provinciae tutiores sint, id quod factu haud asperum<sup>17</sup> 5 est. Nam idem omnia vastant suas deserendo domos et per iniuriam alienas occupando. Item ne, uti adhuc, militia 6 iniusta aut inaequalis sit, cum alii triginta, pars nullum stipendium faciant.<sup>18</sup> Et frumentum id quod antea praemium ignaviae fuit per municipia et colonias illis dare conveniet qui stipendiis emeritis domos reverterint.

7 Quae rei publicae necessaria tibiue gloriosa ratus sum, 8 quam paucissimis apsolvi. Non peius videtur pauca 9 nunc de facto meo disserere. Plerique mortales ad iudicandum satis ingenii habent aut simulant; verum enim ad

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<sup>16</sup> *Aldus*: eis V      <sup>17</sup> *Reynolds* (cf. Ep. 2.1.1): obscurum V  
<sup>18</sup> *Ernout*: facient V: faciunt *Jordan*

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<sup>21</sup> Meaning uncertain: possibly the author refers to those described at Ep. 2.5.4 who were forced by debt to abandon their homes and turn to a life of idleness and crime. <sup>22</sup> Cf. 7.2n.      <sup>23</sup> I.e., his act of going on record and addressing advice to Caesar.

8. For, to erect a town house or country house, to adorn it with statues, tapestries, and other works of art, and to make everything in it more worth seeing than its owner, that is not to possess riches in a way that produces distinction but rather to be an object of disgrace oneself to those very riches. Moreover, as for people whose habit it is to overload their stomachs twice a day, to pass no night in rest without a prostitute: when they have enslaved their mind, which was properly the master, in vain do they later on desire to find it ready for action after it has been dulled and crippled. For folly ruins most things, including itself. But these and all other evils will cease when money is no longer held in honor, if neither magistracies nor other things commonly craved are put up for sale.

Besides this, you must provide a way for Italy and the provinces to be safer, a thing that it is by no means hard to do. For the same men are spreading universal devastation by abandoning their own homes and wrongfully appropriating those belonging to others.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, let military service not be unjust and unfair, as it has been up to now, when some serve thirty campaigns, some none at all. And it will be fitting for the grain that previously was a reward of idleness<sup>22</sup> to be given throughout the free towns and colonies to those soldiers who have returned to their homes after having served their time in the army.

I have set forth in the fewest possible words policies I regarded as necessary for our nation and destined to bring glory to you. Now it seems equally worthwhile to speak briefly about my act of having done so.<sup>23</sup> Most mortals have, or pretend to have, sufficient ability to sit in judg-

reprehendunda aliena facta aut dicta ardet omnibus animus, vix satis apertum os aut lingua prompta videtur quae meditata<sup>19</sup> pectore evolvat.<sup>20</sup> Quibus me subiectum haud  
10 paenitet, magis reticuisse pigeret. Nam sive hac seu meliore alia via perges, a me quidem pro virili parte dictum et adiutum fuerit. Relicuum est optare uti quae tibi placuerint ea di immortales adprobent beneque evenire sinant.

< II >

1. Scio ego quam difficile atque asperum factu sit consilium dare regi aut imperatori, postremo quoiquam mortali, quoius opes in excelso sunt; quippe cum et illis consultorum copiae adsint neque de futuro quisquam satis  
2 callidus satisque prudens sit. Quin etiam saepe prava magis quam bona consilia prospere eveniunt, quia plerasque res fortuna ex libidine sua agitat.

3 Sed mihi studium fuit adulescentulo rem publicam capessere, atque in ea cognoscenda multam magnamque curam habui; non ita ut magistratum modo caperem, quem multi malis artibus adepti erant, sed etiam ut rem publicam domi militiaeque quantumque armis, viris, opu-

<sup>19</sup> *Faernus*: medita V

<sup>20</sup> *Aldus*: evolat V

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<sup>24</sup> There is no heading in V (fol. 129v) but merely a space of approximately two lines to separate the text of *Ep.* 2 from *Ep.* 1.

<sup>25</sup> The fictional date presumes that fighting is imminent but has not yet broken out. Hence, presumably, before Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, on the night of January 11/12, 49 (= November 24/25, 50 Jul.).

<sup>26</sup> *Cf. Cat.* 3.3.



ment; but indeed, all burn with passion to censure the deeds or words of others, while their mouth seems scarcely wide enough, or their tongue facile enough, to give utterance to the thoughts in their hearts. I do not at all repent at having subjected myself to the criticism of such men; I would feel more regret at having kept silent. For whether you proceed along this path or another better one, I shall have spoken and given aid in a manly fashion. It only remains to pray that the immortal gods may approve your decision and allow it a successful outcome.

< II ><sup>24</sup>

[late 50/early 49 BC]<sup>25</sup>

1. I know how difficult and rough a task it is to give advice to a king or a commander, in short, to any mortal whose power is lofty—all the more so since such men have an abundance of counselors, and no one is sufficiently clever and sufficiently farsighted with regard to the future. For indeed bad advice often turns out better than good because Fortune commonly directs the course of events according to her own whim.

I had from early youth a desire to embark upon a political career,<sup>26</sup> and in acquainting myself with political affairs, I invested a great deal of care not just with the aim of gaining political office, which many had attained through dishonorable means, but also to make myself familiar with the administration of public business at home and in war and with the resources of our country in arms,

4 lentia posset cognitum habuerim. Itaque mihi multa cum  
animo agitanti consilium fuit famam modestiamque meam  
5 post tuam dignitatem habere et quouis rei lubet pericu-  
lum facere, dum quid tibi ex eo gloriae acciderit. Idque  
non temere neque ex fortuna tua decrevi, sed quia in te  
praeter ceteras artem unam egregie mirabilem comperi,  
6 semper tibi maiorem in adversis quam in secundis rebus  
animum esse. Sed per ceteros mortalis illa res clarior est,  
quod prius defessi sunt homines laudando atque admi-  
rando munificentiam tuam quam tu [in]<sup>21</sup> faciundo quae  
gloria digna essent.

2. Equidem mihi decretum est nihil tam ex alto reperi  
2 posse quod non cogitanti tibi in promptu sit. Neque eo  
quae visa sunt de re publica tibi scripsi, quia mihi consi-  
lium atque ingenium meum amplius aequo probaretur,  
sed inter labores militiae interque proelia, victorias, impe-  
3 rium statui admonendum te de negotiis urbanis. Namque  
tibi si id modo in pectore consilii est, ut te ab inimicorum  
impetu vindices, quoque modo contra adversum consu-  
lem beneficia populi retineas, indigna virtute tua cogi-  
4 tas. Sin in te ille animus est qui iam a principio nobilitatis  
factionem disturbavit,<sup>22</sup> plebem Romanam ex gravi servi-

<sup>21</sup> *ed. Rom.*

<sup>22</sup> *ed. Mant.:* disturbabit V

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<sup>27</sup> The same observation, in nearly the same language, is found at *Ep.* 1.1.2.

<sup>28</sup> In particular, the privilege of standing for the consulship in his absence from Rome, a dispensation granted by a law sponsored by all ten plebeian tribunes in 52.

<sup>29</sup> Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus as consul in 49 took a leading role in pressing for harsh measures against Caesar, which ultimately precipitated the civil war (*Caes. B Civ.* 1.1.2).

men, and money. Consequently, I have reached the decision, after much soul searching, to put your distinction ahead of my own repute and modesty and to venture upon anything whatever, provided only that it will contribute something to your glory. And I have come to this decision not rashly nor as a consequence of your good fortune, but because in you I have found, in addition to other qualities, an unusually admirable one, namely that your spirit is always greater in adversity than in prosperity. But throughout the rest of humanity that fact is quite evident given that men sooner grew weary from praising and admiring your munificence than you did in doing deeds worthy of glory.<sup>27</sup>

2. For my own part, I have reached the verdict that nothing can be discovered that is so deep that it is not within your power when you put your mind to it. And I have written you my views upon public affairs, not because I esteemed my own counsel and talent more highly than is proper, but because it seemed to me that during the toils of war, amid battles, victories and military command, you ought to be reminded of civilian tasks. For if only this is the aim in your heart, to defend yourself from the assault of your enemies and how to retain the benefits conferred by the people<sup>28</sup> in opposition to a hostile consul,<sup>29</sup> your thoughts are unworthy of your prowess. But if you have in you the spirit that has from the very beginning unsettled the clique of nobles,<sup>30</sup> restored the Roman com-

<sup>30</sup> E.g., by means of his support, early in his political career in the 70s, for the restoration of the powers of the tribunate (Suet. *Iul.* 5), referred to in the next clause as the restoration of freedom to the commons.

tute in libertatem restituit, in praetura inimicorum arma inermis disiecit, domi militiaeque tanta et tam praeclara facinora fecit, ut ne inimici quidem queri quicquam audeant nisi de magnitudine tua: quin tu accipe ea quae dicam de summa re publica. Quae profecto aut vera invenies aut certe haud procul a vero.

3. Sed quoniam Cn. Pompeius, aut animi pravitate aut quia nihil eo maluit quod tibi obsesset, ita lapsus est ut hostibus tela in manus iaceret, quibus ille rebus rem publicam conturbavit, eisdem tibi restituendum est. Primum omnium summam potestatem moderandi de vectigalibus, sumptibus, iudiciis senatoribus paucis tradidit, plebem Romanam, quoniam antea summa potestas erat, ne aequae quidem legibus in servitute reliquit. Iudicia tametsi, sicut antea, tribus ordinibus tradita sunt, tamen idem illi factiosi regunt, dant, adimunt quae lubet,<sup>23</sup> innocentis circumveniunt, suos ad honorem extollunt. Non facinus, non probrum aut flagitium obstat, quo minus magistratus capiant. Quos commodum est trahunt, rapiunt; postremo tamquam urbe capta libidine ac licentia sua pro legibus utuntur. Ac me quidem mediocris dolor angeret, si virtute

<sup>23</sup> *ed. Mant.*: luget V

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<sup>31</sup> In 62, Caesar was reinstated to his praetorship after armed violence had led the senate to suspend him from his magistracy (Suet. *Iul.* 16). <sup>32</sup> Not strictly foreign foes (*hostibus*) but allied and client states, especially in the eastern Mediterranean, who took up arms to fight in support of Pompey (Caes. *B Civ.* 3.3). <sup>33</sup> Senators, knights, and *tribuni aerarii* (hardly distinguishable from the knights), from which jurors had been drawn since passage of the *lex Aurelia* in 70. Under Pompey's

mons to freedom in place of grievous slavery, dispersed in your praetorship the arms of personal foes without resort to arms,<sup>31</sup> and has produced such great and such glorious deeds at home and on campaign that not even your personal foes dare to make any complaint except concerning your greatness—now then, hear what I shall say about our country's welfare. You will assuredly find my observations either true or certainly by no means far from the truth.

3. Now, since Gnaeus Pompey, either from perversity of spirit, or because he wanted above all that which was to your disadvantage, has fallen so low as to fling arms into the hands of our enemies,<sup>32</sup> you must restore the nation by the same means by which he has thrown it into disorder. First of all, he has given a few senators supreme power to regulate the revenues, expenditures and courts; by means of biased laws, he has left the commons of Rome, whose power was previously supreme, in slavery. For even though the courts, as before, have been entrusted to the three orders,<sup>33</sup> nevertheless those same political insiders exercise control, giving and taking away whatever they please, defrauding the innocent, elevating their followers to political office. Not crime, not shameful conduct or disgrace bars them from gaining magistracies. They rob and pillage whom it suits them; finally, just as if the city had been taken captive, they indulge their passion and lack of restraint as substitutes for the laws. And I would for my part be feeling only moderate indignation, if, according to

legislation in 52 (Ascon. p. 36C), however, there were new, tighter procedural rules in trials for violence (*vis*) and electoral corruption (*ambitus*).

6 partam victoriam more suo per servitium exercerent. Sed  
homines inertissimi, quorum omnis vis virtusque in lingua  
sita est, forte atque alterius socordia dominationem obla-  
7 tam insolentes agitant. Nam quae<sup>24</sup> seditio aut dissensio  
civilis tot tam illustris familias ab stirpe evertit? Aut quo-  
rum umquam in victoria animus tam praeceps tamque  
inmoderatus fuit ?

4. L. Sulla, quoi omnia in victoria lege belli licuerunt,  
tametsi supplicio hostium partis suas muniri intellegebat,  
tamen paucis interfectis ceteros beneficio quam metu reti-  
2 nere maluit. At hercule M. Catoni,<sup>25</sup> L. Domitio, cete-  
risque eiusdem factionis quadraginta senatores, multi  
praeterea cum spe bona adulescentes sicuti hostiae mac-  
tati sunt, quom interea inportunissima genera hominum  
tot miserorum civium sanguine satiari nequiere;<sup>26</sup> non  
orbi liberi, non parentes exacta aetate, non luctus, gemitus  
virorum mulierum immanem eorum animum inflexit,  
quein acerbius in dies male faciundo ac dicundo dignitate  
3 alios, alios civitate eversum irent. Nam quid ego de te

<sup>24</sup> *ed. Rom.*: namque V                    <sup>25</sup> hercule M. Catoni]  
*Orelli*: herculem catonem V: hercule a M. Catone *Mommsen*  
<sup>26</sup> nequierunt *edd.*: nequier V

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<sup>34</sup> Pompey.                    <sup>35</sup> A gross understatement of the number  
of victims, which ranges from a purported high of 4,700 (*Val. Max.*  
9.22.1) to a low of 520 (*Plut. Sull.* 31.5). Among them, there were  
said to have been up to 40 senators and approximately 1,600  
knights (*App. B Civ.* 1.95).

<sup>36</sup> The author greatly inflates  
the number of casualties resulting from violence in the political  
turmoil of the years 54–52, for which the responsibility is unfairly  
fastened on the diehard optimates represented by Cato Uticensis

their usual custom, they were employing as their instrument of enslavement a victory produced by valor. But these incredibly lazy men, whose whole might and merit reside in their tongue, are insolently exercising a tyranny presented to them by chance and as a result of the inattentiveness of another person.<sup>34</sup> For what rebellion or civil dissension has utterly destroyed so many illustrious families? Or who ever had in victory a spirit so frenzied and so unbridled.

4. Lucius Sulla, to whom the law of war permitted anything in his victory, realized that by the execution of his foes his party could be strengthened, but he preferred nevertheless, after putting a few to death,<sup>35</sup> to keep the rest under control by kindness instead of intimidation. But, by Hercules!—at the instigation of Marcus Cato, Lucius Domitius, and others of that faction, forty senators and many young men of excellent promise have been butchered like so many sacrificial victims,<sup>36</sup> although meanwhile the blood of so many wretched citizens has not been enough to sate men of the most ruthless sort. Not orphaned children, not aged parents, not the grief of men, the lamentation of women has altered their monstrous purpose, to keep them from proceeding to strip rank from some,<sup>37</sup> citizenship from others<sup>38</sup> through acting and

and his brother-in-law Domitius (cos. 54). The number of senators said to have perished (forty) appears to be a figure drawn from the Sullan proscriptions (see previous note), in which Cato and Domitius played no part. <sup>37</sup> Those who fell victim to the censors of 50, including Sallust, who was removed from the senate (Dio 40.63.4). <sup>38</sup> Those who were forced into exile by convictions in capital cases.

dicam, quoniam contumeliam homines ignavissimi vita sua commutare volunt, si liceat? Neque illis tantae voluptatis est, tametsi insperantibus accidit, dominatio quanto maiori tua dignitas; quae in optatius habent ex tua calamitate periculum libertatis facere, quam per te populi Romani imperium maximum ex magno fieri. Quo magis tibi etiam atque etiam animo prospiciendum est, quoniam modo rem stabilias communiasque. Mihi quidem quae mens suppetit eloqui non dubitabo; ceterum tui erit ingenii probare, quae vera atque utilia factu putes.

5. In duas partes ego civitatem divisam arbitror, sicut a maioribus accepi, in patres et plebem. Antea in patribus summa auctoritas erat, vis multo maxuma in plebe. Itaque saepius in civitate secessio fuit semperque nobilitatis opes deminutae sunt et ius populi amplificatum. Sed plebs eo libere agitabat quia nullius potentia super leges erat neque divitiis aut superbia sed bona fama factisque fortibus nobilis ignobilem anteibat; humillimus quisque in arvis<sup>27</sup> aut in militia nullius honestae rei egens satis sibi satisque patriae erat.

4 Sed ubi eos paulatim expulsos agris inertia atque inopia incertas domos habere subegit, coepere alienas opes pe-

<sup>27</sup> *coniec. Dousa: armis V*

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<sup>39</sup> By recalling Caesar from his Gallic command, thus exposing Italy to the potential of a revolt on the northern frontier.

<sup>40</sup> See *Cat.* 33.3n.

<sup>41</sup> Lit., "in his plowed fields," where the humble yeoman farmer eked out a living when not fighting for his country.



speaking wickedly in a harsher and harsher manner daily. What shall I say concerning you, whose humiliation those utter cowards are willing to purchase at the cost of their own lives, if it were to be permitted? And those men do not derive as much pleasure from their tyranny (although it is more than they had hoped for) as they do grief from your status. In fact, they consider it preferable to endanger liberty as a consequence of your downfall,<sup>39</sup> rather than have you elevate the realm of the Roman people from great to greatest. Consequently, you must all the more consider over and over again by what means you may stabilize and fortify the nation. For myself, I shall not hesitate to utter what my mind prompts, but it will be up to your intellect to determine which of my recommendations you think sound and of practical application.

5. I am of the opinion, as I have learned from our forefathers, that our body of citizens was split into two divisions, patricians and plebeians. Previously, supreme authority resided in the hands of the patricians, while by far the greatest might resided in the commons. Therefore secessions occurred within the community rather frequently,<sup>40</sup> and the power of the nobles was constantly diminished, and the right of the people was increased. But the reason why the commons lived in freedom was because no one's personal power was above the laws, and because the nobleman surpassed the commoner not in riches or haughtiness but in good repute and valiant deeds; the humblest citizen, lacking nothing that was honorable on his farm<sup>41</sup> or on military campaign, satisfied his own needs and satisfied those of his native land.

When, however, idleness and poverty forced the commons, who had gradually been driven from their lands, to

5 tere, libertatem suam cum re publica venalem habere. Ita  
paulatim populus, qui dominus erat, cunctis gentibus im-  
6 sibi quisque servitutem peperit. Haec igitur multitudo  
primum malis moribus imbuta, deinde in artis vitasque  
varias dispalata, nullo modo inter se congruens, parum  
7 mihi quidem idonea videtur ad capessendam rem publi-  
cam. Ceterum additis novis civibus magna me spes tenet  
fore ut omnes expergiscantur ad libertatem; quippe cum  
illis libertatis retinendae, tum his servitutis amittendae  
8 cura orietur. Hos ego censeo permixtos cum veteribus  
novos in coloniis constituas; ita et res militaris opulentior  
erit et plebs bonis negotiis impedita malum publicum fac-  
ere desinet.

6. Sed non inscius neque imprudens sum, quom ea res  
agetur, quae saevitia quaeque tempestates hominum nobi-  
lium futurae sint, quom indignabuntur, omnia funditus  
misceri, antiquis civibus hanc servitutem inponi, regnum  
denique ex libera civitate futurum, ubi unius munere mul-  
2 titudo ingens in civitatem pervenerit. Equidem ego sic  
apud animum meum statuo: malum facinus in se admit-  
tere qui incommodo rei publicae gratiam sibi conciliet; ubi  
bonum publicum etiam privatim usui est, id vero dubitare  
adgredi, socordiae atque ignaviae duco.

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<sup>42</sup> The reference immediately below to settling these "new citizens" in veteran colonies suggests that the author may be referring to such persons as those enfranchised as a reward for performing meritorious military service, e.g., the Romanized Gauls whom Caesar formed into his Fifth Legion, the *Alaudae* (Suet. *Iul.* 24.2).

possess no fixed abodes, they began to go after other persons' property and to regard their own liberty and their nation as objects for sale. Thus gradually the people, which used to be the master and exercise authority over all nations, became degenerate, and in place of a sovereignty shared in common, each man brought into being his own personal slavery. Therefore, this throng first having been tainted with evil habits, next having strayed into varied practices and modes of life—not at all sharing the same views—seems to me quite unfitted to govern. But if new citizens<sup>42</sup> are added to their number, I have high hope that all will be stirred to a sense of freedom; for in the new citizens will arise zeal for retaining their liberty, in the others, zeal for shedding their slavery. I therefore advise you to settle these new citizens, along with the old, in colonies; in this way both our military resources will be the stronger, and the commons, being occupied with worthy tasks, will cease to work public mischief.

6. However, I am not ignorant or unaware of what rage and what tempests will arise among the nobles when this project is carried out. They will be resentful that everything is being utterly muddled, that this amounts to the imposition of slavery upon the original citizens, in short, that a monarchy will come into being in place of a free state, when citizenship is extended to a multitude through the bounty of one man. This is my own personal conviction: that a man who tries to win popular favor at the cost of his country's welfare is guilty of committing a foul crime; yet when the common good is at the same time advantageous to an individual, I consider it a mark of folly and cowardice to hesitate to seize the opportunity.

3 M. Druso semper consilium fuit in tribunatu summa  
ope niti pro nobilitate; neque ullam rem in principio agere  
4 intendit, nisi ille auctores fuerant. Sed homines factiosi,  
quibus dolus atque malitia fide cariora erant, ubi intel-  
lexerunt per unum hominem maxumum beneficium multis  
mortalibus dari—videlicet sibi quisque conscius malo at-  
que infido animo esse—de M. Druso iuxta ac se existuma-  
5 verunt. Itaque metu ne per tantam gratiam solus rerum  
poteretur, contra eam nisi, sua et ipseius consilia disturba-  
6 verunt. Quo tibi, imperator, maiore<sup>28</sup> cura fideique amici  
et multa praesidia paranda sunt.

7. Hostem adversum deprimere strenuo homini haud  
difficilest; occulta pericula neque facere neque vitare bo-  
2 nis in promptu est. Igitur, ubi eos in civitatem adduxeris,  
quoniam quidem renovata plebs erit, in ea re maxume  
animum exerceto, ut colantur boni mores, concordia inter  
veteres et novos coalescat.

3 Sed multo maxumum bonum patriae, civibus, tibi, libe-  
ris, postremo humanae genti pepereris, si studium pecu-  
niae aut sustuleris aut, quoad res feret,<sup>29</sup> minueris. Aliter  
neque privata res neque publica neque domi neque mili-  
4 tiae regi potest. Nam ubi cupido divitiarum invasit, neque  
disciplina neque artes bonae neque ingenium ullum satis

<sup>28</sup> *Laetus*: maior V

<sup>29</sup> *Aldus*: referet V

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<sup>43</sup> When tribune in 91, he attempted to enact reforms that would have been advantageous both to the nobles and to the people, and to extend Roman citizenship to Rome's Italian allies. He fell victim to an unknown assassin.

<sup>44</sup> Namely, citizenship (see the preceding note).

<sup>45</sup> I.e., assumed that his motives were selfish.

<sup>46</sup> See *Ad Caes.* 1.2.2n.

Marcus Drusus<sup>43</sup> consistent intention was to exert himself to the utmost during his tribunate for the benefit of the nobles; and at first, he took no step without their sanction. But when partisan politicians, to whom treachery and wickedness were dearer than honesty, perceived that a single individual was conferring an enormous benefit on many mortals<sup>44</sup>—just because each of them was conscious of having an evil and disloyal mind—they held the same opinion of Marcus Drusus as they did of themselves.<sup>45</sup> And out of fear that through such great influence he might gain sole mastery of affairs, they strove against that influence, and thus upset their own planned course of action and Drusus' as well. Hence, commander,<sup>46</sup> you must more carefully provide for yourself both trustworthy friends and many defenses.

7. It is not at all difficult for a resolute man to bring down an open foe; decent men, however, do not find it in their nature to lay hidden snares or avoid them. Since, therefore, when you add new members to the body of citizens the commons will indeed be regenerated, see that you devote particular attention to fostering good morals, to establishing harmony between the old and the new citizens.

But you will confer by far the greatest blessing on your native land, your fellow citizens, yourself, your children, in short, the human race, if you either do away with the pursuit of wealth or reduce it so far as circumstances permit. Otherwise, neither public nor private affairs can be controlled at home or in war. For when an eagerness for riches has made an assault, neither training, nor good practices, nor any mental power is strong enough to pre-

pollet quin animus magis aut minus mature, postremo ta-  
5 men succumbat. Saepe iam audivi qui reges, quae civitates  
et nationes per opulentiam magna imperia amiserint quae  
per virtutem inopes ceperant; id <ad>eo<sup>30</sup> haud mirandum  
6 est. Nam ubi bonus deteriore[m] divitiis magis clarum ma-  
gisque acceptum videt, primo aestuat multaque in pectore  
7 volvit; sed ubi gloria honorem magis in dies, virtutem opu-  
lencia vincit, animus ad voluptatem a vero deficit. Quippe  
8 gloria industria alitur; ubi eam dempseris ipsa per se virtus  
amara atque aspera est. Postremo ubi divitiae clarae ha-  
9 bentur, ibi omnia bona vilia sunt: fides, probitas, pudor,  
pudicitia. Nam ad virtutem una ardua via<sup>31</sup> est; ad pecu-  
niam qua quoque lubet nititur; et malis et bonis rebus ea  
creatur.

10 Ergo in primis auctoritatem pecuniae demito. Neque  
de capite neque de honore ex copiis quisquam magis aut  
11 minus iudicaverit, sicut neque praetor neque consul ex  
opulentia verum ex dignitate creetur. Sed de magistratu  
facile populi iudicium fit; iudices a paucis probari regnum  
est, ex pecunia legi inhonestum. Quare omnes primae  
12 classis iudicare placet, sed numero plures quam iudicant.

<sup>30</sup> id <ad>eo] *Asulanus*: ideo V

<sup>31</sup> via *om.* V<sup>1</sup>, s.s. V<sup>2</sup>: una et ardua via *Aldus*: via ardua *Jordan*

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47 Cf. *Ad Caes.* 1.7.4 for a similar observation.

48 The wealthiest citizens just below the rank of the knights, the latter supplying the bulk of jurors (see 3.3n.). The minimum property qualification of the first class (100,000 sesterces) was just one quarter of that required of knights according to the figure first securely attested a few decades later.

vent the mind from submitting more or less quickly, but inevitably. Often before now I have heard about kings, about city states and nations which have lost, through opulence, great empires that they had won through valor when poor.<sup>47</sup> Such a loss is not at all surprising. For when a good man beholds a baser person enjoying more renown and popularity as a result of riches, at first he seethes and keeps churning inside; but when more and more each day vainglory prevails over honor, opulence over merit, a good man's mind forsakes the truth in favor of pleasure. In fact, diligence is nourished by glory; when you take that away, virtue itself, on its own, is bitter and harsh. In short, where riches are regarded as a distinction, there all good qualities are of little account: good faith, uprightness, a sense of shame, chastity. For there is but one steep path to virtue; people strive after money by whatever path they please; money is produced by both dishonorable and honorable practices.

Above all, therefore, deprive money of its influence. Let the right to pass judgment concerning capital cases and public office not be greater for some citizens and less for others in proportion to their wealth, just as neither a praetor nor a consul should be chosen because of his riches but because of his worth. Now, on the choice of a magistrate, the judgment of the people is easy. It is tyranny for jurors to be certified by a narrow circle of individuals; for them to be chosen on the basis of money is shameful. Therefore, it seems desirable for all citizens of the first census class<sup>48</sup> to serve as jurors but in greater numbers than at present. Neither the Rhodians<sup>49</sup> nor other states

<sup>49</sup> The Rhodians were famous for their system of rotation by which all citizens served as jurors by turns (cf. Cic. *Rep.* 3.48).

- suorum paenituit, ubi promiscue dives et pauper, ut quoi-  
que fors tulit, de maximis rebus iuxta ac de minimis dis-  
ceptat. 8. Sed magistratibus creandis haud mihi quidem  
absurde placet lex, quam C. Gracchus in tribunatu pro-  
mulgaverat, ut ex confusis quinque classibus sorte centu-  
2 riae vocarentur. Ita coaequantur<sup>32</sup> dignitate pecunia; vir-  
tute anteire alius alium properabit.
- 3 Haec ego magna remedia contra divitias statuo. Nam  
perinde omnes res laudantur atque adpetuntur ut earum  
rerum usus est. Malitia praemiis exercetur; ubi ea demp-  
4 seris, nemo omnium gratuito malus est. Ceterum avaritia  
belua fera, immanis, intoleranda est; quo intendit, oppida,  
agros, fana atque domos vastat, divina cum humanis per-  
miscet, neque exercitus neque moenia obstant, quo minus  
vi sua penetret; fama, pudicitia, liberis, patria atque pa-  
5 rentibus cunctos mortalis spoliat. Verum, si pecuniae dec-  
cus ademeris, magna illa vis avaritiae facile bonis moribus  
6 vincetur. Atque haec ita sese habere tametsi omnes aequi  
atque iniqui memorant, tamen tibi cum factione nobilitatis  
haut mediocriter certandum est. Quoius si dolum caveris,  
7 alia omnia in proclivi erunt. Nam ii, si virtute satis va-  
lerent, magis aemuli bonorum quam invidi essent. Quia  
desidia et inertia, stupor eos atque torpedo invasit, stre-

<sup>32</sup> coaequantur *edd.*

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<sup>50</sup> In either 123 or 122, a bill otherwise unattested.

<sup>51</sup> Instead of having all the centuries of the first-class cast their votes before calling upon voters in the second-class and so on in succession until a majority was reached, sometimes before all citizens in the lower census classes had cast their ballots.



have felt dissatisfaction with courts in which rich and poor alike, according to the fortune of the lot, decide cases on matters of the greatest as well as the least importance. 8. Now as for the election of magistrates, I for my part find quite to my liking the law proposed by Gaius Gracchus in his tribunate,<sup>50</sup> providing for the centuries to be called upon to vote in a random order of the five census classes determined by lot.<sup>51</sup> In this way voters are put on the same level with respect to their standing and wealth; each person will rush to outdo another in merit.

These are the important correctives I am proposing to counter riches. For in proportion to its usefulness, all things are extolled and sought after. Wickedness is practiced on account of its rewards; if you take them away, no one at all is gratuitously wicked. But greed is a wild beast of prey, monstrous and irresistible; wherever it goes, it devastates towns, the countryside, shrines and homes; it makes no distinction between human and divine; no army and no fortifications stop it from forcing its way through; it robs all mortals of their good repute, their chastity, their children, native land and parents. Yet if you take away from money its luster, the power of greed, great though it is, will easily be vanquished by good morals. But even though all men, fair-minded and prejudiced alike, admit the truth of this, nevertheless you must undertake against the clique of nobles no light struggle. And if you guard against their cunning, all else will be easy. For if those men were deriving sufficient power from merit, they would be emulating the virtuous instead of envying them. Because sloth and indolence, dullness as well as sluggishness have taken possession of them, they resort to abuse and slander,

punt, obtrectant, alienam famam bonam suum dedecus aestumant.

9. Sed quid ego plura quasi de ignotis memorem? M. Bibuli fortitudo atque animi vis in consulatum erupit; hebes lingua, magis malus quam callidus ingenio. Quid ille audeat, quoi<sup>33</sup> consulatus, maximum imperium, maximo dedecori fuit? An L. Domiti magna vis est, quocius nullum membrum a flagitio aut facinore vacat: lingua vana, manus cruentae, pedes fugaces, quae honeste nominari nequeunt inhonestissima?
- 3 Unius tamen M. Catonis ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum haud contemno. Parantur haec disciplina Graecorum. Sed virtus, vigilantia, labor apud Graecos nulla sunt. Quippe qui domi libertatem suam per inertiam amiserint, censesne eorum praeceptis imperium haberi posse?
- 4 Reliqui de factione sunt inertissimi nobiles, in quibus sicut in titulo<sup>34</sup> praeter bonum nomen nihil est. Additamenta<sup>35</sup> L. Postumii M. Favonii mihi videntur quasi

<sup>33</sup> cui Laetus: qui V      <sup>34</sup> in titulo *Jordan*: instituto V  
<sup>35</sup> *Orelli* (cf. 11.6): addimenti V

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<sup>52</sup> Bibulus was so far outmatched by his rival Caesar that their joint consulship in 59 was humorously dubbed the consulship of Julius and Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 20.2).      <sup>53</sup> Cf. 4.2n. Domitius was a sworn political enemy of Caesar and had been designated by the senate to relieve him of his Gallic command in 49.      <sup>54</sup> Lit., "the parts that cannot honorably be named." The language in this section, beginning with "lying tongue," is very close to that in the Pseudo-Sallustian invective against Cicero (3.5).      <sup>55</sup> "Loquacious" (*loquax*), not "eloquent":

they consider the good repute of others a poor reflection on themselves.

9. But why should I say more on this subject, as if it were unknown. Marcus Bibulus' courage and force of intellect came to the fore in his consulship:<sup>52</sup> dull of speech, more wicked than clever by disposition. What would that fellow dare for whom the consulship, the highest power, served as the highest disgrace? Does Lucius Domitius<sup>53</sup> possess great strength, whose every limb is stained with disgrace or crime: his lying tongue, his bloodstained hands, his fleeing feet, his most dishonorable privates?<sup>54</sup>

Marcus Cato, nevertheless, is the one man whose versatile, loquacious,<sup>55</sup> and clever talent I by no means despise. Qualities such as these are the products of Greek training. Yet among the Greeks, valor, vigilance and toil are wholly lacking. Seeing that they lost through inactivity their freedom at home, do you think that power can be maintained by their precepts?

The remaining members of the faction are nobles of utter ineffectiveness, in whom there is nothing except a famous name, as on a commemorative tablet.<sup>56</sup> Men like Lucius Postumius<sup>57</sup> and Marcus Favonius<sup>58</sup> seem to me

Cato was notorious for employing the tactic of a filibuster to thwart his political enemies (e.g., *Plut. Cat. Min.* 31.5, 43.3).

<sup>56</sup> As, for example, at the head of a list of titles and public offices affixed as a label to an ancestral mask in the hall of a nobleman (cf. *Jug.* 4.5n.).

<sup>57</sup> Most likely the senator who was instructed by the senate in January 49 to go to Sicily to secure it against Caesar; he refused to go without Cato (*Cic. Att.* 7.15[139].2).

<sup>58</sup> Famous as a devoted follower and slavish imitator of Cato (*Plut. Cat. Min.* 46.1).

magnae navis supervacuanea onera esse; ubi salvi pervenire, usui sunt; siquid adversi coortum est, de illeis potissimum iactura fit, quia pretii minimi sunt.

10. Nunc quoniam, sicut mihi videor, de plebe renovanda conrigendaque satis disserui, de senatu quae tibi agenda videntur, dicam. Postquam mihi aetas ingeniumque adolevit, haud ferme armis atque equis corpus exercui, sed animum in litteris agitavi; quod natura firmitus erat, id in laboribus habui. Atque ego in ea vita multo legendo atque audiendo ita comperi, omnia regna, item civitates et nationes usque eo prosperum imperium habuisse, dum apud eos vera consilia valuerunt; ubicumque gratia, timor, voluptas ea corrumpere, post paulo inminutae opes, deinde ademptum imperium, postremo servitus imposita est.

4 Equidem ego sic apud animum meum statuo: quocumque in sua civitate amplior illustriorque locus quam aliis  
5 est, ei magnam curam esse rei publicae. Nam ceteris salva urbe tantum modo libertas tuta est; qui per virtutem sibi divitias, decus, honorem pepererunt, ubi paulum inclinata res publica agitari coepit, multipliciter animus curis atque laboribus fatigatur; aut gloriam aut libertatem aut rem familiarem defensat, omnibus locis adest, festinat, quanto in secundis rebus florentior fuit, tanto in adversis asperius magisque anxie agitatur.

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<sup>59</sup> This easy emendation (see textual note) distinguishes Postumius and Favonius from the nobles proper. The precise status of Postumius is unclear, but Favonius is known *not* to have been descended from a consular ancestor and so did not qualify for the title *nobilis*. This supernumerary group is referred to as well at 11.6 (*cum paucis senatoriis*).

mere appendages,<sup>59</sup> like the excess cargo of a large ship. When people arrive safely, it is of use; if any calamity arises, the extra cargo is the first to be jettisoned because it is of least value.

10. Inasmuch as I have now, as it seems to me, said enough about the regeneration and reformation of the commons, let me tell you what I think you ought to do about the senate. Ever since my years and talent reached maturity, I have hardly ever exercised my body with arms and horses, but I have busied my mind with reading; I occupied with toil that part of my being which was by nature the stronger. And in the course of such a life, I have learned by abundant reading and listening that all kingdoms, as well as city states and nations, have maintained their power in a prosperous condition for as long as sound counsels prevailed; whenever favoritism, fear and pleasure have undermined such counsels, shortly thereafter the strength of those nations waned; then their power was wrested from them, and finally slavery was imposed.

Personally, this is the conclusion to which I have come in my own mind: that it is incumbent on whoever has a higher and more distinguished position in his state than others, to feel great concern for the welfare of the nation. For to the rest, the safety of the City merely assures their personal liberty; but those who have won riches, respect and honor through their prowess are filled with manifold anxiety and trouble when the nation has begun to decline and totter ever so little. He stands up for his renown, or his freedom, or his property; he is present everywhere and makes haste; the more prosperous he was in favorable times, the more severely is he troubled and worried in adversity.

6 Igitur ubi plebs senatui sicuti corpus animo oboedit  
eiusque consulta exsequitur, patres<sup>36</sup> consilio valere decet,  
7 populo supervacuanea est calliditas. Itaque maiores nos-  
tri, cum bellis asperrimis premerentur, equis, viris, pecu-  
nia amissa, numquam defessi sunt armati de imperio cer-  
tare. Non inopia aerarii, non vis hostium, non adversa res  
ingentem eorum animum subegit quin quae<sup>37</sup> virtute ce-  
8 perant simul cum anima retinerent. Atque ea magis forti-  
bus consiliis quam bonis proeliis patrata sunt. Quippe  
apud illos una res publica erat, ei omnes consulebant, fac-  
tio contra hostis parabatur, corpus atque ingenium patriae,  
9 non suae quisque potentiae exercitabat. At hoc tempore  
contra ea homines nobiles, quorum animos socordia atque  
ignavia invasit, ignarei laboris, hostium, militiae, domi fac-  
tione instructi per superbiam cunctis gentibus moderan-  
tur.

11. Itaque patres, quorum consilio antea dubia res  
publica stabiliebatur, oppressi ex aliena libidine huc atque  
illuc fluctuantes agitantur; interdum alia deinde alia de-  
cernunt; uti eorum, qui dominantur, simultas aut gratia  
fert,<sup>38</sup> ita bonum malumque publicum aestumant.

2 Quodsi aut libertas aequa omnium aut sententia obscu-  
rior esset, maioribus opibus res publica et minus potens  
3 nobilitas esset. Sed quoniam coaequari gratiam<sup>39</sup> omnium

<sup>36</sup> patris V

<sup>37</sup> quin quae *ed. Mant.*: quique V

<sup>38</sup> *ed. Mant.*: fertur V

<sup>39</sup> *Aldus*: gratia V

Therefore, when the commons obey the senate (as the body does the mind) and carry out its decrees, it is proper for the senators to prevail in counsel; cleverness is superfluous for the people. Accordingly, when our forefathers were being hard pressed by the most difficult wars, despite the loss of horses, men and money, they never tired of contending for power by arms. No depleted treasury, no strength of their enemies, no disaster daunted their great courage from maintaining with their last breath what they had won by valor. And their success resulted more from courageous counsels than successful battles. For you see, in their day the nation was united; all citizens had regard for its welfare; a league was formed against foreign foes; each man exerted his body and talent for his native land, not for his own personal power. Today, on the contrary, men belonging to the nobility, whose minds have been seized by indolence and cowardice, though ignorant of toil, of the enemy, and of military service, have organized themselves into a faction on the home front and arrogantly regulate all nations.

11. Thus senators, by whose counsel the wavering state was formerly steadied, are swept along, overpowered and tossed to and fro at the whim of others; they decree sometimes one set of measures, then another; they determine what is in the public interest and its opposite according to the direction dictated by the animosity or influence of those who exercise absolute control.

But if either the independence of all senators were equal, or if their voting were done less openly, the nation would have greater strength and the nobles less political influence. Now, inasmuch as it is difficult for the influence of all senators to be placed on the same footing—for the

- difficile est—quippe cum illis maiorum virtus partam reliquerit gloriam, dignitatem, clientelas, cetera multitudo pleraque insiticia sit—sententias eorum a metu libera; ita
- 4 in occulto sibi quisque alterius potentia carior erit. Libertas iuxta bonis et malis, strenuis atque ignavis optabilis est. Verum eam plerique metu deserunt. Stultissimi mortales, quod in certamine dubium est quorsum accidat, id per inertiam in se quasi victi recipiunt.
- 5 Igitur duabus rebus confirmari posse senatum puto: si numero auctus per tabellam sententiam feret. Tabella obtentui erit, quo magis animo libero facere audeat; in
- 6 multitudine et praesidii plus et usus amplior est. Nam fere his tempestatibus alii iudiciis publicis, alii privatis suis atque amicorum negotiis implicati, haud sane rei publicae consiliis adfuerunt; neque eos magis occupatio quam superba imperia distinuere. Homines nobiles cum paucis senatoriis, quos additamenta factionis habent, quaecumque libuit probare,<sup>40</sup> reprehendere, decernere, ea, uti lubido tulit, fecere. Verum ubi numero senatorum aucto per
- 7 tabellam sententiae dicentur, ne illi superbiam suam dimittent, ubi iis oboediendum erit quibus antea crudelissime imperitabant.

<sup>40</sup> *corr. man. rec.*: probari V<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> I.e., he will follow his genuine feelings concerning the best course of action rather than being cowed by pressure to vote another way.

<sup>61</sup> Sulla added 300 new members to the senate in 81, increasing its size to the range of 600; Caesar added approximately 300 more in 45 (Dio 43.47.3).

<sup>62</sup> I.e., pressure exerted by a powerful few over the body as a whole.



prowess of their ancestors has left the nobles a heritage of glory, prestige and patronage, while most of the remaining throng in the senate has been grafted on—free the votes of the latter from fear; thus each man, in a secret ballot, will value himself<sup>60</sup> more highly than the political influence of another. Independence is desirable alike to good men and bad, to the resolute as well as cowards. But most men give up independence out of fear. Through a lack of striving, utterly foolish mortals bring upon themselves, just as though defeated, that which in a contest could have turned out either way.

Therefore, I think that the senate can be strengthened by means of two reforms: if it is increased in size<sup>61</sup> and voting is by ballot. The ballot will serve as a screen so that the body will dare to act with a more independent spirit; the increase in numbers amounts to both more protection and enhanced usefulness. For as a rule, in the present circumstances, some senators being occupied with the criminal courts, others with their own business affairs and those of their friends, do not truly participate in deliberations on matters of public moment; but they are kept from being effective not so much by their engagement in other activities as by arrogant demands.<sup>62</sup> The nobles, together with a few men of senatorial rank whom they treat as an appendage of their clique, do, according to their pleasure, whatever they feel like approving, censuring or decreeing. But when the number of the senators has been increased and the voting is done by ballot, those men will surely lay aside their insolence when they are forced to obey those over whom they formerly exercised merciless control.

12. Forsitan, imperator, perlectis litteris desideres quem numerum senatorum fieri placeat, quoque modo is in multa et varia officia distribuatur; iudicia quoniam omnibus primae classis committenda putem, quae discriptio, 2  
quei numerus in quoque genere futurus sit. Ea mihi omnia generatim describere haud difficile factu fuit; sed prius laborandum visum est de summa consilii, idque tibi probandum verum esse. Si hoc itinere uti decreveris, cetera 3  
in promptu erunt. Volo ego consilium meum prudens maximeque usui esse; nam ubicumque tibi res prospere 4  
cedet, ibi mihi bona fama eveniet. Sed me illa magis cupido exercet, ut quocumque modo quam primum res publica adiutetur. Libertatem gloria cariore habeo, atque ego te oro hortorque ne clarissimus imperator Gallica 5  
gente subacta populi Romani summum atque invictum imperium tabescere vetustate ac per summam socordiam dilabi patiaris. Profecto, si id accidat neque tibi nox neque 6  
dies curam animi sedaverit, quin insomniis exercitus, furibundus atque amens alienata mente feraris. Namque mihi 7  
pro vero constat omnium mortalium vitam divino numine invisier; neque bonum neque malum facinus quouisquam pro nihilo haberi, sed ex natura divorsa<sup>41</sup> praemia bonos 8  
malosque sequi. Interea si forte ea tardius procedunt, suos quoque animus ex conscientia spem praebet.

<sup>41</sup> diversa *Aldus*: divisa *V*

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. *Ad Caes.* 1.2.2n.

12. Perhaps, commander,<sup>63</sup> after reading this letter you may want to know what number of senators I recommend to be adopted and in what way they are to be assigned their many varied duties; also, since I think that jury duty should be entrusted to all the members of the first census class, you may wonder what apportionment and what number there should be in each category. It would not have been at all difficult for me to go into all these details, but it has seemed to me that I ought first to work out the general plan and convince you that it is a valid one. If you decide to adopt this course, the rest will be easy. For my own part, I desire my advice to be wise and above all practicable; for wherever your measures result in success, there I shall gain a good name. But I am stirred even more by a desire for our country to be helped somehow or other, as soon as possible. I hold freedom dearer than glory, and I pray and urge you, our most illustrious general thanks to the reduction of the Gallic nation, not to allow the great and unconquered dominion of the Roman people to waste away through decay and to fall apart through an excess of negligence. If that should happen, assuredly neither day nor night would alleviate your mental distress to keep you from being distraught and frantic, carried away by madness, in a state of torment from dreams. As for me, I am firmly convinced that a divine power watches over the life of all mortals; that no one's good or evil action fails to be taken into account, but that by a law of nature different rewards await the good and the wicked. Meanwhile, if by chance those due desserts are rather slow in materializing, the prospect of them is held up to each man's mind as a result of his own conscience.

13. Quodsi tecum patria atque parentes possent loqui,  
scilicet haec tibi dicerent: "O Caesar, nos te genuimus  
fortissimi viri, in optima urbe, decus praesidiumque nobis,  
2 hostibus terrorem. Quae multis laboribus et periculis ce-  
peramus, ea tibi nascenti cum anima simul tradidimus:  
patriam maxumam in terris, domum familiamque in patria  
clarissimam, praeterea bonas artis, honestas divitias, post-  
3 remo omnia honestamenta pacis et praemia belli. Pro iis  
amplissimis beneficiis non flagitium a te neque malum  
facinus petimus, sed ut ei libertatem eversam restituas.  
4 Qua re patrata profecto per gentes omnes fama virtutis  
5 tuae volitabit. Namque hac tempestate tametsi domi mili-  
tiaeque praeclara facinora egisti, tamen gloria tua cum  
multis viris fortibus aequalis est. Si vero urbem amplis-  
simo nomine et maxumo imperio prope iam ab occasu  
restitueris, quis te clarior, quis maior in terris fuerit?  
6 Quippe si morbo iam aut fato huic imperio secus accidat,  
quod dubium est quin per orbem terrarum vastitas, bella,  
caedes oriantur? Quodsi tibi bona lubido fuerit patriae  
parentibusque gratificandi, posteroque tempore re pu-  
blica restituta super omnis mortalis gloria agita<bis><sup>42</sup>  
7 tuaque unius mors vita clarior erit. Nam vivos interdum

<sup>42</sup> *suppl. Jordan: agita (bi, evanuit) V*

13. But if your native land and your forefathers could speak, they would assuredly say this to you: “We brave men have begotten you, Caesar, in the most excellent of cities, to be our glory and defense, a terror to our enemies. That which we had won at the cost of many dangerous hardships we handed over to you at your birth along with the breath of life: namely, the mightiest native land in the world, the most distinguished house and family in that native land, and in addition, splendid skills, honorable riches, in short, all the ornaments of peace and all the prizes of war. In return for these splendid benefits, we expect from you not disgrace or crime, but that you restore subverted freedom. Once this has been accomplished, the fame of your prowess will surely wing its way throughout all nations. For at present, although you have performed brilliant exploits at home and in war, still, your glory is but on a par with that of many heroes. But if you rescue from almost the brink of ruin the most famous and imperial of cities, who on earth will be more famous than you, who greater? Indeed, if it should turn out otherwise for our dominion as a result of decay<sup>64</sup> or fate, can anyone doubt that all over the world devastation, wars, and bloodshed will spring up? But if you experience a noble passion for showing gratitude to your native land and forefathers, in days to come you will tower above all mortals in glory from having restored the nation, and you will be the one person

<sup>64</sup> Lit., “illness” or “disease” (*morbis*), which some have taken as an allusion to Caesar’s susceptibility to epilepsy (*morbis comitialis*: Suet. *Iul.* 45.1), but *morbis* is more likely to be a metaphor for a breakdown of the state from internal, as opposed to external, causes.

fortuna, saepe invidia fatigat; ubi anima naturae cessit, demptis obtrektoribus, ipsa se virtus magis magisque extollit.”

- 8 Quae mihi utilissima factu visa sunt quaeque tibi usui fore credidi, quam paucissimis potui perscripsi. Ceterum deos immortales obtestor uti, quocumque modo ages, ea res tibi reiue publicae prospere eveniat.

to be more celebrated in death than in your lifetime. For the living are sometimes hard pressed by fortune, often by envy; but when the breath of life yields to nature, detractors are removed, and merit itself soars higher and higher.”

I have written as briefly as I could what I regarded as the most advantageous course of action and what I believed would be to your advantage. For the rest, I implore the immortal gods that in whatever way you act, the result may be propitious to you and the nation.





## DIVERGENCES FROM MAURENBRECHER'S EDITION

The following list excludes the many differences in orthography, such as *quom* for *cum* and *quoius* for *cuius* (see Introduction to this volume, pp. xxiv–xxv). In the three instances where Maurenbrecher has noted corrections to his text, reference is made in column 2 to his “Corrigenda,” p. 311.

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
BOOK 1		
2	a primordio	a principio
3	disertissimus <multa> paucis	disertissimus paucis
4	recens scrip<sit>	recens scrip<tum>
8	in certamine	inter certamina
10.4	alia sibi iura paravit	alia iura sibi paravit
14	omniumque partium	omnium partium
18	fraudi fuit	<in>grata fuit
43	ut [Sullae] dominatio	ut Sullae dominatio
44	qua offensus	qua fuit offensus
47	obsidium coepit	obsidium cepit
49.7	penes illos	penes illum
49.17	aliena bene parta	aliena bene parata

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
49.19	Scelerum et contumeliarum quorum adeo Sullam	sceleris et contumeliarum quorum Sullam
49.20	licet et quam audeas	licet et quam audeat
49.21	praeter victoriam	praeter victorem
49.22	honorum omnium de- honestamentum	bonorum omnium de- honestamentum
52	mulierum <lubidine>	mulierum . . .
54	fecere <M.> Octavius	fecere Octavius
67.6	adcersi	arcessi
67.16	coeptas<ti>	coeptas
67.19	obpressit	obrepsit
76.1	eius <manu>que patrata	eius peracta
76.2	neque illis anxius <i>post</i> laetabatur	<i>transp. Maurenbr. ante</i> quin
77	voce maxuma v<ehementer> g<ratula . . . >	voce magna vehementer gratula- bantur
88	procul a	= "Corrigenda," p. 311
91	modico quoque et	modicoque et
97	f<ormas fluctibus> Oceani <i>accitas</i> vescentis contenderent . . . a Domitio	<formas e finibus> Oceani <ap>puls<as> vesci contenderent.
98.1	11+ lines of new text <i>cod. Vindob.</i>	
98.2	Hic vero formidine quasi	Sic vero quasi formidine

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
100	†fetustissimus†	securus nimis
107	Metelli cornicines	Metelli Celeris cornicines
108	sanctus alias	sanctus alia
113	forum in castra	forum et castra

## BOOK 2

2	quam occidentem	quam in occidentem
10	alii qui Sardiniam	alii Sardiniam
25	incluti per mortalis	incliti prae mortalibus
38.2	ambiti . . . e ingenio largit . . .	ambiti<on>e ingenita largitio<n>e
39	q<uom> ea, mortui <adu>lescentis q<uam> ille avidi	q<uod> ea mortui <illas> per gentis g<lo>riae avidi
41	in <ipsum domicili>um perve<nit>	in<de> . . . <pu>gnaculum perve<nit>
43.1a	†plevis avalia funerat	plebes a balien<ata> fuerat
43.4	facundiam	facundium
43.5	fortunis integer	fortuna integer
46	Euri atque Austri	Euri atque Africi
48	occurrere duci	occurrere duces
55	avidis itaque	avidis ita atque
67	serum bellum	serum enim bellum
74.2	plagis aut umbonibus deturbare pars vallo transfixa	plagis aut omni re de- turbare pars <in> vallo transfixa

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
79.2	a viris arma cep<ere>	a viris arma cep<ere et>
79.3	tutissimo loc<o e>os	tutissimo loc<o ill>os
80.1	<religione iuris iu- randi> interposita forent, fidem <et soci>etatem	<mora> interposita forent, fide <soci>etatem
80.2	ei periret Asiae <spes.> Aquandi facul- tate	ei perinde Asiae <Galli> aequē vad<eren>t e facul- tate
82	Hi saltibus	Ii saltibus
86.3	me vicem aerari	vicem me aerari
86.6	apud flumen Durium	apud flumen Turiam
86.9	maritimas civitates, <quae> ultro	maritimas civitates, ul- tro
86.12	ferociam suam <osten- tabant n>ec dicta	ferociam suam et dicta
93	Parte legio<nis>	Parte legio<num>
95	in flumen ruebant	in flumen <se> ruebant
96	ruinaque pars magna	Ruinaque magna pars
101	ferrum erat, saxa	ferrum, saxa
102	E muris †canes†	E muris panis
108	Poeni fere	Poeni ferunt

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
BOOK 3		
6.1	Mamercus host<es>	Mamercus host<i>ium navis>
6.3	Terentun . . . citu	Terentun<orum ac>citu
	quaestio fac . . . Sertorium	questio fac<ta ad> Sertorium
6.4	post qua<driduom>	Postqua<m vero>
7.3	equi<tibus * * >ranio ad <paen>insulam per- venit	equi<tibus> Manio ad . . . insulam perve- nit
7.4	Aeque illi loco	Atque illi loco
8	<i>in Gall&lt;aec&gt;ia hoc no- mine quam</i>	<i>in Gallaecia quam</i>
10.1	secus, per vias et tecta omnium	= "Corrigenda," p. 311
10.2	invitaverant	invitassent
10.4	maxumeque apud vet- eres	maxime apud veteres
13	Atque [cum] Curio	Atque eum Curio
15.15	pro aliis toleratis	pro aliis tolerate
15.25	ignorantia res claudit	ignorantia claudit res
42.1	<sudes ig>ni torrere	<hastas ig>ni torrere
44.5	praeverterent <de re> nuntios	praeverterent . . . nun- tios
51	Cares insulani	Carae insulani
53	quisque ex malo	quisque aut malo

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
56	cavere<t> imperator a perfuga	cavere imperatorem perfido a
58	<turba> . . . divorsa, uti solet	Diversa, uti solet
64	institissent	= "Corrigenda," p. 311
66	locorum pergnari scutorum fuerat equestris <clupeo> armabat	locorum perignari scutorum ferebat equestris armabat <scuto>
70	ex angustiis	ex sarcinis
76	afflicti alveos undarum postremo intereunt	afflicti alvos undarum postremo interibant
80	Vulcioque	Volscioque
84	Nam speciem	Speciem
85	quam cetera, nebulo- sumque et brevius	quam cetera
92	per hos fluit	per hos <Halys> fluit
107	quaerit extis num som- nio	quaerit, extrinisne an somnia

#### BOOK 4

10	thesauros	Tenuit Lucullus the- sauros
17	Nam olim Italiae Sici- liam	Italiae Siciliam
21	dolia quae sub trabes	dolia cum sub trabes
37	ministrum	ministram
38	degressus	digressus

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
41	gravis exactor	gnavos aestimator
45	territos	<ex>territos
50	incertum vere	incertum vero
53	quamquam ad <D> naves	quamquam naves
60.2	pace frui licet scelestissimi, egregia	pace frui liceret scelestissimi, <ni> egregia
60.16	quom neque vincere	quo neque vincere
60.17	pesti conditos	pestem conditos
61	ne sibi succederetur	ne illi succederetur
74	hostium errant	hostium erant

#### BOOK 5

2	effusas <urbis>	effusas
9	quod uxori eius	qui uxori eius

#### FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

7	intecta corpora	in tecta corpora
30	alis remissis	alis demissis
34	advolvuntur	advolvebantur
40	mane veni	mandem †iram
56	adcommodatum man- datum	at cum mandatum

#### FRAGMENTA DUBIA ET SPURIA

2	†volgus† amat fieri	volgus amat fieri
4	in †ulipie h.†	in volnere

	This Edition	Maurenbrecher
5	in ulteriorem provin- ciam	in ulteriore provincia
9	Non tu scis? facile est defensu quin	Nonne tu scis, facilest defensu quine
22	qui <plus> poterat	qui poterat
23	primus docuit	primum docuit



## CONCORDANCE ONE

<u>Ramsey</u>	<u>Maurenbrecher</u>	<u>McGushin</u>
	BOOK 1	
1	1	1
2	8	2
3	4	3
4	2	4
5	3	5
6	6	7
7	10	6
8	7	8
9	11a	9
10	11b	10
11	15	11
12	12	12
13	16	13
14	13	14
15	17	15
16	18	43
17	19	16
18	20	17
19	21	18
20	22	19
21	23	20

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
22	24	21
23	25	22
24	144	25
25	28	23
26	26	24
27	29	26
28	42	34
29	32	27
30	33	28
31	34	29
32	35	30
33	36	31
34	37	32
35	38	33
36	44	36
37	45	37
38	47	38
39	48	39
40	49	40
41	50	41
42	51	42
43	31	35
44	57	49
45	52	44
46	53	45
47	46	46
48	54	47
49	55	48
50	58	50

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
51	59	51
52	60	52
53	61	53
54	62	54
55	63	55
56	64	56
57	65	57
58	66	58
59	67	59
60	69	64
61	71	60
62	72	61
63	73	62
64	68	63
65	74	65
66	75	66
67	77	67
68	78	69
69	79	70
70	80	68
71	82	71
72	81	72
73	84	73
74	85	74
75	86	75
76	88	77
77	89	78
78	90	79
79	91	81

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
80	92	80
81	93	82
82	97	86
83	95	85
84	96	84
85	98	87
86	99	88
87	103	89
88	100	90
89	101	91
90	102	92
91	94	83
92	104	93
93	105	94
94	106	97
95	108	95
96	111	96
97	107	98
98	136	100
99	110	101
100	112	102
101	113	106
102	119	108
103	115	103
104	114	107
105	120	104
106	121	105
107	135	109
108	116	110

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
109	118	111
110	125	2.70
111	126	112
112	122	113
113	124	114
114	127	115
115	130	116
116	129	117
117	131	118
118	132	119
119	133	120
120	134	121
121	137	122
122	139	99
123	41	124
124	138	125
125	140	126
126	141	127
127	142	128
128	143	129
129	145	130
130	40	123
131	146	131
132	147	132
133	148	113
134	149	134
135	117	135
136	150	136
137	151	137

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
138	152	138
139	153	139

## BOOK 2

1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	13	5
5	6	8
6	4	6
7	5	7
8	7	9
9	9	4
10	8	10
11	83	11
12	10	12
13	11	13
14	12	14
15	14	15
16	15	16
17	16	17
18	17	18
19	21	21
20	19	20
21	22	22
22	25	23
23	26	24
24	27	25
25	64	26
26	65	27

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McCushin
27	29	28
28	30	29
29	31	30
30	32	31
31	1.123	32
32	33	33
33	35	34
34	37	36
35	39	37
36	40	38
37	41	39
38	42	40
39	43	41
40	44	62
41	45	42
42	46	43
43	47	44
44	49	45
45	54	46
46	56	48
47	58	49
48	59	50
49	60	51
50	61	52
51	62	53
52	63	54
53	66	55
54	102	56
55	67	57
56	69	70

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
57	71	83
58	72	84
59	73	85
60	74	86
61	75	87
62	76	88
63	77	89
64	78	90
65	79	91
66	80	60
67	38	61
68	81	63
69	1.128	64
70	82	65
71	84	66
72	85	67
73	86	68
74	87	69
75	88	71
76	89	72
77	90	74
78	91	73
79	92	75
80	93	76
81	94	77
82	95	78
83	96	79
84	34	80
85	97	72
86	98	82



Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
87	18	92
88	20	93
89	55	47
90	48	94
91	51	95
92	53	96
93	99	97
94	100	98
95	101	99
96	4.67	100
97	107	101
98	110	102
99	103	103
100	104	104
101	105	105
102	106	106
103	108	107
104	109	108
105	111	109
106	112	110
107	113	111
108	114	112
109	36	35
110	52	omitted

### BOOK 3

1	1	1
2	2	2
3	3	3
4	7	4

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
5	4	5
6	5	6
7	6	7
8	43	30
9	44	31
10	2.70	2.59
11	2.28	3.32
12	46	33
13	49	91
14	50	92
15	48	34
16	19	9
17	20	10
18	21	11
19	23	12
20	24	13
21	26	14
22	28	15
23	30	17
24	31	18
25	37	23
26	33	19
27	34	20
28	35	21
29	36	22
30	4.16	4.50
31	38	24
32	39	25
33	78	26

Ramsey	Maurenbrecher	McGushin
34	1.43	3.25
35	40	28
36	42	29
37	29	16
38	90	60
39	91	61
40	93	62
41	94	63
42	96	64
43	97	65
44	98	66
45	99	67
46	10	68
47	11	69
48	12	70
49	13	71
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71	81	78
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77	85	83

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18	1.109	inc. 13
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20	inc. 1	inc. 37
21	1.70	inc. 9
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23	3.92	inc. 24
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27	inc. 13	inc. 49
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29	1.56	inc. 8
30	inc. 12	inc. 48
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15	4.6M	inc. 25
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31	—	inc. 81
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33	—	inc. 83
34	—	inc. 84
35	—	inc. 85
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50	—	inc. 100
51	—	inc. 101
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## CONCORDANCE TWO

Maurenbrecher

Ramsey

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ASSIGNED TO BOOKS

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# I. INDEX FONTIUM QUOTING SOURCES

Square brackets [ ] enclose sources that do not provide direct quotations or attribution to S. Fragment numbers are set in boldface to distinguish them from page and line numbers of the quoting sources.

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 458.1: **1.73**  
 [462.1: **2.17**]  
 [471.15: **2.45**]  
 [478.25: **2.14**]  
 479.9–10: **1.2**  
 479.16–18: **3.78**  
 480.8: **4.55**  
 482.22: **5.6**
- Sacerd. fr.  
 line 98: **4.55**  
 line 110: **2.14**
- Schol. Bemb.* in Ter.  
*Eun.*, 237: **1.62**  
*Haut.*, 490: **inc. 55**  
*Phormio*, 38: **2.84**
- Schol. Bern.* ad G.  
 1.287: **inc. 9**  
 2.479: **3.11**  
 3.13: **inc. 69**  
 [3.383: **3.69**]  
 4.104: **4.24**  
 4.182: **2.68**  
 4.211: **5.3**  
 [4.283: **2.5**]
- Schol. Bob.* ad Cic.  
*Flacc.* 14 (p. 98St.10–11): **2.29**
- Schol. Γ* ad Hor.  
*Epist.*, 1.15.5: **2.87**  
*Epod.*, 16.5: **3.38**
- Schol. Gronov.* ad Cic.  
*Rosc. Am.*, 90 (p. 312St.4–5):  
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*De imp. Cn. Pomp.*, 22 (p.  
 318St. 30): **2.62**; 28 (p.  
 320St.17–18): **4.61**
- Schol. in Iuv.* ad  
 1.104: **4.69**  
 4.42: **3.86**  
 6.400: **inc. 17**  
 8.105: **3.2**  
 10.1: **dub. 16**  
 15.115: **3.94**
- Schol. Luc.*  
 1.175 (Guelf. MS) p. 33W:  
**dub. 22**
- Schol. Stat.* ad Theb.  
 3.2: **4.7**  
 3.116: **inc. 23**  
 3.597: **4.17**  
 4.31: **inc. 37**  
 5.384: **inc. 54**  
 6.195: **2.68**  
 10.544: **3.18**  
 10.573: **inc. 24**
- Schol. Vatic.* ad Verg. G.  
 3.53: **3.74**  
 3.469: **5.1**  
 4.40: **3.67**  
 4.49: **4.64**  
 4.144: **2.67**  
 4.211: **5.3**  
 4.238: **1.10**  
 4.293: **3.95**
- Schol. Veron.* ad Aen.  
 2.632: **4.54**

- 4.178: **1.97**  
 5.80: **inc. 37**  
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 4.1.1: **2.58**  
 Sen. *Controv.*  
 9.1.13: **1.49.24**  
 Sen. *Ep.*  
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 114.19: **1.78; dub. 1**  
 Sen. *Prov.*  
 [5.9: **2.58**]  
 Sen. *Q Nat.*  
 [7.8.2: **4.19**]  
 Sen. *Tranq.*  
 [14.10: **2.58**]  
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 559.28: **inc. 68**  
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*Aen.*, 1.2: **inc. 46**; 1.30:  
 1.2; 1.96: **1.3, 3.89**;  
 1.107: **5.16**; 1.116: **inc.**  
**26**; 1.211: **3.15.26**; 1.242:  
**2.10**; 1.267: **3.9**; 1.299:  
**2.9**; 1.380: **1.81**; 1.420:  
**1.115**; 1.441: **2.11**; 1.476:  
**3.18**; 1.518: **1.93**; 1.576:  
**2.47**; 1.601: **2.10**; 1.630:  
**1.73**; 1.698: **3.57**; 2.20:  
**1.45**; 2.27: **inc. 10**;  
 2.157: **inc. 11**; 2.169:  
**inc. 47**; 2.201: **4.13**;  
 2.286: **inc. 12**; 2.312:  
**3.83**; 2.325: **3.82**; 2.400:  
**1.35**; 2.433: **inc. 13**;  
 2.713: **1.94**; 3.17: **3.71**;  
 3.104: **3.46**, [3.50]; **dub.**  
**13**; 3.129: **inc. 27**; 3.206:  
**5.16**; 3.265: **3.40**; 3.297:  
**1.81**; 3.400: **4.14**; 3.411:  
**4.20**; 3.414: **4.17**; 3.420:  
**4.18**; [3.420: **4.19**];  
 3.522: **4.15**; 3.533: **3.84**;  
 3.578: **3.49**; 4.132: **3.86**;  
 4.213: **1.5**; 4.271: **3.54**;  
 5.203: **3.90**; 5.295: **2.61**;  
 5.373: **3.90**; 5.408: **3.16**;  
 5.488: **3.10.3**; 5.524:  
**2.67**; 5.626: **inc. 48**;  
 5.735: **1.89**; 6.14: **2.5**;  
 6.23: **3.47**; 6.540: **1.9**;  
 6.569: **2.67**; 7.303:  
**4.60.17**; 7.604: **3.72**;  
 [7.632: **3.66**]; 7.662: **2.6**;  
 7.728: **3.8**; [8.125: **1.128**];  
 8.127: **1.125**; 8.232: **2.69**;  
 8.352: [3.50], **dub. 13**;  
 8.383: **1.2**; 8.557: **inc. 14**;  
 8.725: **3.51**; [9.227: **3.35**];  
 9.244: **1.66**; 9.341: **5.10**;  
 9.410: **4.21**; 9.503: **3.29**;  
 [9.555: **1.111**]; 9.631: **inc.**  
**42**; 9.746: **inc. 15**; 10.168:  
**1.71**; [10.281: **2.79**];  
 10.311: **inc. 18**; 10.539:  
**2.52**; 10.628: **4.8**; 10.643:  
**inc. 42**; 11.6: **3.63**; 11.80:  
**3.65**; 11.165: **dub. 14**;  
 11.230: **4.8**; 11.338: **2.11**;  
 11.421: **3.37**; 11.515:  
**1.100**; 11.544: **2.30**;  
 11.619: **inc. 16**; 11.659:  
**3.93**; 11.770: **4.57, 4.58**;  
 11.801: **3.79**; 11.896:  
**2.27**; 12.143: **3.85**;  
 12.282: **dub. 15**; 12.715:  
**4.26**; 12.844: **3.81**;  
 12.864: **2.67**  
*Ecl.*, 2.4: **3.19**; 2.17: **dub. 11**;

- 2.67: **1.33**; 3.13: **1.49.5**;  
 7.41: **2.12**; 8.4: **inc. 8**;  
 G.; 1.14: **2.5**; 1.43: **inc. 65**;  
 1.208: **1.123**; 1.287: **inc. 9**;  
 2.98: **2.27**; 2.209: **1.17**;  
 2.384: **dub. 12**; 2.479: **3.11**;  
 3.156: **3.67**; 3.383: **3.69**;  
 3.475: **2.36**; 3.481: **3.32**;  
 3.482: **3.34**; 4.182: **2.68**;  
 4.211: **5.3**; 4.218: **1.110**
- Serv. auct. ad
- Aen.*, 1.2: **inc. 46**; 1.5: **1.56**;  
 1.30: **1.2**; 1.96: **1.3, 3.89**;  
 1.107: **5.16**; 1.116: **inc. 26**;  
**inc. 28**; 1.117: **4.19**; 1.146:  
**inc. 29**; 1.195: **5.19**; 1.228:  
**3.85**; 1.242: **2.10**; 1.267:  
**3.9**; 1.270: **1.57**; 1.281:  
**inc. 51**; 1.298: **5.2**; 1.299:  
**2.9**; 1.307: **inc. 34**; 1.329:  
**inc. 2.3**; 1.380: **1.81**;  
 1.420: **1.115**; 1.423: **2.97**;  
 1.441: **2.11**; 1.456: **inc. 18**;  
 1.476: **3.18**; 1.518: **1.93**;  
 1.576: **2.47, 3.27**; 1.601:  
**2.10**; 1.630: **1.73**; 2.20:  
**1.45**; 2.27: **inc. 10**; 2.61:  
**2.105**; 2.89: **1.5**; 2.157:  
**inc. 11**; 2.169: **inc. 47**;  
 2.201: **4.13**; 2.286: **inc. 12**;  
 2.325: **3.82**; 2.400: **1.35**;  
 2.433: **inc. 13**; 2.502: **1.38**;  
 2.564: **1.86**; 2.632: **4.54**;  
 2.640: **1.90**; 2.713: **1.94**;  
 3.104: **3.46**, [3.50]; **dub.**  
**13**; 3.129: **inc. 27**; 3.206:  
**5.16**; 3.297: **1.81**; 3.400:  
**4.14**; 3.411: **4.20**; 3.414:  
**4.17**; 3.420: **4.18**; [3.420:  
**4.19**]; 3.425: **4.19**; 3.516:  
**1.105**; 3.520: **inc. 30**;  
 3.522: **4.15**; 3.533: **3.84**;  
 3.578: **3.49**; 4.23: **2.50**;  
 4.132: **3.86**; 4.213: **1.5**;  
 4.214: **1.56**; 4.245: **1.8**;  
 4.271: **3.54**; 4.283: **1.54**;  
 4.290: **inc. 52**; 5.203: **3.90**;  
 5.295: **2.61**; 5.408: **3.16**;  
 5.488: **3.10.3**; 5.524: **2.67**;  
 5.626: **inc. 48**; 5.735: **1.89**;  
 6.22: **4.13**; 8.8: **1.21**;  
 8.278: **2.73**; 8.479: **1.10**;  
 9.486: **inc. 19**; 10.45: **1.22**;  
 10.103: **1.103**; 10.370: **4.5**;  
 11.338: **2.11**; 11.801: **3.79**;  
 12.425: **inc. 66**; 12.458: .  
**1.104**; 12.661: **inc. 20**;  
 12.694: **1.121, 2.89**
- Ecl.*, 5.5: **1.128**; 5.19: **1.25**;  
 8.27: **inc. 49**
- G., 1.3: **inc. 50**; [1.8: **inc.**  
**17**]; [1.56: **2.68**]
- Serv. Comm. in Don. GL 4*  
 431.10–11: **3.85**  
 432.20–21: **inc. 64**
- Solinus
- 4.1: **2.3**  
 [4.4: **2.12**]
- Steph. Byz.
- p. 32M: **dub. 19**
- Suet. *Gram.*
- 15.1–2: **2.17**
- Tert. *De anim.*
- [20.3: **2.35**]  
 [20.3: **dub. 18**]
- Veg. *Mil.*
- 1.9.8: **2.20**

## II. INDEX NOMINUM PERSONS, DEITIES, AND PLACES

The abbreviation *H.* precedes references to the *Historiae*; *E.* to the *Epistulae ad Caesarem*. Proper names are given according to the spelling attested in the text of *S.*, with alternative spellings noted in parentheses: e.g., Cabera (Cabira or Kabeira); Quin(c)tius. Names of Romans are arranged alphabetically by *nomina gentilitia*, with cross-references provided for common *cognomina*. After each person's name is given the relevant *RE* number (Pauly-Wissowa) and an indication of political office(s) held and role(s) relevant to the two works contained in this volume. All dates are BC unless otherwise stated. Parentheses enclose persons or places not explicitly found in the fragments but likely to have been included in the text of *S.* if more context for the fragment had survived. Place-names marked with an asterisk (\*) are included on the maps. A query ("?") placed after a reference to a fragment signifies that the text may concern instead some other person or place.

The following abbreviations and symbol are employed: NSEW for the compass points; cens. = censor; cos. = consul; leg. = legate; mod. = modern place-name; mt. = mountain; nr. = near; pr. = praetor; procos. = proconsul; proqu. = proquaestor; qu. = quaestor; s.v. = consult entry for this item elsewhere in this index; tr. pl. = tribune of the plebs; † = death.

Abellani (citizens of the town

Abella\* in Campania\*):

*H.* 3.43

Ach<a>ei (savage people living

on N shore of Black Sea):

*H.* 3.94

Achilles (Greek hero of Trojan

War): *H.* 3.89

- (Acilius Glabrio, M'. [RE 38; cos. 67; procos. of Bithynia and Pontus in 66]: *H.* 5.11)
- Aeetes, -a(s) (mythical ruler of Colchis and father of Medea): *H.* 3.88
- Aemilia (gens): *H.* 1.67.6
- Aemilii: *H.* 1.49.3. *See also* Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, Mam.
- Aemilius Lepidus, M. (RE 72; cos. 78): *H.* 1.1; (1.48); 1.49 (his speech); 1.49.27; (1.54–56); 1.58; (1.59); 1.60; (1.61–63); 1.64; (1.65); 1.67.2, 3, 6, 7 (x2), 14, 18, 19, 22; (1.68–71); 1.73; (1.125; 1.129–31; 2.1; 2.4; 2.14–15; 4.48; inc. 1[?]; inc. 2[?]; inc. 17[?]; inc. 21[?]; inc. 44[?]; inc. 46[?]; dub. 34)
- Aemilius Lepidus Livianus, Mam. (RE 80; cos. 77): *H.* 1.75; 3.15.10; (Mamercus 3.6.2[?])
- Aenos (town on S coast of Thrace): *H.* 3.71
- Aethiopia: *H.* dub. 18
- <Afr>anius (or <M>anius?) (not in RE; leg. of M. Antonius in pirate war 74 BC): *H.* 3.7.3
- (Afranius, L. [RE 5; cos. 60; leg. of Pompey in Sertorian War]: *H.* 2.86.6n; 3.60)
- Afri (natives of Africa): *H.* inc. 2.3
- Africa: *H.* dub. 18
- Africum (mare): *H.* 2.2
- (Africus [SW wind]: *H.* 2.46 (*varia lectio*))
- Alexander (the Great) (RE Alexandros 10; king of Macedon): *H.* 3.62
- Alpes\* (mts.): *H.* 2.86.4; 3.6.3; 4.38
- (Amaxobioi [a branch of nomadic Scythians]: *H.* 3.96[?])
- Amazones (mythical female warriors): *H.* 3.93
- Amisos\* (Amisus; mod. Samsun; Pontic city on S shore of Black Sea): *H.* 3.78; 4.42; (4.43–44); 4.63
- (Anas\* [mod. Guadiana; river in SW Hispania Ulterior\*]: *H.* 1.101)
- Anni Forum (town in Lucania): *H.* 3.44.3
- (Annius, C. [RE 9; procos. of one or both Spanish provinces in 81]: *H.* 1.82–83; 1.85; 3.57n)
- (Antioch\* [city in NW Syria on the Orontes River]: *H.* 4.45)
- Antiochus (III the Great) (RE 25 and suppl. 1; king of the Seleucid Empire in Middle East): *H.* 1.49.4; 4.60.6 (x2), 8, 11
- Antonius (RE 2; one of the assassins of Sertorius): *H.* 3.57
- Antonius Creticus, M. (RE 29;



- pr. 74; father of the Triumvir): *H.* (3.1–4); 3.5; 3.6.1, 4; (3.7; 3.46; 3.52–54; inc. 2[?]; inc. 29[?])
- (Antonius Hybrida, C. [*RE* 19; cos. 63]: 4.49[?])
- Apion. *See* Ptolemaeus (Apion)
- Apollo (god of prophecy, the arts, and the bow): *H.* 2.5; 2.90
- Appian. *See* Claudius Caecus; Claudius Pulcher
- Appuleius Saturninus, L. (*RE* 29; tr. pl. 103, 100): *H.* (1.54); 1.67.7
- (Aquinus [not in *RE*; leg. of Metellus Pius in Hispania Ulterior\* in 79–78]: *H.* 1.105–6)
- Archelaus (*RE* 12; a general of Mithridates): *H.* 4.60.12
- Aresinarii (possibly a people living in NE Hispania Citerior\*): *H.* 3.6.4
- Ariobarzanes (*RE* 5; king of Cappadocia\*): *H.* 4.53; 4.60.15
- Aristaeus (*RE* Aristaios 1; mythical Greek hero): *H.* 2.5
- Aristonicus (*RE* 14; illegitimate? son of Eumenes II of Pergamum): *H.* 4.60.8
- Armenia\*: *H.* 4.53; 4.60.15, 21; 4.68
- Armenia Minor. *See* Lesser Armenia\*
- Arsaces (Phraates III, s.v.; king of the Parthians): *H.* 4.60.1
- Arsanias\* (mod. Murat; river in W Armenia\*): *H.* 4.65; (inc. 16[?])
- Artabazes (not in *RE*; putative founder of Pontic royal dynasty): *H.* 2.59
- (Artaxata\* [capital city of Tigranes in E Armenia]: *H.* 4.65)
- (Ascalis [princeling of Mauretania\* in 81]: *H.* dub. 18[?])
- Asia: *H.* 2.43.7; 2.80; 4.60.6, 9, 11
- Aufidius Orestes, Cn. (*RE* 32; cos. 71): *H.* 2.37
- (lex Aurelia [iudiciaria, of 70]: *H.* inc. 32[?])
- (lex Aurelia [de tribunicia potestate, of 75]: *H.* 2.44; 2.90[?]; inc. 32[?]; inc. 52[?])
- Aurelius Cotta, C. (*RE* 96; cos. 75): *H.* 2.38.2 (x2); (2.39); 2.43 (his speech); 2.43.1a, 10; 2.86.11; 3.15.8; (dub. 47[?])
- Aurelius Cotta, M. (*RE* 107; cos. 74): *H.* 2.86.12; 3.80; 4.60.13
- Auster (south wind): *H.* 2.46
- Aventinus (1 of 7 hills of Rome): *H.* 1.10.4
- Azilis (town or region of Africa?): *H.* dub. 19
- Bacchanalia (celebration in honor of wine god Bacchus): *H.* 3.24
- (B[a]jelo\* or Belon [coastal town in Hispania Ulterior\* W of

- the Strait of Gibraltar]:  
*H.* 1.93)
- (Baetis\* [mod. Guadalquivir;  
 river in Hispania Ulte-  
 rior\*]: *H.* 1.95)
- Baclar>i (rustic people living in  
 mts. of Sardinia\*): *H.* 2.8
- Bebrycia (earlier name for  
 Bithynia\*, s.v.): *H.* 3.90  
 (†Belleia. *See* B[a]elo)
- Bellona (Roman goddess per-  
 sonifying the frenzy of  
 war): *H.* inc. 37
- Bibulus. *See* Calpurnius Bibulus
- Bithynia\* (region of NW Asia  
 Minor bordering Black  
 Sea): *H.* 2.57; (3.75; 3.80);  
 3.90 (x2); (3.92); 4.60.9, 11;  
 5.11; (dub. 21[?])
- Bithynii (inhabitants of  
 Bithynia\*): *H.* 4.65
- Bithynus (eponymous king of  
 Bithynia\*): *H.* 3.90
- (Bizone [town in Moesia\* on W  
 shore of Black Sea]. *See*  
 Vizzo)
- (Bosporus\* [strait giving access  
 to Black Sea]: *H.* 3.75; 3.90;  
 dub. 16[?])
- Bruti: *H.* 1.49.3. *See also* Iunius  
 Brutus, D.
- Brutus. *See* Iunius
- Bruttium (promunturium) (re-  
 gion of Italy comprising  
 the "toe"): *H.* 4.14
- (Bruttius ager\*: *H.* 4.15; 4.16;  
 4.18; 4.26)
- Burbuleius (*RE* 1; 1st-cent. Ro-  
 man actor): *H.* 2.22.
- Cabera\* (Cabira, or Kabeira )  
 (Pontic town nr. which  
 Lucullus decisively de-  
 feated Mithridates in the  
 summer of 71): *H.* (4.3–6;  
 4.8; 4.10; 4.42; 4.45; 4.47);  
 4.60.15; (4.73[?])
- [Caecilius Metellus Celer, Q.  
 (*RE* 86 and suppl. 1; cos.  
 60): *H.* 1.107, by error in  
 one source]
- Caecilius Metellus Creticus, Q.  
 (*RE* 87; cos. 69): *H.* 2.41;  
 (3.49)
- Caecilius Metellus Pius, Q. (*RE*  
 98; cos. 80): *H.* (1.25);  
 1.99; (1.100–103; 1.105);  
 1.107; (1.108; 2.16); 2.30;  
 (2.31–33; 2.47); 2.48;  
 (2.53); 2.55; (2.77); 2.84;  
 2.86.9; (2.102); 3.10; 3.11;  
 (3.63; 4.38); dub. 4; dub. 5
- Caepio. *See* Servilius Caepio
- Caesar. *See* Iulius Caesar
- (Calagurris\* [town in N His-  
 pania Citerior\* loyal to  
 Sertorius]: *H.* 3.60–61)
- Calchedon (Chalcedon\*)  
 (Bithynian town on Bospo-  
 rus\*, opposite Byzantium):  
*H.* (3.19–21; 3.101–2);  
 4.60.13
- Cale\* (Portus Cale; coastal  
 town in NW Hispania Ul-  
 terior\*; mod. Portugal):  
*H.* 3.8
- Calpurnius Bibulus, M. (*RE* 28  
 and suppl. 1; cos. 59):  
*E.* 2.9.1

- Calpurnius Lanarius, P. (*RE* 49; officer on the staff of C. Annius, s.v.): *H.* 1.83; (1.84)
- Calpurnius Piso, C. (*RE* 63; cos. 67): *H.* 4.71; (inc. 36[?])
- (Campania\* [district of Italy S of Latium\*, bordering on W coast]: *H.* 2.10; 3.43–44; inc. 10[?])
- Cape Pelorus\*. See Pelorus
- Cappadocia\* (kingdom in east-central Asia Minor): *H.* (4.6); 4.53; (5.12–13)
- (Capua\* [town in Campania]: *H.* 3.38)
- (Carambis\* [promontory on coast of Paphlagonia\*]: *H.* 3.97)
- Carbo. See Papirius Carbo
- Cares (piratical people living in Cyclades and later in SW Asia Minor): *H.* 3.51
- Carthago\* (north African city captured and destroyed in 146 by Scipio Aemilianus): *H.* 1.10; (1.12–13; 2.8–9; 2.108; inc. 4[?]; inc. 10[?]); Carthaginiense (bellum): *H.* 1.9; Carthaginienses: *H.* 4.60.5
- (Carthago Nova\* [mod. Cartagena]: *H.* 2.46; inc. 4[?])
- Catilina. See Sergius Catilina
- Cato. See Porcius Cato
- Catulus. See Lutatius Catulus
- Celer. See Caecilius Metellus Celer
- Celtiberia\* (region of NE central Spain): *H.* 2.81; Celtiber: *H.* (3.55); 3.56; (1.110); Celtibericum (bellum): *H.* 2.8
- Cethegus. See Cornelius Cethegus
- Chalcedon\*. See Calchedon
- (Chalybes [a people who once lived on SE shore of Black Sea]: *H.* 3.92)
- Charybdis (mythical whirlpool, later located in the Sicilian Strait): *H.* 4.19
- (Chersonesus, Tauric [mod. Crimea]: *H.* 3.33[?]; 3.94; 3.97)
- (Chryse [small island nr. Lemnos in N Aegean]: *H.* 3.74)
- Cilicia\* (Roman province in SE Asia Minor): *H.* (1.85); 2.43.7; (2.68); 2.86.11; (3.1; 4.21; 4.23; 4.61); 5.12; (inc. 6[?]; inc. 29[?])
- Cimbrica (praeda) (booty from Cimbric war 104–101 BC): *H.* 1.49.17
- Cinna. See Cornelius Cinna
- Claudius Caecus, Ap. (*RE* 91; cens. 312): *H.* inc. 33[?]; *E.* 1.1.2
- (Claudius Glaber, C. [*RE* 165; pr. 73]: *H.* 3.40; inc. 23[?]; dub. 42[?])
- Claudius Marcellus, M. (*RE* 229; cos. 51): *H.* 1.9
- Claudius Pulcher, Ap. (*RE* 296; cos. 79): *H.* 1.67.22; (1.114; 2.34[?]); 2.66; inc. 33[?])

- (Claudius Pulcher, Ap. [RE 297; cos. 54]: *H.* 4.45–46)
- (Clodia [RE 67; wife of L. Lucullus]: *H.* inc. 50[?])
- Clodianus. *See* Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus
- Clodius. *See* Claudius Glaber
- Clodius Pulcher, P. (RE 48; tr. pl. 58): *H.* (5.9; 5.10); inc. 6(?)
- (Clunia\* [town in N central Hispania Citerior\* where Sertorius took refuge]: *H.* 2.102[?])
- Clurda (river in Taurus Mts.\*): *H.* 2.71
- Conisturgis (Lusitanian town in Hispania Ulterior\*): *H.* 1.102
- Corduba\* (mod. Cordova, in Hispania Ulterior\*): *H.* 3.11
- Cornelius (RE 5; scribe under Sulla): *H.* 1.49.17
- (Cornelius, C. [RE 18; tr. pl. 67]: *H.* inc. 36[?])
- Cornelius Cethegus, P. (RE 97; pr. after 87?; powerful political operative in '70s): *H.* 1.67.20; (3.100[?]; inc. 42[?])
- Cornelius Cinna, L. (RE 106; cos. 87–84): *H.* (1.25–29; 1.43); 1.56; 1.67.19; (1.78; inc. 1[?]; inc. 14[?])
- Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus, Cn. (RE 216; cos. 72, defeated by Spartacus; cens. 70): *H.* 3.70; 4.1
- (Cornelius Lentulus Crus, L. [RE 218; cos. 49]: *E.* 2.2.3)
- Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, P. (RE 231; qu. 75[?]): *H.* 2.39
- (Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus [Asiagenes], L. [RE 338; cos. 83]: *H.* 1.31; 1.79–80)
- (Cornelius Sisenna, L. [RE 374; pr. 78 and historian]: *H.* 1.4[?])
- Cornelius Sulla, L. (RE 92; cos. 88, 80; dict. 82–80): *H.* (1.13; 1.28); 1.29; (1.30–31; 1.40–41); [1.43]; 1.44; (1.45); 1.49.1, 7, 16, 19; (1.50–53); 1.79; (1.80; 1.82; 1.135); 2.19; (2.44); 2.64; 3.15.1, 9; (3.107); 4.1; 5.16; *E.* 2.4.1
- Corsa (Ligurian woman who led first colonists to Corsica\*): *H.* 2.13
- Corsi (inhabitants of Corsica\*): *H.* 2.8
- (Corsica\*: *H.* 2.8; 2.13)
- Corycus\* (costal town in Lycia\*): *H.* 1.117; 1.118; (town of Cilicia\*): *H.* 2.68
- Cosa\* (coastal town in Etruria): *H.* 1.71; (1.125[?])
- (Cosconius, C. [RE 3 and suppl. 3; governor of Illyricum, 78–76]: *H.* 2.35)
- Cossinius, L. (RE 2; pr. 73): *H.* 3.41; (inc. 66[?])
- Cotta. *See* Aurelius Cotta
- Crassus. *See* Licinius Crassus
- Creta (Crete\*): *H.* (3.46); 3.47;

- (3.48); 3.49; (3.50–51; 3.53–54)  
 Cretenses: *H.* 4.60.10, 12; dub. 13  
 Creticus. *See* Caecilius Metellus Creticus  
 Criu Metopon\* (Kriou Metopon; promontory at tip of Crimea\*): *H.* 3.97  
 Crixus (*RE* 2; Gallic commander in Spartacan uprising; † 72): *H.* 3.42.9; (3.58[?]; 3.68)  
 Cumae\* (mod. Cuma; Campanian town on Bay of Naples): *H.* (2.5); 3.42.6  
 (Curetes [ancient worshippers of Jupiter on Crete\*]: *H.* 3.50)  
 Curio. *See* Scribonius Curio  
 Cybele. *See* Mater Magna  
 Cyrenae (Roman province on N coast of Africa, W of Egypt): *H.* 2.39  
 Cyrene (nymph; mother of mythical hero Aristaeus): *H.* 2.5  
 Cyzicus\* (Mysian town, on S shore of Propontis): *H.* 3.21; (3.22–25; 3.27–37; 3.102[?]; 4.2); 4.60.14; 4.63; (inc. 4[?]; inc. 8[?])  
 Daedalus (mythical hero who fled from wrath of Minos): *H.* 2.5; 2.8  
 (Dalmatae [people living in Illyricum, on the Adriatic coast]: *H.* 2.35)  
 Damasippus. *See* Iunius Brutus Damasippus  
 Danuvius\* (Ister\*) (river Danube): *H.* 3.98  
 Dardani (an Illyrian people): *H.* (2.67[?]; 3.13[?]); (inc. 43[?]); (people of NW Asia Minor): *H.* 3.82  
 Dardania\* (region of lower Illyricum, NW of Macedonia\*): *H.* 2.66  
 Dasianus. *See* Hostilius Dasianus  
 Diana (goddess of the hunt): *H.* dub. 24  
 (Danium\* [promontory on E coast of Hispania Citerior\*]: *H.* 1.113; 3.7.3[?])  
 Didius, T. (*RE* 5; cos. 98; procos. of Hispania Citerior, 97–93 BC): *H.* 1.76  
 Dilunus (river in Hispania Citerior\*, S of Pyrenees and N of Iberus\*): *H.* 3.7.1  
 (Dindymon\* [mt. N of Cycizus\*]: *H.* 3.24)  
 Dipo\* (town on Anas River\*): *H.* 1.101  
 Domitius Ahenobarbus, Cn. (*RE* 22; son-in-law of Cinna): (*H.* 1.46); *E.* 1.4.1  
 Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. (*RE* 27; cos. 54): *E.* 2.4.2; 2.9.2.  
 Domitius Calvinus, M. (*RE* 44; pr. 81; procos. Hispania Citerior\* 80 BC): *H.* 1.96; 1.97; 1.98.1; (1.122[?])  
 Drusus. *See* Livius Drusus

- Durius\* (mod. Duero; river in N Iberian Peninsula, flowing into Atlantic): (2.53–55[?]); 2.86.6; (2.93–97[?])
- Dyrachium\* (mod. Durazzo; coastal town on the Adriatic\*, in Illyricum\*): *H.* 1.30; (2.67[?])
- Eburina (iuga) (hills near Eburum\* in Lucania\*): *H.* 3.44.3
- (Emporiae [Emporion] [coastal town in the far NE Hispania Citerior\*]: *H.* 3.7.3[?])
- (Erytheia [daughter of Geryon; mother of Norax, s.v.]: *H.* 2.6)
- Etruria\* (mod. Tuscany): *H.* 1.10; (1.57–58); 1.60; 1.67.6, 8; (1.71; inc. 21[?])
- Etrusci: *H.* 1.59
- Eumenes II (*RE* 6; king of Pergamum, 197–158 BC): *H.* 4.60.8
- Euphrates\* (river in Mesopotamia): *H.* 4.53; (4.54); 4.68; (dub. 44[?])
- Eurus (east wind): *H.* 2.46
- (Fabius Hadrianus, M. [*RE* 83; leg. under L. Lucullus in 72–69/68]: *H.* 5.6[?])
- Fabius Hispaniensis, L. (*RE* 83; qu. 81 in Spain, proscribed, joined Sertorius): *H.* 3.57
- (Faesulae\* [mod. Fiesole; town in N Etruria, nr. Florence]: *H.* 1.57)
- Fannius, C. (*RE* 7; Roman historian): *H.* 1.3
- (Fannius, L. [*RE* 12; Roman envoy of Mithridates to Sertorius in ca. 75]: *H.* 2.64–65; 4.2[?])
- Favonius, M. (*RE* 1; pr. 49): *E.* 2.9.4
- Fimbriana (seditio) (mutiny in 86): *H.* 2.64; ([troops]: *H.* 3.16)
- Fufidius, L. (*RE* 4; governor of Hispania Ulterior\* in 80): *H.* 1.49.21; 1.95; (1.96; inc. 18[?])
- lex Gabinia (de provinciis consularibus, of 67, transferring control of Bithynia\* and Pontus\* from L. Lucullus to M'. Glabrio): *H.* 5.11
- (lex Gabinia de bello piratico, of 67: *H.* inc. 32[?])
- (Gabinus, A. [*RE* 11 and suppl. 3; tr. pl. 67; cos. 58]: *H.* 5.17–18 [his speech?] [?])
- Gaddir (Phoenician name of Gades\*, s.v.): *H.* 2.7
- Gades\* (mod. Cádiz; coastal town in Spain, W of Gibraltar): *H.* 1.88; (2.7)
- Gallaecia\* (region of far NW Iberian peninsula): *H.* 3.8

- Galli (Gauls living in Transal-pina\*): *H.* 2.21; (Gauls in slave uprising of Spartacus): 3.42.9
- Gallia Cisalpina\*: *H.* (1.64[?]; 1.69; 2.37[?]); 2.86.11
- Gallia (Transalpina\*): *H.* 1.9; 2.86.5, 9
- Gallica (gens) (the peoples subdued by Caesar in 58–50 BC): *E.* 2.12.5
- Galliae (mulieres) (female participants in slave uprising of Spartacus): *H.* 4.29
- (Garganus Mt.\* [in Apulia, on Adriatic coast]: *H.* 3.68)
- (Gellius Publicola, L. [RE 17; cos. 72, defeated by Spartacus; cens. 70]: *H.* 3.58[?]; 3.70[?]; 4.1)
- Germani (participants in slave uprising of Spartacus): *H.* 3.42.9; 3.68; 3.98; (4.27–29; inc. 7[?])
- Geryon (mythical giant defeated by Hercules): *H.* 2.6
- (Gibraltar\*, Strait of: *H.* 1.92–93; dub. 16[?])
- Gordueni (mod. Kurds; people of Gordyene\*, region in N Mesopotamia): *H.* 4.64
- (Gracchi [Ti. and C. Sempronius Gracchus]: *H.* 1.15; inc. 52[?])
- Gracchus. *See* Sempronius Gracchus
- Graeci: *H.* 3.89; inc. 2; *E.* 2.9.3 (x2)
- Graecia: *H.* 4.60.11
- (Guras [RE; Tigranes' brother]: *H.* 4.70)
- (Halys\* [river dividing Lydian kingdom from Persia]: *H.* 3.92)
- Hannibal (RE 8; Carthaginian general): *H.* 1.49.4; (2.25); 2.86.4; 4.20
- Heraclea\* (Bithynian, coastal town): *H.* (3.80); 4.60.14
- Hercules (Greek hero Heracles): *H.* (2.8); dub. 20
- Herennius, C. (RE 7; tr. pl. 80 or 88?; Sertorian commander; †75): *H.* 2.19; (2.45); 2.86.6; (2.92[?])
- Hiempsal (RE 2 and suppl. 3; king of Numidia installed by Pompey in 81): *H.* 1.46
- Hirtuleiani (forces fighting under Sertorian commander L. Hirtuleius): *H.* 2.29
- Hirtuleius, L. (RE 3; qu. and proqu./leg. under Sertorius, 78–75): *H.* (1.98; 1.112; 2.29; 2.31; 2.47); 2.48
- Hispani: *H.* 2.8; 3.63
- Hispania: *H.* 1.81; 2.7; 2.86.4, 10; 3.6.4; inc. 2
- Hispania (Citerior): *H.* 1.74; 1.76; 1.96; 2.86.9
- Hispania (Ulterior): *H.* 3.10.1; dub. 5
- Hispania (Citerior et Ulterior): *H.* 1.67.8; 2.43.6

- Hispaniense (bellum), *H.* 2.84  
 Homerus (Greek epic poet):  
*H.* 1.89  
 Hostilius Dasianus, L. (*RE* 13;  
 tr. pl. 68?): *H.* 4.51
- Iapydia (district in N Illyri-  
 cum\*): *H.* 2.36  
 (Iarbas [*RE*; king of Numidia\*,  
 deposed in 81]: *H.* 1.46)  
 Iason (Greek hero; leader of Ar-  
 gonauts): *H.* 3.88  
 Ichnusa (another name for Sar-  
 dinia\*): *H.* 2.3  
 Ilerda\* (mod. Lérida; town in  
 NE Hispania Citerior\*):  
*H.* 1.112  
 Indigetes\* (people living in NE  
 Hispania Citerior\*):  
*H.* 2.86.5  
 Insulae Fortunatae (Isles of the  
 Blest): *H.* (1.87–88); 1.89;  
 (1.90)  
 Iolaus (nephew of Greek hero  
 Heracles): *H.* 2.8  
 Isaura Nova\* (town in N Cili-  
 cia\*): *H.* 2.74.3  
 Isauri (people living N of Tau-  
 rus Mts. in Cilicia\*):  
*H.* (2.68–74); 3.1  
 Ister\* (Danube River, s.v.  
 Danuvius): *H.* (3.98); 3.99  
 Italia, *H.* 1.19; 1.21; 1.35; 1.73;  
 2.43.7; 2.86.4, 7, 10, 12;  
 4.14; 4.15; 4.17 (x2); 4.23;  
*E.* 1.8.4; Italicus conme-  
 atus: *H.* 3.7; Italica gens:  
*H.* 1.17  
 (Italica\* [town in Hispania Ul-  
 terior\*]: *H.* 2.31)  
 Iulia (*RE* 541; wife of C. Mar-  
 ius, cos. 107, 104–100, 86):  
*H.* 1.32  
 Iulius Caesar, C. (*RE* 31; dicta-  
 tor): (*H.* 1.44[?]); *E.* 2.13.1  
 Iulius Salinator, L. *See* Livius  
 (Iulius?) Salinator  
 Iunius Brutus, D. (*RE* 46; cos.  
 77): *H.* 1.49.3 (Bruti);  
 3.15.10  
 Iunius Brutus, M. (*RE* 52; leg.  
 of M. Lepidus in 77 and  
 father of tyrannicide):  
*H.* 1.64; 1.67.7n.; 1.69);  
*E.* 1.4.1  
 Iunius Brutus Damasippus, L.  
 (*RE* 58; pr. 82): *H.* 1.67.7  
 Iuppiter (Jupiter): *H.* 3.15.15;  
 3.50; inc. 40; dub. 13
- Jason. *See* Iason  
 Julius, -ia. *See* Iulius, -ia  
 Junius. *See* Iunius  
 Jupiter. *See* Iuppiter
- Lacetania\* (region in NE His-  
 pania Citerior\*): *H.* 2.86.5  
 Laelius, D. (*RE* 5; leg. of Pom-  
 pey in Sertorian War):  
*H.* (2.28); 2.29  
 Lanarius. *See* Calpurnius La-  
 narius  
 (Langobrigae [people in NW  
 Hispania Ulterior\*; mod.  
 Portugal]: *H.* 1.105)  
 Latium (nomen) (Rome's allies



- possessing Latin rights):  
*H.* 1.20
- (Lauro\* [town on E coast of Hispania Citerior\*]:  
*H.* 2.27–30; 2.102[?])
- (Lemnos\* [island in N Aegean]:  
*H.* 3.74)
- Lentulus. *See* Cornelius Lentulus
- Lepidanum (bellum): *H.* 4.48
- Lepidus. *See* Aemilius Lepidus
- Leptasta (*RE*; Mauretanian ruler or chieftain): *H.* 2.88
- (Lesser Armenia\*: *H.* 4.42[?]; 5.1[?])
- Lete\* (town in Macedonia\*):  
*H.* 1.119; 1.120
- (Lethe. *See* Oblivio\*)
- lex Licinia (et Mucia de civibus redigundis, of 95): *H.* 1.18
- Libya (Africa): *H.* dub. 19–20
- (Libyans [followers of Sertorius recruited in Mauretania]:  
*H.* 1.93–94; 1.97)
- Licinius Crassus, M. (*RE* 68; cos. 70, 55; millionaire; suppressor of Spartacan Revolt): *H.* (4.12–13; 4.16; 4.24; 4.26–27; 4.29–30; 4.39–40); 4.41; (inc. 1[?]; inc. 9[?]; inc. 11)
- Licinius Lucullus, L. (*RE* 104; cos. 74): *H.* 2.86.12; 3.15.11; (3.16; 3.22; 3.25–26; 3.31; 3.35–37; 3.74–75; 3.79; 3.101; 3.107; 4.4–5); 4.6; (4.7; 4.10; 4.42–43; 4.45; 4.47; 4.52–59); 4.60.15; 4.61; (4.62–68; 4.70; 4.73; 5.1[?]; 5.8–9; 5.11); 5.12; (5.13; inc. 6[?]; inc. 8; inc. 12[?]; dub. 44[?])
- Licinius Macer, C. (*RE* 112; tr. pl. 73; Roman historian):  
*H.* (1.4[?]); 3.15 (his speech); (inc. 42[?])
- Ligures (people living in Liguria\*; region situated on SW coast of Cisalpine Gaul):  
*H.* 3.6.3; Ligus (mulier):  
*H.* 2.13; (vir): inc. 22
- (Limia\*/Limaea. *See* Oblivio\*)
- Livius Drusus, M. (*RE* 18; tr. pl. 91): *E.* 2.6.3; 2.6.4
- Livius (Iulius?) Salinator, L. (Iulius *RE* 453; leg. of Sertorius in 81): *H.* (1.82); 1.84
- Lollius Palicanus, M. (*RE* 21; tr. pl. 71): *H.* 4.33
- Lucanus (ager) (Lucania\*; district of S Italy): *H.* 3.45
- (Lucretius Afella [Ofella], Q. [*RE* 25; commander under Sulla in 82]): *H.* 1.34
- Lucullus. *See* Licinius Lucullus; Terentius Lucullus
- Lusitania\* (region of south-central Hispania Ulterior\*; mod. Portugal): *H.* (1.99; 1.101–2); 1.104
- Lusitani (people of that region): *H.* 1.93
- Lutatii: *H.* 1.49.3. *See also* Lutatius Catulus, Q.

- Lutatius Catulus, Q. (*RE* 8; cos. 78): *H.* 1.1; (1.36; 1.48); 1.49.3 (Lutatii); 1.58; 1.67.6, 19, 22; (1.70; 1.75[?]; 1.125[?]); 3.15.9; (5.19[?])
- Lycaonia\* (district in central Asia Minor, S of Galatia and N of Cilicia\*): *H.* 5.12
- Lycia\* (coastal district of SW Asia Minor): *H.* 1.115; (1.116–17)
- Lydia\* (district of west-central Asia Minor): *H.* 3.92
- Macedones: *H.* 4.60.5
- Macedonia\* (Roman province): *H.* (1.119; 2.34[?]); 2.43.7; 2.66; (2.67; 2.109; 3.13; 3.71; 3.73[?])
- Macedonicum (bellum): *H.* 1.2
- Macer. *See* Licinius Macer
- Maecenas (*RE* 2; a scribe of Sertorius): *H.* 3.57
- (Maeotici [Scythian people living on N shore of Black Sea]: *H.* 3.95)
- (Maeotis\*, Lake [mod. Sea of Azov]: *H.* 3.93–95)
- (Magius, L. (*RE* 6; Roman envoy of Mithridates to Sertorius in ca. 75]: *H.* 2.64–65)
- Magna Mater. *See* Mater Magna
- Mamercus. *See* Aemilius Lepidicus Livianus, Mam.
- Mamercus (not in *RE*; naval commander under M. Antonius in 74): *H.* 3.6.2
- <M>anius (or <Afr>anius?) (not in *RE*; leg. of M. Antonius in pirate war in 74 BC): *H.* 3.7.3
- (Manlius, L. [*RE* 30, cf. 79; pr. 79?; procos. Gallia Transalpina\* in 78]: *H.* 1.112)
- Marcellinus. *See* Cornelius Lentulus Marcell<inus>
- Marcellus. *See* Claudius Marcellus
- L. Marcus Philippus (*RE* 75; cos. 91): *H.* (1.66); 1.67 (his speech); (1.75[?]; inc. 35[?]; inc. 42[?])
- Marcus Rex, Q. (*RE* 92; cos. 68): *H.* (4.61); 5.12; (5.13–14[?]; inc. 6[?])
- Marius, C. [*RE* 14; cos. 107, 104–100, 86]: *H.* (1.22–28; 1.43–44); 1.67.7(?); (1.78; 1.135[?]; inc. 14[?]; dub. 36[?])
- Marius, C. (*RE* 15; cos. 82; son of preceding): *H.* 1.32; 1.33; (1.49.5); 1.67.7
- Marius Gratidianus, M. (*RE* 42; II pr. 84?): *H.* 1.36; (1.37–38; 1.49.14; 3.34[?])
- Marone(i)a\* (town on S coast of Thrace): *H.* 3.71
- Marsicum (bellum) (Social War between Rome and her Italian allies, 91–87): *H.* 1.76.1
- Mater Magna (goddess Cybele): *H.* 2.74.8; (3.24)
- Mauretania\* (mod. Morocco and part of Algeria):

- H.* (1.27[?]); 1.92; (1.95; 1.97; 1.137[?]); 2.88; 3.10.4; (dub. 19[?]); Mauri: *H.* dub. 18  
(Media [mod. Azerbaijan]: *H.* 5.3)  
(Memmius, C. [*RE* 7; qu. 76; proqu. 75 in Spain under Pompey; † 75]: *H.* 2.53–56[?])  
(Menemachus [*RE* 4; courtier of Tigranes]: *H.* 5.14[?])  
Meo<riga> (town in NW Spain?): *H.* 2.79.3  
(Mercurius [messenger god]: *H.* 2.6[?])  
Mesopotameni (people of that region): *H.* 4.69  
Mesopotamia\* (region between Euphrates and Tigris rivers): *H.* (4.55); 4.60.21; (4.67[?]); 4.68; (4.70[?])  
(Messana [mod. Messina, Sicilian town on the Strait]: *H.* 4.19)  
(Messina, Strait of, Sicilian Strait: *H.* 4.17; 4.19–21)  
(Metellinum\* [mod. Medellín; town in Hispania Ulterior\*]: *H.* 1.101)  
Metellus. *See* Caecilius Metellus  
Metrophanes (*RE* 1; commander under Mithridates who deserted to Romans): *H.* 4.2; dub. 21  
Midas (legendary king of Phrygia): *H.* 3.82  
Minos (legendary king of Crete\*): *H.* 2.8; 3.51  
Mithridates (VI Eupator, the Great) (*RE* 12; last king of Pontus\*): *H.* 1.29; 1.67.8; 2.43.7; (2.58[?]); 2.59; (2.60[?]); 2.61–63; (2.64); 2.65; (2.80.2n); 3.15.18; (3.17–19; 3.21–22; 3.25–28; 3.30–32; 3.35–36; 3.74–79; 3.92–93; 3.101–103; 4.2–4; 4.6–8; 4.10; 4.42; 4.45); 4.60 (his letter); (4.73[?]; 5.1[?]; 5.3–7; 5.12; inc. 3[?]; inc. 14[?]; inc. 26[?]; inc. 28[?]; dub. 9[?]; dub. 21  
Moesii (people of Moesia\* in lower Danube basin): *H.* 3.72  
(Monime [*RE*; wife of Mithridates]: *H.* inc. 50[?])  
(Mulvius pons [bridge carrying the via Flaminia across Tiber, N of Rome]: *H.* 1.70)  
(Mummius [*RE* 2, cf. 9; officer under M. Crassus in 72 vs. Spartacus]: *H.* 4.13)  
Mutina\* (mod. Modena; town in Cisalpine Gaul, S of Po): *H.* 1.69  
Mutudurei (inhabitants of a community—Mutudurum, or –urus—whose precise location in NNE Hispania Citerior\*, in the territory of the Vascones, is unknown): *H.* 2.80.3

- Mygdonia (earlier name for region of Bithynia\*): *H.* 3.90
- Narbo\* (mod. Narbonne; Roman colony on S coast of France, nr. Pyrenees\*):  
*H.* 2.21
- Naxos Lucanae\* (town in Lucania): *H.* 3.44.3
- Nicomedes (IV Philopator) (*RE* 6; last king of Bithynia\*):  
*H.* (2.57; 3.92); 4.60.9, 10, 11
- (Nicomedia\* [port city on Propontis, in NW Bithynia\*]:  
*H.* 3.75; inc. 26[?]; inc. 28[?])
- Nilus (Nile River): *H.* 3.99
- (Nisibis\* [city in NE Mesopotamia controlled by Tigranes]: *H.* 4.70[?]; 5.8–9[?]; inc. 4[?]; inc. 12[?]; inc. 24[?])
- (Norax [eponymous founder of Sardinian town Nora\*]:  
*H.* 2.6–7)
- (Norbanus, C. [*RE* 5; cos. 83]:  
*H.* 1.49.5)
- Numidae (inhabitants of Numidia\*, territory in N Africa corresponding to part of mod. Algeria): *H.* (1.46); 2.8; (2.88[?])
- Nysa (*RE* 3; wife of Nicomedes IV Philopator, s.v.):  
*H.* (2.57); 4.60.9
- Oblivio\* (another name for the river Limia\*(-aea) in NW Hispania Ulterior\*, mod. Portugal): *H.* 3.9
- Oceanus\* (the Atlantic Ocean):  
*H.* 1.9; 1.90; 1.97; 4.60.17
- (Octavius, Cn. [*RE* 20; cos. 87]:  
*H.* inc. 1[?])
- Octavius, Cn. (*RE* 22; cos. 76):  
*H.* 2.23
- Octavius, L. (*RE* 26; cos. 75):  
*H.* 2.38.2 (x2); 2.41; 2.86.11; (dub. 47[?])
- Octavius, M. (*RE* 32; tr. pl. 99–87): *H.* 1.54
- (Olisipo\* [mod. Lisbon, Portugal]: *H.* 1.103; 1.104[?])
- Olympus\* (mt. and town in eastern Lycia\*): *H.* (1.115); 1.116
- (Olympus\* [mt. in Greece]:  
*H.* 3.49)
- Oppius, P. (*RE* 17; qu. 74):  
*H.* 3.80; (3.81)
- Orestes. *See* Aufidius Orestes
- Orion (constellation): *H.* inc. 48; (mythical hunter turned into constellation:  
*H.* 3.49n)
- (Osca\* [town in N Hispania Citerior\*; scene of Sertorius' assassination]: *H.* 3.57)
- Ostia\* (port city of Rome):  
*H.* 5.15
- Otii (campi) (district in Crete\*):  
*H.* 3.49
- Otus (mythical giant): *H.* 3.49
- Padus\* (Po River): *H.* 1.18
- Palicanus. *See* Lollius Palicanus

- (<Pa>llantei [stock from whom Baclar>i, s.v., were descended]: *H.* 2.8, *varia lectio*)
- Pamphylia\*** (coastal region of southern Asia Minor): *H.* (2.68); 2.69
- Paphlagonēs** (inhabitants of Paphlagonia\*): *H.* 3.97
- Paphlagonia\*** (coastal region of northern Asia Minor, between Bithynia\* and Pontus\*): *H.* 3.91; (3.92)
- Papirius Carbo, Cn.** (*RE* 38; III cos. 82): *H.* 1.35; (1.45; 1.49.5; 1.80); *E.* 1.4.1
- Parium\*** (mod. Kemer; town in Asia Minor, at N end of Hellespont, nr. entrance to Propontis): *H.* 4.60.14.
- Pelorus\*** (Sicilian cape on the Strait of Messina): *H.* (4.16; 4.18); 4.20
- Perperna** (or **Perpenna**) Veiento, M. (*RE* 6; pr. 82?): *H.* (1.67.7n.; 2.15[?]; 2.45); 2.89; (2.92[?]); 3.8; 3.57; (3.58[?]); 3.59
- Persae** (the people of Persia): *H.* (4.55); dub. 18
- Perses** (*RE* Perseus 5; last king of Macedonia\*): *H.* 1.2; 4.60.7
- Persica** (regna) (kingdom of Persia): *H.* 3.92
- Persis** (Persian Empire): *H.* 4.60.19
- Phaselis\*** (coastal town in Lycia\*): *H.* 1.116
- Philippus.** See **Marcus Philippus**
- Philippus** (V) (*RE* 10; king of Macedonia\*): *H.* 1.49.4; 4.60.5, 6, 7
- (Phoenicia\*): *H.* 4.45)
- (Phraates III [*RE* vol. 18.2.1984–85; ruler of Parthia from 70 to 57 BC, addressee of Mithridates' letter]: *H.* 4.60)
- Phrygia** (region of west-central Asia Minor): *H.* 3.82; (4.47[?])
- Picens** (from the coastal district of Picenum\* in east-central Italy): *H.* 1.49.17; 4.33
- Picentinus** (inhabitant of the town Picentia; prob. in southern Campania\*): *H.* 3.44.3
- Pisidae** (inhabitants of Pisidia\*): *H.* 3.1
- Pisidia\*** (region of southern Asia Minor, N of Lycia\* and Pamphylia\*): *H.* 1.115
- Piso.** See **Calpurnius Piso**
- (Pityussae\* [islands off the E coast of Hispania Citerior\*]: *H.* 1.85–86)
- (lex **Plautia de reditu Lepidanorum**, of 70?: 4.48)
- Poeni** (Carthaginians): *H.* 2.8; 2.108
- (lex **Pompeia et Licinia de tribunicia potestate** of 70: *H.* inc. 32[?])
- (**Pompeii\*** [town in Campania\*]: *H.* 3.41)

- Pompeius Magnus, Cn. (*RE* 31; Pompey the Great, cos. 70, 55, 52): *H.* (1.44[?]; 1.45; 1.46; (1.69–70; 2.16–21; 2.25; 2.27–28; 2.30; 2.45–46; 2.49–53; 2.56; 2.77); 2.79.2; 2.80.1, 3, 4; (2.81; 2.84–85); 2.86.1–10 (his dispatch); 2.86.12; (2.87–89; 2.92; 2.102.); 3.15.21, 23; (3.58–60); 3.62; (3.63; 4.27[?]; 4.30; 4.32–41; 5.16; 5.17[?]); 5.20; (inc. 1[?]; inc. 15[?]; inc. 29[?]; inc. 32[?]; inc. 37[?]; inc. 42[?]; inc. 47[?]; inc. 60[?]); *E.* 1.2.7; 1.4.1; 2.3.1  
(Pompeius Strabo, Cn. [*RE* 45; cos. 89; father of Pompey the Great]: *H.* 2.19[?])
- Ponticum (mare) (Black Sea\*): *H.* 3.85; (os) (Hellespont): 3.83
- Pontus\* (kingdom of Mithridates on north-central shore of Black Sea): *H.* 2.65; (3.76; 3.78–79; 3.92–93; 3.101; 4.3; 4.42–43; 5.1[?]; inc. 3[?]; dub. 9); (Roman province of Bithynia-Pontus): 5.11; (Black Sea\*): *H.* 3.86; (3.87); 3.97
- (Porcius Cato, M. [*RE* 9; cens. 184]: *H.* 1.3; inc. 49[?])
- Porcius Cato Uticensis, M. (*RE* 16; pr. 54): *H.* 1.7; *E.* 2.4.2; 2.9.3
- (Portus Cale\*: s.v. Cale)
- Postumius, L. (or T.?) (*RE* 15; senator in 49): *E.* 2.9.4  
(Praecia [*RE*; mistress of P. Cornelius Cethegus, s.v.]: inc. 50[?])
- Praeneste\* (mod. Palestrina; town in Latium\* SE of Rome\*): *H.* (1.33); 1.34
- Ptolemaeus (Apion) (*RE* Ptolemaios 29; last king of Cyrene\*, † 96): *H.* 2.39
- Ptolemaeus (IX Soter II) (*RE* Ptolemaios 30; ruler of Egypt from 88 to 80): *H.* 4.60.10
- Ptolemaeus (XII Auletes) (*RE* Ptolemaios 33; ruler of Egypt from 80–ca. 51): *H.* 4.60.12
- Publipor (not in *RE*; a native of Lucania, who guided Spartacus in 73?): *H.* 3.45
- Publius (legatus): *H.* inc. 6
- Punicus (Carthaginian): *H.* 1.10.5; 1.12; 2.25
- Pyrenaeus (the Pyrenees\*): *H.* (1.82; 2.80); (mons) 2.86.5; (iugum) 3.63
- Pyrrhus (*RE* 13; king of Epirus): *H.* 1.49.4; dub. 24
- Quin(c)tius, L. (*RE* 12; tr. pl. 74; pr. 68) *H.* 3.15.11; (3.100[?]); 4.61
- Quirites (name by which the Roman people were addressed in a public meeting): *H.* 1.49.1, 7, 10, 27;

- 2.43.1, 4, 6, 13; 3.15.1, 8, 15, 16, 24
- (Rhegium\* [mod. Reggio; town on the "toe" of Italy]: *H.* 4.24[?]; inc. 9[?])
- Rhenus (Rhine River): *H.* 1.9.1
- Rhodiî (people of the island of Rhodes\*): *E.* 2.7.12
- (Rhyndacus\* [river in Bithynia\*, E of Cyzicus\*]: *H.* 3.36)
- Roma\*: *H.* 3.42.2; *E.* 1.2.6; 1.6.1
- Romani: *H.* 2.74.1, 7; 3.36; (3.74); 4.60.2, 5, 15, 17, 20; *E.* 2.4.3; Romanus: *H.* 1.1; 1.3; 1.9.1; 1.26; 1.49 title, 11, 19, 24; 1.67.6; 2.43 title; 2.80.2; 2.86.2; 3.2; 3.10.2, 5; 3.38; 3.99; 4.60.13. *E.* 1.4.1; 1.5.2; 2.2.4; 2.3.2; 2.4.3; 2.12.5
- Romulus (derisive appellation for the dictator L. Sulla): *H.* 1.49.5
- (Rutilius Nudus, P. [RE 30; leg. of M. Cotta in Bithynia]: *H.* 3.19–20)
- Sacer, mons (ca. 3 mi. NE of Rome): *H.* 1.10.4
- (Sacriportus [locale near Praeneste\* in Latium]: *H.* 1.33–34)
- Saguntini (inhabitants of Saguntum\*, mod. Sagunto, town on E coast of Hispania Ci-terior\*): *H.* 2.25; Saguntium (= Saguntinorum): *H.* 2.26
- (Salinae [town in Campania\*, nr. Pompeii\*]: *H.* 3.41)
- Salinator. *See* Livius (Iulius?) Salinator
- Sallentinum\* (promunturium) (on the "heel" of Italy): *H.* 4.14
- (Sallustius Crispus., C. [RE 10; pr. 46; the historian]: *H.* 1.5–6; inc. 55[?])
- Samnites (inhabitants of Samnium\* in southern Apennines): *H.* (1.25; 1.130[?]); inc. 67
- Samothracæ (dei) (gods of the N Aegean island Samothrace): *H.* 4.60.7
- Sardinia\*: *H.* (1.71; 2.1); 2.2; 2.3; (2.4); 2.5; (2.6–9); 2.10; (2.11–15; 2.108[?]); inc. 2.3; (dub. 20)
- Sardus (son of Hercules; eponymous settler in Sardinia\*): *H.* dub. 20
- (Sarmatae [people living in W Scythia\*]: *H.* 3.96[?])
- Saturninus. *See* Appuleius Saturninus
- Scirtus (not in RE; follower of Sulla): *H.* 1.49.21
- Scribonius Curio, C. (RE 10; cos. 76): *H.* 1.75; (2.22; 2.24); 2.66; (2.67; 2.90; 2.109); 3.13; 3.14; 3.15.10; (inc. 43[?])
- Scylla (rock formation on the

- “toe” of Italy, named for mythical monster): *H.* 4.18  
 (Scyllaeum\* [mod. Scilla; promontory on “toe” of Italy]:  
*H.* 4.16–18; 4.21; 4.24[?])
- Scythae (people of Scythia N and E of Black Sea):  
*H.* (3.94–95); 3.96; Scythicus (adj.): *H.* 3.84  
 (Segontia [Celtiberian town on upper Duris River]:  
*H.* 2.53–55[?])
- (Segovia\* [town in Hispania Ulterior\* nr. which Metellus defeated and killed L. Hirtuleius in 75]:  
*H.* 2.47)
- Seleucea\* (town on W bank of Tigris\*, S of mod. Baghdad): *H.* 4.60.19
- Sempronius Gracchus, C. (*RE* 47; tr. pl. 123–122):  
*H.* 1.54; inc. 52[?];  
*E.* 2.8.1
- (Sempronius Gracchus, Ti. [*RE* 54; tr. pl. 133]: *H.* 1.15–16; inc. 52[?])
- Septimius (not in *RE*; possibly a leg. of M. Domitius Calvinus [s.v.] in Hispania Citerior\* in 80): *H.* 1.98
- Sergius Catilina, L. (*RE* 23; pr. 68): *H.* (1.37); 1.47
- Sertorius, Q. (*RE* 3; pr. 83):  
*H.* (1.27[?]; 1.74; 1.76–83; 1.85); 1.86; (1.87–91); 1.92; (1.93–95; 1.97–99; 1.103; 1.105; 1.108[?–10]; 1.111; (1.112); 1.113; (1.135[?]; 2.4[?]; 2.15–16; 2.20); 2.27; (2.28); 2.33; 2.43.6; (2.49; 2.50); 2.53; (2.55; 2.64–65; 2.75–77); 2.80.2; 2.86.5, 9; (2.87[?]; 2.97; 2.102[?]); 3.6.3; 3.15.18; (3.55–56); 3.57 (x2); (3.103[?]; inc. 2[?]; inc. 17–18[?]; inc. 21[?]; dub. 18–19[?]; dub. 37[?]; dub. 43[?]; dub. 55[?])
- Servilius Caepio, Q. (*RE* 50; qu. 100): *H.* 1.54
- Servilius Vatia Isauricus, P. (*RE* 93; cos. 79): *H.* 1.114; (1.116–17; 2.68–72); 2.74.4, 8; (3.1; inc. 29[?])
- (Sibyllini [libri] [carmina]:  
*H.* 1.67.3[?])
- Sicilia\* (Sicily): *H.* (1.45); 2.8; 4.16; 4.17 (x2); (4.19); 4.20; (4.21; 4.23; 4.50)
- Sicinius, L. (Cn.?) (*RE* 9; tr. pl. 76): *H.* (2.22; 2.24[?]; 2.90[?]); 3.15.8; (3.15.10; inc. 33[?]; inc. 42[?]; inc. 51[?])
- (Sige[i]on\*, Strait of, promontory: *H.* 3.83)
- Sila (forested mt. in the ager Bruttius): *H.* 4.26
- (Sinope\* [coastal city in Pontus\*]: *H.* 3.76; 3.78; 3.97; 4.43[?]; inc. 14[?]; inc. 26[?]; inc. 28[?])
- Sisenna. *See* Cornelius Sisenna
- Spartacus (*RE*; gladiator; leader of slave uprising 73–71):  
*H.* 3.38; (3.39–41); 3.42.9;



- (3.43); 3.44.5; (3.45; 3.64–66; 3.70; 3.104[?]; 4.11–12; 4.16; 4.18; 4.21; 4.23–24; 4.26–27; 4.31; 5.1[?]; inc. 14[?]; inc. 21[?]; inc. 23[?]; inc. 46[?]; inc. 51[?]; inc. 66[?]; dub. 42[?])
- Staphylus** (son of the god Dionysus): *H. dub.* 23
- Stobi\*** (Macedonian town):  
· *H.* 2.109
- Strait.** *See* Gibraltar, Messina, Sicilian, Sige(i)on
- Sucro\*** (mod. Júcar; river in Hispania Citerior\*, mod. SE Spain): *H.* (2.49–52[?]); 2.86.6; (2.93–97[?])
- Sulla.** *See* Cornelius Sulla
- Sullanus** (adj.): *H.* 1.28; *E.* 1.4.1
- Sulpicius Rufus, P.** (*RE* 92; tr.pl. 88): *H.* 1.67.7
- Sulpicius Rufus, Ser.** (*RE* 95; cos. 51): *H.* 1.9
- Tagus\*** (mod. Tajo, river in Hispania Ulterior\*, mod. SW Portugal): *H.* 1.103
- Tanais** (mod. Don River):  
*H.* 3.93; (3.95[?])
- Tarentum\*** (mod. Taranto; town on S Italian coast):  
*H.* 1.114
- Tarquinius Superbus, L.** (*RE* 7; 7th and last king of Rome):  
*H.* 1.10.2
- Tarquitius Priscus, C.** (*RE* 8; officer under Sertorius):  
*H.* 3.55; 3.57
- Tartessus** (earlier name for region and town of Gades\* in Hispania Ulterior\*):  
*H.* 2.7
- Tarula** (not in *RE*; follower of Sulla): *H.* 1.49.21
- Tauri** (Scythian people): *H.* 3.94
- Tauromenitanus** (of or belonging to Tauromenium\*, mod. Taormina, town on E coast of Sicily): *H.* 4.19
- Taurus\*** (mts. in S Asia Minor):  
*H.* (2.11; 2.68–70); 2.71; 4.60.6
- T(e)ios** (Tieion; town in Paphlagonia\* on Black Sea):  
*H.* 3.91
- Terentius Lucullus, M.** (*RE* Licinius 109; cos. 73):  
*H.* (3.71); 3.72; (3.73)
- Terentius Varro, M.** (*RE* 84 and suppl. 6; pr. ca. 75):  
*H.* 2.56; (inc. 49[?])
- Terentuni** (poss. people on coast of Hispania Citerior\*): *H.* 3.6.3
- Termestini** (inhabitants of town Termes\* in N Hispania Citerior\*): *H.* 2.82
- Tharros\*** (Tharrhos; town on west-central coast of Sardinia\*): *H.* 2.14
- Themiscyrei** (campi) (plains on S shore of the Black Sea, nr. Pontic town Themiskyra\*): *H.* 3.93
- (**Thermodon** [river in Pontus]:  
*H.* 3.93)
- Thoranius, C.** (*RE* Toranius 4; qu. 73): *H.* 3.42.2

- (Thracia\* [Thrace] [region E of Macedonia]: *H.* 1.120; 3.71–73)
- (Thurii\* [mod. Sibari; town in Lucania\*]: *H.* 4.11; 4.16)
- Tigranes (II the Great) (*RE* 1; king of Armenia\* and son-in-law of Mithridates VI): *H.* (4.45–46; 4.52; 4.57; 4.59); 4.60.3, 13, 15, 16; (4.65–67; 4.70; 4.73[?]; 5.14[?]; dub. 9[?]; dub. 45[?])
- (Tigranocerta\* [mod. Silvan; city founded by Tigranes in Armenia\* to provide link with southern conquests]: *H.* 2.96; 4.55–57; 4.73[?]; inc. 4[?]; dub. 45[?])
- Tigris\* (river in Mesopotamia): *H.* 4.68
- Titurius (Sabinus, L.?) (*RE* 2; leg. of Pompey in Spain in 75): *H.* 2.81; (2.82)
- (Trebellius, L. [*RE* 3; tr. pl. 67]: *H.* 5.18[?])
- Triarius. *See* Valerius Triarius
- (Troia\* [Homer's Troy]: *H.* 2.10; 3.82)
- (Tullius Cicero, M. [*RE* 29; orator and cos. 63]: *H.* 4.50[?]; inc. 33[?])
- Turia\* (river on E coast of Hispania Citerior\*): *H.* 2.45; (2.93–97[?])
- (Tuscia [Etruria\*; mod. Tuscany]: *H.* 1.71)
- Tyrii (settlers in Spain from Phoenician city of Tyre): *H.* 2.7
- Ucurbis (poss. the town Ucubi\* in Hispania Ulterior\*): *H.* 2.31
- Urbinius, C. (*RE* 2; qu. in Hispania Ulterior\*, 75–74 BC): *H.* 3.10.2
- (Vaccaeii\* [people living in NW Hispania Citerior]: *H.* 2.79–80)
- Valentia\* (town on E coast of Hispania Citerior\*): *H.* 2.45; 2.86.6; (2.93–97[?])
- Valeriani (soldiers who had been sent to Asia Minor with L. Valerius Flaccus, cos. 86): *H.* 3.26; (3.103[?]; 5.8[?]); (legiones Valerianae) 5.11
- (Valerius Triarius, C. [*RE* 363, 366; leg. Propr. Sardinia 77; leg. lieut. under Lucullus, 73–67]: *H.* 2.14; inc. 3[?]; dub. 30[?])
- Varinius, P. (*RE* 1; pr. 73 and 66): *H.* 3.42.2, 4, 5, 8; 3.44.3; (3.104[?])
- Varro. *See* Terentius Varró
- Vascones\* (people dwelling S of Pyrenees\* in upper Iberus\* valley): *H.* 2.80.2
- Verres, C. (*RE* 1; pr. 74): *H.* 4.23; (4.50–51[?])

- Versius (*RE*; scribe of Sertorius): *H.* 3.57
- (Vesuvius\* (mt. and volcano on Bay of Naples): *H.* 3.40; inc. 23[?]; dub. 42[?])
- Vettius, L. (*RE* 6; knight who profited under Sulla's regime; later informed against Catilinarians in 62 and revealed an alleged plot vs. Pompey in 59): *H.* 1.49.17
- Victoria, (goddess): *H.* 3.10.3
- Vizzo (poss. a corruption of the name Bizone, s.v.): *H.* 3.73
- (Voconius [*RE* 1; naval commander under Lucullus in 73–72]: *H.* 3.75)
- Volcanalia (annual festival to god Vulcan on Aug. 23): *H.* 3.14
- Vulcius (Volscius? [*MRR* 3.223], not in *RE*; leg., envoy under M. Cotta in Bithynia\*): *H.* 3.80
- (Zela\* [town in Pontus\*]: *H.* inc. 3[?]; dub. 30[?])
- (Zelis [town in Mauretania]: *H.* dub. 19[?])
- (Zenicetes (*RE*; pirate chieftain in Lycia\*): *H.* 1.115–18)



# MAPS



