

casual patron knows the richness of the material and the splendor and poignancy of the romance. It is now offered with the happy confidence that this immortal story has been filmed to the continual delight of millions of theatergoers in every part of the world where the new art holds sway.

The Principal Ancient Sources on Spartacus

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Greek historians Plutarch and Appian provide us with the longest and best-known accounts of the rebellion of Spartacus (73–71 a.c.). They appear as the first of the translations included here. Roman historians follow according to their authors' chronology; only the most important passages are included. The ancient sources on the Roman slave wars and on Spartacus are available in translation in the following works: Thomas Wiedemann, *Greek and Roman Slavery* (1981; rpt. New York and London: Routledge, 2004); Zvi Yavetz, *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome* (New Brunswick and Oxford: Transaction Books, 1988; rpt. 1990); *Spartacus and the Slave Wars: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Brent D. Shaw (Boston and New York: Bedford / St. Martin's, 2001); Patrick McGushin, *Sallust: The Histories*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), provides the fragments on Spartacus from Book 3 of Sallust's lost *Histories* (translations: pages 34–37 and 39; detailed notes: pages 133–136). His and Shaw's translations incorporate "major reconstruction" (McGushin, 119) of some fragments. These reconstructions and other words or phrases surviving in the fragments without immediate context are not included here.

All translations are my own except those of passages by Plutarch, Appian, and Florus. These are taken, respectively, from *Plutarch's Lives*, tr. Bernadotte Perrin, vols. 3 and 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press / London: Heinemann, 1916 and 1917); *Appian's Roman History*, tr. Horace White, rev. E. Hiff Robson, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press / London: Heinemann, 1913); and *Lucius Annaeus Florus: Epitome of Roman History*, tr. Edward Seymour Forster (Cambridge: Harvard University Press / London: Heinemann, 1929). Translators' notes have been omitted. My editorial additions appear in square brackets.

1. Plutarch (Early Second Century A.D.)

Crassus 8-11

8. The insurrection of the gladiators and their devastation of Italy, which is generally called the war of Spartacus, had its origin as follows. A certain Lentulus Batiatus had a school of gladiators at Capua, most of whom were Gauls and Thracians. Through no misconduct of theirs, but owing to the injustice of their owner, they were kept in close confinement and reserved for gladiatorial combats. Two hundred of these planned to make their escape, and when information was laid against them, those who got wind of it and succeeded in getting away, seventy-eight in number, seized cleavers and spits from some kitchen and sallied out. On the road they fell in with waggons conveying gladiators' weapons to another city; these they plundered and armed themselves. Then they took up a strong position and elected three leaders. The first of these was Spartacus, a Thracian of Nomadic stock, possessed not only of great courage and strength, but also in sagacity and culture superior to his fortune, and more Hellenic than Thracian. It is said that when he was first brought to Rome to be sold, a serpent was seen coiled about his face as he slept, and his wife, who was of the same tribe as Spartacus, a prophetess, and subject to visitations of the Dionysiac frenzy, declared it the sign of a great and formidable power which would attend him to a fortunate issue. This woman shared in his escape and was then living with him.

9. To begin with, the gladiators repulsed the soldiers who came against them from Capua, and getting hold of many arms of real warfare, they gladly took these in exchange for their own, casting away their gladiatorial weapons as dishonourable and barbarous. Then Clodius the praetor was sent out from Rome against them with three thousand soldiers, and laid siege to them on a hill which had but one ascent, and that a narrow and difficult one, which Clodius closely watched; everywhere else there were smooth and precipitous cliffs. But the top of the hill was covered with a wild vine of abundant growth, from which the besieged cut off the serviceable branches, and wove these into strong ladders of such strength and length that when they were fastened at the top they reached along the face of the cliff to the plain below. On these they descended safely, all but one man, who remained above to attend to the arms. When the rest had got down, he began to drop the arms, and after he had thrown them all down, got away himself also last of all in safety. Of all this the Romans were ignorant, and therefore their

enemy surrounded them, threw them into consternation by the suddenness of the attack, put them to flight, and took their camp. They were also joined by many of the herdsmen and shepherds of the region, sturdy men and swift of foot, some of whom they armed fully, and employed others as scouts and light infantry.

In the second place, Publius Varinus [i.e., Varinius], the praetor, was sent out against them, whose lieutenant, a certain Furlus, with two thousand soldiers, they first engaged and routed; then Spartacus narrowly watched the movements of Cossinius, who had been sent out with a large force to advise and assist Varinus in the command, and came near seizing him as he was bathing near Salinae. Cossinius barely escaped with much difficulty, and Spartacus at once seized his baggage, pressed hard upon him in pursuit, and took his camp with great slaughter. Cossinius also fell. By defeating the praetor himself in many battles, and finally capturing his lictors and the very horse he rode, Spartacus was soon great and formidable; but he took a proper view of the situation, and since he could not expect to overcome the Roman power, began to lead his army toward the Alps, thinking it necessary for them to cross the mountains and go to their respective homes, some to Thrace, and some to Gaul. But his men were now strong in numbers and full of confidence, and would not listen to him, but went ravaging over Italy.

It was now no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt that harassed the senate, but they were constrained by their fear and peril to send both consuls into the field, as they would to a war of the utmost difficulty and magnitude. Gellius, one of the consuls, fell suddenly upon the Germans, who were so insolent and bold as to separate themselves from the main body of Spartacus, and cut them all to pieces; but when Lentulus, the other consul, had surrounded the enemy with large forces, Spartacus rushed upon them, joined battle, defeated the legates of Lentulus, and seized all their baggage. Then, as he was forcing his way towards the Alps, he was met by Cassius, the governor of Cisalpine Gaul, with an army of ten thousand men, and in the battle that ensued, Cassius was defeated, lost many men, and escaped himself with difficulty.

10. On learning of this, the senate angrily ordered the consuls to keep quiet, and chose Crassus to conduct the war, and many of the nobles were induced by his reputation and their friendship for him to serve under him. Crassus himself, accordingly, took position on the borders of Picenum, expecting to receive the attack of Spartacus, who was hastening thither; and he sent Mummius, his legate, with two legions, by a circuitous route, with orders to follow the enemy, but not to

join battle nor even skirmish with them. Mummius, however, at the first promising opportunity, gave battle and was defeated; many of his men were slain, and many of them threw away their arms and fled for their lives. Crassus gave Mummius himself a rough reception, and when he armed his soldiers anew, made them give pledges that they would keep their arms. Five hundred of them, moreover, who had shown the greatest cowardice and been first to fly, he divided into fifty decades, and put to death one from each decade, on whom the lot fell, thus reviving, after the lapse of many years, an ancient mode of punishing the soldiers. For disgrace also attaches to this manner of death, and many horrible and repulsive features attend the punishment, which the whole army witnesses.

When he had thus disciplined his men, he led them against the enemy. But Spartacus avoided him, and retired through Lucania to the sea. At the Straits, he chanced upon some Cilician pirate craft, and determined to seize Sicily. By throwing two thousand men into the island, he thought to kindle anew the servile war there, which had not long been extinguished, and needed only a little additional fuel. But the Cilicians, after coming to terms with him and receiving his gifts, deceived him and sailed away. So Spartacus marched back again from the sea and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium. Crassus now came up, and observing that the nature of the place suggested what must be done, he determined to build a wall across the isthmus, thereby at once keeping his soldiers from idleness, and his enemies from provisions. Now the task was a huge one and difficult, but he accomplished and finished it, contrary to all expectation, in a short time, running a ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land three hundred furlongs in length and fifteen feet in width and depth alike. Above the ditch he also built a wall of astonishing height and strength. All this work Spartacus neglected and despised at first; but soon his provisions began to fail, and when he wanted to sally forth from the peninsula, he saw that he was walled in, and that there was nothing more to be had there. He therefore waited for a snowy night and a wintry storm, when he filled up a small portion of the ditch with earth and timber and the boughs of trees, and so threw a third part of his force across.

11. Crassus was now in fear lest some impulse to march upon Rome should seize Spartacus, but took heart when he saw that many of the gladiator's men had seceded after a quarrel with him, and were encamped by themselves on a Lucanian lake. This lake, they say, changes from time to time in the character of its water, becoming sweet, and then again bitter and undrinkable. Upon this detachment Crassus fell, and

drove them away from the lake, but he was robbed of the slaughter and pursuit of the fugitives by the sudden appearance of Spartacus, who checked their flight.

Before this Crassus had written to the senate that they must summon Lucullus from Thrace and Pompey from Spain, but he was sorry now that he had done so, and was eager to bring the war to an end before those generals came. He knew that the success would be ascribed to the one who came up with assistance, and not to himself. Accordingly, in the first place, he determined to attack those of the enemy who had seceded from the rest and were campaigning on their own account (they were commanded by Caius Canicius and Castus), and with this in view, sent out six thousand men to preoccupy a certain eminence, bidding them keep their attempt a secret. And they did try to elude observation by covering up their helmets, but they were seen by two women who were sacrificing for the enemy, and would have been in peril of their lives had not Crassus quickly made his appearance and given battle, the most stubbornly contested of all; for although he slew twelve thousand three hundred men in it, he found only two who were wounded in the back. The rest all died standing in the ranks and fighting the Romans.

After the defeat of this detachment, Spartacus retired to the mountains of Petelia, followed closely by Quintus, one of the officers of Crassus, and by Scrophas, the quaestor, who hung upon the enemy's rear. But when Spartacus faced about, there was a great rout of the Romans, and they barely managed to drag the quaestor, who had been wounded, away into safety. This success was the ruin of Spartacus, for it filled his slaves with over-confidence. They would no longer consent to avoid battle, and would not even obey their leaders, but surrounded them as soon as they began to march, with arms in their hands, and forced them to lead back through Lucania against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus also most desired. For Pompey's approach was already announced, and there were not a few who publicly proclaimed that the victory in this war belonged to him; he had only to come and fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, pressed on to finish the struggle himself, and having encamped near the enemy, began to dig a trench. Into this the slaves leaped and began to fight with those who were working there, and since fresh men from both sides kept coming up to help their comrades, Spartacus saw the necessity that was upon him, and drew up his whole army in order of battle. In the first place, when his horse was brought to him, he drew his sword, and saying that if he won the day he would have many fine horses of the enemy's, but if he lost it

he did not want any, he slew his horse. Then pushing his way towards Crassus himself through many flying weapons and wounded men, he did not indeed reach him, but slew two centurions who fell upon him together. Finally, after his companions had taken to flight, he stood alone, surrounded by a multitude of foes, and was still defending himself when he was cut down. But although Crassus had been fortunate, had shown most excellent generalship, and had exposed his person to danger, nevertheless, his success did not fail to enhance the reputation of Pompey. For the fugitives from the battle encountered that general and were cut to pieces, so he could write to the senate that in open battle, indeed, Crassus had conquered the slaves, but that he himself had extirpated the war. Pompey, accordingly, for his victories over Sertorius and in Spain, celebrated a splendid triumph; but Crassus, for all his self-approval, did not venture to ask for the major triumph, and it was thought ignoble and mean in him to celebrate even the minor triumph on foot, called the ovation, for a servile war.

Pompey 21.1-2

After this, he [Pompey] remained in Spain long enough to quell the greatest disorders and compose and settle such affairs as were in the most inflammatory state; then he led his army back to Italy, where, as chance would have it, he found the servile war at its height. For this reason, too, Crassus, who had the command in that war, precipitated the [final] battle [against Spartacus] at great hazard, and was successful, killing twelve thousand three hundred of the enemy. Even in this success, however, fortune somehow or other included Pompey, since five thousand fugitives from the battle fell in his way, all of whom he slew, and then stole a march on Crassus by writing to the senate that Crassus had conquered the gladiators in a pitched battle, but that he himself had extirpated the war entirely. And it was agreeable to the Romans to hear this said and to repeat it, so kindly did they feel towards him.

2. Appian, *The Civil Wars* 1.14.111 and 116-121.1 (early to mid-second century A.D.)

111. The following year [73 B.C.] . . . the gladiatorial war in Italy . . . started suddenly and became very serious.

116. At the same time Spartacus, a Thracian by birth, who had once served as a soldier with the Romans, but had since been a prisoner and

sold for a gladiator, and was in the gladiatorial training-school at Capua, persuaded about seventy of his comrades to strike for their own freedom rather than for the amusement of spectators. They overcame the guards and ran away, arming themselves with clubs and daggers that they took from people on the roads, and took refuge on Mount Vesuvius. There many fugitive slaves and even some freemen from the fields joined Spartacus, and he plundered the neighbouring country, having for subordinate officers two gladiators named Oenomaus and Crixus. As he divided the plunder impartially he soon had plenty of men. Varinius Glaber was first sent against him and afterwards Publius Valerius, not with regular armies, but with forces picked up in haste and at random, for the Romans did not consider this a war as yet, but a raid, something like an outbreak of robbery. They attacked Spartacus and were beaten. Spartacus even captured the horse of Varinius; so narrowly did the very general of the Romans escape being captured by a gladiator.

After this still greater numbers flocked to Spartacus till his army numbered 70,000 men. For these he manufactured weapons and collected equipment, whereas Rome now sent out the consuls with two legions. 117. One of them overcame Crixus with 30,000 men near Mount Garganus, two-thirds of whom perished together with himself. Spartacus endeavoured to make his way through the Apennines to the Alps and the Gallic country, but one of the consuls anticipated him and hindered his flight while the other hung upon his rear. He turned upon them one after the other and beat them in detail. They retreated in confusion in different directions. Spartacus sacrificed 300 Roman prisoners to the shade of Crixus, and marched on Rome with 120,000 foot, having burned all his useless material, killed all his prisoners, and butchered his pack-animals in order to expedite his movement. Many deserters offered themselves to him, but he would not accept them. The consuls again met him in the country of Picenum. Here there was fought another great battle and there was, too, another great defeat for the Romans.

Spartacus changed his intention of marching on Rome. He did not consider himself ready as yet for that kind of a fight, as his whole force was not suitably armed, for no city had joined him, but only slaves, deserters, and riff-raff. However, he occupied the mountains around Thurii and took the city itself. He prohibited the bringing in of gold or silver by merchants, and would not allow his own men to acquire any, but he bought largely of iron and brass and did not interfere with those who dealt in these articles. Supplied with abundant material from this source his men provided themselves with plenty of arms and made frequent forays for the time being. When they next came to an engagement

with the Romans they were again victorious, and returned laden with spoils.

118. This war, so formidable to the Romans (although ridiculed and despised in the beginning, as being merely the work of gladiators), had now lasted three years. When the election of new praetors came on, fear fell upon all, and nobody offered himself as a candidate until Licinius Crassus, a man distinguished among the Romans for birth and wealth, assumed the praetorship and marched against Spartacus with six new legions. When he arrived at his destination he received also the two legions of the consuls, whom he decimated by lot for their bad conduct in several battles. Some say that Crassus, too, having engaged in battle with his whole army, and having been defeated, decimated the whole army and was not deterred by their numbers, but destroyed about 4000 of them. Whichever way it was, when he had once demonstrated to them that he was more dangerous to them than the enemy, he overcame immediately 10,000 of the Spartacans, who were encamped somewhere in a detached position, and killed two-thirds of them. He then marched boldly against Spartacus himself, vanquished him in a brilliant engagement, and pursued his fleeing forces to the sea, where they tried to pass over to Sicily. He overtook them and enclosed them with a line of circumvallation consisting of ditch, wall, and paling.

119. Spartacus tried to break through and make an incursion into the Samnite country, but Crassus slew about 6000 of his men in the morning and as many more towards evening. Only three of the Roman army were killed and seven wounded, so great was the improvement in their *moral* inspired by the recent punishment. Spartacus, who was expecting a reinforcement of horse from somewhere, no longer went into battle with his whole army, but harassed the besiegers by frequent sallies here and there. He fell upon them unexpectedly and continually, threw bundles of fagots into the ditch and set them on fire and made their labour difficult. He also crucified a Roman prisoner in the space between the two armies to show his own men what fate awaited them if they did not conquer. But when the Romans in the city heard of the siege they thought it would be disgraceful if this war against gladiators should be prolonged. Believing also that the work still to be done against Spartacus was great and severe they ordered up the army of Pompey, which had just arrived from Spain, as a reinforcement.

120. On account of this vote Crassus tried in every way to come to an engagement with Spartacus so that Pompey might not reap the glory of the war. Spartacus himself, thinking to anticipate Pompey, invited

Crassus to come to terms with him. When his proposals were rejected with scorn he resolved to risk a battle, and as his cavalry had arrived he made a dash with his whole army through the lines of the besieging force and pushed on to Brundisium with Crassus in pursuit. When Spartacus learned that Lucullus had just arrived in Brundisium from his victory over Mithridates he despaired of everything and brought his forces, which were even then very numerous, to close quarters with Crassus. The battle was long and bloody, as might have been expected with so many thousands of desperate men. Spartacus was wounded in the thigh with a spear and sank upon his knee, holding his shield in front of him and contending in this way against his assailants until he and the great mass of those with him were surrounded and slain. The Roman loss was about 1000. The body of Spartacus was not found. A large number of his men fled from the battle-field to the mountains and Crassus followed them thither. They divided themselves in four parts, and continued to fight until they all perished except 6000, who were captured and crucified along the whole road from Capua to Rome.

121. Crassus accomplished his task within six months, whence arose a contention for honours between himself and Pompey.

3. SALLUST, Fragments from Book 3 of *The Histories* (ca. 44–35 B.C.)

3.96 (Maurenbrecher) = 3.64 (McGushin) . . . over the fire they heated . . . their stakes, which gave them the appearance needed for war and with which it was possible to inflict wounds almost as if they had been of iron. But as the fugitive slaves were busy with this, Varinius had sent his quaestor Gaius Thoranius [i.e., Toranius] to Rome so that the true situation could easily be assessed in the presence of someone who had been there. For a part of Varinius' soldiers was sick from the oppressive autumn weather, none were returning to their legionary standards from their last defeat and flight although a strict command ordered them to, and – this was the worst disgrace – the rest were shirking their military duties. Nevertheless, with the help of four thousand soldiers still willing to serve . . . [Varinius] meanwhile fortified [his camp] under great exertions. Then the runaways, who had used up their supplies and to avoid an attack from the nearby enemy while they were out looting, all left in utter silence during the second night watch, leaving only a trumpeter in their camp. For they were used to the soldierly practice of posting

watchmen and guards and carrying out other military tasks. They had propped up fresh corpses, secured to firm stakes, to look like guards to everybody who saw them from far away, and they had built numerous fires . . . When it was broad daylight, Varinius wondered what had happened to the insults and the showers of rocks that the fugitive slaves were used to hurling and also noticed the absence of noise, commotion, and general sounds of those who were usually besetting him all around. So he sent his cavalry to reconnoiter up a hill that overlooked all the surroundings . . . to [follow] quickly their tracks, believing them, however, far away . . . A few days later, contrary to custom, our troops' confidence returned, and their tongues were ready for action, so Varinius, spurred on but disregarding what he himself had seen happen, led his soldiers, raw and untried recruits and those shocked by the defeats of others, at a brisk pace against the fugitive slaves' camp. But now they were quiet and did not approach a battle with as much swagger as they had demanded one before. But the other side had argued among themselves in council and were now close to splitting apart, Crixus and his tribes, Gauls and Germans, wanted to meet the enemy head on and voluntarily offer battle; on the other hand, Spartacus . . .

3.98 B-C (Maurenbrecher) = 3.66 B-C (McGushin). [. . . Spartacus' (?) plan] seemed best. Then he advised them to move out into wider plains which were richer in herds of cattle and where chosen men would increase their number before Varinius could arrive with a fresh army. He quickly found a suitable man from among the Picentines as a guide, then, hidden by the Eburine mountains, he came to [the narrow mountain pass of] Nares in Lucania and from there at daybreak to [the town of] Forum Annii without being noticed by the farmers. At once the runaway slaves started to rape young girls and married women, against the express command of their leader. Others . . . Now those who resisted . . . and they tried to get away, at the same time [mistreating their enemy] in an inexpressibly horrible manner by twisting the blade in the wound, and sometimes left the mangled bodies of half-dead people behind; others threw firebrands onto roofs. And many local slaves, whom their natural disposition prompted to be [Spartacus'] allies, dragged what their masters had hidden or their masters themselves out of their hiding places: to the wrath of barbarians and to the nature of slaves nothing is sacred or too unspeakable [to commit]. These things Spartacus was powerless to prevent although he begged them with frequent entreaties quickly to anticipate . . . messengers . . .

4. LIVY, *Periochae* 95–97 (ca. Early First Century A.D.)

95 (excerpt). Seventy-four gladiators in Capua escaped from the school of Lentulus, and when a crowd of slaves and prisoners had gathered, war broke out under the leadership of Crixus and Spartacus. They defeated Claudius Pulcher [= Gaius Claudius Glaber], a legate [really, praetor], and the praetor Publius Varenus [Varinius] in battle.

96. Quintus Arrius, the praetor [really, propraetor], defeated Crixus, the leader of the escaped slaves, with 20,000 men. The consul Gnaeus Lentulus fought a battle against Spartacus and was defeated. The same man defeated the consul Lucius Gellius and the praetor Quintus Arrius in battle . . . Proconsul Gaius Cassius and praetor Gnaeus Manlius fought against Spartacus and were defeated, and the conduct of this war was handed over to Marcus Crassus, the praetor.

97 (excerpt). Praetor Marcus Crassus first fought successfully with the part of the runaway slaves that consisted of Gauls and Germans, killing 35,000 of the enemy and their leaders Castus and Gannicus. Then he fought a decisive battle with Spartacus, 60,000 men and Spartacus himself were killed.

5. Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History* 2.30.5–6 (ca. 30 A.D.)

As war against Sertorius was being waged in Spain, sixty-four runaway slaves led by Spartacus escaped from a gladiatorial school in Capua. In that city they got hold of swords and at first made for Mt. Vesuvius; soon, when their crowd increased daily, they inflicted serious ruin on Italy on various occasions. Their number grew to such an extent that in the final battle in which they fought they faced the Roman army with 90,000 men. Marcus Crassus had the glory of finishing off this war; soon, everybody was in agreement that he was the leading citizen in the republic.

6. Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome of Roman History* 2.8 (3.20) (ca. 125–135 A.D.)

One can tolerate, indeed, even the disgrace of a war against slaves; for although, by force of circumstances, they are liable to any kind of

treatment, yet they form as it were a class (although an inferior class) and can be admitted to the blessings of liberty which we enjoy. But I know not which name to give to the war which was stirred up at the instigation of Spartacus: for the common soldiers being slaves and their leaders being gladiators – the former men of the humblest, the latter men of the worse class – added insult to the injury which they inflicted upon Rome.

Spartacus, Crixus and Oenomaus, breaking out of the gladiatorial school of Lentulus with thirty or rather more men of the same occupation, escaped from Capua. When, by summoning the slaves to their standard, they had quickly collected more than 10,000 adherents, these men, who had been originally content merely to have escaped, soon began to wish to take their revenge also. The first position which attracted them (a suitable one for such ravaging monsters) was Mt. Vesuvius. Being besieged here by Clodius Glabrus [Glaber], they slid by means of ropes made of vine-twigs through a passage in the hollow of the mountain down into its very depths, and issuing forth by a hidden exit, seized the camp of the general by a sudden attack which he never expected. They then attacked other camps, that of Varenus [Varinius] and afterwards that of Thoranus; and they ranged over the whole of Campania. Not content with the plundering of country houses and villages, they laid waste Nola, Nuceria, Thurii and Metapontum with terrible destruction. Becoming a regular army by the daily arrival of fresh forces, they made themselves rude shields of wicker-work and the skins of animals, and swords and other weapons by melting down the iron in the slave-prisons. That nothing might be lacking which was proper to a regular army, cavalry was procured by breaking in herds of horses which they encountered, and his men brought to their leader the insignia and fasces captured from the praetors, nor were they refused by the man who, from being a Thracian mercenary, had become a soldier, and from a soldier a deserter, then a highwayman, and finally, thanks to his strength, a gladiator. He also celebrated the obsequies of his officers who had fallen in battle with funerals like those of Roman generals, and ordered his captives to fight at their pyres, just as though he wished to wipe out all his past dishonour by having become, instead of a gladiator, a giver of gladiatorial shows. Next, actually attacking generals of consular rank, he inflicted defeat on the army of Lentulus in the Apennines and destroyed the camp of Publius [i.e., Galus] Cassius at Mutina. Elated by these victories he entertained the project – in itself a sufficient disgrace to us – of attacking the city of Rome. At last a combined effort was made, supported by all the resources of the empire,

against this gladiator, and Licinius Crassus vindicated the honour of Rome. Routed and put to flight by him, our enemies – I am ashamed to give them this title – took refuge in the furthest extremities of Italy. Here, being cut off in the angle of Bruttium and preparing to escape to Sicily, but being unable to obtain ships, they tried to launch rafts of beams and casks bound together with withies on the swift waters of the straits. Failing in this attempt, they finally made a sally and met a death worthy of men, fighting to the death as became those who were commanded by a gladiator. Spartacus himself fell, as became a general, fighting most bravely in the front rank.

7. Sextus Julius Frontinus, *Strategies* (late first century A.D.)

1.5.20. Spartacus filled the ditch with which Marcus Crassus had surrounded him at night with the bodies of slaughtered captives and cattle and marched across it.

1.5.21. The same man, besieged on Mt. Vesuvius where it was roughest [i.e., steepest] and therefore unguarded, twined together ropes of osiers collected from the woods. Letting himself down on them, not only did he escape but also, appearing from another direction, scared Clodius so much that several cohorts gave way to only seventy-four gladiators.

1.5.22. The same man, when he had been encircled by the proconsul Publius Varinius, put stakes at short distances before the gate of his own camp. He propped up and bound dead bodies to them, dressed in clothes and equipped with weapons, so that to anybody seeing them from far away they appeared to be sentries. He also lit fires all over his camp. With this empty spectacle he deceived his enemy, and in the silence of the night he led his troops away.

1.7.6. Spartacus and his troops had shields made from osiers that were covered with hides.

2.4.7. In the war against the escaped slaves, Licinius Crassus was going to lead his soldiers against Castus and Cannicus [Gannicus], the leaders of the Gauls, at Camalatum. He sent twelve cohorts with Gaius Pomptinius and Quintus Marcius Rufus, his legionary commanders, around from behind the mountain. When the battle had already begun, these cohorts raised a shout and came running down the mountain from the rear. They put the enemy to flight so thoroughly that they ran off everywhere and no battle was joined anywhere.

2.5.34. In the war against the escaped slaves, Crassus fortified his two camps with palisades very close to the enemy camp near Mt. Cannenna. Then, at night, he moved his troops but left his headquarters in the larger camp to deceive the enemy. He led all his troops out himself and stationed them at the foot of the mountain just mentioned. He divided his cavalry and ordered Lucius Quintius to put up one half against Spartacus and deceive him with a feigned battle, with the other half to lure the Gauls and Germans from Castus and Cannicus [Gannicus] group out to battle and, by pretending to flee, draw them over to where he himself had set up his own battle line. When the barbarians had followed them [as planned], the cavalry retreated to the flanks, and suddenly the Roman battle front lay open and swiftly advanced with a battle cry. 35,000 armed men were killed in that battle with their leaders, as Livy reports: five Roman eagles and twenty-six standards were recaptured, and a lot of other spoils was taken, among them five bundles of rods with their axes.

8. Paulus Orosius, *History against the Pagans* 5.24
(5th century A.D.)

1-8. In the 679th year from the foundation of the city of Rome [= 73 B.C.], when Lucullus and Cassius were consuls, seventy-four gladiators in Capua ran away from the school of Gnaeus Lentulus. At once, under their leaders Crixus and Oenomaus, both Gauls, and the Thracian Spartacus they occupied Mt. Vesuvius. Making a sortie from there, they seized the camp of Clodius the praetor, who had surrounded them and was placing them under siege. Clodius himself was driven to flight, and they hauled off everything as their spoils. Then, led around [the towns of] Consentia and Metapontum, in a short time they collected a gigantic army, for reports state that Crixus had a crowd of 10,000 men, Spartacus, however, three times that number at that time. (Oenomaus had been killed in an earlier battle.) And so they combined acts of killing, arson, robbery, and rape indiscriminately. Once, at the funeral of a married woman whom they had taken prisoner and who had killed herself in agony because her honor had been violated, they put on a gladiatorial show of 400 of their captives - that is to say, those who had once been the objects of spectators were going to be spectators themselves, inasmuch as they now functioned as trainers of gladiators rather than as leaders of soldiers. Then the consuls [of 72 B.C.], Cellius and Lentulus, were sent against them with an army; Cellius defeated Crixus, who

fought back most vigorously, in a battle, while Lentulus was defeated by Spartacus and fled. Afterwards both consuls were dealt a serious defeat and fled, even though their forces had been combined, but in vain. Then that same Spartacus defeated Gaius Cassius the proconsul in battle and killed him. As a result, the City of Rome was struck by terror almost as much as it had trembled with fear when Hannibal had been howling at the gates. The senate sent out Crassus with the consuls' legions and with new recruits. He soon initiated a battle with the fugitives and killed 6,000 but took 900 of them prisoner. Then, before he attacked Spartacus himself, who was setting up his camp at the head of the River Silarus, Crassus defeated Spartacus' Gallic and German auxiliaries, killing 30,000 of their men and their leaders. At the very last he struck out at Spartacus himself, who was coming against him in a well-ordered battle line, and at his forces. (The largest troops of fugitive slaves were with Spartacus.) 60,000 of them are reported to have been killed and 6,000 captured; 3,000 Roman citizens were freed. The others who had escaped this battle and were wandering around here and there were hunted down by several [Roman] commanders and rubbed out.

18-19. . . . this war against runaway slaves - or, to put it more truthfully, against gladiators - caused a general fright since it was no longer a show for just a few but a cause of fear everywhere. Because it is called a slave war, nobody should mistake it for something insignificant according to its name. Often in its course individual consuls and sometimes both, with their forces joined, although to no avail, were defeated and large numbers of the nobility were slaughtered. The runaway slaves, on the other hand, who were killed numbered more than 100,000.

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