

The Spartacus Rebellion

From Appian's *Civil Wars*

A new translation with text, and commentary

By E. H. Campbell

FIRST EDITION

© E. H. Campbell 2008
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Inopibus Press: Seattle
inopibus@gmail.com
<http://inopibuspresseattle.blogspot.com>

To A. M. Gorky

Agitare inter se mala seruitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur.

They agitated among themselves on the evils of slavery, to compare injuries and arguing that: Nothing is to be accomplished by patiently enduring commands except greater burdens placed upon those who willingly bear them. (*Agricola* 15.1-2)¹

¹ Tacitus, Cornelius, *Opera Minora*, Henry Furneaux, Clarendon Press: Oxford: 1900.

Abbreviations

1st = first person
2nd = second person
3rd = third person
Abl. =ablative case
Acc. = accusative case
Act. = active voice
Adj. = adjective
Adv. = adverb
Aor. =aorist tense
Comp. = comparative
Dat. = dative case
Dim. = diminutive
Fem. = feminine gender
Fut. = future tense
Gen. = genitive case
I.e. = *id est*, that is

Impf. = imperfective tense
Ind. = indicative mood
Inf. = infinitive mood
Masc. = masculine gender
Mid. = middle voice
Mid./Pass. = middle/passive voice
Nom. = nominative case
Opt. = optative mood
Part. = participle
Pass. = passive voice
Perf. = perfective tense
Pl. = plural
Pluperf. = pluperfective tense
Pres. = present tense
Sing. = singular
Superl. = superlative

Ἀλφάβητος Ἴωνικός²

Form		Name		Equivalent	Sound	Diphthongs
A	α	ἄλφα	<i>alpha</i>	<i>a</i>	ǎ: aha; ā: father	αι as in <i>aisle</i>
B	β	βῆτα	<i>bēta</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>beg</i>	ει as in <i>eight</i>
Γ	γ	γάμμα	<i>gamma</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>go</i>	οι as in <i>oil</i>
Δ	δ	δέλτα	<i>delta</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dig</i>	υι French <i>lui</i>
E	ε	εἶ, ἔ (ἐ ψι λόν)	<i>ēpsilon</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>met; episode</i>	αυ as in <i>our</i>
Z	ζ	ζῆτα	<i>zēta</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>adze</i>	ευ as in <i>eh'oo</i>
H	η	ἦτα	<i>ēta</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>prey</i>	ηυ <i>ēh'oo</i>
Θ	θ, υ	θῆτα	<i>thēta</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>thin</i>	ου as in <i>group</i>
I	ι	ιώτα	<i>iōta</i>	<i>i</i>	ĭ: believe; ī: believe	
K	κ	κάππα	<i>kappa</i>	<i>c, k</i>	<i>cap: kite</i>	
Λ	λ	λάμβδα	<i>lambda</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>let</i>	
M	μ	μῦ	<i>mu</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>met</i>	
N	ν	νῦ	<i>nu</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>net</i>	
Ξ	ξ	ξεῖ (ξι)	<i>xi</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>lax</i>	
O	ο	οῦ, ὄ (ὀ μι κρόν)	<i>ōmicron</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>soft</i>	
Π	π	πεῖ (πι)	<i>pi</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>pet</i>	
P	ρ	ρώ	<i>rho</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>run</i>	
Σ	σ, ς	σίγμα	<i>sigma</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>signal</i>	
T	τ	ταῦ	<i>tau</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>tar</i>	
Υ	υ	ῦ (ῦ ψι λόν)	<i>ūpsilon</i>	(u) y	ÿ: Fr. tu; ū: Fr. sūr	
Φ	φ	φεῖ (φι)	<i>phi</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>graphic</i>	
X	χ	χεῖ (χι)	<i>chi</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>Germ. machen</i>	
Ψ	ψ	ψεῖ (ψι)	<i>psi</i>	<i>ps</i>	<i>gypsum</i>	
Ω	ω	ὦ (ὦ μέγα)	<i>ōmega</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>note</i>	

² The Ionic Alphabet. The Greek alphabet above originated in Ionia. In the late ninth or early eighth century the Greeks borrowed 22 consonant letters from the Phoenicians reinterpreting several of those consonants to serve as vowels. (Cf. Mastronarde: 6) The letters Ψ and Ω were invented by the Greeks. (Cf. Smyth 1.1.1) Attic Greek was the language spoken by the Athenians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. and during the fifth century was written in an alphabet that did not distinguish certain marked differences of sound. This alphabet was officially supplanted in 403 B.C. by the Ionic alphabet of twenty-four capital letters. The small Greek letters were invented in the ninth century A.D. (Cf. Fobes: 1)

Contents

ABBREVIATIONS	5
ΑΛΦΑΒΗΤΟΣ ΙΩΝΙΚΟΣ	6
THE SPARTACUS REBELLION	8
PROLOGUE, 73 B.C.	9
CRIXUS DEFEATED, 72 B.C.	12
CRASSUS MARCHES ON SPARTACUS, 71 B.C.	15
POMPEY SENT AGAINST SPARTACUS.	17
SPARTACUS DEFEATED	19
WORKS CITED	23

The Spartacus Rebellion³

³ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, L. Mendelssohn, Leipzig: Teubner: 1879.

Prologue, 73 B.C.

[1.14.116] Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μονομάχων ἐς θέας ἐν Καπύη τρεφομένων, ⁴ Σπάρτακος Θραξ ἀνὴρ, ἐστρατευμένος ⁵ ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ⁶ ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὧν, ⁷ ἔπεισεν ⁸ αὐτῶν ἐς ἑβδομήκοντα ⁹ ἄνδρας μάλιστα ¹⁰ κινδυνεῦσαι περὶ ἐλευθερίας ¹¹ μᾶλλον ¹² ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως ¹³ καὶ βιασάμενος ¹⁴ σὺν αὐτοῖς τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἐξέδραμε: ¹⁵ καὶ τινῶν ὄδοιπόρων ξύλοις καὶ ξιφιδίοις ὀπλισάμενος ¹⁶ ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ¹⁷ ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας ¹⁸ οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος ¹⁹ ἐλήστευε ²⁰ τὰ ἐγγύς, ὑποστρατήγους ἔχων Οἰνόμαόν τε καὶ Κρίξον

⁴ masc./fem./neut. gen. pl. pres. mid./pass. part. of τρέφω, 'to thicken or congeal a liquid,' of slaves, cattle, dogs and the like, 'to rear and keep.'

⁵ masc. nom. sing. perf. mid./pass. part. of στρατεύω, 'to advance with an army, or wage war, to serve in the army.'

⁶ ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως is a fem gen. sing. prep. phrase; hence ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὧν = 'but out of those held captive and those being sold into single combats.'

⁷ masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of εἶμι, 'being.'

⁸ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of πείθω, 'persuade.'

⁹ numeral, 'seventy.'

¹⁰ suprl. adv. of μάλα, 'very, exceedingly; most of all, above all.'

¹¹ fem. gen. sing. of ἐλευθερία, 'liberty, or freedom;' hence περὶ ἐλευθερίας, 'with respect to freedom.'

¹² comp. adv. of μάλα.

¹³ fem. gen. sing. of ἐπίδειξις, 'exhibition, display, or demonstration.'

¹⁴ masc. nom. sing. aor. mid. part. of βιάζω, 'to act with violence, use force.'

¹⁵ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of ἐκτρέχω, 'run out, run away.'

¹⁶ masc. nom. sing. aor. mid. part. of ὀπλίζω, 'make, make ready, equip, arm.'

¹⁷ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of ἀναφεύγω, 'flee up, escape, retreat.'

¹⁸ masc. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of ἀποδιδράσκω, 'run away, escape;' hence ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας = 'escaping, or running away, slaves.'

¹⁹ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of ὑποδέχομαι, 'to receive into one's home, welcome.'

²⁰ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ληστεύω, 'practice robbery, piracy; hence τῶν ἀγρῶν...ἐλήστευε τὰ ἐγγύς = 'who were stealing things out of the fields near at hand.'

μονομάχους. Μεριζομένω²¹ δ' αὐτῶ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν: καὶ πρῶτος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκπεμφθεὶς Οὐαρίνιος Γλάβρος, ἐπὶ δ' ἐκείνῳ Πόπλιος Οὐαλέριος, οὐ πολιτικὴν στρατιὰν ἄγοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσους ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ παρόδῳ συνέλεξαν 'οὐ γὰρ πῶ Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομὴν τινα καὶ ληστηρίῳ τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἠγοῦντο εἶναι, συμβαλόντες ἠττῶντο. Οὐαρινίου δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτὸς Σπάρτακος περιέσπασεν: παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθε κινδύνου Ῥωμαίων ὁ στρατηγὸς αὐτὸς αἰχμάλωτος ὑπὸ μονομάχου γενέσθαι. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτάκῳ μὲν ἔτι μᾶλλον πολλοὶ συνέθεον, καὶ ἑπτὰ μυριάδες ἦσαν ἤδη στρατοῦ, καὶ ὄπλα ἐχάλκευε καὶ παρασκευὴν συνέλεγεν, οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελεῶν.

But at the same time, of those who fight in single combat²² in spectacles around Italy, reared and kept like dogs in Capua, Spartacus, a Thracian man, having at some time or other served in the Roman army, but among those held captive and those being sold into single combats, counseled, out of the same, seventy men with respect to run the risk most for freedom rather than to run any more risk for exhibition in the spectacles, and, with the same, by using violence against those guarding, he ran out:²³ and, arming

²¹ masc. dat. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of μερίζω, 'divide or distribute,' in apposition with αὐτῶ; hence Μεριζομένω²¹ δ' αὐτῶ τὰ κέρδη = 'he himself dividing the gains,' κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν, 'down to equal shares.'

²² I.e., gladiators.

²³ But about the same time, Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου, of those who fight in single combat in the spectacles, μονομάχων ἐς θέας, around Italy, περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, reared and kept like dogs in Capua, ἐν Καπύῃ τρεφομένων, Spartacus, a Thracian man, Σπάρτακος Θραξ ἀνήρ, having at some time or other served in the Roman army, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, but out of those held captive and those being sold into

himself with clubs and daggers from some travelers, having both the gladiators Oenomaus and Crixus as subordinate commanders, fled up to Mount Vesuvius, there where he was stealing things out of the nearby fields was welcomed by many runaway slaves and some freemen. But since the profits were being divided by him into equal shares, quickly there was a great number of men: and first Varinius Glaber was sent against him, but later Publius Valerius against the man, not leading a citizen army, but of such a kind as those brought together in haste and in the moment, for as yet to the Romans it was not a war, but some kind of raid and an act similar to that carried led by an inferior band of robbers. But what came to pass was such a nearly equal battle the Roman general was himself almost made prisoner by a gladiator, and Spartacus himself stripped away the horse of Varinius. And after this, still much more men indeed ran together, and there was already an army of seven ten thousands,²⁴ and he was forging bronze tools, and was collecting arms, and next, fulfilling two accomplishments they sent forth the best into a town.

single combats, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὄν, urged, ἔπεισεν out of the same, αὐτῶν, seventy men, ἑβδομήκοντα ἄνδρας, with respect to freedom, περὶ ἐλευθερίας, to run the risk most, μάλιστα κινδυνεῦσαι, rather than to run any more risk for the exhibition in the spectacles, μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως, and using force, καὶ βιασάμενος, against those guarding, τοὺς φυλάσσοντας, with the same, σὺν αὐτοῖς, he ran out, ἐξέδραμε.

²⁴ ἑπτὰ, 'seven,' μυριάδες, 'ten thousands.'

Crixus Defeated, 72 B.C.

[1.14.117] Καὶ τούτων ὑπὸ μὲν θατέρου Κρίξος, ἡγούμενος²⁵ τρισμυρίων²⁶ ἀνδρῶν, περὶ τὸ Γάργανον ὄρος ἠττάτο, καὶ δύο μέρη τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς συναπώλετο αὐτοῖς: Σπάρτακον δὲ διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὄρων ἐπὶ τὰ Ἄλπεια καὶ ἐς Κελτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀλπειῶν ἐπειγόμενον²⁷ ὁ ἕτερος ὑπάτος προλαβὼν ἐκώλυε τῆς φυγῆς, καὶ ὁ ἕτερος ἐδίωκεν. Ὁ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐπιστρεφόμενος παρὰ μέρος ἐνίκα. Καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν θορύβῳ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὑπεχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Σπάρτακος τριακοσίους Ῥωμαίων αἰχμαλώτους ἐναγίσας²⁸ Κρίξῳ, δώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν ἐς Ῥώμην ἠπείγετο,²⁹ τὰ ἄχρηστα τῶν σκευῶν κατακαύσας³⁰ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους πάντας ἀνελών³¹ καὶ ἐπισφάξας³² τὰ ὑποζύγια,³³ ἵνα κοῦφος εἴη:³⁴ αὐτομόλων³⁵ τε πολλῶν αὐτῶ προσιόντων³⁶ οὐδένα προσίετο.³⁷ Καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτὸν αὖθις περὶ τὴν Πικηνίτιδα γῆν ὑποστάντων,³⁸ μέγας ἀγὼν ἕτερος ὅδε γίγνεται³⁹ καὶ μεγάλη καὶ τότε ἦσσα

²⁵ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid. part. of ἡγέομαι, 'leading or commanding.'

²⁶ 'three ten thousands.'

²⁷ masc. acc. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of ἐπείγω, 'pressing onward.'

²⁸ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of ἐναγίζω, 'to offer as a sacrifice to the dead.'

²⁹ 3rd sing. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of ἐπείγω.

³⁰ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of κατακαίω, 'burn completely.'

³¹ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of ἀναιρέω, 'done away with.'

³² masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of ἐπισφάζω, 'slaughtered.'

³³ neut. acc. pl. of ὑποζύγιον, 'beasts of burden.'

³⁴ 3rd sing. pres. act. opt. of εἶμι, 'he would be,' hence ἵνα κοῦφος εἴη = 'in order that he would be light and nimble.'

³⁵ masc. gen. pl. of αὐτόματος, 'without bidding, going on one's own.'

³⁶ masc. gen. pl. pres. act. part. of πρόσσειμι, in war 'coming to the side of.'

³⁷ 3rd sing. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of προσίημι, 'let come, allow, admit, accept.'

³⁸ masc. gen. pl. aor. act. part. of ὑφίστημι, 'ambush.'

³⁹ 3rd sing. pres. mid./pass. ind. of γίγνομαι, 'come into being.'

Ῥωμαίων. Ὁ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἐς Ῥώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω,⁴⁰ ὡς οὐπω γεγονῶς⁴¹ ἀξιόμαχος οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων⁴² στρατιωτικῶς ὠπλισμένον⁴³ οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε⁴⁴ πόλις,⁴⁵ ἀλλὰ θεράποντες⁴⁶ ἦσαν⁴⁷ καὶ αὐτόμολοι⁴⁸ καὶ σύγκλυδες,⁴⁹ τὰ δ' ὄρη τὰ περὶ Θουρίους καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν κατέλαβε,⁵⁰ καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτῆσθαι τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὠνοῦντο⁵¹ πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας⁵² οὐκ ἠδίκουν;⁵³ ὅθεν ἀθροάς ὕλης εὐπορήσαντες⁵⁴ εὖ παρεσκευάσαντο⁵⁵ καὶ θαμινὰ ἐπὶ Ληλασίας ἐξήεσαν.⁵⁶ Ῥωμαίοις τε πάλιν συνενεχθέντες⁵⁷ ἐς χειρας ἐκράτουν καὶ τότε καὶ λείας πολλῆς γέμοντες⁵⁸ ἐπάνησαν.⁵⁹

⁴⁰ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of μεταγινώσκω, 'to change one's mind.'

⁴¹ masc. nom. sing. perf. act. part. of γίγνομαι, 'to come to be.'

⁴² masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of ἔχω, 'have, hold; possess mentally, understand.'

⁴³ neut. acc. sing. perf. mid./pass. part. of ὀπλίζω, 'equipped or armed.'

⁴⁴ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of συμπράσσω, 'join, help in doing, cooperate, lend aid, assist.'

⁴⁵ τις...πόλις is fem. nom. sing., hence οὐ γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις = 'for not any city joined them.'

⁴⁶ masc. nom. pl. of θεράπων, 'companions in arms, comrades.' Horace White translates this as 'slaves,' but slaves are οἰκέτας not θεράπων and, moreover, since slaves would indeed be his 'companions in arms,' they would be his 'comrades' as well.

⁴⁷ 3rd pl. imperf. act. ind. of εἰμί, 'there were.'

⁴⁸ masc. nom. pl. of αὐτόμολος, 'deserters.'

⁴⁹ masc. nom. pl. of συγκλῦς, 'people washed together by the waves, or waifs.'

⁵⁰ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of καταλαμβάνω, 'seize.'

⁵¹ 3rd pl. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of ὠνέομαι, 'buy.'

⁵² masc. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of εἰσφέρω, 'carrying in.'

⁵³ 3rd pl. imperf. act. ind. of ἀδικέω, 'wrong, harm, or injure.'

⁵⁴ masc. nom. pl. aor. act. part. of εὐπορέω, 'abounding in.'

⁵⁵ 3rd pl. aor. mid. ind. of παρασκευάζω, 'provide and prepare what one has not.'

⁵⁶ 3rd pl. imperf. act. ind. of ἐξείμι, 'came forth, or came forward.'

⁵⁷ masc. nom. pl. aor. pass. part. of συμφέρω, 'bring together, gather, collect.'

⁵⁸ masc. nom. pl. pres. act. part. of γέμω, 'to be full.'

⁵⁹ 3rd pl. imperf. act. ind. of ἐπάνειμι, 'to return.'

And of these, under the one Crixus, commanding three ten thousands of men, was proven to be no match near Mount Garganus, and two parts⁶⁰ of his army, and himself along with them, were destroyed. But Spartacus pressing on through the Apennines Mountains to the Alps, and to the Celts from the Alps, being anticipated by the one Consul, was hindered in flight, and the other Consul pursued. But he turned on each of the two of them and prevailed on them in turns. And indeed they retired from this in confusion, but Spartacus offering three hundred Roman prisoners as a sacrifice to the dead Crixus, having completely burned the useless of the equipment, and done away with all the prisoners, and slaughtered the pack animals, so that he would be light and nimble, pressed onward with twelve ten thousands of foot soldiers against Rome: and of the many coming to him on their own accord,⁶¹ not even one did he accept. And of the Consuls ambushes around the land of Picenum, there was this one that came to be a big battle, both huge and, at the time, a defeat, for the Romans. But indeed he, on the road to Rome, changed his mind, understanding that having been equipped militarily, but not the whole army; he was not yet a match,⁶² for not any city joined them, there were however comrades, and deserters, and waifs, but around Thurii he seized the mountains and the city itself, and in fact hindered both merchants bringing in either gold or silver money and of themselves those having acquired it, but only buying of

⁶⁰ I.e., two thirds.

⁶¹ Deserters from the Roman army.

⁶² But he in fact, Ὁ δὲ...μὲν, on the road to Rome, τῆς...ἕς Ἑρώμην ὁδοῦ, changed his mind, μετέγνω, holding, ἔχων, that, ὡς, having been equipped militarily, στρατιωτικῶς ὀπλισμένον, but not the whole army, οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον, he was not yet a match, οὐπω γεγονῶς ἀξιόμαχος.

much iron and copper and they bringing it in were not harmed; whence, abounding in heaps of resources, they were well supplied and a crowd came forth for plunder. And when they came to arms with the Romans again they then both prevailed and laden with spoils returned.

Crassus marches on Spartacus, 71 B.C.

[1.14.118] Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερός αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος⁶³ ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος⁶⁴ ὡς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης⁶⁵ τε στρατηγῶν⁶⁶ ἄλλων χειροτονίας⁶⁷ ὄκνος ἐπέιχεν⁶⁸ ἅπαντας καὶ παρήγγελλεν⁶⁹ οὐδεὶς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο⁷⁰ στρατηγήσειν⁷¹ καὶ τέλεσιν ἔξ ἄλλοις ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον: ἀφικόμενος⁷² δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων δύο προσέλαβε. Καὶ τῶνδε μὲν αὐτίκα διακληρώσας⁷³ ὡς πολλάκις ἠττημένων⁷⁴ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν.⁷⁵ Οἱ δ' οὐχ οὕτω νομίζουσιν,⁷⁶ ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ

⁶³ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of γελάω, 'laugh.'

⁶⁴ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of καταφρονέω, 'look down upon, think slightly of.'

⁶⁵ fem. gen. aor. pass. part. of προθέω from προτίθημι, 'do.'

⁶⁶ masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of στρατηγέω, 'be general.'

⁶⁷ fem. acc. pl. of χειροτονία, 'to vote by the showing of hands.'

⁶⁸ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ἐπέχω, 'stay, pause, hesitate.'

⁶⁹ 3rd sing. imperf./aor. act. ind. of παραγγέλλω, 'canvass for office.'

⁷⁰ 3rd. sing. aor. mid. ind. of ἀναδέχομαι, 'to take upon oneself, undertake.'

⁷¹ fut. inf. act. of στρατηγέω, 'to be general.'

⁷² masc. nom. sing. aor. mid. part. of ἀφικνέομαι, 'come, arrive at, reach.'

⁷³ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of διακληρώω, 'choose by lot.'

⁷⁴ masc./fem./neut. gen. pl. perf. mid./pass. part. of ἡσάομαι, 'to be less, to be proved the lesser, overcome.'

⁷⁵ 3rd sing. aor./imperf. act. ind. of διαφθείρω, 'to destroy utterly.'

⁷⁶ masc./neut. dat. pl. pres. act. part. of νομίζω, 'custom.'

στρατῶ συμβαλόντα⁷⁷ καὶ τόνδε καὶ ἡττημένον,⁷⁸ πάντων διακληρῶσαι τὸ δέκατον καὶ ἀνελεῖν⁷⁹ ἐς τετρακισχιλίους,⁸⁰ οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνδοιάσαντα.⁸¹ Ὡποτέρως δ' ἔπραξε,⁸² φοβερώτερος⁸³ αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης⁸⁴ φανείς⁸⁵ αὐτίκα μυρίων Σπαρτακείων ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν που στρατοπεδεύοντων ἐκράτει καὶ δύο αὐτῶν μέρη κατακανῶν⁸⁶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤλαυνε τὸν Σπάρτακον σὺν καταφρονήσει. Νικήσας⁸⁷ δὲ καὶ τόνδε λαμπρῶς ἐδίωκε⁸⁸ φεύγοντα⁸⁹ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς διαπλευσούμενον⁹⁰ ἐς Σικελίαν καὶ καταλαβῶν⁹¹ ἀπετάφρευε⁹² καὶ ἀπετειχίζε⁹³ καὶ ἀπεσταύρου.⁹⁴

And the war, which in the beginning was laughed at and that of gladiators was despised, had already lasted for three years and was dreadful to them. And when doing of voting by the show of hands for other generals, fear made everyone hesitate and not one canvassed for office until Licinius Crassus, distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, took it upon himself to be general and with six other

⁷⁷ masc. acc. sing. aor. act. part. of συμβάλλω, 'bring together, unite, contribute.'

⁷⁸ masc. acc. sing. perf. mid./pass. part. of ἡσσάομαι, 'to be less, to be proved the lesser, overcome.'

⁷⁹ aor. inf. act. of ἀναιρέω, 'kill, or destroy.'

⁸⁰ masc. acc. pl. of τετρακισχίλιοι, 'four thousand.'

⁸¹ masc. acc. sing. aor. act. part. of ἐνδοιάζω, 'be in doubt.'

⁸² 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of πράσσω, 'brought about.'

⁸³ masc. nom. sing. comp. adj. of φοβερός, 'more dangerous, or fearful.'

⁸⁴ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἡττης = 'with respect to defeat in war.'

⁸⁵ masc. nom. sing. aor. pass. part. of φαίνω, 'bring to light, cause to appear,' i.e. αὐτοῖς... φανείς αὐτίκα = 'it occurred to them at once.'

⁸⁶ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of κατάκainω, 'kill.'

⁸⁷ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of νικάω, 'conquer, prevail.'

⁸⁸ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of διώκω, 'pursue, chase.'

⁸⁹ masc. acc. sing. pres. act. part. of φεύγω, 'flee, take flight, avoid, escape'

⁹⁰ masc. acc. sing. fut. mid. part. of διαπλέω, 'sail through.'

⁹¹ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of καταλαμβάνω, 'seize, lay hold of, catch, overtake.'

⁹² 3rd sing imperf. act. ind. of ἀποταφρεύω, 'fence off with a ditch.'

⁹³ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ἀποτειχίζω, 'wall off.'

⁹⁴ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ἀποσταυρόω, 'fence off with a palisade.'

legions marched upon Spartacus, and arriving, took command of the two from the Consuls. And of these, for being overcome too often, choose by lot whose fate be death, he forthwith destroyed a tenth; but not in the customary manner, but all together; both to this army which was in order and to the one which had been defeated, doubtlessly, though a great number, assigned a tenth of the whole by lot and killed up to four thousand.⁹⁵ But it occurred to them at once which of the two brought about more danger for defeat in war, prevailing over countless numbers of Spartacus' men encamped somewhere, and killing two thirds of them, marched at once upon Spartacus in contempt. And being victorious at this, brilliantly pursuing him fleeing to the sea that he should sail across to Sicily and caught him and surrounded him with a ditch and a wall and a palisade.

Pompey sent against Spartacus

[1.14.119] Βιαζομένου⁹⁶ δ' ἐς τὴν Σαυνίτιδα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου διαδραμεῖν,⁹⁷ ἔκτεινεν⁹⁸ ὁ Κράσσοσ ἐς ἑξακισχιλίους ἄλλους περὶ ἔω καὶ περὶ δειλίην ἐς τοσοῦσδε ἑτέρους, τριῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ μόνων ἀποθανόντων⁹⁹ καὶ ἑπτὰ τρωθέντων:¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ doubtlessly, οὐδὲν...ἐνδοιάσαντα, though a great number, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος, assigned a tenth of the whole by lot, πάντων διακληρῶσαι τὸ δέκατον, and killed, καὶ ἀνελεῖν, up to four thousand, ἐς τετρακισχιλίους.

⁹⁶ masc. gen. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of βιάζω, 'forced, constrain.'

⁹⁷ aor. inf. act., of διατρέχω, 'run across.'

⁹⁸ 3rd sing. aor./imperf. act. ind. of κτείνω, 'kill or slay.'

⁹⁹ masc. gen. pl. aor. act. part. of ἀποθνήσκω, 'die.'

¹⁰⁰ masc. gen. pl. aor. pass. part. of τιτρώσκω, 'wound.'

τοσήδε ἦν αὐτίκα διὰ τὴν κόλασιν ἐς τὸ τῆς νίκης θάρσος μεταβολή. Σπάρτακος δὲ ἰππέας¹⁰¹ ποθὲν¹⁰² προσιόντας¹⁰³ αὐτῶ περιμένων¹⁰⁴ οὐκέτι¹⁰⁵ μὲν ἐς μάχην ἤει¹⁰⁶ τῶ στρατῶ παντί, πολλὰ δ' ἠνώχλει τοῖς περικαθημένοις ἀνὰ μέρος,¹⁰⁷ ἄφνω τε καὶ συνεχῶς αὐτοῖς ἐπιπίπτων,¹⁰⁸ φακέλους τε ξύλων ἐς τὴν τάφρον ἐμβάλλων κατέκαιε καὶ τὸν πόνον αὐτοῖς δύσεργον ἐποίει. Αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν¹⁰⁹ ἐν τῶ μεταιχμῖω, δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίους τὴν ὄψιν ὧν πείσσονται,¹¹⁰ μὴ κρατοῦντες.¹¹¹ Ὡς δ' ἐν ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς πολιορκίας πυνθανόμενοι¹¹² καὶ ἀδοξοῦντες,¹¹³ εἰ χρόνιος αὐτοῖς ἔσται¹¹⁴ πόλεμος μονομάχων, προσκατέλεγον¹¹⁵ ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν Πομπήιον ἄρτι ἀφικόμενον¹¹⁶ ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, πιστεύοντες¹¹⁷ ἤδη δυσχερὲς εἶναι καὶ μέγα τὸ Σπαρτάκειον ἔργον.

On account of Spartacus' confinement, he ran across into Samnite lands, but they were so very different that out of the Roman army only three died and seven were wounded; and Crassus killed up to six thousand of them around dawn and in the afternoon: they

¹⁰¹ masc. acc. pl. of ἰππεύς, 'one who fights from a chariot.'

¹⁰² adv. ποθεν = 'from some place.'

¹⁰³ masc. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of πρόσσεμι, 'go to, or towards, approach, come, arrive.'

¹⁰⁴ masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of περιμένω, 'to wait for, await.'

¹⁰⁵ adv. οὐκέτι, 'no longer, no further, no more.'

¹⁰⁶ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of εἶμι, 'to go.'

¹⁰⁷ ἀνὰ μέρος = 'in turn, successively.'

¹⁰⁸ masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of ἐπιπίπτω, 'fall upon, attack, assail.'

¹⁰⁹ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of κρεμάννυμι, 'hang up, suspend; crucify.'

¹¹⁰ 3rd pl. fut. mid. ind. of πάσχω, 'happen, happen to one.'

¹¹¹ masc. nom. pl. pres. act. part. of κρατέω, 'conquer, prevail.'

¹¹² masc. nom. pl. pres. mid./pass. part. of πυνθάνομαι, 'learn.'

¹¹³ masc. nom. pl. pres. act. part. of ἀδοξέω, 'to be held in no esteem, to have a bad opinion of.'

¹¹⁴ 3rd sing. fut. mid. ind. of εἶμι, 'to be.'

¹¹⁵ 3rd pl. perf. act. ind. of προσκαταλέγω, 'to enroll besides.'

¹¹⁶ masc. acc. sing. aor. mid. part. of ἀφικνέομαι, 'arrive, come.'

¹¹⁷ masc. nom. pl. pres. act. part. of πιστεύω, 'trust, put faith in, rely on.'

were at once sufficiently changed to courage for victory by the chastisement. Spartacus waiting for charioteers to come to him from somewhere no long went into battle with the whole army, but harassed the besiegers with sudden attacks on them, repeatedly throwing bundles of wood into the ditch and setting them on fire making their work very difficult. And he crucified a Roman prisoner in between the two armies, showing them what would happen to them if they did not prevail. But when the Roman's in town learned of the siege, supposing that the war with the gladiators would be long lasting enrolled in the campaign Pompey besides, who had just returned from Iberia, believing the job on Spartacus was already large and hard to handle.

Spartacus Defeated

[1.14.120] Διὰ δὲ τὴν χειροτονίαν τήνδε καὶ Κράσσος, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κλέος τοῦ πολέμου γένοιτο¹¹⁸ Πομπηίου, πάντα τρόπον ἐπειγόμενος¹¹⁹ ἐπεχείρει¹²⁰ τῷ Σπαρτάκῳ, καὶ ὁ Σπάρτακος, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν¹²¹ ἀξιῶν,¹²² ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προουκαλεῖτο.¹²³ Ὑπερορώμενος¹²⁴ δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διακινδυνεύειν¹²⁵ τε ἔγνω¹²⁶ καί,

¹¹⁸ 3rd sing. aor. mid. opt. of γίγνομαι, 'to come into being.'

¹¹⁹ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of ἐπείγω, 'press by weight, hasten to.'

¹²⁰ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ἐπιχειρέω, 'to put one's hand to, to work at, attempt.'

¹²¹ aor. inf. act. of προλαμβάνω, 'anticipate.'

¹²² masc. nom. sing. pres. act. part. of ἀξιόω, 'value, esteem, think worthy.'

¹²³ 3rd sing. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of προουκαλέω, 'call forth.'

¹²⁴ masc. nom. sing. pres. mid./pass. part. of ὑπεροράω, 'looked down upon, despise, disdain, overlook.'

¹²⁵ pres. inf. act. of διακινδυνεύω, 'run all risks, make a desperate attempt.'

¹²⁶ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of γινώσκω, 'come to know, perceive; think, form a judgment.'

παρόντων¹²⁷ οἱ τῶν ἰππέων ἤδη, ὤσατο¹²⁸ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ διὰ τοῦ περιτειχίσματος καὶ ἔφυγεν¹²⁹ ἐπὶ Βρεντέσιον, Κράσσου διώκοντος.¹³⁰ Ὡς δὲ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἔμαθεν¹³¹ Σπάρτακος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Μιθριδάτῃ νίκης ἐπανιόντα,¹³² εἶναι,¹³³ πάντων ἀπογνοῦς¹³⁴ ἐς χειρᾶς ἦει¹³⁵ τῷ Κράσσῳ μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ τότε πλήθους: γενομένης¹³⁶ δὲ τῆς μάχης μακροῦς τε καὶ καρτεροῦς¹³⁷ ὡς ἐν ἀπογνώσει¹³⁸ τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκειται¹³⁹ ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ¹⁴⁰ καὶ συγκάμψας¹⁴¹ τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν¹⁴² τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας¹⁴³ ἀπεμάχετο,¹⁴⁴ μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες¹⁴⁵ ἔπεσον.¹⁴⁶ Ὁ τε λοιπὸς αὐτοῦ στρατὸς ἀκόσμως ἤδη κατεκόπτοντο¹⁴⁷ κατὰ πλῆθος, ὡς φόνον γενέσθαι¹⁴⁸ τῶν μὲν οὐδ' εὐαρίθμητον, Ῥωμαίων δὲ ἐς χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ τὸν Σπαρτάκου νέκυν οὐχ

¹²⁷ masc. gen. pl. pres. act. part. of *πάρεμι*, 'to be by or near one, ready, at hand, to have arrived at, to have come.'

¹²⁸ 3rd sing. aor. mid. ind. of *ὠθέω*, 'thrust, push, push matters on, press forward.'

¹²⁹ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of *φεύγω*, 'flee, take flight.'

¹³⁰ masc. gen. sing. pres. act. part. of *διώκω*, 'cause to run, pursue, chase.'

¹³¹ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of *μανθάνω*, 'learn.'

¹³² masc. acc. sing. pres. act. part. of *ἐπάνεμι*, 'return.'

¹³³ pres. inf. act. of *εἶμι*, 'to be.'

¹³⁴ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of *ἀπογιγνώσκω*, 'depart from a judgment, give up a design, despair of.'

¹³⁵ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of *εἶμι*, 'to go.'

¹³⁶ fem. gen. sing. aor. mid. part. of *γίγνομαι*, 'come to be.'

¹³⁷ fem. gen. sing. of *καρτερός*, 'strong, staunch, possessed of, in control of, determined, violently.'

¹³⁸ 2nd sing. fut. mid. ind. of *ἀπογιγνώσκω*.

¹³⁹ 3rd sing. pres. mid.pass. ind. of *τιτρώσκω*, 'wound, injure.'

¹⁴⁰ neut. dat. sing. dim. of *δοράτιον*, dim of *δόρυ*, 'spear, or shaft of a spear.'

¹⁴¹ masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of *συγκάμπτω*, 'bend, bend down.'

¹⁴² masc. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of *προβάλλω*, 'put forward.'

¹⁴³ masc. acc. pl. pres. act. part. of *ἔπειμι*, 'assailants.'

¹⁴⁴ 3rd sing. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of *ἀπομάχομαι*, 'fight from, finish a battle, fight it out.'

¹⁴⁵ masc. nom. pl. aor. pass. part. of *κυκλώω*, 'encircle, surround.'

¹⁴⁶ 3rd sing. aor. act. ind. of *πίπτω*, 'fall violently upon.'

¹⁴⁷ 3rd pl. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of *κατακόπτω*, 'cut down, massacre, butcher.'

¹⁴⁸ aor. mid. inf. of *γίγνομαι*, 'come to be.'

εύρεθῆναι.¹⁴⁹ Πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλῆθος ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν, ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόν:¹⁵⁰ ἐφ' οὓς ὁ Κράσσος ἀνέβαινε.¹⁵¹ Οἱ δὲ διελόντες¹⁵² ἑαυτοὺς ἐς τέσσαρα μέρη ἀπεμάχοντο,¹⁵³ μέχρι πάντες ἀπώλοντο¹⁵⁴ πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων,¹⁵⁵ οἱ ληφθέντες¹⁵⁶ ἐκρεμάσθησαν¹⁵⁷ ἀνά ὅλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν.

But on account of this vote and in order that the fame for the war would not become Pompey's, Crassus was eager to try his hand at turning everything around against Spartacus, and Spartacus anticipating Pompey's valor, called Crassus forth for an agreement, but when it was being overlooked as beneath him he resolved to run all risks and, because of the coming of the charioteers, he pressed matters forward with the whole army against the wall and fled to Brundisium with Crassus pursuing. But when Spartacus learned that Lucullus was returning to Brundisium after a victory over Mithridates, he despaired of everything and, among his forces, which at that time were numerous, went hand to hand with Crassus: but the battle became both long and violent, as you would not reject on account of such a great number of men, Spartacus was wounded in the thigh by a spear and bent down on one knee and put forward a shield and fighting it out against those assailing him until both he and a great many on

¹⁴⁹ aor. pass. inf. of εὐρίσκω, 'find.'

¹⁵⁰ neut. nom. sing. aor. act. part. of διαφεύγω, 'escape.'

¹⁵¹ 3rd sing. imperf. act. ind. of ἀναβαίνω, 'go up.'

¹⁵² masc. nom. pl. aor. act. ind. of διαίρω, 'divide.'

¹⁵³ 3rd. pl. imperf. mid./pass. ind. of ἀπομάχομαι.

¹⁵⁴ 3rd pl. aor. mid. ind. of ἀπόλλυμι, 'kill or utterly destroy.'

¹⁵⁵ ἑξακισχίλιοι = six thousand.

¹⁵⁶ masc. nom. pl. aor. pass. part. of λαμβάνω, 'seize.'

¹⁵⁷ 3rd pl. aor. pass. ind. of κρεμάννυμι, 'hung up, or crucified.'

both sides encircling him fell violently. The remainder of his army, already in disorder, was butchered in crowds, such was the slaughter to come that it was not easy to count them, of the Romans up to one thousand men, the body of Spartacus was not to be found. Still there was a great number of the multitude which escaped out of the battle field into the mountains, whom Crassus went up after. But they divided themselves into four parts fighting desperately until they all were killed except for six thousand who were all seized and hung up along the road from Capua to Rome.

Works Cited

Appian, *The Civil Wars*, L. Mendelssohn, Leipzig: Teubner: 1879.

Fobes, Francis H., *Philosophical Greek: An Introduction*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 1957.

Liddell, Henry George and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, revised and augmented throughout by Henry Stuart Jones, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1996.

Mastrorarde, Donald J., *Introduction to Attic Greek*, Berkeley: University of California Press: 1993.

Perseus Digital Library Project, Ed. Gregory R. Crane, Tufts University: Somerville, MA: 2007. URL: <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu>

Smyth, Herbert Weir, *Greek Grammar*, revised by Gordon M. Lessing, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press: 1984.

Tacitus, Cornelius, *Opera Minora*, Henry Furneaux, Clarendon Press: Oxford: 1900.