

10-30-2020

The Exemplary Spartacus: Reception, Adaptation, and Reconstruction

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THE EXEMPLARY SPARTACUS: RECEPTION, ADAPTATION, AND RECONSTRUCTION

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Interdepartmental Program in Comparative Literature

by

Benjamin Franklin Howland
B.A., Purdue University, 2007
M.A., Purdue University, 2010
M.A., Indiana University, 2014
December 2020

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like first to thank my family, especially my parents Phil and Jeanie Howland, who have always encouraged me to never hide my talents, to always be myself, and to achieve my dreams. I would also like to thank my siblings: Adam, Caleb, Deborah, Elizabeth and my closest friends Chris, Pat and Dustin for their undying support. You have all helped me along the way with your words and actions. This wouldn't be possible without each of you. I would like to thank all of the Professors along the way who have encouraged me and put up with my constant desire to interrupt, raise my hand, and ask questions. I want to thank some of them by name, particularly: Dr. Nick Rauh, whose Alexander the Great course reminded me that I love history and whose Julius Caesar class allowed for the first iteration of this paper; Dr. Eleanor Leach, who believed in me when I wasn't sure I still believed in myself and who pushed me with her kind words and dedication to always achieve; Dr. Patrice Rankine, who has been my friend and mentor for nearly my entire academic career, for always having my back and always pushing me to be better. I want to thank my dissertation chair, Dr. Greg Stone whose comments and advice have made this completed work possible. I want to thank Dr. Adelaide Russo, who tirelessly led the PhD program in Comparative Literature and who showed me that LSU was where I wanted to complete my PhD. Lastly, I want to thank the other faculty at LSU who have served on my dissertation committee, who gave me valuable feedback, and who always encouraged me at different stages of the process, namely: Dr. Sharon Weltman, Dr. Christine Kooi, Dr. Wilfred Major, and Dr. William Boelhower.

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ABSTRACT

My dissertation, “The Exemplary Spartacus: Reception, Adaptation, and Reconstruction,” focusses on various representations of the gladiator Spartacus. I assert that Spartacus has almost exclusively been and continues to be an exemplary figure, with an extensive and connected literary tradition, working as an empty signifier in differing temporalities and localities. I draw specific attention to a core issue in the study of Spartacus, namely, the plethora of modern representations of Spartacus in various genres, and the continuing influence these representations exert through their blurring of the historical figure with local themes and ideologies. Each draw from the same ancient sources, infusing the information with contemporary social issues creating an updated retelling of Spartacus. Recently, scholars have emphasized the essential difference between the historical Spartacus and the sociological impact he had on Rome, and Spartacan literature, which focusses on the subsequent recreation of several “Spartacuses,” supposedly in a manner entirely different from the ancient sources. My dissertation engages with this distinction through its two-fold aims: first, I demonstrate how ancient authors invoke Spartacus as an *exemplum*, relating how each author uses Spartacus for differing political, literary or philosophical aims, constructing a Spartacan narrative similarly to later authors; second, my dissertation addresses the socio-political nature of Spartacan literature, demonstrating how modern authors also use Spartacus as an *exemplum* for their own ends, similarly to the ancient authors. My dissertation moves the discussion of Spartacan literature into new directions by drawing on both ancient and modern texts often overlooked and neglected and introducing new Spartacan Literature produced in recent years. I have chosen to discuss several adaptations to demonstrate Spartacus’s use in contrasting exemplary functions, which allow Spartacus to remain part of a common cultural memory. Methodologically, I incorporate both exemplarity and reception theory, to show how each of the

adapted texts, regardless of geographical or temporal space, relies upon the exemplary function of Spartacus established in the ancient world. I conclude that each adaptation builds on the inherited social memory of previous Spartacan literature in different geographical and temporal spaces, in different literary genres, and in different political ideologies.

INTRODUCTION I AM SPARTACUS?

It's like the end of *Spartacus*. I have seen that movie half a dozen times and I still don't know who the real Spartacus is. And that is what makes that movie a classic whodunit.

--Michael Scott
The Office "Gossip"

In 73 BCE, Spartacus, an escaped gladiator led a group of 78 gladiators in a daring escape from their *ludus*. This small group grew in size, defeated thirteen Roman magistrates, and terrorized the Roman citizens of Italy. Finally, in 71 BCE, Spartacus and his army were defeated by M. Licinius Crassus, a Roman *praetor*. Spartacus died in his attempt to kill Crassus in the final battle of the war. The survivors were cut down as they fled and were eventually crucified along the Appian Way.

Very little can be known about the real Spartacus. The only remains left of his uprising are a small piece of graffiti on a wall in Pompeii and the ancient literary accounts which preserve varying aspects of his uprising. Many of these ancient sources tell only a small part of what Spartacus did, some elaborate more, and others are so fragmentary that it can be a struggle to glean much from them. Historians have worked hard to reconstruct a longer and fuller narrative of Spartacus by combining all of the ancient sources, focusing on where they agree to show continuity and where they disagree to “fill in the gaps.” Most recently Aldo Schiavone (2013) wrote just such a book. He begins, “this book is not about the legend of Spartacus. It is a biographical tale, sticking closely to the historical facts. At the same time, an effort has been made to bring out the wider context around the protagonist, which alone can restore a comprehensive meaning to his actions” (ix). Schiavone adds valuable insights into the discussion of Spartacus. His book calls into question the typical modes of discussing Spartacus, reminding his audience of Rome’s military exploits while showing: “Spartacus’s defiance was a radically different matter, almost unspeakable for the

dominant culture, the symbol of extreme subversion, of a dramatic break in the ‘natural’ order of things, which translated boldly and frighteningly into its inconceivable opposite. He was a slave in revolt, at the head of an army consisting largely of men in the same condition, who had succeeded in threatening the very heart of the imperial system” (xi). Schiavone’s work is one of, if not the, first works on Spartacus to take into account all of the ancient sources that remain, again a valuable addition to the scholarship on Spartacus. And yet for all he has done for the field, Schiavone made one assumption that the early part of this work is exclusively concerned with: can we take the ancient sources at their word? This dissertation will argue that we cannot take these sources without scrutiny and that it is necessary to view the ancient Spartacan literature through a new lens, namely exemplarity.

These ancient Spartacan narratives inform and are used to construct later works of literature. Since the late 18th century, Spartacus has been the protagonist of numerous plays, novels, and films. Representations of him have been made in France, America, England, Germany, Italy, and Russia. He has been made into a hero of the oppressed, whether it be as a literal slave or as a metaphorical slave to an oppressive government. He has been called an ideal proletariat and has been made into a Platonic philosopher king. Each of these representations rely on Spartacus’s exemplary function established in the ancient world in order for his modern exemplary function to hold the most weight. Each of these modern authors uses Rome as, what Rebecca Langlands calls, a site of exemplarity. These adaptations of the ancient Spartacan narratives rarely coincide directly with their ancient counterparts, and yet they depend on them for the *exemplum* to hold the most weight.

This dissertation argues that Spartacus, even in the earliest representations, is an *exemplum*, whose mutability allows each individual author to represent Spartacus according to their own

literary objectives. It will discuss each modern-day representation of Spartacus and the continuing influence these modern representations exert through their blurring of Spartacus as a historical figure with local themes and ideologies, emphasizing the strain this has put on scholarship about Spartacus. This dissertation asserts that it is necessary first to separate the historical Spartacus from the popular culture Spartacus and it is only through this separation that one can assess Spartacus's exemplary function. Each chapter focuses on a different period of Spartacan Literature, analyzing authors, local ideologies, and the works themselves to show how each author uses Spartacus as an *exemplum*.

While there have been scholarly works that have addressed the ancient sources on Spartacus, the modern sources on Spartacus, and everything in-between, this work adds to that scholarship through its discussion of the ancient Spartacan narratives as *exempla*. Where some scholars (Wyke and Futrell) have addressed the exemplary function of Spartacus in modern literature, each, just as Schiavone, takes the ancient sources at their word. It thus appeared crucial to view these sources in very much the same way that the Romans themselves would have, as an *exemplum*, either a negative one to be avoided or a positive one to be followed. As this research progressed, it became evident that each author chose to write about Spartacus for a very specific and calculated reason, they also chose to relate certain parts of the Spartacan narrative to their audience, again, for a calculated reason, typically choosing to discuss Spartacus because his narrative aligned with their overall themes of their work. Many of the modern works addressed in this dissertation also have had scholarship discuss them, but not all. One key addition to the scholarship is the discussion of Damien Colman's 2015 *Spartacus "A Tale, a Myth, a Legend...A Fight for Freedom."* This new drama, written by and performed using Urban Sprawl, is relatively unknown and not part of the current scholarship.

This introduction addresses the crucial issues that frame and direct this dissertation, beginning with a discussion of just what it means by *exemplum*, or exemplary history, which is the primary methodology for this dissertation. First, I will discuss and define the key terms used throughout this dissertation. Following this discussion will be a brief discussion of the state of Spartan scholarship. Lastly, this introduction will close with a chapter summary.

Defining Exemplarity

It is important to define what is meant by exemplarity and when an *exemplum* or *exempla* are discussed. This dissertation primarily used four works to help define what an *exemplum* is both in the ancient world and how that Roman tradition continues into the present day. These works are Rebecca Langlands's 2015 essay "Roman exemplarity: mediating between general and particular; Jane Chaplin's 2000 monograph *Livy's Exemplary History*; Mather Roller's 2018 monograph *Models from the Past in Roman Culture*; and Catherine Barion's 2010 essay "Remembering one's Ancestors, Following in their Footsteps, being like them: The Role and Forms of Family Memory in Building of Identity." Each of these works helped to create the definition of an *exemplum* in this dissertation.

Jane Chaplin's 2000 monograph addresses Livy's overall program of writing an exemplary history, but she also provides valuable insight into how Romans began to understand their own history through writing about *exempla*. She defines *exempla* as "any specific citation of an event or an individual that is intended to serve as a guide to conduct" (3). This definition and her discussion *exempla* show how many Roman historiographical projects were written with the intent of reporting exemplary models for its given audience and while she applies this primarily to Livy, it is clear, as this dissertation will discuss, that this same logic ought to be applied to other Roman historiographers.

Rebecca Langlands's 2015 essay addresses key elements of Roman exemplarity. Langlands not only provides valuable vocabulary for discussing exemplarity, she addresses the key issues of cultural memory necessary for any *exempla* to be relevant. Langlands sees the formation of cultural memory happening from childhood and "then regularly thereafter, shared by all members in Roman society." Langlands also introduces the importance of comparison for *exempla* to hold importance. She states, "it also, importantly, involves a comparison between them, and presumably some reflection on their similarities and differences" (72). One of the most important issues Langlands addresses in her essay is the need for different versions of the same story to be able to understand the exemplary function of a given *exemplum*. She states "it is also implicit in the site of exemplarity experienced as a complex and evolving whole; each exemplum is known through, in and from a range of different versions, each of which gives it a different significance, and association with a different general idea or principle" (73). Langlands sees shared cultural knowledge as the utmost important factor for any *exemplum* to work (79). This is important, especially with discussing later Spartacan adaptations.

Similarly to Langlands, Catherine Baroin addresses the key function of relating *exempla* as part of the early education of young men in Rome. Her primary contribution to this dissertation is her discussion of how Romans would see *exempla* everywhere and just how predominant this would have been for the Romans. A young man, or woman, would constantly be bombarded as they walked through the city with images or building left behind by their ancestors, all of which inform both their public and private lives (24). Baroin also introduces the importance of action involved with an *exemplum*. You would not just view or read about an *exemplum*, but it would drive you into action and imitation (26).

Most recently, Matthew Roller's 2018 monograph on *exempla* was published. Although this work came out while this dissertation was being finished, it still played an important role when thinking about the transmission of *exempla*. Roller recognizes how *exempla* retain their original context only in so far as they are within that context. When an *exemplum* is used in a later context, it can adapt an altogether new context (19). This valuable insight shows just how a singular *exemplum* can continue to change contexts and themes in literature when each author of the work is writing about the same individual.

Terms

Spartacan narrative - this is a term I created as a way of discussing the longer narrative accounts of Spartacus, particularly in the ancient world, such as Plutarch and Appian.

Spartacan Literature - this is any work, whether it be primary or secondary that addresses Spartacus as a historical figure or literary figure. This also includes scholarship on Spartacus.

Spartacan adaptation - any play, novel, work of fiction, or artistic work that retells the story of Spartacus adapted to local themes present in the modern world.

(Empty or floating) Signifier - this is a term taken from Levi-Strauss. A floating or empty signifier is a word or object that is familiar but stripped of all its original meaning. Levi-Strauss uses the Polynesian word *mana*, which comes to signify "those characteristics of a secret power, a mysterious force" (57). He states:

The difference comes not so much from the notions themselves., such as the human mind everywhere unconsciously works these out, as from the fact that, in our society, these notions have a fluid, spontaneous character. Whereas elsewhere they serve as the ground of considered, official interpretative systems...but always and everywhere those types of notions... occur to represent an indeterminate value of signification, in itself devoid of meaning and thus susceptible of receiving any meaning at all. (55)

Sites of Exemplarity - taken from Langlands, which she defines as "describes the whole cultural tradition surrounding any particular exemplary figure or story, which always consists of various

competing versions and elaborations, with its moral and cultural significance susceptible to change over time and to different interpretations by different people” (70).

The State of Spartacan Scholarship

The current state of scholarship on Spartacan literature is in many ways incomplete. There are scholars, such as Keith Bradley who write strictly about the “historical Spartacus.” Other authors, such as Martin Winkler, focus primarily on one adaptation of Spartacus. Only three authors have undertaken the task of writing about multiple adaptations of Spartacus and how they are related. These are Maria Wyke’s “Spartacus: Testing the Strength of the Body Politic” in *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema, and History*; Alison Futrell’s “Seeing Red: Spartacus as Domestic Economist” in Sandra Joshel’s *Imperial Projections*; and Brent D. Shaw’s *Spartacus Before Marx*. Although each of these works has influenced how I look at Spartacan literature, none of them provide the scope nor discuss what I see at the heart of each adaptation.

In her book *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema, and History*, Maria Wyke aims to show how “historical film is a discourse about the past as well as the present...” and “such film constitutes an imaginative historiography, one distinctive and significant component of a modern culture’s historical capital” (13). Wyke’s book dedicates an entire chapter, “Spartacus: Testing the Strength of the Body Politic” to a discussion of a number of Spartacan adaptations. She sees Spartacus beginning “to be elevated in Western European literature, historiography, political rhetoric, and visual art into an idealized champion of both the oppressed and the enslaved” (36). Wyke is correct in her assertion here and this is especially relevant to this discussion. However, this observation should be taken a step farther and be applied to the ancient sources about Spartacus as well as later works. As chapter one will discuss, Spartacus begins to take the form of *exemplum* very early on. Wyke only discusses the ancient Spartacan narratives briefly in order to show how

“little material is available from antiquity on the slave war of Spartacus because the Roman elite, as the producers or consumers of ancient historiography, did not find slave rebellion a worthy subject for historical discourse” (35). She quotes one historian, Florus, and fails to mention sources such as Sallust and Appian. She shows the ancient sources to be too far removed from the actual event to aid her cause and neglects Cicero who begins using Spartacus as a negative *exemplum* in his *Philippics* 3 when he, speaking of Antony, says: “*Quem in edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum quidem dicere audeat*” (3.21). It is impossible to say that Spartacus is not part of the historiographical consumption of ancient Rome simply because the sources for him are scarce. Thus, through a discussion of Wyke’s methodology, it can be applied it to how even the Romans used Spartacus as a means to discuss the present through using him as an *exemplum* of the past.

Wyke goes on to discuss Robert Montgomery Bird’s *The Gladiator*. This short discussion does much to provide some historical background for the play and progresses her argument toward Fast’s novel. Wyke does not recognize, as will be argued in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the underlying abolitionist sentiments in Bird’s play. The remainder of Wyke’s chapter is dedicated to Fast’s novel and the later film adaptation *Spartacus*. In this discussion Wyke successfully shows how the political atmosphere of the late 1940’s and early 1950’s led to Howard Fast and Dalton Trumbo, a screenplay writer, to make their version of *Spartacus*, and how this affected their works. Wyke ties these two works together, as seems natural, but as Chapter Three will discuss, they differ drastically in both their scope and exemplary message.

Alison Futrell’s “Seeing Red: Spartacus as Domestic Economist,” just like Wyke’s chapter, focusses on a small sample of Spartacan literature. Futrell’s aim is to show how “the domestic paradigm is given political priority over the public, an inversion that, on the surface, catered to

contemporary conservative values of home and family” (79). Although Futrell focusses on a number of Spartacan adaptations, her aim is to tie each work to Howard Fast’s novel and Stanley Kubrick’s film *Spartacus*. Futrell writes only ten and a half pages discussing five of the works written between 1760 and 1951, leaving out four works altogether, and writes nearly twenty-one pages about Fast’s novel and Douglas’s film.

Futrell does however pay more attention to the ancient sources than Wyke. In the first section, “An Empire Read Spartacus’s Origins” Futrell lists some of the ancient authors, Plutarch and Appian, and asks the question “what sort of ‘spin’ did the Romans put on the Spartacan War?” (80). Futrell demonstrates how Plutarch approaches Spartacus from a moralistic point of view, citing the mistreatment of the slaves before the rebellion, as her evidence (80). She demonstrates how “Appian praises Spartacus’s leadership for its adherence to Roman military tradition” (81). Futrell introduces the idea of Spartacus’s “anti-slavery ideology” by discussing his attempt to sail to Sicily and incite rebellion there (81-82) and how “the gladiators, Spartacus especially, are thus represented as *nearly* Roman” (82). In many ways Futrell gives an accurate evaluation of the “historical” Spartacus and she even recognizes how “the Spartacan Rebellion would loom threateningly in the Roman memory” (83). Similarly, to Wyke, Futrell values certain sources over the others in her section on the “historical” Spartacus, and in many ways, it is this valuing that is the most important point to emphasize. Futrell uses sources removed from the rebellion by nearly 200 years and she does little to discuss either Sallust, whose work is extremely fragmentary and yet is still accessible and valuable, nor does she explore Cicero’s few mentions of Spartacus in the years immediately following the rebellion.

Futrell then discusses Spartacan adaptation from 1760-1951. In this section “An Acquired Taste for Red? The Development of the Spartacus Icon” she discusses a number of major Spartacan

adaptations. She begins her discussion with Bernard-Joseph Saurin's *Spartacus* and how his "Spartacus is driven by his passion for natural law and the natural rights of man" (84). The point of Futrell's Saurin discussion is to show "Spartacus as an exemplar for the natural equality of all human beings" (87). She extends this discussion to include Grillparzer's *Spartakus*, written in Germany in 1810, and even ties his play to Robert Montgomery Bird's *The Gladiator*. Each of these plays can be identified as exemplary of "natural equality" (85) but it is necessary to treat these plays with greater detail. It is more important to show how these plays use Spartacus to create this exemplarity and identify what about these societies in France, Germany, and America, makes Spartacus a successful *exemplum*. Moving beyond Futrell's chosen adaptations, other Spartacan adaptations written at this time, specifically Susannah Strickland's novel *Spartacus, a Roman story*, written in 1822 deserve recognition and discussion. This work also treats Spartacus as an exemplar of human rights and ought to be discussed in order to understand how these two works add to a British reception of Spartacus.

Following this discussion, Futrell moves into her discussion of Marx, and Spartacus as "one of the touchstones of socialists" (89). Futrell's discussion focusses more on the Spartakusbund (The German Social Democrat Party) than any specific works, like Giovagnoli's *Spartaco*, in large part because of Rosa Luxemburg, the leader of the Spartakusbund, and the influence her life had on Howard Fast and his writing. In fact, "Fast thought that Luxemburg's life, particularly her leadership in the Spartakusbund, would be excellent material for a new work" (91). Futrell discusses Fast's process of deciding on Spartacus, rather than Luxemburg, and his novel *Spartacus*. Futrell discusses: how "Rome...is depicted as an unnatural civilization" (92); "the fixation on death" (93) by the Romans in the novel; the power of money in Rome (93); the degeneration brought about by owning personal property (94); and finally the internal foil of

Spartacus as father to his movement and Crassus as a bad father of Rome (95). At the heart of each discussion is the overarching state of degeneration brought about in Rome by its capitalistic ambitions. Futrell then draws her comparison with Kubrick's movie *Spartacus*. She discusses the film and the process of making the film. She also discusses the differences between the novel and the film and sees the issues in the process of adaptation.

Brent D. Shaw, in his "working paper in Classics" entitled *Spartacus Before Marx*, shows the current state of the scholarship on Spartacan adaptations. His focus centers on the non-Marxist readings of Spartacus and his survey of these works provides valuable information about Spartacan adaptations, a summary of the adaptation, information about the authors of these works, and the political climate in which they are writing. Shaw provides an excellent foundation for any research into pre-Marxist Spartacan adaptations and this project will be a continuation of that work by moving the discussion beyond the Marxist Spartacan adaptations of the past and applying it to Spartacan adaptations written in the past ten years, demonstrating how each of these works intentionally addresses the Marxist reading while simultaneously aiming to redefine the lens through which Spartacus is viewed.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter One combines a discussion of the major ancient sources for Spartacus (Caesar, Cicero, Sallust, Plutarch, and Appian) with analysis of minor authors, arguing that each of these ancient authors write a Spartacan narrative for different audiences, using Spartacus as an *exemplum* for the differing objectives of these narratives. I discuss each ancient author, accounting for the biographical, political and/or philosophical approaches underlying their overall literary aims. Viewing Spartacus through this lens of exemplarity, I establish a new dialogical means of

understanding Spartacus within the ancient sources, concluding that the ancient sources constructed their Spartacan narratives in a way parallel to later Spartacan literature.

Chapter two focusses primarily on three works: Bernard Saurin's tragedy *Spartacus* (1760), Susannah Strickland's novella *Spartacus* (1822), and Robert Montgomery Bird's tragedy *The Gladiator* (1831). I assert that each adaptation relies on an inherited social memory of Rome, gained through classical education, for Spartacus to have an exemplary effect on their audiences. I argue that for these audiences, Spartacus is a recognizable name synonymous with rebellion and resistance to oppression. Each author, by assuming this basic knowledge, is able to create an adaptation retelling a different Spartacan narrative. Spartacus acts as an *exemplum* of a rebel fighting against monarchs, imperial expansion, or merely just freedom from slavery. Regardless of the specific political aims, each adaptation adheres closely to their author's political message of freedom from any and all oppression.

Chapter Three continues the use of the Spartacan exemplary model through analysis of Communist literature which promote Spartacus as the ideal proletariat, focusing specifically on Howard Fast's *Spartacus* (1951) and Kirk Douglas's *Spartacus* (1960) and the screenplay by Dalton Trumbo to show their influence on the tragedy *Spartacus "A Tale, a Myth, a Legend...A Fight for Freedom"* (2015). This chapter will rely on the exemplary model of author and audience as told through an inherited social memory of the ancient world in a discussion of modern adaptations of Spartacan literature. Since Marx, Spartacus has become synonymous with communism, a perspective which has not only determined how modern audiences view these modern adaptations but one that has dominated the discussion of the ancient sources. While each of these adaptations represent Spartacus with slightly differing exemplary functions, each advance

the author's ideological interpretation of communism and what makes Spartacus an exemplary proletariat.

CHAPTER ONE

THE EXEMPLARY SPARTACUS: NEGATIVE SPARTACAN EXEMPLA IN ROMAN REPUBLICAN LITERATURE

Michael Duncan, in his podcast “The History of Rome,” tackles numerous historical events which take place both during the Republican period and the later Imperial Period. In one episode, entitled “I Am Spartacus,” Duncan says: “Spartacus, though, was at gladiator school in Capua. He was supposed to be learning to put on a good show for his Roman masters, but mostly he was plotting his escape. Kirk Douglas was born in New York in 1916 to illiterate Russian immigrants. His real name was Issur Danielovitch, but he spent the early years answering to the name of Izzy Demsky. He began acting in high school and knew from the moment he first stepped out on stage that he wanted to be an actor...Oh wait a second, I think I may have mixed things up a bit, hang on.... okay I got it. No one is quite sure where Spartacus the gladiator came from” (Duncan 2010). Duncan’s joke, whether intentionally or inadvertently, points out a common issue in the study of Spartacus: the plethora of representations of Spartacus in popular culture and the continuing influence these representations exert through their blurring of this historical figure with local themes and ideologies. Whether this is the famous Kirk Douglas *Spartacus* (1960) or the STARZ series *Spartacus* (2010-2013), Howard Fast’s novel *Spartacus* (1951) or Arthur Koestler’s *The Gladiators* (1939), Robert Montgomery Bird’s *The Gladiator* (1831) or Damien Colman’s *Spartacus* (2015), each production, literary text, and performance draws from the ancient sources, infusing the information with contemporary social issues to create an updated retelling of Spartacus. This process has created a split in scholarship about Spartacus, between historical emphasis on Spartacus, which focusses on the historical and the sociological impact Spartacus had on Rome, and Spartacan literature, which focusses on the representations of Spartacus in popular culture. Aldo Schiavone in his 2013 book on Spartacus begins his preface, “this is not a book about

the legend of Spartacus. It is a biographical tale, sticking closely to the historical facts. At the same time, an effort has been made to bring out the wider context around the protagonist, which alone can restore a comprehensible meaning to his action” (Schiavone ix)¹. Schiavone is drawing attention to the split in scholarship, but at the same time he is sidestepping a crux: even the ancient historical sources do not report the unaltered truth about Spartacus and his followers, who never wrote a single word about their uprising, the aims and goals of the uprising, strategies, or hopes and dreams if they were successful. All these ancient sources preserve with any certainty is: Spartacus was an escaped gladiator who led a group of gladiators after they escaped their *ludus*, this group defeated thirteen² Roman magistrates, they marched first north then south and back north in Italy and were defeated by M. Licinius Crassus and the survivors were crucified along the Appian Way. Ancient authors, such as Sallust, Plutarch, and Appian, generate fuller narratives whose details vary. Each of these authors has different objectives for their narrative, and they write for different audiences. Thus, they are no different than Douglas, Fast, Bird, and Colman using this historical figure to create a narrative which fits the overall thesis of their work. In particular, they establish Spartacus as an *exemplum*, and by so doing, the historical Spartacus became lost just as quickly as he threw off the bonds of servitude and rushed upon his masters.

The use of any *exemplum* relies on the relationship established between the author and the audience. Catherine Barion (2010) emphasizes that such a relationship is a “dynamic process.” These *exempla* act as models for action, portraying the characteristics or traits that ought to be

¹ This echoes the objective of Mario Attilio Levi (1973). “In breve, se si parte dall’ipotesi che tutte le fonti, direttamente o indirettamente, discendano da un unico archetipo variamente e rielaborato è legittimo il sistema di combinare e integrare le fonti fra di loro, eliminando riduplicazioni o errori e costruendo un racconto militarmente accettabile e plausibile”...(In short, if we start with the hypothesis that each of the sources, either directly or indirectly, derive from one single archetype, the system of combining and interweaving sources together, eliminating reduplications and errors, constructing a militarily acceptable narrative is both legitimate and plausible..., 171).

All translations, unless otherwise specified, are mine.

² See Appendix A

emulated or rejected, placing the onus on the audience to decide whether to follow them or not. In order to fully understand the exemplary model and to make a decision, these audiences rely on at least some external knowledge of the model itself and the temporal space that model occupies.

Thus, to truly understand the ancient Spartacan narrative, it is first necessary to understand the ancient audience, namely a Roman audience, or at the very least an audience with an understanding of the broader cultural knowledge created and perpetuated through the expansion of the Roman empire throughout the Mediterranean. Although not a unilaterally influential one, this expansion allows for the spreading of ideas and the intermingling of genres, especially as the Romans begin their expansion east toward Greece. Jane Chaplin (2000) describes the moment of this merging “when the Romans began to imitate the Greeks in writing history, two complementary traditions were united: the well-established didacticism of historiography and the equally deep-rooted role of *exempla* in Rome” (16). This expansion initiated a blending of Greek literary, historiographical, and artistic forms with those already present in the Roman world. Specifically, this contact joined with and perpetuated the Roman social institution of exemplarity.

A Roman *exemplum* is both deeply rooted in Rome, and also a peculiarity. Chaplin defines an *exemplum* as: “any specific citation of an event or an individual that is intended to serve as a guide to conduct an *exemplum* and hence an opportunity to learn from the past” (3). This is Roman exemplarity in its most simple terms, but more needs to be added. An *exemplum* can be a work of literature, a rhetorical device, a work of art, a piece of memorabilia, even a building, any focused area or activity, that participates in the Roman system of cultural memory drawing on specific individuals (or events) of the past, both at the familial and civic level, which Roman aristocrats ought to revere and/or imitate in order to magnify the *mos maiorum* and drive themselves up the *cursus honorum*, which will in turn authorize them to become an *exemplum*, worthy of both

familial and civic praise, thus perpetuating the system. Chaplin, emphasizing the perpetuation of this system, says, “most important here is the singular emphasis within the Roman aristocratic world on the past as a source of all that was worthy of imitation and emulation, particularly in the guidance and training of the youth” (11). Chaplin aims to inform her audience of the importance of exemplarity in the education of youth and the perpetuation of the Roman system within itself. She gives further evidence for the perpetuation of the exemplary system through education but adds the important qualification that “people may interpret the same *exemplum* in different ways” (4). This layer is important because, in an exemplarity system, the relationship between author and audience is a dynamic one and every author and audience member interprets the *exempla* differently. This dynamic relationship will be important when looking at the particular *exemplum* of Spartacus. The author and audience share in the dynamic relationship when “they scan the past in hopes of finding reliable information about the future” (198). This relationship further complicates how exemplarity takes place, not only through countless dynamic author and audience interpretations, but also in a number of interpretive art forms. Rebecca Langlands (2015) describes how:

The stories were deeply familiar to them [Romans], the details of these tales and their heroes were everyday common knowledge; importantly, as part of cultural memory, individual exempla were not single uncontested versions of a story, with their own moral value, but rather what I describe as ‘sites of exemplarity.’ This phrase draws on the idea of ‘sites of memory’...and describes the whole cultural tradition surrounding any particular exemplary figure or story, which always consists of various competing versions and elaborations, with its moral and cultural significance susceptible to change over time and to different interpretations by different people. (69-70)

Langlands describes the systematic implementation of exemplarity emphasizing the “sites of exemplarity.” These sites exist physically and culturally all over the city of Rome and even beyond the walls of Rome, throughout their Mediterranean empire, informing their audience of past

exempla and creating the requisite social memory in the audience to take part in an exemplary exchange.

Spartacan Literature takes place within two of these “sites of exemplarity” in Roman cultural memory. These “sites of exemplarity” are rhetoric and history and while both of these sites inform later audiences, they create the split between the authors who live during Spartacus’s lifetime and witness his uprising and later, but still ancient, authors of Spartacan Literature. Historians, biographers, or creative authors rarely discuss the authors contemporary to Spartacus. Of the surviving literature of the Roman Republic only two, Caesar and Cicero, mention Spartacus. Ironically, Caesar and Cicero are often neglected because they add very little unique detail to the Spartacan narrative. Conversely, because they both invoke the memory of Spartacus to their audience, most of whom were alive during the period of Spartacus’s uprising, these sources offer a window into how Romans engaged in dialogue about Spartacus during the Late Republican period and act as sites of exemplarity, particularly as sites of rhetorical exemplarity. Both utilize Spartacus as an *exemplum*, recalling the recent past as a means to discuss the present.

During his campaigns in Gaul, C. Julius Caesar encountered a multitude of Gallic, German, and even British enemies on the battlefield. In his *De bello Gallico*, Caesar provides a historiographical description of Gaul and imparts ethnographic information to the work’s audience. T.P. Wiseman (1998), in a discussion of Caesar’s audience, asserts, “one might reasonably infer that Caesar too was addressing the People” (3), contending that it was, “overwhelmingly more likely that each winter Caesar wrote the events of the year’s campaign with the Roman People as his intended audience, and had the text sent as fast as possible to Balbus and Oppius in Rome for copying and distributing” (4). Wiseman, through capitalizing the “P” in “the People,” alludes to the ongoing polarization of politics in Rome between the Senate and the People.

The polarization is due, in large part, to the evolution of the “struggle of the orders” taking place in Rome, particularly the way this struggle evolved in the late Republic. Caesar represents the apex of this struggle as the figurehead of the *populares* and the chief opponent of the *optimates*. Cicero, in his *Pro Sestio*, defines these two groups from an *optimatus* perspective:

Duo genera semper in hac civitate fuerunt eorum, qui versari in re publica atque in ea se excellentius gerere studuerunt; quibus ex generibus alteri se populares, alteri optimates et haberi et esse voluerunt. Qui ea, quae faciebant quaeque dicebant, multitudini iucunda volebant esse, populares. Qui autem ita se gerebant, ut sua consilia optimo cuique probarent, optimates habebantur. (96)

There have always been two classes of men in this city: those who strove to carry on stately affairs and those who strove to conduct themselves more distinguishably; from these ranks one group wished to be considered *populares*, the other *optimates*. The *populares* are those who wished everything they did and said to be liked by the masses. They are people who are held to be *optimates* however, are those who conduct themselves so as to esteem their own conduct for good.³

Cicero provides valuable insight into how the Romans viewed their own political divide, but what Cicero does not mention, or more likely takes for granted, is who populate these groups. Lily Ross Taylor (1949) identifies the families who made up these *populares*. She states:

There was no continuous popular party. Tribunes who, at least for their year in office, claimed to be *populares* formed the nucleus of a people's party. Then there were men belonging, as many of the tribunes did, to *optimatus* families who, having failed to gain their ends from the senate, used tribunes to obtain from the popular assembly their special designs for armies and military commands and other prerogatives and at the same time provided rewards for the people. (14)

Taylor emphasizes that these *populares* are not plebeians, but mostly aristocrats who grappled with the Senate advancing policies seen as beneficial for the People⁴. Caesar, in a very calculated move, uses these *commentarii* as a political tool to remind the people of Rome of the greatness of one of the *populares* leaders.

³ All translations are mine unless otherwise specified

⁴ For more discussion on this see Gruen (1974) and Millar (1995).

Caesar also uses these *commentarii* to inform a Roman audience of the dangers he and his army encountered in Gaul. Early in his campaign, Caesar is forced to confront the general Ariovistus. Caesar reports a speech he claims to have given just before engaging in battle with Ariovistus's army. James Greenough (1900) emphasizes the importance of this speech, calling it, "one of the most remarkable, if not the most famous, of antiquity, stamps Caesar as a consummate orator as well as an able general... By this skillfully contrived address, in which he glosses over the difficulties of the undertaking, which he must know well, he contrives to inspire in his soldiers the Roman spirit, which was invincible whenever it was really roused" (295). Caesar, in *De bello Gallico* 1.40, first reports that Ariovistus is not a threat to the army, or to Rome, because he (Ariovistus) was willing, in the past, to become a friend to Rome (*Aviovistum se consule cupidissime populi Romani amicitiam appetisse*; 1.40.2). Caesar is confident Ariovistus will honor his friendship with Rome and not engage with the Roman army but asks *quid tamen vererentur* (what they [the Romans] have to fear; 1.40.4) if Ariovistus does attack. Caesar continues his speech by reciting three exemplary models from the recent past. Through the invocation of these *exempla*, Caesar is addressing two distinct sites (or recipients) of exemplarity: his own army and the citizens of Rome. Caesar's first *exemplum* is Gaius Marius, who had previously defeated the Cimbri and Teutones (*Cimbris et Teutonis a Gaio Mario*). Caesar's use of Marius as an *exemplum* has a two-fold effect. The invocation of Marius, Caesar's uncle and the *populares* leader who, as Taylor (1949) details, "introduced the personal army as a decisive factor in Roman politics" (17), would remind Caesar's audience of Marius "turning to the landless poor, the proletariat of Rome and the Italian municipalities" (17) and the victories that army won. This particular *exemplum* demonstrates Caesar's calculated addressing of multiple audiences. Caesar's use of certain words adds further evidence for the dual nature of his speech. His use of *nostrorum memoria* not only

addresses the *memoria* of his army, but also his audience in Rome. Catherine Torigian (1998), in her discussion of Caesar's use of the word *nostra* from the very beginning of *De Bello Gallico*, emphasizes how "the very succinctness of the term(s) *nostra*...underscore[s] the shared nature of Rome's *lingua* and *instituta*" (50). Caesar's audience at Rome aside, Caesar, through this invocation of Marius, is also reminding his army of previous Roman victories over the very tribes Ariovistus is commanding (*factum eius hostis periculum partum nostrorum memoria*; 1.40.5).

Caesar continues his speech by adding two more recent *exempla* to his first, creating a rhetorical triplet. Caesar's second *exemplum* reminds his audience of Rome's more recent engagements with tribes from Gaul and Germany, namely the war with Spartacus. He tells his men: *factum etiam nuper in Italia servili tumultu, quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent, sublavarent* (something even more recent is in the slave revolt in Italy, [the slaves] who were helped by the skill and discipline which they learned from us; 1.40.5). Caesar's succinct allusion to this tumultuous revolt reflects the status of Spartacus as an exemplary model in the years immediately following his revolt. Caesar never mentions Spartacus by name, nor does he need to. His audience would have immediately known to whom Caesar was referring through the mention of the *servili tumultu in Italia*. Just as Marius acts as an *exemplum*, Spartacus stands as an *exemplum* to both the Roman army and Caesar's audience in Rome. Aldo Schiavone briefly draws attention to this: "Caesar alone would refer to Spartacus's forces as an army of barbarians rather than of slaves. He was, however, talking as a soldier (we cannot entirely rule out in his reference an implicit tribute to the brilliant rebel commander) and not as a politician, far less as a master" (139). Here, Schiavone separates Caesar the general and soldier from that of the politician and is correct in drawing attention to Caesar's multiple audiences and how Caesar is using Spartacus as an *exemplum*, but Schiavone fails to elaborate on this point and the importance of this

exemplum. In his use of Spartacus as an *exemplum*, Caesar is relying on the shared social memory of this war in order to inspire specific actions on the part of his army and to evoke a specific emotional response in his Roman audience.

Caesar is in Gaul just thirteen years after Spartacus's defeat and had military veterans with him on his campaign. Therefore, it is likely that Caesar was addressing at least some troops who had fought against Spartacus. They would have been reminded both of the strength and resolve of Spartacus's army, but also that Rome still prevailed. Caesar reminds his audience that Spartacus's army was trained by the Romans, so there was no need to fear Ariovistus's army. To his second audience, the Roman people, Caesar uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* to remind them of the very real threat that Spartacus epitomized in the Roman psyche. Spartacus led an army, trained by Romans, who threatened the everyday lives of the Roman citizens. Caesar is also reminding his Roman audience of a victory celebrated by his two political allies, M. Licinius Crassus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, once again drawing attention to victories celebrated by members of the *populares* party.

Caesar does not end his speech with his *exemplum* of Spartacus, but completes his triplet by reminding his audiences: *hos esse eosdem Germanos quibuscum saepe numero Helvetii congressi non solum in suis sed etiam in illorum finibus plerumque superarint, qui tamen pares esse nostro exercitui non potuerint* (these are same men with whom the Helvetii often join in battle, not only at their borders, but also in Germany, and have defeated them, and yet, they [the Helvetii] are no match to our army; 1.40.7). Just as with the previous *exempla*, Caesar is appealing to his different audiences. Caesar is reminding his army that they have defeated the very army, the Helvetii, who constantly defeat the Cimbri and Teutones. This *exemplum* picks up resonance with his audience in Rome by its linkage with the first two *exempla*. Caesar, during his time in Gaul,

defeated the Helvetii⁵, just as Marius defeated the Cimbri⁶ and Teutones⁷ and just as Crassus (and Pompey the Great) had defeated Spartacus. Caesar is positioning himself alongside of these *populares*, making himself the third and final exemplary figure, placing himself on equal footing with the previous two.

Caesar's triple *exempla* act in such a way as to legitimize himself in the discussion with other *optimates* leaders. Throughout his speech he very clearly and distinctly draws attention to recent *optimates* military achievements and selects his reminder of Spartacus's rebellion as the second *exemplum*, typifying his rhetorical aims. Caesar constructs this *exemplum* to provide the exact information to his dual audiences; he wants them to remember and to relate to him. In this way, Caesar is using the established rhetorical practice of citing exemplary cases and at the same time constructing a political rhetoric attuned to the aims of his political party. Spartacus, the Cimbri and Teutones, and the Helvetii represent a means to an end, as *exempla* their usefulness only goes so far as they relate to Caesar's political ends.

Cicero acts as the second contemporary to invoke Spartacus's name as an *exemplum*. Cicero, similarly to Caesar, carefully constructs the *exemplum* he uses to reach the largest audience possible through his careful selection of each *exemplum* he uses. Cicero uses speeches, treatises, letters, and the like to communicate to multiple audiences: the audience he is reporting to be directly addressing, i.e. his political speeches, and the audience represented by the reader. Cicero's *exempla* take part in multiple "sites of exemplarity," and even though he differs from Caesar in his

⁵ The Helvetii were a Gallic tribe who lived in modern-day Switzerland. Caesar was constantly battling with this group during his ten years in Gaul.

⁶ The Cimbri were Germanic tribe from modern-day Denmark and northern Germany, who were continuously migrating south and attempting to enter the lands of Gaul. Caesar is describing this migration during this speech.

⁷ The Teutones were a Germanic or Celtic tribe who take part in a similar migration as the Cimbri from northern Germany or Denmark into Gaul.

intended audience, he is still participating in the same system of rhetorical exemplarity common in the late Roman Republic. Where Caesar discusses Spartacus as a means to position himself alongside other *populares* leaders, Cicero's exemplary use of Spartacus aligns him with the *optimates*. The dichotomy between Cicero and Caesar demonstrates just how, as Langlands describes, "each *exemplum* is known through, in, and from a range of different versions, each of which gives it a different significance, and association with a different general idea of principle" (73). Just as was the case with Caesar, many of Cicero's audience would have lived while Spartacus was defeating Roman armies and terrorizing Italy. As a consequence, Cicero uses Spartacus, as Harriette van der Blom (2010) demonstrates, as a stock *exemplum* of the enemy at the gates of Rome (107-108) in order to demonstrate his most significant responsibility is to the Republic: protecting it not only from exterior threats but also interior, i.e. Roman, threats. Cicero departs from Caesar and invokes Spartacus with the implicit intent of criticizing his political enemies and showing how these Roman enemies are degrading the foundation of Rome. To this end, Cicero uses Spartacus as a negative *exemplum* or "a model to avoid" (van der Blom, 68). Cicero's sites of Spartacan exemplarity fall into two categories: first, Cicero invokes Spartacus to criticize others' administrative capabilities, in *Epistularum ad Atticum* 6.2 and his *Fifth Verrine*. Cicero draws specific attention to the exploitation by certain provincial governors and uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* as part of this discussion. Second, Cicero invokes Spartacus as a blunt insult against his political enemies toward whom he bears animosity, particularly Publius Clodius and Marc Antony (*Phillipics* 3, 4, and 13, *De Haruspicum Responsis* and the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*). He intends this invocation not only to criticize his political enemies' loyalty to the *res publica* but also to invoke real fear in this audience as a consequence of their acute awareness of the danger Spartacus represented to Rome.

Cicero deploys Spartan exemplarity first in his *Epistularum ad Atticum* 6.2. Written in 50 BCE, this letter goes beyond mere personal correspondence; it represents a rhetorical device meant not only for his friend Atticus, but for a much wider audience. As Eleanor Leach explains, “the assumption that their (letters) self-revelation is unguarded, which is to say rhetorically programmed, is a premise very much at odds with Roman views of the close relationship between self-representation and style” (140n2). In this letter Cicero reports how, during his time as proconsul in Cilicia, *multae civitates omni aere alieno liberatae, multae valde levatae sunt* (many communities have been freed of all their debt, many others nearly freed; 6.2). Cicero describes how this was brought about, namely through no governmental spending (*uno quod omnino nullus in imperio meo sumptus factus est*) and the reduction of embezzlement by the local magistrates (*mira erant in civitatibus ipsorum furta Graecorum quae magistratus sui*; 6.2). Cicero’s recollection of his deeds orients himself within the larger political discussion he is wishing to have. Cicero is speaking about abuses by Roman magistrates in the provinces and hopes to establish himself as an *exemplum* of the opposite. He has treated his provincial lands in such a way as to alleviate debts and burdens, not add to them. Langlands gauges how Roman “*exempla* communicated a basic shared grasp of values that were important to Roman society” (79), but here, Cicero is taking this concept a step further by intentionally trying to inform his audience of a specific social change he hopes to enact and a value he hopes to instill. Cicero continues and provides an opposing *exemplum* which he believes others should not follow: Scaptius and his dealings with the Salaminians and their attempt to reconcile their debt to Rome. Cicero states: *Salaminos autem hos enim poteram coercere adduxi ut totum nomen Scaptio⁸ vellent solvere sed centesimos ductis... noluit Scaptius* (I persuaded the Salaminians, on whom I could have used

⁸ Tribune of the Soldiers of 50 BC (Broughton 1952, 256)

compulsion, to pay back the entire debt to Scaptius, but at one percent...but Scaptius refused; 6.2.7). Scaptius wanted the entire amount, not the lower amount and so M. Scaptius requested mounted cavalry (*equites*) from Cicero to collect this money. Cicero begins his exemplary triplet by highlighting his own accomplishments as a magistrate: first by showing how well he treats Roman provincials and then, furthering the triplet, by demonstrating how Scaptius differs from him. He calls Scaptius's administrative practices into question and highlights the shortcomings of provincial governors, specifically the rapacity of these governors to extract wealth from their assigned province. Here, Cicero has set up Scaptius as a foil to himself. He has already recalled his past deeds and goes on to demonstrate the ongoing exploitation he recognized upon his arrival in Cilicia. To advance his point even further, Cicero then invokes Spartacus as an *exemplum*, asking his audience: *Cum Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt*⁹. *quid tandem isti mali in tam tenera insula non fecissent? non fecissent autem? immo quid ante adventum meum non fecerunt?* (There were fewer with Spartacus at first. What damage would they not have done on such a vulnerable island? Moreover, what would they not have done? No, indeed, what had they not done before I arrived?; 6.2). Although he merely states: *cum Spartaco minus multi primo fuerunt*, his point should not be limited to the number of troops Scaptius has asked for nor the damage that can be inflicted even by such a small contingent of soldiers. Cicero is more interested in showing the dangers (*mali*) that Scaptius could inflict even with a small contingent through his comparison to Spartacus. Cicero's explicit use of Spartacus as an *exemplum* also draws the audience toward the point he is trying to make. Through likening Scaptius directly to Spartacus in this way, Cicero is drawing into question not only Scaptius's act, but the act of the other provincial governors, and

⁹ This would actually be very interesting if this was a strict reconstruction of the ancient Spartacan narrative. Cicero states that Scaptius requested 50 (*quinguaginta*) soldiers from Cicero. Cicero, by stating this number exceeded (*minus multi primo fuerunt*) the number with Spartacus at first, gives a smaller number than any of the other ancient accounts of Spartacus' rebellion. Plutarch put this number at 78 and Appian puts the number at 70.

likening not just Scaptius to Spartacus, but to others also. He uses this *exemplum* to criticize and to bring about self-reflection in later governors. He is wanting them to ask: will I be a Cicero or will I be a Spartacus? Will I exemplify a Roman or will I follow the *exemplum* of Spartacus?

Cicero's *Verrine Orations* parallel his letter to Atticus to the extent that both his letter and the *Verrines* report administrative abuses, in particular, exploiting money from provinces. Cicero uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* for these abuses. R.G.M. Nisbet draws attention to the intended audience stating, "the *Fifth Verrine*, which purports to have been delivered in 70 BC at the trial of Verres for extortion as governor of Sicily, but the defendant withdrew into exile after the first preliminaries, not a word was actually uttered. Even if Cicero had a draft of the speech ready for delivery, he would rewrite it in a triumphal spirit when he knew he had won" (1). Cicero wrote this speech as part of a much longer prosecution of C. Verres¹⁰, who had extorted vast amounts of wealth from the people of Sicily. In this written oration, Cicero asserts that he will investigate Verres's military achievements (*tua opera et quanta...in bello*; 2.5.4), specifically Verres's professed involvement in the repulsion of Spartacus's troops during his time as proquaestor of Sicily. Cicero asks Verres, *quid dictis* (what do you say)? *an bello fugitiuorum Siciliam virtute tua liberatam? Magna laus et honesta oratio; sed tamen quo bello?* (is it perhaps that you are saying your excellence saved Sicily from the war of runaway slaves? A great achievement and honorable oration; but from which war; 2.5.5) Cicero reminds Verres and his audience of the previous slave rebellions on Sicily¹¹ and then asks: *at in Italia fuit* (was there not one in Italy). Cicero answers his own question: *Fateor, et magnum quidem ac vehemens* (I admit, a great and terrible one).

¹⁰ Quaestor 84 BCE, serving under the Consul Papirius Carbo in Picenum; Proquaestor 83 BCE, under Papirius Carbo in Gaul; Proquaestor 82 BCE; Legate and Legatus pro quaestore under Cn. Dolabella in Cilicia 80 BCE; Legatus pro quaestor under Cn. Dolabella in Cilicia 79 BCE; Praetor 74 BCE, Propraetor 73 BCE in Sicily; Propraetor 72 BCE in Sicily; Propraetor 71 BCE in Sicily

¹¹ *Nos enim, post ilud bellum quod M. Aquilius confecit, sic accepimus, nullam in Sicilia fugitiuorum bellum fuisse* 2.5.5

Cicero then pointedly asks Verres, *Num igitur ex eo bello partem aliquam laudis appetere conaris? num tibi ilius victoriae gloriam cum M. Crasso aut Cn. Pompeio communicatam putas?* (Surely you are not desirous of some part of the praise from this war? Surely you do not estimate the glory of this victory be divided between you and Crassus or Pompey; 2.5.5). These rhetorical questions, asking about Verres's reported participation in the Servile War, are intended to embarrass Verres even further and to show from the onset that Verres is not Crassus or Pompey. This is the primary use of Spartacus as an *exemplum* in this oration. Cicero wants to make it abundantly clear that Verres had no part in the repulsion of the slave revolt and to use this lack of participation to further berate Verres. Cicero further calls Verres's involvement into question¹², reminding the audience that Crassus prevented the crossing¹³. He calls into question how proximity means the slave rebellion would spread to Italy¹⁴ and, in a very exaggerated tone, asks how remarkable (*quid mirum*) it would be for it to spread in such a way, especially because the Romans did not believe Spartacus's army knew how to sail¹⁵. Cicero continues his assault on Verres: *Contagio autem ista servilis belli cur abs te potius quam ab iis omnibus qui ceteras provincias obtinuerunt praedicatur? An quod in Sicilia iam antea bella fugitivorum fuerunt? at ea ipsa causa est cur ista provincia minimo in periculo sit et fuerit* (but for this infection of a servile war, why is this brought up by you more than by any of the others who maintain the other provinces? Is it because there had been wars of escaped slaves before in Sicily? It is for this very reason that this province is and

¹² *non arbitror hoc etiam tuae deesse impudentiae, ut quicquam eius modi dicere audeas. Obstitisti videlicet ne ex Italia transire in Siciliam fugitivorum copiae possent. Ubi, quando, qua ex parte? cum aut ratibus aut navibus conarentur accedere? Nos enim nihil umquam prorsus audivimus;* 2.5.5

¹³ *sed illud audivimus, M. Crassi, fortissimo viri, virtute consilioque factum ne ratibus coniunctis freto fugitive ad Messanam transire possent: a quo illi conatu non tanto opera prohibendi fuissent, si ulla in Sicilia praesidia ad illorum adventum opposita putarentur.* 2.5.5

¹⁴ *at cum esset in Italia bellum tam prope a Sicilia, tamen in Sicilia non fuit...ne cum in Sicilia quidem fuit eodem intervallo, pars eius belli in Italiam ulla pervasit. Etenim propinquitas locorum ad utram partem hoc loco profertur? utrum aditum facilem hostibus an contagionem imitandi belli periculosam fuisse?* 2.5.5

¹⁵ *aditus omnis hominibus sine ulla facultate navium non modo disiunctus sed etiam clausus est, ut illis quibus Siciliam propinquam fuisse dicis facilius fuerit ad Oceanum pervenire quam ad Peloridem accedere.* 2.5.6

was in the least danger; 2.5.6). Cicero uses Spartacus's rebellion and the possibility of his army crossing onto Sicily to criticize Verres's abilities, not only as a general, as Cicero says, but also to denigrate his governing abilities altogether. Cicero does not stop here. He continues to harass Verres, calling his motives into question. He carefully demonstrates how Verres's real aim for claiming participation in the resistance to Spartacus's supposed Sicilian invasion was so that he could extract payments taxes from the people of Sicily. Cicero recalls: *nulline motus in Sicilia servorum Verre praetore, nullaene consensiones factae esse dicuntur? Nihil sane quod ad senatum populumque Romanum pervenerit, nihil quod iste publice Romam scripserit* (have there been no disturbance of slaves, nor conspiracies said to have happened in Sicily during Verres's praetorship? Nothing which reached the senate and people of Rome, nothing which was written publicly by this man to Rome; 2.5.9). Cicero believes Verres fabricates these local slave uprisings in order to arrest slaves and then ask exorbitant fees from their owners to procure their release or imprison those who do not pay. Cicero gives as his *exempla* slaves who are captured, sentenced, and then immediately released (2.5.13¹⁶) and Apollonius, who was imprisoned after he was accused by Verres and was unable to pay the fine Verres levied against him¹⁷. Cicero calls into question all of Verres's abilities and sarcastically proclaims:

O praeclarum imperatorem nec iam cum M'. Aquilio, fortissimo viro, sed vero cum Paulis, Scipionibus, Mariis conferendum! tantumne vidisse in metu periculoque provinciae! Cum servitiorum animos in Sicilia suspensos propter bellum Italiae fugitivorum videret, ne quis se commovere auderet, quantum terroris iniecit! (2.5.14)

¹⁶ *ut ipse qui iudicaret, ut statim e medio supplicio dimiserit, ut eius facinoris damnatos servos quod ad omnium liberorum caput et sanguinem pertineret.* 2.5.13

¹⁷ *Quid? si aliquid ab Apollonio commissum est quam ob rem in eum iure animadverteretur, tamenne hanc rem sic agemus ut crimini aut invidiae reo putemus esse oportere si quo de homine severius iudicaverit? Non agam tam acerbe, non utar ista accusatoria consuetudine, si quid est factum clementer, ut dissolute factum criminer, si quid vindicatum est severe, ut ex eo crudelitatis invidiam colligam. Non agam ista ratione; tua sequar iudicia, tuam defendam auctoritatem, quoad tu voles; simul ac tute coeperis tua iudicia rescindere, mihi suscensere desinito; meo iure enim contendam eum qui suo iudicio damnatus sit iuratorum iudicum sententiis damnari oportere.* 2.5.19

Oh noble general, let us no longer compare this most courageous man with M. Aquilius, but with a Paulus, a Scipio, a Marius! He showed such greatness in the midst of fear and danger in his province! Supposedly when he saw the intent of the slaves in Sicily heightened because of the war of the escaped slaves in Italy, none dared to move against him, he instilled such great fear!

Cicero sees through Verres's ruse and makes it known to his audience. He uses the *exemplum* of Spartacus's rebellion to position his attack on Verres in the recent past and demonstrates how Verres represented more of a danger to the people of Sicily, and by extension to Rome, than Spartacus did. Cicero uses this event to contrast Verres with other Roman magistrates and generals, and, much as he does Scaptius, he uses Spartacus as the foil to show the ongoing administrative extortion being carried out in the provinces by these Roman magistrates. This contextualization would have been especially poignant because this trial and the subsequent written speeches would have been circulated in the year immediately following the successful defeat of Spartacus's rebellion by M. Crassus. The emotional stress caused in Rome would have still been fresh and would have added much weight to Cicero's oration.

Cicero invoked Spartacus in a profound way, using the Roman memory of his rebellion to demonstrate the administrative abuses in the provinces. He builds on this exemplary use of Spartacus and is later able to use Spartacus and his status as an "enemy at the gate" as an insult to classify two of his greatest enemies, Publius Clodius Pulcher and Marc Antony. Both *populares* leaders, and allies of Caesar and Pompey, acted as participants in the degradation of the Republic and were thus enemies of Rome. Cicero uses political speeches to both the senate and to the people, and his philosophical work the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* as his "sites of exemplarity." In these works, Cicero freely criticizes his enemies and draws striking parallels between his enemies and Spartacus, who held a nefarious role in Rome's cultural memory. Cicero draws the minds of his audience to the terror they would have felt as Spartacus remained active for nearly three years and,

by comparing his enemies to this exemplary figure, Cicero explicitly calls these men enemies to Rome and her people.

Cicero's attacks on Clodius come in two of his works: Cicero's speech *De Haruspicum Responsis* and one of his philosophical works, the *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. In these two works, Cicero makes explicit political claims against Clodius, his greatest enemy in Rome. Cicero and Clodius had an odious relationship exemplified through a *lex talionis*: Cicero testified against Clodius during his trial in 61 BCE, where Clodius had been accused of violating the *Bona Dea* festival.¹⁸ Clodius, later elected as a Tribune of the Plebs in 58 BCE, sought revenge against Cicero and, with the help of Caesar and Pompey, had Cicero exiled from Rome for his part in the execution of the Roman citizens implicated in the Catilinarian Conspiracy. Clodius immediately put forth legislation for the confiscation of Cicero's property and orchestrated the building of a temple to *Libertas* on the site of Cicero's house. Cicero, upon his recall from exile, condemns Clodius for this action in his *De Domo Sua* in 57 BCE, and blames Clodius for a negative prodigy in the *De Haruspicum Responsis*, written in 56 BCE. Cicero's continued political opposition to Clodius follows even his death, when Cicero defends Titus Annius Milo who was accused of murdering Clodius in 52 BCE. In 46 BCE, Cicero writes his *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, where he again details some of Clodius's misdeeds. In this work, Cicero includes, amongst his political *exempla*, Spartacus as a negative *exemplum* that, he claims, Clodius follows.

Shortly after Cicero returned to Rome following his exile, a noise was heard outside the city of Rome. Clodius, almost immediately, blamed this negative prodigy on Cicero's return to the

¹⁸ This religious event was to be attended only by women. Clodius famously dressed up as a woman in order to sleep with Pompeia, Julius Caesar's wife. Clodius was caught by Caesar's mother, in a closet, dressed as a woman. He was brought to trial where he claimed that he could not have been at the festival because he was not in Rome. Cicero testified that he was in Rome, because he had seen him that very day walking in the streets. Clodius was acquitted.

city. Following this accusation, Cicero rebuts Clodius's claim with his *De Haruspicum Repsonsis*. Mary Beard (2012), summarizing this speech, states, "the main aim of this speech was to deflect any suspicion that Cicero himself was the cause of the divine displeasure signaled by the prodigy and to point the finger at Clodius instead" (21).¹⁹ The primary audience of this speech, delivered, either orally or in written form, was the Senate, who would have listened to Cicero's argument and would then choose how to deal with this negative portent. In the speech, Cicero discusses many of Clodius's crimes, but explicitly draws attention to what he deems Clodius's sacrilege: *hos ludos servi fecerunt, servi spectaverunt, tota denique hoc aedile servorum Megalesia fuerunt* (slaves performed these games, they viewed these games, and these [the games] were during this aedileship [of Clodius] a Megalesia of slaves; 1.25). Cicero sees these games as having been desecrated (*pollutes*), soiled (*inquinatum*), disgraced (*deformatum*), and perverse (*perversum*) all because of the inclusion of slaves. Cicero compares these slaves to bees and states that if such a population of bees entered the city, the *haruspices* (soothsayers) would be called in (*si examen apium ludis in scaenum caveamve venisset, haruspices acciendos ex Etruria putaremus*; 1.25). He continues: *fortasse... nos ex Etruscorum scriptis haruspices, ut a servitio caveremus monerent* (perhaps the soothsayers might warn us from the Etruscan books that we ought to beware of our slaves; 1.25). Cicero questions Clodius: *istius modi Megalesia fecit pater tuus, istius modi patruus* (did your father put on the Megalesian games of such a fashion, or your uncle?; 1.26). Cicero's questions escalate and then he makes his exemplary cases known: *is mihi etiam generis sui mentionem facit, quum Athenionis aut Spartaci exemplo ludos facere maluerit quam Gaii aut Appii Claudiorum* (Does that man [Clodius] make a mention of his birth to me, when he has preferred, in the games, to make Athenio or Spartacus an *exemplum*, more than Gaius or Appius Claudius?;

¹⁹ Although Beard's article deals primarily with the religious implications of the *De Haruspicum Responsis*, she discusses the political implications as well and provides valuable insight into the aims of this speech.

1.26).²⁰ In this passage, Cicero is doing two things: first, he is drawing attention to Clodius's ancestry, specifically his most illustrious ancestors Gaius Claudius Crassus, Clodius's grandfather, and Appius Claudius, who could either be Appius Claudius Crassus Ingrillensis Sabinus, one of the *decemvirs*, or Appius Claudius Caecus, the builder of the *Aqua Appia* and *Via Appia*. Regardless, Cicero is succinctly isolating Clodius from his illustrious ancestors and any exemplary model they might have provided him. Cicero uses the differences between these familial and servile *exempla* and the differences of their temporal, spatial, and social spaces in opposition to each other. Spartacus and Athenio represented threats to Rome. Athenio's rebellion took place in Sicily and was not really a threat to Rome herself, but Cicero's inclusion of Spartacus is clearly meant to ignite the anger and fear of the Senate. Spartacus represented the most recent threat to Rome and one that should be avoided, and yet Clodius, at the head of an army of gladiators, had desecrated these games meant to honor the Mother Goddess (*Magna Mater*). Cicero wants the Senate to blame Clodius for the ill omen in question and to see him as the "enemy at the gate."

Nearly ten years after Cicero compared Clodius to Spartacus in the *De Haruspicis Responsis*, he took another opportunity to attack Clodius by calling him a Spartacus yet again, in *Paradoxa Stoicorum* 4. This paradox is ὅτι πᾶς ἄφρων μαίνεται (that every fool is crazy; 4.27). The paradox itself is intact, but the text at the beginning of Cicero's explanation of this paradox is fragmentary, making who Cicero is using as his exemplary case somewhat unclear. Barbara Price Wallach (1990), however, demonstrates how "the beginning of 'Paradoxon IV' is mangled, but enough remains to indicate that Cicero is levelling an attack against someone whom, in this instance, he considers mad, rather than only stupid or unprincipled. The target is not named, but crimes later alluded to must identify the insane miscreant as Publius Clodius Pulcher" (172).

²⁰ Athenion was one of the leaders of the 2nd Sicilian Servile War. He was Cilician by origin (Bradley 70-71).

Cicero's paradox primarily discusses issues of the state and, in particular, Cicero discusses his exile, a time during which, he believes the state had dissolved (*senatus nomen in republica non erat*). Cicero continuously emphasizes a madman/sage dichotomy, stating that: *reditum mihi gloriosum iniuria tua dedit, non exitum calamitosum* (your abuse gave to me a glorious return, not a calamitous exit; 4.29). Cicero continues, emphasizing citizenship, *ergo ego semper civis, et tum maxime cum meam salutem senatus exteris nationibus ut civis optimi commendabat, tu ne nunc quidem, nisi forte idem hostis esse et civis potest* (Therefore, I was always a citizen, moreover especially when, saluting me, the Senate entrusted me, as the highest of citizens, with foreign nations, but even now you are not one, unless the same man can be both an enemy and a citizen; 4.29) and calls into question both what makes one an enemy and whether Clodius ought to be considered a citizen: *an tu civem ab hoste natura ac loco, non animo factisque distinguis? Caedem in foro fecisti, armatis latronibus templa tenuisti, privatorum domos, aedes sacras incendisti*. (Do you distinguish a citizen from enemy by birth and location, not by intellect and deeds? You committed murder in the forum, you held the temples with armed bandits, you set ablaze the homes of private citizens and sacred shrines; 4.29-30). Cicero perpetuates his idea that a Roman who does not have the best interests of the state in mind ought not be considered a citizen. To him, birth does not give the Roman an inherent access to citizenship, but how that citizen acts inside the state should grant them access to it. Cicero concludes this section with one final question: *cur hostis Spartacus, si tu civis* (why was Spartacus an enemy, if you are a citizen?; 4.30), paralleling Clodius's right to be called a citizen with Spartacus, the most recent immediate external threat to Rome and a negative *exemplum* for any Roman. Wallach sees Cicero as "raising the specter of one of the most fearful threats to Rome and implying Clodius's similarity to him" (181). By reminding his audience of not only Clodius's misdeeds, but by comparing Clodius to Spartacus, Cicero is

able to drive his point forward: the enemy at the gate can be an external or internal threat and both ought to be dealt with in the same way. Neither ought to be emulated but rejected.

Cicero's use of Spartacus as a negative *exemplum* in correlation with Clodius further shows the use of Spartacus as a negative *exemplum* or one that ought to be avoided. Cicero's audience knew who Spartacus was and they had direct knowledge of the chaos his rebellion brought to Rome. Where the *De Heruspices Responsis* invokes Spartacus to speak against men like Clodius, the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* invokes Spartacus to lament the internal downfall of Rome. The former highlights the continuing chaos, not from a liminal threat but from within the Roman state herself, and the latter retrospectively sees how these *Spartaci* or men who *Spartaci exemplo facer maluerit* (prefer to make an exemplum of Spartacus) aided in the downfall of the Republic. In the former, Cicero uses the fear of Spartacus as an *exemplum* to criticize and remind the senators what the outcome could be if such Romans continued as participants in the Republic and in the latter, he shows that such men lead to the downfall of the Republic. Cicero's warnings and exhortations, however, did not prevent the Republic from ultimately coming to an end.

Cicero's exhortations for Rome to find and squash these internal threats often fell on deaf ears. This does not, however, prevent Cicero from continuing to speak out against these internal threats. Cicero's focus on negative *exempla* is not limited to only Clodius, but also lands on Marc Antony in his *Philippics*, fourteen in total, delivered over a period of two years. These speeches, which invoked Demosthenes's *Philippics*, were written primarily against Marc Antony and provide three instances of Spartacan exemplarity. In *Philippics* 3 and 4, Cicero questions Marc Antony's allegiance to Rome, just as he did in his comparison of Clodius to a Spartacus in the *De Heruspices Responsis*, and uses Spartacus to call Marc Antony an enemy of Rome. In *Philippics* 13, Cicero produces his most impactful Spartacan *exemplum*, likening Antony to Spartacus and

creating an association between Spartacus, Antony, and Catiline. Cicero's continued use of Spartacus, even after the death of Julius Caesar and the subsequent civil war, shows how Cicero continued to view the contention of the *optimates* and *populares* as the primary threat to Republican values, similar to the external threat Spartacus's rebellion represented just thirty years previously.

In *Philippic* 3, given to the senate on 20 December 44 BCE, Cicero speaks out against Antony and his handling of Julius Caesar's will. Cicero recognizes Octavian, whom he calls Caesar, as Julius Caesar's rightful heir and sees how these two men could not simultaneously be friends of Rome nor co-inheritors of Julius Caesar's legacy. Cicero believes that one or the other must be considered an enemy to the state: *necesse erat enim alterutrum esse hostem, nec poterat aliter de adversariis iudicari ducibus. Si igitur Caesar hostis, cur consul nihil refert ad senatum* (it was necessary that one of the two be an enemy, nothing else was able to be judged about these two opposing leaders. If therefore, Caesar is an enemy, why does the Consul report nothing to the Senate; 3.21). Cicero believes that Antony is the enemy and uses the argument, *sin ille a senatu notandus non fuit, quid potest dicere, quin, cum de illo tacuerit, se hostem confessus sit?* (But if on the contrary, Caesar was not to be reprimanded by the Senate, what is Antony able to say, but that, when he is silent about Caesar, he admits that he himself is an enemy; 3.21). Cicero's logic presents the crux of his argument, that Antony is the one who ought to be considered an enemy of Rome, and that Octavian is not, as Antony, *quem in edictis Spartacum appellat, hunc in senatu ne improbum quidem dicere audet*. (In his edicts, he calls Caesar a Spartacus, however in the Senate, he does not dare even call him immoderate; 3.21). Cicero is not calling Antony a Spartacus but reports that Antony called Octavian a Spartacus in his edicts. This passage does much to show Spartacus's position as a primary negative *exemplum* in Rome. Antony would have known what

sort of connotation referring to Octavian as a Spartacus would have had. He uses that term in a calculated manner *in edictis*, but as Cicero reports, Antony will not call Octavian a Spartacus in the Senate and to do so would have carried a very different connotation, namely, he would have been calling Octavian an enemy at the gates of Rome and thus someone that the Roman people ought to fear.

Philippic 4, also delivered on 20 December 44 BCE, represents the difference between how Cicero addressed the Senate and the people. Where Cicero composed *Philippic 3* as a senatorial speech, he composed *Philippic 4* as a public assembly speech. In the later speech, Cicero creates a rhetorical triplet to speak about Rome's enemies. Cicero begins discussing Rome's ancient enemies: *ac maioribus quidem vestris, Quirites, cum eo hoste res erat, qui haberet rem publicam, curiam, aerarium, consensum et concordiam civium, rationem aliquam, si ita res tulisset, pacis et foederis* (Indeed, your ancestors, Citizens of Rome, dealt with such an enemy who had a state, a council house, a treasury, a consensus and agreement of citizens, and a reckoning of a peace treaty, if things were brought about thus; 4.6). Cicero's first *exemplum* is that of the enemy states Rome fought in its past. Rome fought these external states who had established governments and defined boundaries. Cicero follows this *exemplum* by questioning Antony's motives:

hic vester hostis vestram rem publicam oppugnat, ipse habet nullam; senatum, id est orbis terrae consilium, delere gestit, ipse consilium publicum nullum habet; aerarium vestrum exhaustit, suum non habet; nam concordiam civium qui habere potest, nullam cum habet civitatem? pacis vero quae potest esse cum eo ratio, in quo est incredibilis crudelitas, fides nulla? (4.6)

This enemy of yours that attacks the state, has none of these; Antony is eager to destroy the senate, which is the assembly of the whole world. That man has no public assembly; he has exhausted your treasury, he has none; for who is able to have a consensus of citizens when he has no community? And truly, what reckoning of peace will be possible with him, in whom there is only incredible cruelty and no loyalty.

Antony acts as the second *exemplum* of a Roman enemy. He is the internal enemy, without the previously requisite qualifications of a community. Cicero continues, stating that this contest with Antony: *est igitur, Quirites, populo Romano, victori omnium gentium, omne certamen cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco* (Thus, Citizens of Rome, the entire contest is between the Roman people, the conqueror of all nations, with assassins, with robbers, with a Spartacus; 4.2). Cicero is likening Antony to Spartacus. Cicero's triple construction with *cum* (*cum percussore, cum latrone, cum Spartaco*) shows the close association between these three labels, to be *percussore* (assassin) is also to be a *latrone* (a robber) and both of these are to be a Spartacus. Cicero immediately completes his triplet with Antony's comparison of himself with Catiline, *nam quod se similem esse Catilinae gloriari solet, scelere par est illi, industria inferior* (for instance, he is in the habit of boasting that he is similar to Catiline. He is equal to that man in wickedness, but inferior in diligence; 4.6). Cicero's completed triplet shows exactly what he thinks of Antony: he is not one of the noble enemies Rome fought in the past, one defined by a government or a community, but more like a Spartacus, or a bandit. He is similar to Catiline, who was caught attempting to kill Cicero and overthrow the government, who fled Rome, and whose followers were executed by Cicero. The weight of the *exempla* Cicero uses in this triplet show both exactly what Cicero thought of Antony and adds weight to the individual parts of the completed *exempla*. If the first group represented the enemy which ought to be respected, the second two, Spartacus and Catiline, equally represent the contemptable groups which ought to be reviled.

Philippics 13, given to the Senate on 20 March 43 BCE, represents the final Spartacan *exempla* from any contemporary source. This speech, which reports a letter written by Antony to Aulus Hirtius (consul of 43 BCE) and Octavian. Cicero criticizes Antony for how he addresses Hirtius and Octavian (*neque se imperatorem neque Hirtium consulem nec pro praetore Caesarem*

(he neither calls himself imperator, nor Hirtius consul, not Caesar proprietor; 13.22) and begins quoting Antony's letter, *cognita morte C. Treboni non plus gavisus sum quam dolui* (I am not more happy than sad learning of Gaius Trebonius's death; 13.22). Cicero, upset at this, continues quoting Antony: *dedisse poenas sceleratum cineri atque ossibus clarissimi viri et apparuisse numen deorum intra finem anni vertentis aut iam soluto supplicio parricidi aut impendente laetandum est* (it ought to be rejoiced that the criminal has paid the penalty to the ashes and bones of that most illustrious man Julius Caesar, and the will of the gods, within a year, either have already, or they will shortly, dish out punishment of the overthrowing parricide; 13.23). Cicero believes that Antony is not justified in relishing Trebonius's death, although his involvement in Julius Caesar's death cannot be refuted. Trebonius's role was to distract Antony and hold him up outside of the senate meeting so that he could not aid Caesar (*quo scelere, nisi quod te Idibus Martiis a debita tibi peste seduxit*; 13.22). Regardless of his role, Cicero believes that Trebonius saved Antony's life, and although he participated, does not deserve such a harsh criticism for his role. Cicero, directing his speech to Antony, exclaims: *O Spartace! quem enim te potius appellem, cuius propter nefanda scelera tolerabilis videtur fuisse Catilina* (Spartacus! What better name is there to call you? Your nefarious crimes make Catiline almost tolerable; 13.22). Cicero's *O Spartace!* is the first instance of any source using Spartacus in the vocative case, and it adds force to his exclamation, putting the full weight of the negative connotation behind it. To be a Spartacus here, as in *Philippics 4*, is to be a Catiline, or in Cicero's mind, someone in opposition to Rome and the Senate (or in other words, the *optimates*). Coming from Cicero's mouth, any comparison to Catiline signifies the enemy from within, and adding Spartacus to this comparison increases the negative *exemplum* beyond the enemy within but adds the connotation of no longer being the enemy within, but the external enemy at the gates.

Cicero's writings span a major transitional period of Roman History. His earliest writings cover a time when the Republic is on the brink of internal disaster. Politicians and officials were abusing their power and Cicero does not shy away from discussing such abuses. Cicero's *Epistularum ad Atticum* 6 explicitly invokes Spartacus as an *exemplum* to directly address the abuses and to offer himself as the better *exemplum* to follow. His *Verrine Orations* also address these abuses and relates in greater detail the involvement Verres claims to have had in the repulsion of Spartacus from crossing from Italy to Sicily. Cicero refutes this and addresses the real issue at hand: to pillage and plunder the provinces is no different from acting as an enemy to Rome, i.e. a Spartacus. Cicero also uses Spartacus to address enemies in Rome and his use of Spartacus as an *exemplum* demonstrates why it is important not to overlook these contemporary sources. When Cicero invokes the name of Spartacus, he is relying on the recent past and cultural memory of his audience in order to directly attack his political enemies. Cicero attacks Clodius as an enemy dragging the Republic down further toward disaster. Cicero thus recalls the cultural memory of Spartacus and invokes this name as an *exemplum* in his works discussing Clodius. Cicero continues his exemplary use of Spartacus against Marc Antony. Although the political environment in which the *Philippics* were written changed after the civil war, the tone of this *exemplum* remains the same. Cicero continues to invoke Spartacus as an *exemplum* because this name, and the negative connotations it represented, still held political capital and, some ways, it held greater political capital. Cicero is more open to using Spartacus as an *exemplum* after the civil war, meaning that even after the civil war, Spartacus represented a great threat to Rome, synonymous with the threat it was facing from within.

Caesar's and Cicero's objectives for invoking Spartacus as an *exemplum* differ and yet both are able to use him successfully as a signifier even when their aims and respective audiences

differed. Thus, from the onset, Spartacus is a signifier which is mutable depending on who invokes his name and the aims of their invocation. Caesar and Cicero establish this model in literature and over the subsequent decades later authors use Spartacus in a similar fashion. This is prominent in the historiographical texts of Sallust, Plutarch, and Appian.²¹ These three authors are traditionally elevated and studied more than any other Spartacan narrative and represent scholar's primary sources for Spartacus and his rebellion. These authors do write long narrative retellings of Spartacus's rebellion and even provide descriptions of his character and abilities as a general, but many of these scholars fail to contextualize Sallust, Plutarch, and Appian and their Spartacan narratives in such a way as to show the exemplary function of Spartacus and his rebellion within the overarching theses of each of the author's broader literary objectives within their respective works. This contextualization of the broader scope of the literary works is key to understanding the exemplary function Spartacus fulfills even within these larger narratives.

Gaius Sallustius Crispus (Sallust) is the earliest and closest to a contemporary of these three narrative sources. Sallust was a young teenager when Spartacus's rebellion began and thus, a contemporary to Spartacus's rebellion. Although Sallust is alive during Spartacus's rebellion, he has not been classified as a contemporary source like Caesar and Cicero. The two primary reasons for his classification are: first, the extremely fragmentary remains of Sallust's *Historiae*. Of the fragments attributed to Sallust's Spartacan narrative, only two are longer than a few lines. The scholars Maurenbrecher and McGushin (2004) have assembled and organized these fragments in commentaries with the aims of reconstructing the framework of Sallust's Spartacan narrative.

²¹ Here I am choosing to pass over a fragment from Diodorus Siculus in which he gives a bizarre description of Spartacus: "Ὅτι ὁ Σπάρτακος ὁ βάρβαρος εὐεργετηθεὶς παρὰ τινος εὐχάριστος ἐφάνη πρὸς αὐτόν. αὐτοδιδίκτος γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάρους ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος τοῖς εὐεργέταις. (The barbarian Spartacus after receiving some kindness from someone, showed him kindness. For indeed nature is self-taught, even in barbarians, through a repayment of kindness to a benefactor; 38.21).

Their works have made these fragments more accessible and provided usable information on Spartacus. Second, because of the intended audience of his *Historiae*. Where Caesar and Cicero recall and report the events of Spartacus's rebellion as *exempla* for an audience who lived during the rebellion, Sallust is writing for an audience comprising the generation immediately following the rebellion. Regardless of this separation and intended audience, Sallust does offer the most contemporary historical account, albeit a fragmentary and subjective one. From the fragments that do remain, Sallust represents a categorical shift in how Spartacus operates as an *exemplum*. Where Caesar and Cicero use Spartacus as a politically charged negative *exemplum*, Sallust begins the discussion of Spartacus as a positive character who ought to be mimicked through his constant juxtaposition of Spartacus as a general with his Roman counterparts and Spartacus's army with the Roman army. Sallust begins his reporting of the rebellion by saying Spartacus *ingens ipse virium atque animi* (himself being mighty of bodily strength and intellect; 3.61)²². Sallust reports Spartacus's humanity, resistance to barbarity, and resolve for freedom rather than pillage or revenge, as one might expect from a Roman discussing an enemy who kept Rome in a state of panic for nearly three years. Sallust's departing from Caesar and Cicero represents "the primary source for the career of Spartacus and the war of the gladiators" (McGushin 110) and a source used by later biographers, such as Plutarch, for the narrative reporting of Spartacus. Significant complications arise from extreme fragmentary remains of this work, specifically the books pertaining to Spartacus. Although this complicates the issue, it is plausible to assert, from the remaining fragments, that Spartacus stands as an *exemplum* within Sallust's work. Regardless of the fragmentary state of his work, Sallust exemplifies how authors in the generation after the event look back at the rebellion and invoke it, just as Cicero in his *Verrine Orations* during which he

²² There are a handful of commentaries and the numbers of the fragments differ. I will use the McGushin numbering.

harassed Verres for his supposed involvement in repelling Spartacus, thus, an understanding of how Spartacus acts as an external *exemplum* as a substitute for an internal enemy, thus showing Rome and its institutions in a state of deterioration.

Sallust's Spartacan narrative is highly fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct. These factors complicate Spartacus's exemplary function within Sallust's *Historiae*. Large sections are missing and in many places there are only partial sentences that have been organized within the fragmentary Spartacan narrative because they attribute similar characteristics given to Spartacus by Plutarch and Appian. Some of the larger remaining fragments do help to demonstrate how Sallust's *Historiae* contrasts Spartacus and his army with the different Roman generals and their armies, specifically pointing out how greatly the numerous Roman generals who faced Spartacus on the battlefield in 73 and 72 BCE underestimated him. This fits with Sallust's overarching thesis, as Franz Bücher (2006) draws attention to: "Sallust was astonished by the situation in Rome, which he stated in his historical analysis: externally, the Republic was extremely successful and more powerful than ever before. But internally, it was corrupt and led by politicians who had completely strayed from the ways of the past. The aim of his historical work was to show this crisis to his contemporaries"²³ (296) and parallels Jane Chaplin's assertion that "*exempla* have special value for a generation whose past had collapsed and whose future was uncertain" (31). Within Sallust's Spartacan narrative, fragment 64 reflects the characterizations of Bücher and Chaplin. In this fragment, from *Historiae* 3, Sallust describes the Roman army following a defeat at the hands of Spartacus sometime in the year 73 BCE.²⁴ Sallust juxtaposes the actions of the slave army with

²³ Sallust staunte über die Situation Roms, die er bei seiner historischen Analyse feststellte: Die Republik sei nach außen extrem erfolgreich und so mächtig wie nie zuvor. Im Innern sei sie aber verdorben und werde von einer politischen Klasse geleitet, die vom guten alten Weg völlig abgekommen sei. Diese Krise seinen Zeitgenossen vor Augen zu führen, ist Ziel seines historischen Werkes.

²⁴ This fragment mentions Publius Varinius, who is the second praetor sent against Spartacus by the Romans.

that of the Roman army. Of the slave army (*fugitivus*) Sallust reports, *sudes igni torrere, quibus praeter specimen bello necessariam haud multo secus quam ferro noceri poterat* (then hardening the stakes by charring with fire, by which, not only having the necessary appearance for war, these were able to do harm just as much as was possible by the sword; 3.64.1).²⁵ Spartacus's army continues, even after their victory, to fortify their camp against the Romans. Sallust transitions his narrative from Spartacus's army, *dum haec aguntur a fugitivis, aegra parte militum autumni* (while these things were done by the runaways; 3.64.2), to the Roman army. Sallust reports that the Roman camps were suffering from disease, *aegra parte militum autumni gravitate* (disease in part of the army on account of the severe autumn weather; 3.64.2), desertion, *neque ex postrema fuga quom severo edicto iuberentur, ullis ad signa redeuntibus* (none of those who had fled from the previous battle had returned to the camp, even under most severe command to do so; 3.64.2), and cowardice, *et qui relicui erant per summa flagitia detractantibus militiam* (and those who remained evaded their military service through the greatest shames; 3.64.2). Sallust's juxtaposition of the slave and Roman armies demonstrates how he wants to contrast the two armies. The slaves are in a state of preparedness for battle while the Romans, in defeat, act dejected and unwilling to fight. In this fragment Sallust presents the slave army as not only more organized than the Romans, but more enthusiastic for the fight. Sallust continues his description of the desertion and unrest, asserting that Varinius²⁶ sent his quaestor Gaius Thoranius²⁷ to Rome to report to the senate (3.64.2). Varinius wants his quaestor to report these events directly to the Senate so that they recognize Spartacus as a real threat to Rome and one that required greater attention. After this, Varinius's army is reinforced with four thousand new troops (3.64.4). Sallust, through his positive

²⁵ Maurenbrecher fr.96

²⁶ Praetor of 73 BCE. Broughton 110

²⁷ Quaestor of 73 BCE, Broughton 110

representation of Spartacus, positions Spartacus as an *exemplum* of a strategist and the superior commander. Through his negative representation of Varinius as a strategist, Sallust positions Varinius as a negative *exemplum*, representing an underprepared and defensive general who can merely react to Spartacus rather than dictating the terms of engagement. Sallust extends this *exemplum* beyond Varinius to the Senate. Sallust demonstrates that, from the beginning of the rebellion, the Senate and Rome's generals were disinterested in Spartacus and the slave rebellion, even when Spartacus became the exemplary "enemy at the gates." This disinterest demonstrates the level of decay inherent in the values which made Rome great earlier in the Republic. Sallust extends this juxtaposition to Spartacus's army, which acts as the *exemplum* of the ideal army. They are the aggressors and, although they come from nations previously conquered by Rome, they appear to have the upper-hand. On the other hand, Rome's armies are disinterested and fearful of the slave army, again the opposite of what is expected with an enemy marching around Italy. Sallust juxtaposes Spartacus's and Varinius's armies again: *et ad vigilum speciem procul visentibus palis erexerant fulta ante portam recentia cadavera et crebros ignis fecerant formidine...Varini milites* (and they erected the recently dead's bodies with stakes in front of their gates to make it appear at a distance as though there was a night watch and they made numerous fires [for the purpose of creating] fear in the soldiers of Varinius; 3.64.4). Varinius reacts to this escape: *sed fugativos credens longe abesse munito tamen agmine insidias pavens se recepit, ut exercitum duplicaret novis militibus* (but believing the slaves were very far away, nevertheless although fearing an ambush, he set off after strengthening the lines, in order to double the size of his force with new soldiers; 3.64.6). Sallust continues to report how the Romans, *contra morem fiducia augeri nostris coepit et promi lingua* (contrary to their character, our troop's courage began to increase and to be expressed in their language; 3.64.8). Sallust emphasizes that the Romans had

renewed courage (*fiducia*), but this was not their initial emotion, but an incidental emotion *contra morem*. Sallust continues his criticism of Varinius and reports the quick reversal of the Roman army's attitude toward fighting Spartacus: *Varinius contra spectatam rem incaute motus novos incognitosque et aliorum casibus percussos milites ducit tamen ad castra fugitivorum presso gradu, silentis iam neque tam magnifice sumentis proelium quam postulaverant* (Varinius, moving incautiously against what he observed, led his troops, although new, untested, and demoralized because of the calamity of the others, toward the camp of the escaped slaves at a overwhelming pace. The soldiers were now silent and no longer as boastful as when they had demanded battle; 3.64.8). McGushin (1994) asserts that this passage is a "clear indication that Varinius had not been able to resolve the problems of lack of enthusiasm and positive reluctance in the attitude of the troops" (118). Sallust's continued criticism of the Roman army and Varinius reaches its apex in this fragment and he begins to shift away from criticizing the Roman army toward a greater criticism of the slaves.

Sallust shifts his focus toward the slave army through three specific incidents where the army acts *contra Spartaco* (contrary to Spartacus; 3.64.9). These incidents begin to show a breakdown of the slave army's organization and demonstrate a level of barbarity. These passages represent a divergence between the exemplarity of the slave army as a whole and Spartacus himself. Theresa Urbainczyk (2008) relates how this phenomenon occurs in Roman literature discussing enemies. She states, "If any sympathy is presented in our sources, it is usually only for the leaders. They are allowed some abilities, but their followers are dismissed and presented critically. In this instance, they need a leader to preserve their group" (53). Sallust asserts the divergence of Spartacus's character and strength from the remainder of the slave army at the beginning of his Spartacan narrative (3.61).

Sallust, at the end of fragment 64, reports sedition (*seditionem erant*) in the slave camp which leads to *Crixo et gentis eiusdem Gallis atque Germanis obviam ire et ultro offerre pugnam cupientibus, contra Spartaco impetum dissuadente* (Crixus along with the Gauls and Germans of the same tribe desired to go wantonly into battle, although Spartacus urged against the attack; 3.64.9). This disagreement over the plan of attack against the Romans marks the first reported instance of any disagreement among the slave generals, although this sedition does not appear to have prevented the army from continuing to find success (3.65). Sallust's reporting of this incident represents a shift in his narrative, however. In the earlier fragments Sallust emphasizes Spartacus's exemplary traits but does little to separate him from his army. By mentioning the army's sedition, Sallust creates a juxtaposition between Spartacus and the slave army he was leading. Sallust continues to discuss the split in the slave army in the presentation of a plan to leave Italy and to disperse to their countries of origin once out of Italy²⁸, describing the slaves who accept this plan right away as having a *liberi animi nobilesque* (free and noble mind). Another group of slaves desired something drastically different. Rather than leaving Italy, they desired to stay in Italy and continue to plunder²⁹. Sallust assesses this group much differently than the former, *at plurimi servili indole nihil ultra praedam et crudely tatem appetere* (but there were more slaves desiring nothing more than booty and cruelty; 3.66.2). This plan to continue to collect booty and to continue to act cruelly toward the Romans appears to have won the day (*consilium...optimum videbatur*; 3.66.2) and demonstrates Sallust's shift in his representation of the slave army. Where Sallust does not discuss cruelty toward Romans in previous passages, here he immediately relates an instance of the slave army enacting their cruel plan. As the army marches into Lucania, Sallust reports three

²⁸ *aliam fugae rationem capiundam sibi esse pauci prudentes probare, liberi animi nobilesque, ceteri... laudantque*, 3.66.2

²⁹ *at plurimi servili indole nihil ultra praedam et crudelitatem appetere...consilium...optimum videbatur*, 3.66.2

egregious offenses by the slave army as they arrived in Anni Forum *prima luce* (dawn) with the Romans unaware (*ignaris*) of their approach. The first offense takes place upon arriving: *statim fugitivi contra praeceptum ducis rapere ad stuprum virgines matronasque* (immediately the slaves, contrary to the orders of their leader, began to snatch up both young women and wives to rape [*stuprum*] them; 3.66.4). Sallust reports this extreme violence against the women of the town from the onset of the attack showing the barbarity of the slaves during this attack. Sallust also uses this extreme violence to create the dichotomy between Spartacus (*contra praeceptum ducis*) and his army. Not only does Spartacus not condone these acts, but he specifically orders his men not to. Sallust reports that his army disobeys this order. The second offense involves others (*et alii*): *eludebant simul nefandum in modum perverso volnere, et interdum lacerum corpus semianimum omittentes* (at the same time they made a sport of inflicting perverse wounds in an impious way and even now and then leaving behind mangled bodies, half-alive; 3.66.4). Again, Sallust highlights the barbarity of the slave army. He specifically describes the means (*modum*) as *nefandum* a word to describe some violation of a divine law. The mangling and slaughter of the townspeople further separate Spartacus from the army. Where Spartacus has *virium* or strength (3.61) his army conducted itself with *nefas*. Sallust continues to report the barbarous acts of the slaves: *alii in tecta iaciebant ignis multique ex loco servi quos ingenium socios dabat, abdita a dominis aut ipsos trahebant ex occulto* (and others threw fire into homes and many of the local slaves, whose nature made them allies, dragged out property hidden by their masters as well as the masters themselves from their hiding places; 3.66.4). The army, along with the local slaves, burn and pillage the goods of the town. The inclusion in this narrative of local slaves is not accidental but calculated to show that slaves were joining the army as the army marched through Italy and how those slaves would perpetrate similar barbarity on their masters given the chance: *neque*

sanctum aut nefandum quicquam fuit irae barbarorum et servili ingenio (nothing was sacred nor anything abominable to the anger of the barbarians and their servile nature; 3.66.4). Sallust contrasts these events, stating only that *Spartacus nequiens prohibere* (Spartacus was unable to prohibit these things; 3.66.5), further separating Spartacus not only from his army but from other slaves. A portion of Sallust's audience would have been alive and recollected the slave uprising and subsequent battles, rapes, and plundering. Sallust's narrative would bring about a recollection of those events along with the terror felt in Rome and throughout Italy. Thus, if Sallust intends Spartacus to act as some sort of exemplar in his narrative, it is necessary to create a cognitive dissonance between what his audience would remember about Spartacus and the barbarous actions of the slave army. Sallust, in order to reconcile the two, represents Spartacus as opposing the unfavorable behavior of his army and thus placing the blame solely on the army as a means to preserve Spartacus as an exemplary figure.

Where *Historiae* 3 establishes the positive discussion of Spartacus as an *exemplum*, *Historiae* 4 continues this discussion in a remarkably different way. Where the fragments of *Historiae* 3 first praise Spartacus's character and then contrast him first to his enemies and then to his own men, the fragments of *Historiae* 4 adhere more closely to a traditional structure of using the past as a means to discuss the present. Jennifer Gerrish (2015) illustrates how Sallust arranges his discussion of Spartacus's movements alongside a geographical excursus (Gerrish, 200) describing Scylla (*Historiae* 4.23) and Charybdis (*Historiae* 4.24). She draws specific attention to how these mythological creatures between the straits of Italy and Sicily, factor into the coinage (Figure 1) of Sextus Pompey, thus, contrasting Spartacus with "Sextus [Pompey] in his account of



RRC 511/4a

Figure 1. Roman Coin depicting (obverse) the Lighthouse of Messana with Neptune sitting atop holding a trident; (reverse) Scylla wielding a rudder. 42-40 BCE. American Numismatic Society.

the Spartacus War in order to highlight similarities between the leader of the slaves and the son of Pompeius Magnus” (193). Gerrish illustrates how, “Sallust suggests a comparison with Spartacus, another figure initially dismissed by contemporary opponents but who posed a very real threat to the stability of the Republic” (194) and further, “Sallust frames his critique by suggesting a parallel between Sextus and Spartacus, the runaway slave whose uprising was similarly de-legitimized and dismissed by Rome until heavy losses forced the senate to react appropriately” (196). Gerrish’s research falls in line with authors like Chaplin and reflects theories of Langlands in recognizing the exemplary function to recall the past in such a way as to have a greater effect on the author’s contemporary audience.

Sallust is writing for the generation following Spartacus’s rebellion and uses his Spartacan narrative much differently than the previous generation. Sallust’s movement away from vilifying Spartacus has a profound effect on later ancient authors and, through them, on most later

generations. Sallust's observations of Rome in a state of decay brings about introspection for his audience, allowing them to see not only Rome in a different light, but her enemies also. Sallust brings this about through his juxtaposition of Spartacus and his army to the Roman generals and army. Sallust immediately follows this by a shift from the whole to the individual, differentiating Spartacus from his army. Sallust then brings his Spartacan narrative back to a primary exemplary function of using the past as a means to discuss the present. In the generations that followed Sallust, Spartacan authors embraced Spartacus's exemplary function and used that function toward their own narrative goals.

In the early Imperial Period, several Roman authors reference Spartacus within their works. Some of these authors rely upon the established Caesarian, Ciceronian, or Sallustian exemplarity while others find a new way to use Spartacus as an *exemplum* in brief passages of their works supporting some larger thesis. Alain Gowing (2005) points out that in many of these works written during the Imperial period there is a "recurrent inability of Roman writers to disengage from the pre-imperial past. They repeatedly come back to many of the same events and characters, most associated with the late Republic..." (6). The authors Horace, Livy, Pliny the Elder, and Seneca the Elder can all be categorized in this way. The pattern of these authors using Spartacus as an exemplary model remains as they use past *exempla* to establish their own authority. Many of these authors use Spartacus as a compartmentally relevant *exemplum*, imagining Spartacus and/or his rebellion in order to generate a specific sort of ethos in their audience, relying on the cultural memory of their audience to influence their reading of the texts through the use of this enemy of the not so distant Republican past.

Horace was a Latin poet and satirist whose life extended from the Republican period into the early Imperial period, where under the patronage of Maecenas he wrote his *Epodes*, *Satires*,

and *Odes*. Horace invokes Spartacus as an *exemplum* in two of his poems, both of which address Augustus and use Spartacus as an *exemplum* for the “enemy at the gate.” In *Ode* 3.14 Horace briefly uses this exemplary model in a playful poem directed toward Augustus:

*ego nec tumultum
nec mori per vim metuam tenente Caesar terras.
I pete unguentum, puer, et coronas
et cadum Marsi memorem duelli
Spartacum si qua potuit vagantem fallere testa* (3.14.14-20)

I shall fear neither tumult
nor death so long as Caesar lives on the earth.
Go boy, reach for the ointment and crown
and jar remembering the War with Marius,
if anywhere a pot has been able to slip by the roaming Spartacus.

Horace makes light of this Civil War, stating that Augustus makes the world a safer place, as he returns from Spain, seeking merely a crown of laurels (*venalem*) while also highlighting the tumultuous events of the recent past (Marius and Spartacus). Horace uses a same model in his *Epodes* to lament Rome’s self-destruction through Civil War (*bellis civilibus*). In *Epode* 16, Horace compares the internal threat felt by Civil Wars with the external threats Rome was forced to face in the previous generation, Spartacus being one of the many.

*Altera iam teritur bellis civilibus aetas, suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit:
quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus
aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox:
nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube parentibusque abominatus Hannibal
inopia perdemus devoti sanguinis aetas ferisque rursus occupabitur solum.* (16.1-10)

Now, another age is worn out by Civil War and Rome destroys herself with her own power
the city which neither the Marsian neighbors were powerful enough to destroy, nor the
Etruscan soldiers of Porsena
nor the excellence of its rival Capua nor sagacious Spartacus, nor the rebellious and
treacherous Allobroges
nor did wild Germany with its blue youths subdue nor Hannibal, abhorred by our parents
We, an impious generation of accursed blood, will destroy [this city] and it will again be
occupied alone by wild beasts.

Each of these *exempla* are meant to contrast the events of the Civil War fought first between Octavian, Antony and Julius Caesar's assassins, and then between Octavian and Antony. Horace is relying on the recent experience and memories of many in his audience, reminding them of the tumult that ended with Augustus's victory. He uses these external *exempla*, which rely further on his audience's cultural memory, of which Spartacus is included, in order for his *exemplum* to carry any weight. Unlike many of the *exempla* Horace includes, Spartacus stands as the most recent and part of his audience could have comprised of at least some who remembered Spartacus's rebellion first-hand with many more who would have been in the generation immediately following the rebellion. The exemplary model stands to remind the audience first of the dangers of external enemies and then to compare those external models to internal enemies challenging the traditional values of Rome only to have Augustus stand as the means to achieve peace.

Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* could have provided a longer narrative of Spartacus's rebellion, but all that remain from books 95-97, the books discussing events of 73-71 BCE, are the *Periochae* (Summaries). These *Periochae* supply the names of Roman commanders and military movements but provide little more than that to any discussion of Spartacus as an *exemplum*. What can be drawn from these brief summaries are the naming of Spartacus and Crixus as the leaders (*Crixo et Spartaco ducibus bello*; 95) and details of the final battle: *Cum Spartaco dein debellavit, caesis cum ipso sexaginta milibus* (Then Crassus fought with Spartacus to a conclusion, himself being slaughtered with 60,000 of his troops; 97). These summaries lack meaningful details to conclude whether or not Livy intended Spartacus as an exemplary model, however as Chaplin discusses, Livy relies on concepts including: "the past can only be useful if it can be relied on to repeat itself (199) and how Livy's *exempla*, "belong to general, traditional thinking about recurrence and the utility of historical knowledge" (200). It is impossible to know Livy's intended exemplary function

of Spartacus, but, given Livy's methodology in the *Ab Urbe Condita*, it would be consistent to expect that his Spartacus held some exemplary function.

Pliny the Elder in his *Naturalis Historia* reminds his audience of the outcome of Spartacus's rebellion during a reflection on the myrtle leaf's involvement in warfare (*bellicis quoque se rebus inseruit*), particularly its use in the ovation (*ovatio*) celebrated in Rome.³⁰ Pliny gives a number of *exempla* who were given ovations. He references Publius Postumius Tubertus, *qui primus omnium ovans ingressus urbem est* (the first to enter the city with an ovation; 15.38.125), and then reports: *haec postea ovatum fuit corona excepto M. Crasso* (this crown [of myrtle] was worn hereafter for an ovation except for Marcus Crassus; 15.38.126) further informing his audience that Crassus, *qui de fugitivis et Spartaco laurea coronatus incessit* (Crassus wore a laurel crown for his celebrating for [his victory] over the runaway slaves and Spartacus; 15.38.126). Pliny provides no further explanation as to why Crassus was able to wear the crown associated with the triumph, however, Aulus Gellius later adds that this was due to Crassus: *insolenter aspernatus est senatusque consultum facundum per gratiam curavit, ut lauro, non murto, coronaretur* (he insolently rejected this and through his influence arranged a senatus consultum that he be crowned with a laurel, not a myrtle, *Noctium Atticarum*; 5.6.23).

Seneca the Elder references Spartacus in *Controversiae* 7.2 during his declamation of *Popillius Ciceronis Interfector* (*Popillius, Assassin of Cicero*). Erik Gunderson (2003) discusses Seneca's declamations and their reliance on *memoria* and explores how "memory is a process that produces its own product, which is again called memory; and memory as a thing or possession

³⁰ This is the second greatest honor a Roman general could have after a military victory, the first being a Triumph. Both involve parades in Rome, but the Triumph is traditionally held back for more important military honors and the ovation was for lesser victories.

implies not just facts, but also a collective memory, tradition, and memorialization” (30). Gunderson recognizes the relationship between and reliance upon the cultural memory of the past as a means to “crystallize, to distribute and to redistribute the goods of the memorable world of rhetoric” (31). And, although declamation is a rhetorical device, “traditionally marked out as a quintessentially hollow exercise, a form without content” (ibid), Gunderson argues that “the world of declamation should not be so swiftly dismissed” (ibid). Adding to Gunderson, it is not only the rhetorical, but the reliance on *exempla* that made these declamations possible. Seneca is working within a larger construct of memory and how that memory of the past is both informed by and reliant upon a broader cultural memory. This is not all that different than the concept of an exemplary model which also relies upon a cultural memory of the past as a means to discuss the present. *Controversiae* 7.2 presents different arguments blaming or exonerating Popillius for killing Cicero. Seneca the Elder adopts the voice of Capito, Cicero’s interlocuter. His argument states, *nemo a Popillio nisi post beneficium occiditur* (no one is killed by Popillius until after he helps him; 7.2.5). Capito gives an *exemplum* of Pompey and Hortensius³¹ before listing Romans who *non tantam urbem fecit quantam Cicero servavit* (did not make the city so great as when Cicero preserved it; 7.2.6). Of these Romans he states, *Glorietur devicto* (Let us praise for subduing): Scipio for subduing Hannibal (*Hannibale Scipio*), Fabricius for subduing Pyrrus (*Pyrrho Fabricius*), Scipio³² for subduing Antiochus (*Antichio Scipio*), Paulus for subduing Perses (*Perse Paulus*), Crassus for subduing Spartacus (*Spartaco Crassus*), Pompey for subduing Sertorius and Mithridates (*Sertorio et Mithridate Pompeius*) concluding *nemo hostis Catilina propius accessit* (no enemy came closer than Catiline; 7.2.7). Through his listing of these threats

³¹ A Philosopher and interlocuter in Cicero’s *On Philosophy*

³² Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus, son of the previous Scipio

to Rome, Capito is quantifying Cicero's role in preventing the Catilinarian Conspiracy comparing his saving of Rome with the others.

It is also during this period that the biographer Suetonius and historian Tacitus carry on the tradition of using Spartacus as an *exemplum* from the Republican period in their Imperial writings. Suetonius briefly creates a connection between Spartacus and Augustus in his biography of Augustus. During his discussion of Augustus's biological father, Gaius Octavius, Suetonius describes an encounter with a group of escaped slaves: *ex praetura Macedoniam sortitus fugitivos... Thurinum agrum tenentis in itinere delevit negotio sibi in senatu extra ordinem dato* (he was given an extraordinary assignment as praetor, on his way to Macedonia, to destroy a group of runaway slaves held up in the fields of Thurii) whom he claims were, *residuam Spartaci et Catiline manum*, (survivors of Spartacus and Catiline's armies; 3.2). Later, Suetonius reports that Augustus, *infanti cognomen Thurino inditum est, in memoriam maiorum originis, vel quod regione Thurina recens eo nato pater Octavius adversus* (in his infancy was given the cognomen Thurinus, in the memory of his ancestral origin, or because of the region of Thurii which his father Octavius, near the time of his birth, had waged war against [the runaway slaves]; 7.1). Suetonius even goes so far as to state that he gives Augustus a bronze statuette of himself (*imagunculam eius aeream*) which Augustus is reported to have cherished and put among the *lares* in his bedroom (*quae dono a me principi date inter cubiculi Lares colitur*; 7.1). The two parts of this story inform the audience of quite a bit. The story of Gaius Octavius seems anachronistic in that it asserts that Augustus's father finished off the remnants of two of the greatest threats to Rome in the late Republican period. The additional information about Augustus placing a statuette of himself among his lares, which recalled the events, emphasizes the usefulness of adopting this story into one's family history. The invoking of the names Catiline and Spartacus, fit with the aims of Augustan literature, and shows

why such a story would exist: Augustus was not only adopted by Julius Caesar, but he was also the biological son of the man who finished off these great threats. These negative *exempla* are all one needs to invoke to remind the audience of danger in order to elevate the praise to those who defeated them.

Tacitus invokes the name of Spartacus twice in his *Annals*. In both instances, Tacitus's invocation recalls previous language to show Spartacus exemplarity as an "enemy at the gate." The first instance, in *Annals* 3.73, involves Tacfarinas, a Nubian brigand who had previously served in the Roman auxiliary and who led an insurrection in Africa between 15 and 24 AD. Here, Tacitus calls this insurrection, noting that Tacfarinas goes so far as to write Tiberius demanding (*postularet*) a land allotment (*sedem*) for himself and his troops (*sibi atque exercitui suo*); if that demand would not be met, he threatened Tiberius with war (*bellum inexplicabile minitaretur*). Tacitus's reaction to this moment is to remind his audience of a similar insurrection which took place a mere fifty years before Tacfarinas. He recalls:

ne Spartaco quidem post tot consularium exercituum cladis inultam Italiam urenti, quamquam Sertorii atque Mithridatis ingentibus bellis labaret re publica, datum ut pacto in fidem acciperetur; nedum pulcherrimo populi Romani fastigio latro Tacfarinas pace et concessione agrorum redimeretur (3.73)

Not even Spartacus, after so many defeats of consular armies, unpunished, burning Italy, while the Republic waged a mighty war with Sertorius and Mithridates, was allowed to surrender, much less in most illustrious of Roman nations was the robber Tacfarinas to be bought off with peace and land.

Given the opportunity to use any *exemplum* from the past, Tacitus uses Spartacus as the overt *exemplum* to draw from and although Tacitus is judging Tacfarinas to be less of a threat than Spartacus, the choice to use Spartacus as the *exemplum* in this discussion adds weight to the external threat represented by Tacfarinas. Tacitus references Spartacus again (*Annals* 15.46), only this time the direct association between Spartacus as *exemplum* and an attempted gladiator uprising

in Praeneste is clear (*gladiatores apud oppidum Praeneste temptata eruptione*). Not only is this the immediate choice for Tacitus but was also the most discernable *exemplum* to remind his audience of Spartacus and the danger anyone resembling him would represent (*iam Spartacum et vetera mala rumoribus ferente populo, ut est Novarum rerum cupiens pavidusque*). This *exemplum* is important for this discussion, because Tacitus demonstrates the reaction to a slave, or in this case a gladiator, rebellion to immediately remind Roman citizens of Spartacus, demonstrating the place Spartacus holds in Roman cultural memory; he represents a form of the internal enemy at the gate and any rebellion mimicking his would be detrimental to the Roman populace.

Suetonius and Tacitus perpetuate the use of Spartacus as an *exemplum* of “the enemy at the gate” and, just as was the case with the early Imperial authors, rely on this Caesarian and Ciceronian modes of representing Spartacus. Rather than tell a narrative, Tacitus and Suetonius use Spartacus’s name to elicit a specific response from their audience. Tacitus shows that Tiberius would not so easily acquiesce to an enemy who did not pose an immediate threat to Rome, using Spartacus as a foil *exemplum* to Tacfarinas and how citizens in southern Italy would process a rebellion of gladiators, fearing a group such as this would cause havoc, just as Spartacus did. Suetonius attaches a military legitimacy to the *Octavii*, specifically to Augustus’s biological father, through his finishing of Catiline, Cicero’s self-proclaimed greatest feat to save the Republic, and his finishing off of Spartacus, the greatest military victory for Crassus and also a victory for which Pompey would also celebrate during his triumph in 71 BCE.

During the century between Sallust and Plutarch only brief mentions of Spartacus survive, but these references demonstrate how Spartacus remained in the cultural memory of the Romans, even during the seismic changes that occurred in the late years of the Republican period and in the early years of the Imperial period. It is from this period that the singular remaining ancient

representation of Spartacus is preserved in the city of Pompeii. This fresco has two frames (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Sketch of Spartaks, Graffiti. Pompei. 79 CE.

The left frame depicts two gladiators fighting, the right, depicts a man on a horse being chased by another manned horse. Above one of these characters the name “Spartaks”³³ is written. Barry Strauss (2009) discusses the uncertainty surrounding this fresco, stating: “the evidence does not permit certainty, but the reader might accept this hypothesis: The fresco offers a snapshot of myth turning into history. Spartaks is Spartacus as one segment of the public remembered him” (207). Strauss’s hypothesis states, “though fragmentary and puzzling, [the Spartacus fresco] may tell us about popular memory” (205). Strauss specifies the most relevant point that can be gleaned from this fresco: regardless of the historical accuracy, exact context, or events this might be a representation of, none of which can be known for certain, this fresco demonstrates that Spartacus reminded its audience of a figure in Roman social memory. Schiavone discusses this further:

a Roman fresco found in a house in Pompeii in 1927, and datable to around the middle of the first century...if the image really does refer to Spartacus... it would be a further clue that the legend spread immediately, and that its narrative engine developed some very

³³ Both Strauss (205) and Schiavone (142) state *Spartaks* is Oscan for Spartacus.

popular images - a kind of Spartacus iconography- destined to adorn the houses of the rich, besides more erudite writings, conserved in their libraries. (142-143)

Although Strauss and Schiavone both want to elaborate on this image and assess it, they introduce the most important discussion point for this fresco- namely the necessity of social memory for this image of Spartacus to hold any weight for its intended audience. In this way, the image is an *exemplum* for its audience, drawing attention to the rebellion, which took place primarily in Southern Italy, as Strauss observes: “a reminder of Spartacus dominated Pompeii’s skyline: Vesuvius, visible throughout the city, and once the scene of Spartacus’s triumph” (205), and speaks to the larger importance of the Spartan literary tradition taking place.

For numerous ancient authors the name Spartacus meant something so very different. Beginning with Caesar and Cicero, the name Spartacus already begins to become synonymous with danger and fear, and to call someone a Spartacus would be to invoke a negative response from any person who heard that insult hurled at another. In the generations that immediately followed Spartacus’s uprising his story and name began to mean something altogether different, with a number of authors relying in the social memory that would remind their audience of who Spartacus was. It is the very nature of *exempla* to bridge this gap, as Chaplin notes “by their very nature, they (*exempla*) involve two time-frames: either the past is recollected and applied to the present, or the present is envisioned as a source of models for the future” (197). Thus, where Spartacus stands as an *exemplum* used by Caesar to position himself alongside the triumvirate and other optimates leaders, or as a Ciceronian insult, or even as a representation of the decline of Republican values, as Sallust demonstrates, it is during later generations, as Rome expands beyond Italy and throughout the Mediterranean, that Spartacus’s exemplary meaning sees its largest categorical shift. The biographer Plutarch and historian Appian, in particular, exemplify this shift

in Spartacan exemplarity, moving their representations from a negative exemplum for the Romans to fear into a positive one which can and should be followed.

CHAPTER TWO

THE RECONSTRUCTED SPARTACUS: SPARTACAN NARRATIVES IN THE EXPANDING ROMAN IMPERIAL WORLD

Plutarch lives during a time of change in the Mediterranean world and from Suetonius and Tacitus in many respects, and although he is a biographer like Suetonius, his *Lives* differ from Suetonius's in audience, purpose, structure and his continuous use of *exempla*. Philip Stadter (2015) discusses two specific events that greatly influenced Plutarch's life and "strongly marked his thinking on Rome" (6). Stadter focusses on Nero's tour of Greece (6) and the turmoil within the Roman empire caused after Nero's assassination in 68 CE (6-7). Stadter wants to make it clear that Plutarch is writing in a world of change, particularly for a Greek author. Plutarch, writing within this changing world, represents an important shift in any discussion of Spartacus because of the extent of his narrative on Spartacus, found within the *Life of Crassus*, and because of its audience. Where the previous Spartacan *exempla* and Spartacan narratives were written primarily for a Roman audience, Plutarch is writing his *Parallel Lives* for a combined Greek and Roman audience. Where the Roman authors were writing in Latin for a Roman audience who participated in/and had knowledge of the cultural tradition of exemplarity, Plutarch writes in Greek to both Greeks and educated Romans, demonstrating his understanding of the Roman exemplary tradition and combining that tradition with the new philosophical aims of the Second Sophistic. Stadter describes this period as "a renaissance that grew out of the efforts of Greeks to define for themselves and for the Romans the significance and contemporary role of their own culture" (4). Plutarch aims to address both of these audiences (Stadter 9) and to relate exemplary models from both Greece and Rome to these audiences.

Each of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* consists of both the life of any particular Greek or Roman and then a comparison between the two, thus evaluating each Greek and/or Roman within their

own sphere and then creating a comparison with a model from a different sphere.³⁴ Stadter takes this a step further, demonstrating how “Plutarch...would attempt to evaluate his own cultural tradition and that of the Romans, looking for what could be learned from each” (122). Plutarch scholars demonstrate how calculated Plutarch was in the arranging of his lives and the selection of his sources. The arrangement and comparison of *Lives* creates the dichotomy necessary to understand any given life. Plutarch also creates internal comparisons within his *Lives* (Stadter 127) which bear an equal weight on the understanding of each life as the external comparison does. Plutarch creates just such an internal comparative life within his *Life of Crassus*, creating a complete “Life of Spartacus” within his larger discussion of Crassus. Plutarch’s discussion of Spartacus is distinguished from many of his other “internal lives.” Plutarch arranges his discussion of Spartacus similar to the larger *Lives* and includes a detailed account of Spartacus’s rebellion unlike any of the other internal lives he creates. To best understand Plutarch’s recounting of Spartacus, Stadter provides the following model for Plutarch’s *Lives*, showing the pattern he follows for the larger *Lives*. Stadter lists seven stages to each life: first, nature of the person; second, early and formative experiences; third, prior actions; fourth, goals before and after; fifth, influence of friends and enemies; sixth, influence of circumstances; seventh, results for the person and the state (220).³⁵ Plutarch’s internal Spartacan narrative, found in the *Life of Crassus* 8-11, adheres to this pattern. As Zadorojnyi (2012) says, “the past is actively revisited in order to acquire and perpetuate but also to adjust and cross-examine the paradigms and benchmarks; exemplarity converts into mimetic response” (175-176).

³⁴ Plutarch’s comparative model has been discussed by numerous authors such as Christopher Pelling (1980, 2011), Alexei V. Zadorojnyi (2012), Jonas Grethlein (2013), Joseph Geiger (2014), and Philip Stadter (2015).

³⁵ Stadter lists a number of questions to ask when reading “full-scale lives.” They are: “What was the nature of the person, what were their early and formative experiences, what their prior actions, what their goals before and at this time, what the influence of friends and enemies, of circumstances? And finally, what was the result for the person and for the state?” (220)

Plutarch begins his discussion with Spartacus's motivation for rebellion, but then immediately tells his audience about Spartacus and his nature. Plutarch states: Σπάρτακος, ἀνὴρ Θρᾷξ τοῦ Μαιδικοῦ³⁶ γένους, οὐ μόνον φρόνημα μέγα καὶ ῥώμην ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνέσει καὶ πραότητι τῆς τύχης ἀμείνων καὶ τοῦ γένους ἑλληνικώτερος (Spartacus, a Thracian man of the Maedi tribe, possessing not only a great mind and bodily strength, but also a faculty of keen discernment and gentleness better than his fate and far more Greek than Thracian; 8.3). From the very beginning of his Spartacan narrative, Plutarch is establishing Spartacus as a character for this internal life. Plutarch gives background information for Spartacus, that he was a Thracian of a specific tribe (or of just a nomadic tribe), thus informing his audience that Spartacus is a slave brought from outside Italy and not one born there. Plutarch's specificity of Spartacus's tribe creates authority on Spartacus the man for his audience. That is not to say that Plutarch is accurately informing his audience of Spartacus's origins, but seeking to establish authority for this figure is important considering the two audiences he is addressing. For his Greek audience, Spartacus would not be a familiar name. In fact, most of his audience need have known little or nothing about Spartacus's rebellion. For this audience, Plutarch becomes an authority as the primary Greek source on Spartacus's rebellion. For his Roman audience, this would not be a new story, but the retelling of a familiar one from the past. The second and more important point is Plutarch's evaluation of Spartacus after informing his audience of Spartacus's tribe. Plutarch attributes four traits to Spartacus. First, he tells his audience that Spartacus has a great mind (φρόνημα μέγα), establishing Spartacus as a great thinker or, in this case, he may be speaking of Spartacus as a tactician. Plutarch pairs (καὶ) this trait with a physical evaluation of Spartacus, telling them he also had great bodily strength (ῥώμην). Plutarch thus establishes Spartacus to be sound in both mind

³⁶ Other manuscripts state he is of Νομαδικοῦ γένους (nomadic stock) rather than Μαιδικοῦ γένους

and body. Plutarch continues his description of Spartacus's mental faculties, stating he possessed the faculty of quick discernment (συνέσει), finally coming to the crux of his evaluation of Spartacus calling him more so from the stock of Greeks (τοῦ γένους ἑλληνικώτερος) than any other. This final evaluation of Spartacus epitomizes Plutarch's intentional division between Crassus and Spartacus. Crassus is the Roman here being compared to Spartacus the Thracian, but really more the Greek. Urbainczyk calls this term "the most flattering thing from the pen of Plutarch" (70). Second, Plutarch is inviting his audience to compare the two and to judge which is the more suitable *exemplum*. Zadorojnyi discusses this type of exemplary usage, stating: "the erudite writings of Plutarch, in particularly the *Parallel Lives*, explore the past specifically with an eye to examples to learn from and discriminately imitate" (176). Plutarch begins his discussion of Spartacus listing his virtuous traits, differing from his beginning of the *Life of Crassus* (2.1), where he states that Crassus had many virtues (πολλαῖς ἀρεταῖς) but a single vice (κακίαν μόνην) which threw a shadow over (ἐπισκοτῆσαι) all the virtues, specifically a love of riches or avarice (φιλοπλουτίαν). Plutarch is not concerned with only virtues, as Stadter states: "according to Plutarch, men acting at the major moments in history both furnish models of extraordinary human qualities - courage, intelligence, foresight, integrity, and calmness under pressure - and warn us of the faults often associated with these same virtues" (334). And while this is important to consider, the order in which Plutarch lists virtues and vices among this pair of *Lives* compels the audience toward evaluating one differently from the other, favoring Spartacus over Crassus. Urbainczyk relates:

Spartacus, a slave and one of the class of men exploited by Crassus in his own household, is held up by contrast. His character is noble; he cares about his men, about honour, about equality. Crassus emerges as the more barbaric character. In portraying Spartacus in this way, Plutarch is continuing the negative portrayal of the Roman, since even a slave has more nobility of character than *this* Roman. (69-70)

Pelling goes so far as to question why Plutarch even writes about Crassus, stating: “Crassus, for example, is a peculiarly lightweight and anecdotal Life. Plutarch evidently decided... that it was simply impossible to write a serious historical biography of Crassus. The weight of that Life falls to the great narrative set-pieces...” (208). Echoing this, it is much easier to understand the *Life of Crassus* when viewing it as the vessel through which Plutarch discusses Spartacus as an important narrative from the Roman world. Plutarch is thus establishing Spartacus as an *exemplum* from the start of his narrative.

Stadter’s second structural element for Plutarch’s *Lives* is to “relate early and formative experiences” (220), and he does this immediately after his exemplary statement of Spartacus’s character. Plutarch relates the story of Spartacus being sold at Rome (ὅτε πρῶτον εἰς Ῥώμην ὄνιος ἦχθη; 8.4) during which time δράκοντα κοιμωμένῳ περιπεπλεγμένον φανῆναι περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον (as he slept, a snake appeared wrapping itself around his face; 8.4). Plutarch recounts the interpretation of what this means through the voice of Spartacus’s wife (γυνή), whom he says δ’ ὁμόφυλος οὖσα τοῦ Σπαρτάκου (was of the same tribe as Spartacus; 8.4) and who was μαντική δὲ καὶ κάτοχος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμοῖς (a prophetess and an attendant to Dionysian celebrations; 8.4). According to Plutarch, she ἔφραζε τὸ σημεῖον εἶναι μεγάλης καὶ φοβεραῆς περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς ἀτυχὲς τέλος ἐσομένης δυνάμεως (declared it to be an omen of a great and terrible power bringing about an unfortunate result; 8.4). Keith Bradley (1998) comments:

that the story is literally true is of course highly unlikely. But it indicates that Spartacus was thought to have been a figure who was surrounded by an aura of religiosity, insofar as he is portrayed here as the elect of supernatural forces, and there is no reason to believe that such a characterization was not perceptible to the slaves who attached themselves to him. (93)

Bradley focusses on numerous aspects of the three major slave rebellions which took place in Sicily and Italy, drawing particular attention to this strong religious presence given to the three

leaders of the three rebellions.³⁷ Bradley intends to show religiosity as a common trait necessary in the leaders of these slave rebellions, but Bradley does not address whether the entire idea of religiosity in a slave leader is more in the realm of hyperbole, serving more as an adhering trope than the relating of “fact.” It seems more likely that Plutarch, who is the first to affix this religious tag to Spartacus, has used a common trope from previous slave rebellions to tie Spartacus’s rebellion to these previous rebellions within the construct of this miniature “life” for an audience both familiar and unfamiliar with Spartacus’s rebellion. The association of Spartacus with Sicily dates back to Cicero’s *Verrines* and would have been familiar to certain elements of Plutarch’s Roman audience. Repeating a trope found in Diodorus Siculus to explain previous slave rebellions would prompt an educated Greek audience into recalling those previous rebellions and associating Spartacus with them as a larger phenomenon, thus echoing Zadorojnyi, who states: “the Plutarchan (micro)textual universe is geared towards the well-informed, alert and paideutically avid readership. Such a reader would wish to paint in the details and use the know-how of *historia* to assemble incidents into paradigms” (198).

Spartacus’s prior actions make up the next step for the construction of his narrative as one of Plutarch’s *Lives*. Plutarch relates numerous actions taken by Spartacus in the course of his rebellion, but there are none as important as the escape itself, Spartacus and his army’s upgrading of weapons, and their initial encounter with a Roman army. All three of these events set Spartacus apart and personify Spartacus’s exemplary status within this “life” through their representation of Spartacus’s ethos.

³⁷ For Ennus, the leader of the first Sicilian slave rebellion: Bradley 55; for Salvius, the leader of the second Sicilian slave rebellion: Bradley 74.

Plutarch's discussion of Spartacus begins with the reason behind the rebellion. Plutarch gives a simple reason for this rebellion. Plutarch's is the earliest surviving claim as to why Spartacus rebelled in the first place. Plutarch simply states: ἐξ αἰτιῶν οὐ πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδικία τοῦ πριαμένου συνειργθέντες ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἐπὶ τῷ μονομαχεῖν (through no misconduct, but because of the injustice of their owner, they were shut up together except for gladiatorial combat; 8.1). Plutarch is doing two things in this description. First, Plutarch appears to be describing the overall condition of a Roman institution to his Greek audience. Pelling, for instance, sees the description of complicated Roman practices in Greek terms as a reflection of their multiple audiences (215). Plutarch uses terms like μονομάχος (single combat) to describe gladiatorial combat and μονομάχους τρέφοντος (an educator of gladiators) to describe the lanista, Lentulus Batiatus (Λέντλος Βατιάτος) and what seems more at work here is Plutarch's attempt to describe the way gladiators were kept in a *ludus* and did not reflect some greater abuse singular to Batiatus. Whatever the reason for this escape was, it is important to understand why Plutarch felt it necessary to include this reason behind the escape. Plutarch is not saying that Spartacus was fighting to abolish slavery, but merely to escape his own difficult and arduous situation.

Plutarch describes three moments of Spartacus's army's use of specific weapons. His description of these weapons and the reason behind Spartacus and his army swapping weapons reflects a steady increase in the legitimacy of the army and reflects Plutarch's overall positive evaluation of Spartacus's army. At the beginning of their uprising in Batiatus's *ludus*, Plutarch describes the weapons used by Spartacus and the others to gain their freedom. At 8.2, Plutarch states that the seventy-eight gladiators used cleavers (κοπίδας) and spits (ὀβελίσκους). Urbainczyk sees these weapons as "kitchen equipment, which one might say was used by slave women, the lowest possible category" (52). Urbainczyk's interpretation creates a fascinating way of looking

at these kitchen weapons, one which Plutarch does not make. Regardless of the status of these weapons, what is clear is that the gladiators used whatever was available to overthrow their masters. Once they escape from the school, they exchanged their weapons two more times which show a progression from inferiority to equal status. Plutarch reports that immediately after the slaves escaped from the *ludus*, ἐντυχόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀμάξαις ὄπλα κομιζούσαις μονομάχων εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν, ἀφήρπασαν καὶ ὠπλίσαντο (they fell upon wagons traveling down the road carrying weapons of gladiatorial combat toward another city and eagerly snatched the weapons up and armed themselves; 8.3). This first exchanging of weapons proves to be important in the progression of the rebellion and acts metaphorically for Plutarch's discussion of the slave army. With their cleavers and spits, Spartacus is not leading an army, but a slave insurrection against their masters, something the Romans would not have sent an army to deal with. Through their trading of weapons with gladiator weapons, the army immediately becomes more legitimate. After the election of three leaders (ἡγεμόνας εἵλοντο τρεῖς) and the description of Spartacus, Plutarch tells of the third and final exchanging of weapons after the defeat of some soldiers sent from Capua (Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐκ Καπύης ἐλθόντας ὡσάμενοι; 9.1). Plutarch recounts that after this victory πολλῶν ὄπλων ἐπιλαβόμενοι πολεμιστηρίων, ἄσμενοι ταῦτα μετελάμβανον, ἀπορρίψαντες ὡς ἄτιμα καὶ βάρβαρα τὰ τῶν μονομάχων (they gladly took numerous weapons made for a soldier in exchange for their own, throwing away their gladiatorial weapons as if dishonorable and barbarous; 9.1). Allison Futrell (2001) discusses this:

In order to achieve that level of success against mighty Rome, they 'must' have been extraordinary gladiators, and the Roman authors define their unusual qualities in accordance with Roman values. The gladiators are credited with a very Romanized sense of shame concerning their debased status; Plutarch suggests an awareness of propriety led them to seek out the weapons of Roman soldiers, discarding their former armature as 'dishonorable and barbaric'. (81)

Futrell recognizes how the slaves sought out these more desirable weapons and how the slaves were elevated in status due to the exchange, but her classification of Plutarch as a Roman author wanting to speak about Spartacus in Roman terms discounts Plutarch's aim as a Greek author also writing to a Greek audience. Rather, Plutarch is creating a similar dichotomy between the Roman and slave armies as Sallust showing a degeneration in a Roman army through its defeat by the slave army. Plutarch addresses this decline at length throughout book 9 of his *Life of Crassus*, as a means of highlighting the exemplary traits in Spartacus.

The first battle with a Roman general stands as the final example of prior acts. Plutarch moves from the defeat of the Capuan militia immediately to Spartacus's first battle with a Roman general, Κλωδίου στρατηγοῦ³⁸, where Spartacus and his army were trapped on the top of a hill and were compelled to use cunning to descend and attack the Romans. Plutarch reports that the gladiators came up with a plan to weave ladders from the branches with which they were able to descend a sheer side of the hill and attack the Romans waiting below. Plutarch adds: ταῦτ' ἡγνόουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι (the Romans were ignorant of all this, 9.3) which leads to a total defeat of the Roman army (ἔλαβον τὸ στρατόπεδον). This event stands as an *exemplum* for the early military efforts of the Romans against Spartacus and his army. Clodius Glaber half-heartedly besieged Spartacus and did not believe him or his army capable of attacking. Plutarch shows how later Roman generals suffered similar defeats after refusing to take Spartacus seriously. He begins with Publius Varinus³⁹ and his ὑποστράτηγόν (subordinate commander or legate) Furius⁴⁰ who were routed (ἐτρέψαντο). Next Plutarch recounts how Cossinius⁴¹ loses to Spartacus and is killed (ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ

³⁸ C. Clodius Glaber, Praetor of 73 BCE, Broughton 109. One might expect for Plutarch to try to explain just why exactly Clodius Glaber has been sent out to fight Spartacus. Plutarch does not mention his political office, Praetor, nor the *imperium* he wielded as a general of an army.

³⁹ Publius Varinus, Praetor of 73 BCE, Broughton 110.

⁴⁰ L. Furius, Praetorian Legate, 73 BCE, Broughton 112.

⁴¹ L. Cossinius, Praetor of 73 BCE, Broughton, 110.

Κοσίνιος; 9.7) along with his lictors (ῥαβδούχους) and his own horse were seized (καὶ τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ λαβὼν). Lastly, Plutarch relates the Senate's fear of disgrace and defeat through their reluctance to send the consular armies out to meet Spartacus, οὐκέτ' οὖν τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν ἠνώχλει τῆς ἀποστάσεως τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀλλ' ἤδη διὰ φόβον καὶ κίνδυνον ὥς πρὸς ἓνα τῶν δυσκολωτάτων πολέμων καὶ μεγίστων ἅμ' ἀμφοτέρους ἐξέπεμπον τοὺς ὑπάτους (it was no longer the indignity and disgrace of the revolt disturbing the Senate, but they were hindered by their fear and the danger of sending out either consul into this troublesome and difficult conflict; 9.8). Plutarch sees the faults of these generals and explicitly tells his audience, in his *Life of Cato*, τὸ μὴ καλῶς στρατηγεῖσθαι τὸν πόλεμον (the war was not conducted well; 8.2). Plutarch's inclusion of these victories by Spartacus against ill-prepared Roman generals demonstrate Plutarch's attempt to list the accomplishments of Spartacus as part of his in his larger narrative. Stadter recognizes how the purpose of the *Parallel Lives* is "to offer material for consideration, examples of behavior, which could serve the statesmen who were his contemporary readers in their efforts to act both morally and effectively in their political careers" (12). Plutarch is telling his dual-audience different messages. He is first telling the audience to be prepared and that greatness can come from anywhere, e.g. Spartacus. Second, Plutarch is telling his audience that to be ill-prepared or to not take an enemy seriously could have the dire consequences felt by Rome during the first year of Spartacus's rebellion.

Plutarch relates several scenes that can be described as Spartacus's "goals," beginning first with the initial escape from the *ludus*. Schiavone suggests: "this, as we have seen, had always been Spartacus's main political goal: to dilute the servile origins of the revolt in a wider movement, a more general Italic uprising against Rome, led by an army of Thracians, Celts, and Germans" (139). However, contrary to Schiavone's assertion, Plutarch does not see Spartacus's rebellion as

some larger initiative to overthrow slavery in Italy, nor does he use the escape to criticize slavery as a system. He only tells his audience that these gladiators moved against their *lanista* to escape the cruelty of that individual. Spartacus and his army move on from Capua and begin to fight Roman armies, but Plutarch is not interested in evaluating some larger goal of the rebellion until after Spartacus defeats Cossinus. Plutarch evaluates Spartacus's character: ἦν μὲν ἤδη μέγας καὶ φοβερός, (at this time Spartacus was great and regarded with fear; 9.7). Plutarch sets Spartacus apart from his men, showing his prowess as a general, and also shows the Roman fear of Spartacus in the early parts of his rebellion. Plutarch elevates Spartacus's status above each Roman general he has faced, showing him as a better tactician and more prepared. Plutarch then shows Spartacus's attempt to enact a simple plan for his rebellion: ἐφρόνει δὲ τὰ εἰκότα, καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν, ἦγεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἄλπεις τὸν στρατόν, οἰόμενος δεῖν ὑπερβαλόντας αὐτὰς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα χωρεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εἰς Θράκην, τοὺς δ' εἰς Γαλατίαν (but he was cognizant of what was realistic, and not expecting to be able to defeat Roman power, he began to lead his army toward the Alps, supposing it best to cross over into their own homelands, some to Thrace, others to Gaul; 9.7). The army disagrees with this plan, choosing to stay in Italy. Plutarch gives their reasoning: οἱ δὲ πλῆθει τ' ὄντες ἰσχυροὶ καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες, οὐχ ὑπήκουον, ἀλλ' ἐπόρθουν ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὴν Ἰταλίαν (but the multitude of the men were strengthened and were greatly fixated not on obeying but on ravaging as they traversed Italy; 9.7). The different plans introduced by Spartacus and his army represent a shift similar to that in Sallust and, although Plutarch does not describe the army's plan as sedition, he is drawing attention to the lack of cohesion between Spartacus and his army: Spartacus's aim is to leave Italy, return home and to cease fighting; his army would rather act as a mob (πλήθει), wanting only booty and plunder. Plutarch moves past the different plans and implies that Spartacus assents to the army's plan.

Plutarch gives an account of a group of German soldiers who separated from Spartacus's army (9.9), but shows Spartacus coming to their aid against the two consuls, Lucius Gellius Publicola and Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus. The senate recalled the consuls after their defeat (10.1) and chose Crassus to lead an army against Spartacus. Plutarch describes the events after Crassus is selected, showing Spartacus's army beginning to move south toward Lucania. Here, Plutarch states that Spartacus ἐν δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ ληστρίσι Κιλίσσαις περιτυχὼν (at the straits he happened upon Cilician pirates; 10.6) whom he planned on using to ἄψασθαι Σικελίας (overtake Sicily). Plutarch believes that Spartacus intended δισχιλίους ἄνδρας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν νῆσον αὖθις ἐκζωπυρῆσαι τὸν δουλικὸν ἐκεῖ πόλεμον, οὕτω πολὺν χρόνον ἀπεσβηκότα καὶ μικρῶν πάλιν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεόμενον (to put two thousand men on that island to rekindle again a slave war there, which had been extinguished a short time before and which lacked only a little more fuel; 10.6). Plutarch is reporting a similar crossing to Sicily and goal to instigate a rebellion there as recorded in Cicero's *Verrine Orations*. And while Cicero is unwilling to give any credence to these hypothetical local slave uprisings, Plutarch is willing to accept Verres's report that Spartacus intended to cross into Sicily to join these uprisings. Plutarch does not, however, give Verres credit for preventing Spartacus from landing on the island. Plutarch evaluates this debate between Cicero and Verres and chooses portions of it to relate this story and in so doing he demonstrates an exemplary function of Spartacus and that is as an *exemplum* for slave rebellions in a more general sense. Plutarch assumes his landing on the island would intrinsically grant him access to slave insurrections on the island and that these insurrections would immediately accept Spartacus as their leader. For Plutarch, Spartacus appears to be the leader these Sicilian slaves need for success. Returning to Schiavone and his assertion that Spartacus intended to "to dilute the servile origins of the revolt in a wider movement," what is more likely is not that Spartacus had this political goal

in mind, but that Plutarch using Spartacus as an *exemplum* for his larger philosophical aims, attempting, as Stadter observes, “to evaluate his own cultural tradition and that of the Romans, looking for what could be learned from each” (122), or in other words, to call into question these larger aims of slavery in Rome and to use Spartacus as the *exemplum* for that end.

Plutarch does not describe any of Spartacus’s “friends” in depth, but he does reflect on the strategies used by Crassus in his attempt to corral Spartacus in Italy and force him into a decisive battle. In this Spartacan narrative, there is little distinction between the “influence of enemies” and “influence of circumstances,” with both Spartacus and Crassus reacting to one another’s moves at every turn. Immediately after ἡ βουλή... Κράσσον δὲ τοῦ πολέμου στρατηγὸν εἴλετο (the senate chose Crassus as the leader of the army; 10.1) Crassus sends his legate Mummius ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας τοῖς πολεμίοις, μὴ συμπλέκεσθαι δὲ μηδ’ ἀψιμαχεῖν (giving orders to follow the enemy, not to engage with them nor to skirmish with them; 10.2). Plutarch relates that Mummius disobeys these orders and engages with Spartacus and his men, only to be routed, after which πολλοὶ δ’ ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων φεύγοντες ἐσώθησαν (many fled without their weapons; 10.3). Plutarch tells his audience that the result of this loss and the cowardice of the men was the reinstitution of the ancient custom (πάτριόν) of decimation. Pelling observes that Plutarch often uses Greek terms to describe Roman customs (215), here, Plutarch describes the entire practice for his Greek audience who would be unfamiliar with this Roman custom. Plutarch describes decimation as follows:

φυλάξουσι, πεντακοσίους δὲ τοὺς πρώτους καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς τρέσαντας εἰς πεντήκοντα διανείμας δεκάδας, ἀφ’ ἑκάστης ἀπέκτεινεν ἓνα τὸν κλήρῳ λαχόντα, πάτριόν τι τοῦτο διὰ πολλῶν χρόνων κόλασμα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐπαγαγόν. καὶ γὰρ αἰσχύνῃ τοῦ θανάτου τῷ τρόπῳ πρόσεστι, καὶ δρᾶται πολλὰ φρικώδη καὶ σκυθρωπὰ περὶ τὴν κόλασιν, ἀπάντων θεωμένων... (10.3)

What is more, he arranged 500 of the first to run away and many of those who fled into a group, dividing them up into fifty groups of ten, and selecting one man by lot from each group to be slain, thus reviving this, long past, ancestral punishment. For dishonor is

attached one dying as a result of this custom, and many awful and horrible things are done, which everyone must watch...

Charles Goldberg (2015) discusses this custom as a tool at Crassus's disposal: "under such conditions, Crassus's decimation was a drastic measure designed to restore military order and to protect Rome itself" (154). After Crassus's decimation, however, Spartacus is able to evade Crassus, leading to Spartacus's reported attempt to cross into Sicily. Plutarch reports: ὁμολογήσαντες δ' οἱ Κίλικες αὐτῷ καὶ δῶρα λαβόντες, ἐξηπάτησαν καὶ ἀπέπλευσαν (after coming to an agreement and accepting gifts, the Cilician pirates double-crossed them and sailed away; 10.7). After the Romans rebuff this plan, Spartacus moves his army near Rhegium (10.7). Crassus would once again rebuff Spartacus's plan. Plutarch relates:

ῥομήσεν ἀποτειχίσαι τὸν ἰσθμόν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν σχολὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὑφαιρῶν καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῶν πολέμιων. μέγα μὲν οὖν ἦν καὶ χαλεπὸν τὸ ἔργον, ἦνυσε δὲ καὶ κατεργάσατο παρὰ δόξαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, τάφρον ἐμβαλὼν ἐκ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ ἀνχένος σταδίων τριακοσίων, εὖρος δὲ καὶ βάθος ἴσον πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν· ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς τάφρου τεῖχος ἔστησεν ὕψει καὶ ρώμῃ θαυμαστόν (10.7-8)

He began to wall off the isthmus, once again taking away the leisure and ease of the soldiers. This work was huge and difficult, but he accomplished and completed it, contrary to expectation, in a relatively short time. He made the ditch from sea to sea through the neck of land 300 furlongs (37.5 miles) in length, 15 in breadth and height. Above the ditch he built a wall of astonishing height and strength.

Plutarch has now, in short succession, listed two achievements of Crassus, first his utilization of decimation to motivate his troops and the building of a wall to trap Spartacus and his army in and yet he immediately lists Spartacus's reactions to counter the achievements of Crassus. After first neglecting this construction, Spartacus finally resolves to make a sally from behind the wall. Plutarch reports: νύκτα νιφετώδη καὶ πνεῦμα χειμέριον παραφυλάξας, ἔχωσε τῆς τάφρου μέρος οὐ πολὺ γῆ καὶ ὕλη καὶ κλάδοις δένδρων, ὥστε τῆς στρατιᾶς περαιῶσαι τὸ τρίτον (Spartacus, waiting for a snowy night and a wintry storm, filled the ditch with a little dirt, timber, branches, and parts of trees so as to carry a third of the army across; 10.9). The massive wall would have

been an amazing feat and it demonstrates the remarkable capability of the Roman army. Stadter observes: “according to Plutarch, men acting at the major moments in history both furnish models of extraordinary human qualities - courage, intelligence, foresight, integrity, and calmness under pressure - and warn us of the faults often associated with these same virtues” (Stadter 334). Crassus’s ability to have his men build a wall to hem in an entire army ought to be exemplary, but Plutarch is using this wall to demonstrate something different: Crassus’s reliance on Roman might to defeat Spartacus and Spartacus’s ability to rally his army and to lead it even when faced with extraordinary Roman accomplishments.

Plutarch continues, listing a second circumstance which affects Spartacus and his army, bringing about the end of the rebellion. Plutarch details that Crassus γεγραφὼς δὲ τῇ βουλῇ πρότερον ὡς χρὴ καὶ Λεύκολλον ἐκ Θράκης καλεῖν καὶ Πομπήιον ἐξ Ἰβηρίας, μετενόει καὶ πρὶν ἥκειν ἐκείνους ἔσπευδε διαπράξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ προσγενομένου καὶ βοηθήσαντος, οὐκ αὐτοῦ, τὸ κατόρθωμα δόξει (having previously written to the senate desiring them to recall Lucullus from Thrace⁴² and Pompey from Spain⁴³, changing his mind, he now hastened to bring the war to a conclusion realizing the success would be given not to himself but to whoever came to his aid; 11.3). Crassus’s desire to end the war drives his attack and he is finally able to achieve his first real victory. Plutarch does not praise Crassus in this victory, rather he uses this victory to highlight the valor of the slave army: ἐν ᾗ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους καταβαλὼν, δύο μόνους εὔρε κατὰ νότου τετρωμένους, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι πάντες ἐστῶτες ἐν τάξει καὶ μαχόμενοι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἀπέθανον (among the 12,300 killed he found only two with wounds in their backs, but all of the others, standing in battle array, died fighting the Romans; 11.5).

⁴² Lucius Lucullus: The Proconsul of Asia, Cilicia, Bithynia, and Pontus. Was waging war with Mithridates VI of Pontus.

⁴³ Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (or just Pompey the Great): The Proconsul of Spain. One of the most accomplished Roman Generals ever.

Plutarch's statement about the small number of men receiving wounds on their backs is highly complementary. He is telling his audience that the slave army did not retreat, even when they faced certain death. Instead they fought with great courage and died honorably. This is in stark contrast to the Romans under the command of Mummius, in 10.3, who fled from battle when it was clear they were going to lose and who were subsequently decimated. Spartacus is able to defeat two of Crassus's legates, Quintus Marcius Rufus and Cn. Tremellius Scrofa (11.6), and through these victories Plutarch differentiates Spartacus from the remainder of his army. Plutarch writes, τοῦτο τὸν Σπάρτακον ἀπώλεσε τὸ κατόρθωμα, φρονήματος ἐπιγενομένου τοῖς δραπεταῖς. οὐκέτι γὰρ ἡξίουσαν φυγομαχεῖν οὐδ' ἐπείθοντο τοῖς ἄρχουσιν (this success was the ruin of Spartacus. Pride soon followed in the minds of the runaways. They no longer thought it worthy to avoid battle nor did they any longer obey their leaders; 11.6-7). The arrival of Pompey (11.8) forced Crassus to push for a final and decisive battle. Plutarch reports that Spartacus recognized the necessity of engaging Crassus and drew up the entire army for battle (11.8). The final battle between Rome and Spartacus army takes place through the influence of circumstances. Crassus wants the glory associated with defeating Spartacus and Spartacus recognizes that Pompey's return meant that there were two armies led by capable generals. Plutarch takes this opportunity to contrast Spartacus and Crassus with each other yet again: Spartacus turns to fight out of necessity, Crassus out of the desire for glory.

Stadter's final qualification for a "Life" is the reporting of the "results for the person and the state," or in this case the slave army. After Spartacus slays his horse and rallies his army (11.9) the battle begins. Plutarch reports that Spartacus ἔπειτα πρὸς Κράσσον αὐτὸν ὠθοῦμενος διὰ πολλῶν ὅπλων καὶ τραυμάτων, ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχεν, ἑκατοντάρχας δὲ δύο συμπεσόντας ἀνεῖλε. τέλος δὲ φευγόντων τῶν περὶ αὐτόν, αὐτὸς ἐστῶς καὶ κυκλωθεὶς ὑπὸ πολλῶν, ἀμυνόμενος

κατεκόπη (then rushing violently toward Crassus through many weapons and wounded men Spartacus did not succeed in reaching him but killed two centurions. Finally, after his companions fled, completely surrounded by many soldiers, he was still defending himself when he was cut down; 11.10). Plutarch describes Spartacus's death with detail and admiration, showing how he fought until the end even when the outcome was assured. Plutarch writes in his *How to Profit by One's Enemies* that one's "enemies ought to be imitated" (92F) and through his detail and care in describing Spartacus's death, Plutarch might apply this sentiment toward Spartacus. Plutarch does not give the same attention to Crassus's role at the end of this battle. He merely states: Κράσσου δὲ τῇ τύχῃ χρησαμένου καὶ στρατηγήσαντος ἄριστα καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῷ κινδύνῳ παρασχόντος, ὅμως οὐ διέφυγε τὸ κατόρθωμα τὴν Πομπηίου δόξαν (Although Crassus had been granted fortune, and a most worthy general, and having submitted his body to danger, nevertheless he wasn't able to achieve the success heaped on Pompey; 11.10). Plutarch qualifies his praise of Crassus with his aside about Pompey's glory, diminishing Crassus achievement. Plutarch recounts the outcome for the slave army: οἱ γὰρ διαπεσόντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης πεντακισχίλιοι περιπεσόντες αὐτῷ διεφθάρησαν, ὥστε καὶ γράψαι πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ὅτι μάχῃ μὲν τοὺς δραπετάς φανερᾷ Κράσσοις νενίκηκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν ῥίζαν ἀνήρηκε (falling around 5000 escaping from the battle, Pompey utterly destroyed them, resulting in Pompey writing to the senate that indeed Crassus has conquered the runaways, but he himself had destroyed the very roots of war; 11.11). Again, Plutarch reduces Crassus's glory, showing Pompey subverting Crassus's victory through his letter to the senate. Upon returning to Rome, Plutarch (11.11) reports that Pompey would celebrate a triumph (μέγαν θρίαμβον) for his victory in Spain, but Crassus would only celebrate an ovation⁴⁴ (δοῦσαν), for a slave war (δουλικῷ πολέμῳ).

⁴⁴ see above discussion in Pliny the Elder

Plutarch concludes his “Life of Spartacus” or Spartacan narrative with one final comparison of Spartacus and Crassus, representing Spartacus as the worthier exemplar. This is present throughout his Spartacan narrative, with Spartacus always being elevated above the Romans he faced, even when he was unable to defeat them. Plutarch uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* in a *Life* where the protagonist, Crassus, did not always demonstrate exemplary traits. Where Crassus is greedy, Spartacus is a man with a great mind and bodily strength, keen discernment and gentleness. Crassus is driven by his reputation, and Spartacus is driven by something more. Even when the slave army desires booty and plunder, Plutarch does not show Spartacus desiring these things. He sets him apart from his army to show how Spartacus was different. Plutarch is able to convey this message to both a Greek audience who was not familiar with Spartacus and to a Roman audience who would know the name Spartacus and what that name meant, and yet he still uses this narrative and Spartacus as the exemplar. Zadorojnyi observes, “the Plutarchan text promises its readers access to exemplarity - a place at the top of the mimetic food chain as it were- but one has to work for this privilege” (182-183) and Plutarch’s Spartacan narrative echoes how one must search through this Roman life to find something beyond it. If Plutarch’s exemplary mission is to push his readers toward a mimetic action, Spartacus is the *exemplum* of the past showing that character and compassion eclipse those of avarice and political ambition.

Appian is the third and final ancient author of an extant Spartacan narrative. Appian begins writing his *Roman History* during the second century CE; similarly to Plutarch, however, Appian’s literary aims differ in many ways from Plutarch. Appian writes in Greek, which might indicate an overlap in audience with Plutarch, however, he is writing for a far different audience than Plutarch. Alain Gowing (1992) asserts: “it is certain that he [Appian] was not writing for an audience whose

tastes ran to those generally associated with the second sophistic” (283). Rather, Appian, who was born in Alexandria but later moved to Rome, wrote his Roman history in a much different context than Plutarch. As has been discussed, Plutarch is writing for an audience familiar with Greek history, but also interested in Roman history as they are incorporated on a larger scale into the Roman empire. Gowing (1992) draws attention to Appian’s audience. He states:

In an age when Rome embarked on a policy of increasing openness toward Easterners, and when history needed reinterpretation at the hands of an author who understood both cultures and perspectives, Appian sought to fill that need by writing for the provincial Greek who was increasingly inquisitive about Roman history and Roman conquests in particular, and who, to judge from the sort of information Appian likes to supply, knew little of either Roman customs or Italian geography, and knew not much Latin. (284)

Thus, even though the two authors are writing in the same language and their audiences would both be experiencing similar expansions and the redefining of boundaries and citizenship they both focus on strikingly different aspects of how that world was changing. This is reflected in the aims of Appian’s *Roman History*. Where Plutarch writes exemplary accounts focusing on individuals from Greece and Rome for an audience familiar both with Greece’s rich literary and historical traditions and who might want to understand Rome on a larger scale, Appian is writing for a broader audience. Appian writes this history for an audience redefining their identity in the expanding Roman world through the recounting of moments from each people’s social memory, while at the same time relying upon a broader Roman social memory to tell that story. John Marincola (2004) emphasizing Appian’s aims, states:

Many writers, he [Appian] says, have described *Roman History* and he [Appian] himself took up the subject wishing to examine individually the history of the several nations against whom Rome fought. The result, he hopes, will prove agreeable to those who would like to learn their Roman history this way. (47)

Appian accomplishes his aims through an ethnographical study of each region of the Mediterranean as they came into contact with and were subsequently conquered by the Romans,

rather than telling a linear history⁴⁵, which had been the structure of past histories. Also contained in his *Roman History* are the *Civil Wars*. Where the *Roman History* focusses on the broader topic of Roman expansion, the *Civil Wars* focus is, as Jonathan Price (2015) states, “really a study of societal breakdown in stasis, the corruption rather than survival of virtue, systemic failure and almost total collapse rather than perseverance through adversity” (49). Appian addresses specific issues including: Rome’s internal politics beginning with the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians for power in Rome and the reforms instituted by the Gracchi in the 130’s BCE, the events of the civil war fought between C. Marius and Sulla, the first triumvirate and the second civil war between Caesar and Pompey, concluding with the death of Sextus Pompey in 35 BCE.

Appian’s *Civil Wars* represents a large part of Appian’s extant *Roman History* and plays a significant part in Appian’s larger historiographic narrative. Gowing recounts that Appian’s intent is to “trace the revolution that led to the establishment of the Principate (47). Christopher Pelling (2011) further draws attention to the larger role of the *Civil Wars*, stating: “the crucial final struggle of the Romans against themselves, and one that offered them the prime justification for maintaining the imperial structure that Appian supported” (256). As the intent of the *Civil Wars* was to demonstrate how the Republic fell and how Imperial rule was established, the placement of the Spartacan narrative within the *Civil Wars* might seem out of place, considering this is not a narrative of Rome fighting against Rome. However, Appian’s inclusion of his Spartacan narrative allows him to create Spartacus as a different type of *exemplum* within his *Roman History*. The key to understand how exactly Appian creates Spartacus as an *exemplum* requires a dissection of the layers Appian creates within his larger narrative. First, looking at the level of the individual, Appian creates a short biography of Spartacus that would be familiar to much of his audience.

⁴⁵ Kathryn Welch (2015) - Appian is “the first on this scale to abandon the traditional year-by-year structure” (1).

Appian relates small pieces of information that previous authors did not and through Appian's different description of Spartacus he is able to show his audience how exactly Spartacus is an *exemplum* for their own day. Second, Appian writes his Spartacan narrative at the civic level, i.e. how it relates to the *Civil Wars*. In this way, Appian constructs Spartacus as an *exemplum* for a larger issue taking place in Italy at the time of his uprising, namely, the ongoing struggle both between the plebeians and patricians and between Rome and her Latin and Italian Allies. These themes emerge throughout the *Civil Wars* section of Appian's larger history, emphasizing the disfunction of the Romans who, at this time, were failing to reconcile one with another.

Appian begins his Spartacan narrative (1.14.116-1.14.121) by describing Spartacus. He recounts: Σπάρτακος Θράξ ἀνὴρ, ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐκ δὲ αἰχμαλωσίας καὶ πράσεως ἐν τοῖς μονομάχοις ὄν (Spartacus, a Thracian man, who had once served in the Roman army, and who was in captivity and sold as a gladiator; 1.14.116). Here Appian creates a short biography for Spartacus, informing his audience where Spartacus was from (Θράξ ἀνὴρ) but more importantly, he goes on to provide information previously unmentioned by earlier authors, particularly that Spartacus had served in the Roman military (ἐστρατευμένος ποτὲ Ῥωμαίοις). This would not have come as a surprise to Appian's audience. Alexandr Bodor (1981), drawing attention to the influx of slaves into Italy at this time, states: "the majority of slaves who took part in the uprising were brought into Italy as a result of the wars waged by Rome at the end of the second century BC and in the first three decades of the first century BC" (86). Appian's inclusion of this information communicates to his audience that Spartacus was familiar with Roman military tactics and someone who experienced success not just through his training as a gladiator, but through his learning military tactics from the Romans. By mentioning this, Appian not only defers Spartacus's greatness as a general to this Roman training, but also sets up the success he will have similarly to

Caesar's speech stating that the slaves had learned how to fight from the Romans (*quos tamen aliquid usus ac disciplina, quae a nobis accepissent*; 1.40.5). Here Appian is either reflecting on what previous authors related about Spartacus or he is intentionally telling his audience something about Spartacus that will be important for them to know throughout this narrative. In large part, the answer is the former, Appian is showing an awareness of Caesar's speech and wants his audience to know this, but that does not eliminate the possibility of the latter. By setting up his narrative in this way and throughout his narrative, Appian is drawing attention to the characteristics that set Spartacus apart from the Romans he fights against, and as was discussed in the above section on Sallust, from his own army. Theresa Urbainczyk (2008), in her discussion on Spartacus in Appian, states:

The Romans could be generous about individuals but not about the whole army. It would seem improbable that such substance can be gleaned from our sources about the historical slave leaders, but more importantly, perhaps, we can begin to understand how their enemies viewed them; in the case of Spartacus this was as a great general, as befits someone who had caused them so much damage. But the rebellion had to be seen as the creation of an individual who was a virtual genius, not the collective action of the Roman's own slaves. (72)

Appian separates Spartacus from both the Romans and his own army, allowing his audience to see Spartacus as an *exemplum* of extraordinary character, who was not concerned with amassing money or fame, but seeking freedom rather than fighting for the amusement of spectators (περὶ ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ θέας ἐπιδείξεως), a general concerned with the wellbeing of his army, who would suffer physical pain and death to lead his army. This would contrast him with many of the Roman generals who are not concerned with any of these things. In the end, Appian shows Rome lacking any leaders of Spartacus's caliber, but who ultimately prevailed through their ability to bring wave after wave of armies.

From the beginning of his narrative, Appian intends to set Spartacus apart from others, making him an *exemplum* in comparison with his Roman counterparts. After escaping from his ludus in Capua, Appian follows other historians recounting how Spartacus and his men fled to Mt. Vesuvius, and it is here that people begin to flock to him. Who these people are will be discussed later, but it is why those people flock to Spartacus that is important for this discussion. Appian states: μεριζομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ' ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν (because he distributed the plunder into equal parts, many men rushed to him; 1.14.116). People flock to Spartacus because he is willing to distribute money impartially. Appian's Spartacus is not someone concerned with gaining wealth, but someone who recognizes the importance of distributing booty evenly to appease his army, allowing himself to be seen as an equal to those fighting for him. Appian describes a Spartacus who rejects the late republican Roman system where Roman military commands were assigned and wealth was distributed from the top down, especially when looking at this Spartacan narrative in relation to other events of the *Civil Wars*. For most of the republican period, the consuls were voted into office, not only as the chief magistrates of the city and empire, but they also acted as the primary generals for any campaigns throughout the year. As the republic progressed, and particularly after Hannibal and the second Punic War, Rome began to award extraordinary commands to citizens who were not always the duly elected consuls. At first, these extraordinary commands were rather lucrative endeavors, with the general not only enriching the treasure of the state, but also enriching their personal and family treasuries as well. This wealth would also trickle down to the soldiers serving in their armies, building loyalty to a specific commander rather than the state. Appian discusses the ramifications of these extraordinary commands beginning with the disagreement and subsequent civil war fought between Marius and Sulla (*Civil Wars* 1.7.55) This civil war begins when Sulla, the dutifully elected consul, was

challenged by Marius for the command against Mithridates of Pontus in 88 BCE. Sulla, rather than accept Marius's command, leaves Rome and goes before his army, telling them they had been cheated out of the opportunity to fight Mithridates. Rather than accept this, his army agrees to follow him into Rome, where they attack Marius's followers. This civil war is the outcome of many factors: class struggle, political oppositions, newly incorporated citizens, the balance of powers between consuls and tribunes of the people, etc., but ultimately the igniting factor for this civil war is one army missing out on the chance to gain fortune and glory. Appian's audience would have read these stories leading up to the Spartacan narrative, and thus been aware of the dire ramifications of a system that favors individuals over the state. As many scholars have demonstrated, Appian is largely concerned with the struggles of the late republic to add a justification for how Imperial Rome is run. Spartacus, not concerned with the same fortune and glory, but rather his freedom, would exemplify the rejection of such values. Thus, by showing Spartacus doing this, Appian is able to set him apart from these Roman generals seeking extraordinary commands and who created ties of loyalty with their soldiers through the promise of gaining wealth rather than bringing glory to Rome. Appian's Spartacus is not concerned with this, but rather with something else entirely.

Appian advances Spartacus's exemplarity through a comparison of the Roman generals he fought against. In particular, Appian utilizes Spartacus as a foil to both Crassus and the first waves of generals sent out against Spartacus. In many ways, this position shows Appian mimicking Sallust and Plutarch, showing the early Roman generals as not taking Spartacus seriously, with Crassus being the first Roman general to successfully maneuver against Spartacus. Appian assessed the Roman attitude: οὐ γάρ πω Ῥωμαῖοι πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐπιδρομήν τινα καὶ λησθηρίω τὸ ἔργον ὅμοιον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι (for the Romans had not yet believed this to be a war, but raids and

robberies; 1.14.116), immediately followed by the names the two generals initially sent out against him, Varinius Glaber and Publius Valerius.⁴⁶ After defeating this first wave of generals, Rome finally decided to send out the two consular armies (οἱ δ' ἐν ἄστει τοὺς ὑπάτους ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ δύο τελῶν; 1.14.116), but Spartacus defeats these armies. Appian dismisses the consular armies, neglecting to mention the names of the consuls altogether. This mention of the consular armies, but not the consul shows yet again how Appian is addressing the system of extraordinary commands. Appian is not as concerned with the elected officials as he is with those appointed by Rome to face Spartacus. In fact, Appian neglects to name several of the generals sent out against Spartacus before Crassus. Appian sums up the attitude of the Romans at this time, stating:

Τριέτης τε ἦν ἤδη καὶ φοβερὸς αὐτοῖς ὁ πόλεμος, γελώμενος ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ καταφρονούμενος ὡς μονομάχων. προτεθείσης τε στρατηγῶν ἄλλων χειροτονίας ὄκνος ἐπεῖχεν ἅπαντας καὶ παρήγγελλεν οὐδεῖς, μέχρι Λικίνιος Κράσσος, γένει καὶ πλούτῳ Ῥωμαίων διαφανής, ἀνεδέξατο στρατηγήσειν καὶ τέλεσιν ἐξ ἄλλοις ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὸν Σπάρτακον. (1.14.118)

At that time, fearful that the war had lasted three years, although laughed at in the beginning and looked down upon as merely gladiators, so that when the election of offices came about, everyone stayed silent and no one offered themselves as a candidate, until Licinius Crassus, distinguished by the Romans for his family and wealth, put himself forward to be the general, marching with six legions toward Spartacus.

Crassus would immediately decimate the consular army (διακληρώσας ὡς πολλάκις ἡττημένων ἐπὶ θανάτῳ μέρος δέκατον διέφθειρεν) and was immediately able to have success against Spartacus, because of their punishment (διὰ τὴν κόλασιν; 1.14.119). Crassus is able to hem Spartacus in southern Italy and Spartacus reacts, rallying his army, αἰχμάλωτόν τε Ῥωμαῖον ἐκρέμασεν ἐν τῷ μεταίχμῳ (crucifying captured Romans in between the two armies; 1.14.119). Urbainczyk (2008) draws attention to these specific scenes within Appian's narrative as Appian comparing Spartacus and Crassus. She states:

⁴⁶ Appian misnames both the consuls. Varinius Glaber is most likely Gaius Clodius Glaber and Publius Valerius is most likely Publius Varinius, two praetors of 73 BCE

It may be that for Appian such measures are the sign of a good general, since he also reports that Crassus has his own soldiers executed. Appian remarked that once he had made his men realize he [Crassus] was more dangerous than the enemy they beat Spartacus in the next battle. This could either be praise or blame...but the point is that Crassus is ultimately successful and Appian gives him a favorable description. (71-72)

Urbainczyk draws attention to the dichotomy present within this narrative between Spartacus and Crassus, but she also comes up short in her comparison. Although Urbainczyk highlights Crassus's use of decimation in a very traditional sense, she fails to highlight the reason Spartacus crucifies the Romans between the army. Appian describes Spartacus's reason: δεικνὺς τοῖς ἰδίοις τὴν ὄψιν ὧν πείσονται, μὴ κρατοῦντες (to show them the result if they did not win; 1.14.119). Here, Appian is giving Spartacus a prophetic voice, with Spartacus alluding to the future outcome for the survivors of the final battle where, πάντες ἀπώλοντο πλὴν ἑξακισχιλίων, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐκρεμάσθησαν ἀνὰ ὅλην τὴν ἐς Ῥώμην ἀπὸ Καπύης ὁδόν (all were killed except six thousand survivors, who were captured and crucified along the entire road from Capua to Rome; 1.14.120). Spartacus's recognition and prophecy of the army's eventual punishment gives weight to why Appian would include such a prognostication within his narrative. Spartacus acts in a similar way to Crassus in that he is utilizing a scare tactic to motivate, but where Crassus wants his army to fear him, Spartacus wants his army to fear the Romans, not himself. This is a subtle difference, but an important one. To Appian, Crassus is acting as a Roman general ought to act, using traditional forms of punishment on his own army for a desired result, while showing Spartacus as doing what was necessary to help his own army succeed, scaring his army into fighting because their future is bleak if they do not.

Spartacus's role as a good general is solidified as Pompey, Lucius Lucullus, and Crassus are closing in on his army. Appian recounts that Spartacus, τὸν Πομπήιον προλαβεῖν ἄξιῶν, ἐς συνθήκας τὸν Κράσσον προυκαλεῖτο (thinking to anticipate Pompey, he proposed a treaty with Crassus; 1.14.120). Appian gives his audience a Spartacus who was willing to admit defeat and sought for a resolution that would not include a final battle, hoping for preservation over victory, but once this resolution proved to be impossible, Spartacus demonstrates the characteristics of a dutiful general who will win or die trying. Appian concludes his narrative with an important description of Spartacus's death, adding yet another layer to Spartacus's exemplary status as a positive leader. Appian describes the final battle: γενομένης δὲ τῆς μάχης μακρᾶς τε καὶ καρτερᾶς ὥς ἐν ἀπογνώσει τοσῶνδε μυριάδων, τιτρώσκεται ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ὁ Σπάρτακος δορατίῳ καὶ συγκάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ προβαλὼν τὴν ἀσπίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀπεμάχετο, μέχρι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν κυκλωθέντες ἔπεσον (nearly ten thousand men had given up as a result of the long and drawn out battle, Spartacus was wounded in the thigh by a spear and falling over to his knee and putting his shield in front of himself, he fought off those attacking him, until he and a large number of his followers were encircled and slaughtered; 1.14.120). Appian is giving Spartacus a valiant and honorable death scene, where he fights until the very end. In this way Appian is echoing Plutarch's representation of Spartacus's death. These scenes are not altogether unique, in that the Romans often depicted their "barbarian" enemies dying in such a way. For example, the Kneeling Gaul⁴⁷ statue (Figure 3), a first or second century CE copy of a third century BCE Pergamene bronze represents a similar scene where this warrior has been wounded in the thigh and is bending to one knee and using his shield (missing from his left arm), fighting until the end. Many more of these sculptures exist and they represent the very archetype Spartacus is

⁴⁷ Currently housed in the Louvre's Department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities

representing in Appian's narrative. Spartacus is exemplifying courage and a willingness to die, admirable traits the Romans could accept, and in many ways need, their opponents to have.



Figure 3. The Kneeling Gaul. A first or second century CE copy of a third century BCE Pergamene bronze. The Louvre Department of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquities.

Appian attributes many exemplary functions to his Spartacus at the individual level. It was not uncommon for Romans to attribute such exemplary characteristics to their leaders, as Urbainczyk and others have said. Appian follows this tradition and is able to demonstrate to his audience how Spartacus, one of Rome's biggest external threats of the late republican period, was able to achieve a success unparalleled in Italy since Hannibal. Spartacus exemplifies the "great man" or "great general," at the core of Appian's Spartacan narrative, but this is only a small function within Appian's narrative. Price (2015), drawing on specific themes in the *Civil Wars*, states, "the five books on civil war are really a study of societal breakdown in stasis, the corruption rather than survival of virtue, systemic failure and almost total collapse rather than perseverance through adversity (49). It is to address this collapse that Appian's Spartacan narrative moves beyond merely relating a story of the individual, setting up Spartacus as an *exemplum* for a much larger theme of the *Civil Wars*: the struggle of the orders."⁴⁸

Appian begins *Civil Wars I* by describing the struggle of the orders. He states: Ῥωμαίοις ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πολλάκις ἐς ἀλλήλους περὶ τε νόμων θέσεως καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς ἢ γῆς διαδατουμένης ἢ ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις ἐστασίασαν (In Rome, the common people [plebeians] and the Senate were often at odd with one another about the institution of laws, the cancelling of debts, the division of lands, and the election of magistrates, *Civil War*; 1.1) Appian sets up the foundation of his civil war narrative by beginning with this description of the struggle between the plebeians and the patricians. Martin Breaugh (2007) describes this ongoing struggle:

The conflictual nature of the Republic arose in particular from the political division of Roman society between the patricians, who controlled the levers of political and economic power and enjoyed religious status, and the plebeians, who had neither political and economic power nor any religious recognition. (4)

⁴⁸ "Struggle of the orders" is a common term used to describe the struggle between the plebeians and patricians and in large part, by extension, the struggle between the *optimates* and the *populares* during this period.

Appian then relates the struggles in Rome, particularly during the tribuneship of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, to address social inequalities exacerbated by the expansion of Roman power first throughout Italy and then throughout the Mediterranean. The general theme of Rome's struggle with the legal status of these conquered people continues through Appian discussion of the Latin allies, and the social wars, the conflict between Sulla and Marius, finally concluding book one with his Spartacan narrative. Appian's narrative coincides with the thematic objective of book one, particularly how the people at the bottom of the Roman social strata felt disenfranchised within the expanding system. Appian assigns a role to this lower stratum within his Spartacan narrative, implying that the struggle between these classes added to Spartacus's success within this social vacuum created by the disparity between social strata.

Appian first alludes to Romans joining Spartacus almost immediately after Spartacus escapes from the ludus in Capua. Appian states: ἐς τὸ Βέσβιον ὄρος ἀνέφυγεν, ἔνθα πολλοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας οἰκέτας καὶ τινὰς ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ὑποδεχόμενος (fleeing up Mt Vesuvius, there welcoming many runaway household slaves and freedmen from the fields; 1.14.116). It could be assumed that runaway slaves would join Spartacus and his group, but it is the second group, the freedmen from the fields (ἐλευθέρους ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν) that is especially important. One might expect for other slaves to join Spartacus's uprising, but Appian, through his inclusion of the freedmen who were a group of people at the bottom but still part of the Roman system, shows that Spartacus's uprising is not just about freedom from slavery, but a larger struggle between the lower and upper class. Bodor (1981) states: "in spite of the social and legal differences, the relations between the slaves and the lower strata of society were tight and friendly, a fact which is reflected in the Roman legislation" (89). Appian further illustrates this point by showing that other Romans also attempted to join Spartacus's army: αὐτομόλων τε πολλῶν αὐτῷ

προσιόντων οὐδένα προσίετο (deserters came to him but he accepted none of them; 1.14.117). Appian's inclusion of these deserters who had fought on Rome's side, who were most likely from the lower class, emphasizes Appian's position that Spartacus's camp and army was an attractive alternative to living in the lowest strata of Roman society. Ultimately, Appian says that Spartacus turns these men away and is cognizant that an army made up of slave (θεράποντες) and deserters (καὶ αὐτόμολοι) and rabble (καὶ σύγκλυδες). For Appian's Spartacus, an army made up of only this sort of people would never be able to take a city, but rather, Appian represents Spartacus as having a different plan, specifically one adopted by Hannibal during the second Punic War.

Appian recounts that Spartacus ἐς Πρώμην ὁδοῦ μετέγνω (changed his mind of marching toward Rome; 1.14.117) giving two reason why. The first is because he didn't think they had the weapons (οὐδὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὅλον ἔχων στρατιωτικῶς ὀπλισμένον) and secondly, and more importantly, οὐ γάρ τις αὐτοῖς συνέπραττε πόλις (no city had joined him; 1.14.117). Appian is asserting that as Spartacus marches his army around Italy he was expecting cities to join him and fight against the Romans, something Hannibal had done during the second Punic War. Appian mentions this strategy multiple times, first in the *Civil Wars* and then again, the *Mithridatic Wars*. Describing Mithridates's similar strategy of invading Italy, Appian reports, ἐλπίζων οἱ πολλὰ καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας αὐτῆς ἔχθραι Ῥωμαίων προσέσεσθαι... ἦδει δὲ καὶ ἔναγχος τὴν Ἰταλίαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσαν ὑπὸ ἔχθους, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτοῖς πεπολεμηκυῖαν, Σπαρτάκῳ τε μονομάχῳ συστᾶσαν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀνδρὶ ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾶς ἀξιώσεως ὄντι (hoping that the people of Italy, hating Rome, would join him...He having known that recently nearly all of Italy had revolted from the Romans because of hatred and many waged war against them, many of them united with Spartacus, the gladiator, even though he was not a man of high rank; 12.15.109). Appian's Mithridatic account implies that Spartacus was able to bring some cities in Italy over to his side,

which does not align with his account in the Spartacan narrative, however, regardless of this small discrepancy, what is most important is that Spartacus, whether successful or not believed that cities would come to his side and fight against the Romans. Again, Bodor makes the connection between the two, stating: “if we compare the territories on which the allies put up the most heroic resistance to the Romans with the territories controlled by the troops of Spartacus, their perfect coincidence will be once evident” (89). Appian describes a Spartacus who must have planned on recruiting these cities because the Italian allies, especially in Capua and southern Italy, were often at odds with the Romans and many of these cities had fought against Rome during the Social War. Thus, Appian is again highlighting an important theme contained within his *Civil Wars*, as was the case with his alluding to the commonality of the slaves and lower stratum of Roman society: Rome was dealing with internal dissention that was threatening their ability to maintain order throughout Italy due to the Italian allies position in the Roman political strata.

Appian includes another example of how Spartacus exemplifies the ongoing class struggle, giving two primary examples. The first example of this is reflected in why so many people rushed to Spartacus at the beginning of the uprising. Recalling Appian’s statement, μεριζομένῳ δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ κέρδη κατ’ ἰσομοιρίαν ταχὺ πλῆθος ἦν ἀνδρῶν (because he distributed the plunder into equal parts, many men rushed to him; 1.14.116), his audience would not only see Spartacus as someone who does not care about gaining wealth for himself, but for Appian, Spartacus does not seek to elevate himself or anyone within this camp through an unequal distribution of plunder. This puts everyone within his army on equal footing, showing a contrast between Spartacus’s army and Rome which Appian continually shows to be a place of inequality. Appian continues his description of Spartacus’s camp showing that Spartacus refused to allow any sort of money within his camp. Appian states: καὶ χρυσὸν μὲν ἢ ἄργυρον τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐσφέρειν ἐκώλυε καὶ κεκτηῖσθαι

τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ, μόνον δὲ σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν ὠνοῦντο πολλοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἐσφέροντας οὐκ ἡδίκουν (Spartacus prevented merchants to carry in gold or silver nor did he allow his men to acquire any for themselves, allowing only the purchasing of much iron and copper, not hindering those carrying in these; 1.14.117). Appian gives Spartacus a very Spartan mindset, one focused only on warfare and how best to arm his army while at the same time shows that Spartacus is not impressed nor desirous of traditional plunder. Rather, Spartacus sees the pitfalls that come with desire of wealth and seeks to forbid such things from even tempting his followers. By combining these two pieces of information, Appian is representing Spartacus as an egalitarian, who does not give greater standing to anyone within his army and how even lower-class Romans would desert Rome for an equal division of money. Spartacus accepts almost everyone as an equal participant in his army and rewards them equally. He sought to exploit the distrust and mistreatment of Rome's allies, calling on those cities to come to his side and fight against Rome, something they had done for foreign generals of the past. Spartacus had some success because of the ongoing class struggle, which allowed him to go unchecked by any of the accomplished Roman generals of his age. The Romans couldn't and didn't send anyone of note against Spartacus until the end of the uprising and then it was an unaccomplished Crassus. Spartacus was defeated after Pompey and Lucullus returned to Italy, but only because Spartacus was forced to fight one of the generals, and he chose the weakest to engage with. Ultimately, Appian reports of a Spartacus who exemplifies the opposite of the Roman institutions that brought about the Republic's downfall. For Appian, Spartacus has success because he understands and exploits the ongoing class struggle. In this way, Spartacus exemplified what could be done by an external force within the power vacuum being created in Rome during this period. Appian places his Spartacan narrative within the *Civil Wars* entirely for this reason.

Appian's Spartacan narrative includes more information about Spartacus's army than any of the previous ancient authors. He reports numbers of followers beginning with only seventy (1.14.116), then seventy thousand (ἑπτὰ μυριάδες; 1.14.117), growing up to one-hundred and twenty thousand on foot (δυσώδεκα μυριάσι πεζῶν; 1.14.117). He also included ethnographical references, specifically during the funeral of Crixus, where Spartacus has three hundred Romans fight in honor of Crixus's shade, a practice Herodotus attributes to the Thracian in *Histories* 5.8. These are important additions to the overall ancient Spartacan narrative. They show that Appian was willing to adapt his ethnographical approach to the Spartacan narrative, but these facts do little more than inform his audience of trivial information. What stands most important in Appian's Spartacan narrative is his undertaking to draw attention to both Spartacus and what allowed him to have success during the three years he fought against Rome. Appian draws attention to the ongoing struggle in Rome and includes that struggle on a larger scale than Sallust or Plutarch. Appian's Spartacan narrative accomplishes his thematic objectives of showing the degeneration of the Republic because of the constant quarrels between the plebeians and patricians allowing Spartacus to be an outlet for the former to rebel against the later in a different way. In fact, it is this final concept that later authors will pick up on and use to illustrate Spartacus as a communist hero, something which will be discussed in greater depth in chapter three. Appian is not the last ancient author to apply an exemplary function to Spartacus, but he is the final author to write an extant narrative. These late authors provide small pieces of information, but none provide the extant information of Plutarch and Appian and none endeavor to relate the entire story, but they do, however, continue to put forth Spartacus as an *exemplum*.

Following Appian there are several ancient authors whose works provide additional information on Spartacus and participate in writing Spartacus as an *exemplum* of Roman literature.

As these authors get further and further removed from Spartacus and first-hand accounts of his uprising, their meaning progresses. Some of these authors write short summaries (*epitomae*) of Spartacus's uprising where they incorporate past histories into their works, either mentioning Spartacus and his uprising in passing, often reporting of Spartacus's uprising and listing similar information as previous historians. Contemporaries of Appian, such as L. Annaeus Florus and M. Cornelius Fronto, mention Spartacus's uprising, the former including Spartacus in his short history of Rome, the later mentioning Spartacus in a letter as an *exemplum* of speed to act. Later authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, and Sidonius Apollinaris are able to find uses of Spartacus as an *exemplum*, focusing primarily on Spartacus as the enemy at the gate or as a negative *exemplum*. Each of these authors continues the tradition of Spartacus being used as an *exemplum*, creating a connection between Spartacus and their own day.

L. Annaeus Florus writes a short history of Rome which adheres to the traditional linear progression of history. While these authors recount familiar moments of Spartacus's uprising, each add just enough to see the effects of past historians who used Spartacus as a positive *exemplum*. L. Annaeus Florus is a contemporary of Appian who writes a work entitled *Epitomae*, a work similar to Livy *Periochae*. Florus summarizes much of Rome's history from the beginning of the Republic to his own age, including a short section discussing Spartacus. Florus begins his recounting of Spartacus's uprising by stating: *enimvero et servilium armorum dedecus feras; nam etsi per fortunam in omnia obnoxii, tamen quasi secundum hominum genus sunt et in bona libertatis nostrae adoptantur* (one can certainly tolerate the disgrace of a war against slaves; albeit through fate they are liable in all things, nevertheless as it were they are second class of human beings and they ought to be adopted into the goodness of our liberty; 2.8.1). Florus's beginning tells his audience that he is not trying to say slaves should be considered on equal footing, but he

understands why they would want freedom. By making this small concession that slaves would clearly want freedom and presumably to fight for it shows a lasting effect Spartacus's uprising had on the way authors would discuss Spartacus. Florus concludes his short entry describing Spartacus's death, adding a final assessment of Spartacus: *Spartacus ipse in primo agmine fortissime dimicans quasi imperator occisus est* (Spartacus himself was killed, fighting most bravely on the front line, as if an imperator; 2.8.14). His importance of Florus's use of the word *imperator* cannot be understated. This word has many English cognates, but the Roman military usage of this term meant "triumphant Roman general" and being called an *imperator* was the first step in the celebration of a triumph. Florus's word choice would not have been taken lightly for a word with such a loaded meaning. His concluding words pay homage to Spartacus, allowing him to be seen as something more than a robber, but rather a general who exemplified positive leading characteristics.

M. Cornelius Fronto, also a contemporary and friend of Appian, writes numerous letters to various correspondences throughout the Roman Empire. In one of these such letters addressed to a young Lucius Verus, Fronto reminds Verus, *virtutes tuas bellicas et militaria facinora tua atque consulta me nunc laudare tu forsitan putes* (perhaps think about your warlike virtues, your military deeds and plans which I am now praising; 2.118.2). Fronto spends much of this letter praising past military leaders of Rome, in an attempt to show exemplary qualities for a Roman general. One of these *exempla* calls Verus's attention to two former enemies of Rome. He writes: *etiam Viriathus etiam Spartacus belli scientes et manu prompti fuere* (Even Virianthus and even Spartacus were knowledgeable in war and quick to action; 2.118.23). Fronto is putting the names of Virianthus and Spartacus forth as these non-Romans who had success against Romans because they exemplify

speed and knowledge in warfare, the very trait Fronto wants to impart in Verus, ultimately reflecting how Spartacus, whilst an enemy to Rome, could still be a positive *exemplum*.

The final extant author of a Spartacan narrative was Orosius. Writing in the early fifth century CE, he recounts many of the common tropes previous authors included in their Spartacan narratives, adopting the enemy at the gate criticism so often used and recounting the barbarity that Spartacus's army exhibits in Sallust⁴⁹: *cum caedibus incendiis rapinis stupisque omnia miscerent* (they mixed murder, robbery, rape, and other dishonors on all; 5.24.3), ultimately likening his rebellion to Hannibal at the gates, *itaque exterrita civitate non minore propemodum metu, quam sub Hannibale circa portas fremente trepidaverat* (while the city was struck with fear, trembling with no less fear than when Hannibal raged around their gates; 5.24.5). Orosius recounts many of the events mentioned in the longer narratives of Appian and Plutarch, and he is clearly able to draw from numerous sources to construct his narrative. His audience, while probably less familiar with Spartacus than any Roman audience two hundred years previous, would have been able to familiarize themselves with Spartacus's rebellion and exemplary status he held for earlier authors. Orosius's most important contribution to the exemplarity of Spartacus is his explicit judgement of the rebellion at the end of his account. Orosius does not want his audience to see Spartacus's rebellion as one conducted by mere slaves and runaways, but rather he specifies that they were gladiators: *hoc fugitiuorum et, ut verius dicam, gladiatoricum bellum inhorruit* (this war of the runaways, or to say it more truly, a war with gladiators, made us tremble; 5.24.18). Orosius draws this distinction between an army of runaways and gladiators to so that his audience would understand how Spartacus and his army could have success and to not underestimate this success. He continues, *iam non spectandum paucis sed ubique metuendum* (for it was not a thing that ought

⁴⁹ Sallust *Historiae* 3.66.4

to be seen by only a few, but something that ought to be feared everywhere; 5.24.18). Orosius is first pardoning the Romans in their initial defeat but also relating how Spartacus is an *exempla* that ought to be feared. Orosius furthers this judgement, stating: *quod quia fugitiuorum bellum dicitur, nemini vile habeatur ex nomine* (although it was called a war of the runaways, it ought not to be held as some trifling thing because of its name; 5.24.18). Orosius does not want his audience to believe that Spartacus and his rebellion are something not of great worth (*nemini vile*) but something remarkable and out of the ordinary. He goes on by listing Spartacus's extraordinary accomplishments: *saepe in eo singuli et aliquando simul cum agminibus frustra iunctis ambo consules victi sunt* (often in this war, either one at a time or sometimes with their forces joined in vain, both consuls were beaten; 5.24.19). Orosius continues his evaluation, stating: *plurimique nobiles trucidati ipsi autem fugitivi plus quam centum milia fuere qui caesi sunt* (many noblemen died, while more than one-hundred thousand of the fugitives themselves were killed; 5.24.19). Orosius's explicit evaluation of the army and listing of Spartacus's accomplishments highlight the larger exemplary account Orosius is relating. He states: *ex quo admonemus ut ipsa se consoletur Italia de uexatione externorum praesentium per recordationem praeteritorum ex se atque in se et ipsam se incomparabiliter crudelius dilacerantum suorum* (As result of all this, we can caution that Italy can console herself from the vexation of present external forces through a recollection of the past which began from her, and in her, and which tears her to pieces with incomparable cruelty; 5.24.20). Orosius sees the past, and the *exempla* the past provides, as the only way for Rome to truly understand her present, with Spartacus being the final moment before Rome sinks into Civil War (*Quamobrem huic nunc quinto uolumini iam finem fecerim ut bella ciuilia*; 5.24.21).

For many of the later ancient authors the name Spartacus meant something so very different from those contemporary to his uprising. These authors relied on the social memory that would

remind their audience of who Spartacus was, but also hoping their memory of him was vague enough to allow each author to impose (or inject) new elements into their story as a means of discussing the past and yet always keeping one eye pointed at the present. Matthew Roller (2018) succinctly sums up this aspect of Roman exemplarity: “once it is stripped of its original social and historical context and inserted into an entirely different one, the deed is liberated from limits on interpretation that the original context might have imposed, and can receive new meaning that accord with its new context” (18-19). Spartacus is exactly this, he is a man stripped of his original historical context and is constantly inserted into an entirely different one. Spartacus life and story have evolved beyond the strictly historical, moving into the realm of literature, he is the empty signifier, standing for copious themes ranging from: an enemy of Rome whose success could stand as an *exemplum* for the downfall of Roman military prominence, as was the case with Sallust; or as Plutarch shows, someone who is worthy of mimesis; or to exemplifying the ongoing class struggle between the patricians and plebeians, as Appian demonstrates; or whatever the author hopes to impart. And where this is not new to the discussion of modern Spartacan narratives, rather than bypassing any evaluation of these ancient authors, it is absolutely necessary to evaluate and question each of these ancient Spartacan narratives in a similar way.

Following Orosius, Spartacus’s exemplary status began to fade into obscurity. Medieval scholars do not discuss Spartacus by name nor do any of these scholars write an extant Spartacan narrative. Ancient narrative would be copied, thus preserving the ancient Spartacan narratives, but that was the extent. The copying of Roman literature into manuscripts allowed for it to be found all over the European and Mediterranean world, and even as local authors begin to translate these texts out of Latin and Greek, some choose to leave Spartacus out altogether. For example, in the 9th century AD, Aelfred the Great translates Orosius’s *History* from Latin into Old English. This

translation includes many events of the late Roman Republic, but Aelfred chooses to bypass Orosius's account of Spartacus and while his choice to do this is unclear, the neglect of Aelfred to mention Spartacus and his rebellion stands as a strong example of why Spartacus falls into obscurity for nearly twelve-hundred years. Reinhart Koselleck (2004), observes: "history can instruct its contemporaries or their descendants on how to become more prudent or relatively better, but only as long as the given assumptions and conditions are fundamentally the same (27). For Spartacus in this period, it could be said that the authors and the audience were not looking for the exemplary Spartacus: kings and educated elites would not have wanted this story of a slave/gladiator leading a rebellion with disenfranchised poor citizens joining the rebellion, and so, as was the case with Aelfred, when translating Roman works into local languages, Spartacus could be left out. As for the audience, there would be only a small group, if any, of lower-class citizens who would have access to the languages required to read any of the Spartacan narratives, further separating him from his exemplary function. In many ways, the Roman Republican period as site of exemplarity fell into disuse, much like the Spartacan narratives. Machiavelli, in the preface to his 1531 Roman Edition of his *Discourses on Livy*, urges the reader:

As a result, it happens that the countless people who read may take pleasure in hearing about the variety of incidents they contain without otherwise thinking about imitating them, since they believe that such imitation is not only difficult but impossible, as if the sky, the sun, the elements, or human beings had changed in their motion order, and power from what they were in antiquity. Wishing, then, to extricate men from this error, I have deemed it necessary to write about all those books of Livy that have not been taken from us by the hostility of time, what, according to my understanding of ancient and modern affairs, I judge necessary for a greater understanding of them, so that those who will read these discourses of mine may more easily derive from them that practical knowledge one must seek from a familiarity with the histories. (Bonadella 18)⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses on Livy*, trans. Julia Conaway Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Here Machiavelli is calling for a return to the use of Rome, in particular Republican Rome, as a site of exemplarity. It is because of men like Machiavelli, who kept Rome relevant as a site of exemplarity, impressing on their students the importance of understanding the past as a means to understanding the present, that allowed Roman exemplarity to survive.

In the centuries that follow, new authors begin to read the ancient Spartacan narratives and recognized the exemplary value in his story for their own age. There was an audience looking for an *exemplum* to attach their ideals of freedom from oppressive governments, or to express their disaffection with the system of slavery. Factors like these allowed authors to rediscover and adapt Spartacus and his story, turning him into a signifier of freedom.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ADAPTED SPARTACUS: SPARTACAN NARRATIVES OF THE CHANGING ATLANTIC WORLD

Voltaire, in his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*, evokes a remembrance of Spartacus and his uprising: “Il faut avouer que de toutes les guerres, celle de Spartacus est la plus juste, et peut-être la seule juste” (“One must admit that of all the wars ever fought, that Spartacus’s was the most just, and perhaps, the only just war.”; 447). As Rome ceased to be the epicenter for its own exemplarity, as it was in the ancient world, the use of Roman *exempla* begins to move into an external space, where Rome is seen, in part, as a valuable site of exemplarity. The externalization of Roman exemplarity begins in the Renaissance with the humanists. This externalization was, just as in ancient Rome, created through a historical understanding of ancient Rome. This understanding of Rome was achieved through education and it relies on the assumption, as Sanja Perovic (2012) asserts: “that a common life or ‘lived experience’ pre-exists individual lives” (18). Timothy Hampton (1990) takes this a step further, stating that these common ‘lived experiences’ are:

imbued with a somewhat anxious reverence toward the classical world. It understands the priority of antiquity to be ontological as well as historical: ancient poetry, political life, and philosophy are seen to be the sources of value...which modernity must appropriate through the hermeneutic motion of a leap across centuries. (9)

The emphasis placed on this educational understanding of the past aids the humanists to construct their relationship with ancient Rome. Rome is not the only subject of exemplarity in the Renaissance, but its importance can be summed up by the central inscription of Taddeo di Bartolo’s depiction of the Roman Republican heroes which reads: “Take Rome as your example if you wish to rule a thousand years; follow the common good, and not selfish ends; and give just counsel like these men” (Bondanella xi).

Machiavelli is one of the most important figures in this emergence of Roman exemplarity during the Renaissance. His use of Roman *exempla* in the dedicatory letter of both his works, *The Prince* and the *Discourses on Livy*, demonstrates not only his devotion to the usage of Roman *exempla* as the only way to discuss his present day, but also establishes him as the first to undertake such an application of Roman *exempla*. In the preface to his *Discourses on Livy*, he states:

I have resolved to enter upon a path still untrodden, which, though it may bring me distress and difficulty, could also bring me rewards from those who will kindly consider the goal of these labours of mine. Even if my feeble intellect, my meagre experience in current affairs, and my weak knowledge of ancient ones renders this effort of mine defective and of little use, it may at least open the way for someone who with more ability, more eloquence, and more judgement will be able to carry out this plan of mine, which, if it does not earn me praise, should not bring me blame. (Bondanella 15)

Bondanella asserts that Machiavelli sees Rome as the ideal site of exemplarity in large part because he saw Rome as:

Two diametrically opposed models of political and ethical behavior: a virtuous Roman republic defended by stalwart citizen-soldiers and ever-vigilant guardians of public liberty, on the one hand: and a corrupted empire, on the other, whose citizens were occupied by an overpowering lust for power and wealth (and sometime merely lust, pure and simple). (x-xi)

For Machiavelli, exemplarity is essential to truly having knowledge and it, as Hampton observes, “links the study of the past and the imitation of models to public action” (3). The aim of his work is first to show that human history is cyclical. This understanding of the cyclicity of life provided the informant the keys to understanding their own time and also how to proceed when faced with similar circumstances. Machiavelli never just summarizes the ancient *exempla*, he relates them to his own age, citing contemporary examples to show how the past and present are related. This last step is the most important for any *exemplum*. One must apply the *exemplum* for it to hold any weight. And this is what begins to happen as time moved from Machiavelli to the Enlightenment, more and more people adapt exemplary models in order to discuss the world.

By the mid-16th century the political landscape of Europe and the Americas began to change. Individuals began to reevaluate their individual relationships with one another, to redefine their obligation to larger political systems, and to reevaluate the traditional political thought that had defined this world in previous generations. Part of this reevaluation often depended on ancient *exempla*, much like Machiavelli, to provide the best course of action. During this period Liberalism begins to immerge as a predominant political philosophy, whose, according to Domenico Losurdo (2014), “central concern is the liberty of the individual” (1). Philosophers, politicians, authors, playwrights, and other individuals discussed these liberal ideals as the dialogue to question the validity of monarchical governments, the exacting of exorbitant taxes on common citizens, and the abuse of power by colonial centers on their colonies. Liberalism focused on these rights of the individual, while also creating a paradox through its attitude toward ideas such as slavery. Losurdo, draws attention to this, “the theorists and agents of the liberal revolutions and movements were moved by a powerful, convinced pathos of liberty; and precisely for that reason, they displayed embarrassment at the reality of slavery” (40). Losurdo gives Senator John Calhoun as an example of the paradox existing within Liberalism. He states:

[Calhoun] burst into an impassioned ode to individual liberty, which, appealing to Locke, he vigorously defended against any abuse of power and any unwarranted interference by the state. And that is not all. Along with ‘absolute governments’ and the ‘concentration of power’, he unstintingly criticized and condemned fanaticism and the spirit of ‘crusade’, to which he opposed ‘compromise’ as the guiding principle of genuine ‘constitutional governments’. With equal eloquence Calhoun defended minority rights... on the other hand, however, disdaining the half-measures and timidity or fear of those who restricted themselves to accepting it as a necessary ‘evil’, Calhoun declared slavery to be a ‘positive good’ that civilization could not possibly renounce. (1)

Eventually this later paradox would linger, progress, and ultimately lead first to the broader questioning of the validity of slavery and the contradiction inherent in the founding documents of

the United States with slavery as an institution eventually bringing about the abolition of slavery in many of these countries within a few generations.

It is in this changing political landscape that Spartacan narratives reemerge and are adapted several times. Maria Wyke (1997) observes that it is in the mid-eighteenth century:

When Spartacus began to be elevated in Western European literature, historiography, political rhetoric, and visual art into an idealized champion of both the oppressed and the enslaved. From this period, representations of the ancient slave rebellion and the gladiator Spartacus were profoundly driven by the political concerns of the present. (36)

It is during this time period, from 1760 to 1837, that Spartacus would be used as the protagonist of several plays and operas of which, Bernard-Joseph Saurin's *Spartacus* (1760) and Robert Montgomery Bird's *The Gladiators* (1831) best exemplify the period, and one novella: Susannah Strickland's *Spartacus* (1822). Lorna Hardwick (2003), echoing Wyke, states: "from the 1760's the figure of Spartacus had been used by historians and philosophers, especially in the contexts discussing the validity of armed resistance to oppression" (39-40). Thus, these texts represent the opening moments for the adaptation of the ancient Spartacan narratives to be injected into these ideologically shifting locals infused with local themes primarily revolving around freedom.

Just as with the Roman audiences of ancient Spartacan narratives, for each modern exemplary model to signify anything to their respective audiences they would rely on Langlands (2015) description of *exempla* as "everyday common knowledge" which is "part of cultural memory" (69). Langland identifies how individual ancient "*exempla* were not single uncontested versions of a story, with their own moral value" describing "the whole cultural tradition surrounding any particular exemplary figure or story, which always consists of various competing versions and elaborations, with its moral and cultural significance susceptible to change over time and to different interpretations by different people" (69-70). Langlands, although drawing attention to ancient *exempla* as a model, also reflects the ongoing discussion of exemplary history and how

the use of any *exemplum* relies on the relationship established between the author and the audience. Koselleck (2004) states: “History as a unique event or as a universal relation of events was clearly not capable of instructing in the same manner as history in the form of exemplary history” (32). These *exempla* act as models for action, portraying the characteristics or traits that ought to be emulated or rejected, placing the onus on the audience to decide whether to follow them or not. Koselleck is not unique in his observation (cf. Langlands 2015; Chaplin 2000), but he demonstrates accurately the importance placed on the genre of exemplary history. He draws particular attention to how exemplary models act as teaching tools beyond the ancient world and how these ancient models are used in modern contexts. To Koselleck, every moment in history is slightly different and there is no universal experience to be drawn upon. Each place and time face different circumstances which create the collective consciousness, but exemplary history allows the historian, the playwright, the social commentator, and the orator to select an *exemplum* from the past in order to use the one best suited for the present. To fully understand the exemplary model and to make a decision, these audiences rely on at least some external knowledge of the model itself and the temporal space that model occupies. As John Lyons (1989) relates:

The assumption that the exchange ends with the acceptance, by the listener, of the example as definitive and adequate proof of general principle is to deny that the example is only one element of discourse, that it is used in combination with others, and that only the study of context formed around the example can give the proper understanding of its use. (22)

It is necessary to understand the context of the *exemplum*: where or when this person lived, and the event took place as well as the context in which the *exemplum* is being applied. This assumes that the modern society has a cultural knowledge of the past society. This knowledge is requisite for exemplarity to work. It also takes an understanding of one’s own society to be able to relate the past to the present. There is then a dialogue between the two points in time and the reader of exemplarity is able to not only understand why that *exemplum* was chosen, but also understand

what is past and what is present in the modern adaptation. In other words: for exemplarity to work it requires that society A (modern) has an understanding (education) of society, B (older, whether it be ancient or just a past), and that society A shares something in common (possibly political, social, or economical) with society B. Thus, to truly understand each of these works as an exemplary Spartan narrative, it is first necessary to understand how each audience of these works would have come to understand and view Rome as a site of exemplarity. It is only through this understanding that each author is capable of amalgamating the ancient Spartan narratives with each other while also creating an altogether unique recounting of Spartacus and his rebellion.

By the end of the eighteenth-century France was in a full state of revolution. The third estate had stormed the Bastille, Louis the XVI and his wife Marie Antoinette had been beheaded, the reign of terror had ended, and France had seen its First Republic. All of these monumental historical events demonstrate how France, during this time period, was in a state of flux and tumult. In the years leading up to this revolution and the reorganization of France, a slightly well-known playwright penned the first complete tragedy that focused on Spartacus as the main protagonist. This tragedy, *Spartacus*, written by Bernard-Joseph Saurin would be performed for the first time at the Théâtre Français in Paris on February 20, 1760. In a letter dated February 22, just two days later, Voltaire writes to a Mr. Linant: “Je suis médiocrement curieux de l'éloquente Oraison de M. Poncet de la Riviere; mais je voudrais avoir le Spartacus de M. Saurin: c'est un homme de beaucoup d'esprit, et qui n'est pas à son aise. Je souhaite passionnément qu'il réussisse” (“I am not particularly interested in the eloquent prayer of M. Poncet de la Riviere; but I would like to have M. Saurin's *Spartacus*: he is a man of great wit, and not a man of comforts. I passionately hope he succeeds.”; *Lettre* 118). The popularity and reputation of Saurin's *Spartacus* had spread within just two days.

Just two months later, in a May 5 letter to Saurin himself, Voltaire would praise the play, telling Saurin:

Je vous remercie de tout mon coeur, Monsieur, j'aime beaucoup Spartacus. Voilà mon homme il aime la liberté, celui-là. Je ne trouve point du tout Crassus petit. Il me semble qu'on n'est avili quand on dit toujours ce qu'on doit dire. J'aime fort que Noricus tourne ses armes contre Spartacus, pour se venger d'un affront; cela vaut mieux que la lâcheté de Maxime qui accuse son ami Cinna, parce qu'il est amoureux d' Emilie. Cet emportement de Spartacus, et le pardon qu'il demande noblement, sont à l'anglaise; cela est bien de mon goût. Je vous dis ce que je pense; je vous donne mon sentiment pour mien, et non pour bon. Peut-être le parterre de Paris aura désiré un peu plus d'intérêt. Il y a quelques vers duriuscules. Je ne hais pas qu'un Spartacus soit quelquesois un peu raboteux; je suis las des amoureux élégans. (*Lettre* 135)

Thank you with all my heart, Sir, I really like *Spartacus*. This is my man, he loves liberty, this one. I do not find Crassus small at all. It seems to me that we are not always told what to say. I love that Noricus turns his arms against Spartacus, to avenge an affront; it is better than the cowardice of Maxime who accuses his friend Cinna because he is in love with Emilie. This outburst of Spartacus, and the pardon he asks nobly, are English; This is my taste. I tell you what I think; I give you my feeling for mine, and not for good. Perhaps the audience of Paris will have desired a little more interest. There are some very rough verses. I do not hate that a Spartacus is a little rugged; I am tired of elegant lovers.

Voltaire is impressed by Saurin's *Spartacus* because Spartacus "loves liberty." Allison Futrell (2001) notes how "since the eighteenth century, popular versions of the story of Spartacus have been inspired by his 'age old fight for freedom'..." (79). For Saurin, Spartacus came to be an exemplary figure of this liberty, an avenging angel of the oppressed, and a liberal hero set to overthrow an overreaching and controlling government to secure greater individual rights. Saurin himself admits that was why he chose Spartacus as his protagonist. He says:

Je voulois tracer le portrait d'un grand homme, tel que j'en conçois l'idée; d'un homme qui joignit aux qualités brillantes des Héros la justice et l'humanité; d'un homme, en un mot, qui fût grand pour le bien des hommes et non pour leur malheur . . . J'ai donc voulu peindre un Héros humain et vertueux. (Shaw 38)

I wanted to draw the portrait of a great man, as I conceive the idea; of a man who joined the brilliant qualities of heroes with justice and humanity; of a man, in a word, who was great for the good of men and not for their misfortune. . . So I wanted to paint a human and virtuous hero.

Saurin creates a Spartacus who acts as a signifier of liberty, a change from the ancient Spartacan narrative, creating, what Maria Wyke (1997) asserts of each adaptation of ancient Rome, “a discourse about the past as well as the present” (13). Spartacus is similar to Brutus and Caius or Tiberius Gracchus in that he is an *exemplum* of a person living during a time of significant social upheaval in ancient Rome. Futrell, again, provides some insight into Saurin’s mindset, “classical figures of resistance, like Brutus, Sertorius, and Spartacus, were overlaid with contemporary social meaning and used to question and critique the achievement of classical civilization and by extension the *ancient régime*” (83). By this point, these exemplary figures become hollow signifiers infused with a modern theme for a contemporary audience. Saurin’s play saw success through this model. In her discussion of this play Futrell (2001) calls this play “a major European hit that combined the presentation of an ‘epic’ moment in history with the ideology of freedom in human society” (84). For any signifier or *exemplum* to be relevant it is necessary for the audience to have known something about the exemplary model. Although many in Saurin’s audience would have known who Spartacus was and would have read at least some of the ancient Spartacan narratives, it is not clear all audience members would have accepted the deviation from the ancient narratives. Cecilia Feilla (2013) observes: “the basic structures of the theater came to inform both aesthetic and political divisions during the Revolution, while the Revolution itself was seen by those in France and abroad as a great drama of liberty unfolding before the eyes of the world” (2). Saurin’s adaptation relies heavily on his audience recognizing Spartacus and his Roman counterpart Crassus by name rather than through an association with their actions, recounting very little that could be found in the pages of Sallust, Plutarch, Appian or any of the other authors of ancient Spartacan narratives.

While this Spartacus shares very few similarities to the Spartacus of the ancient world, he is still represented in opposition to Rome, only here Spartacus is fighting his rebellion to end the injustices Rome imposed on the world. Edith Hall (2010) points out how Saurin's play "was not particularly focused on the institution of slavery" (16). Just as the authors of the ancient Spartacan narratives, Saurin creates a Spartacus fully invested in signifying the themes of liberty. Brent Shaw (2005) emphasizes the distinction between Saurin and the ancient Spartacus, stating:

Voltaire, Rousseau, and Saurin were provoked to take notice of Spartacus primarily because of the drive for political freedom in Europe. In the end, the plays, the operas, and the other theatrical representations, like the dramatic hero of Saurin's play, were far less about the Spartacus who lived in Roman Italy in the 70s BCE, or even about actual Roman slavery, than they were a deliberative anti-tyrannical discourse about freedom and liberty by persons who were not slaves themselves or who had ever been slaves - or, indeed, had much real experience of persons in servitude. These men were using Spartacus to think about, to debate, and to propagandize their own ideas of liberty for the citizens of national states in Europe and the Americas. (13)

Saurin's play, although written in 1760, would continue to be performed into the 1790's and participated in the language of the revolution discussing predominant themes such as freedom from an oppressive ruling class, equality of all men, and the destructive power that comes when oppression and inequality abounds.

From the very beginning of Saurin's *Spartacus*, the audience can see a slave army at odds with itself and with the power of Rome. The play begins with a discussion between two of Spartacus's generals, Noricus and Sunnon. These two generals represent a conflicting sentiment running through Spartacus's camp. Noricus, having recently lost his son, has heard that Rome has offered freedom to the slave army if they lay down their weapons. Sunnon, while commiserating the loss of Noricus's son also tells him that he is wrong to even bring this up. Noricus, recognizes he is wrong and immediately corrects his thinking, remembering the pledge he has made to Spartacus ("Spartacus a ma foi, mon honneur est son gage"; 1.1). Noricus and Sunnon inform the

audience of many of Spartacus's traits from the onset. Spartacus is a noble leader who is determined to gain freedom from Rome no matter the cost ("et cette liberte qui par lui doit renaitre, / Jusqu'ici dans ses mains a mis tout le parvoir"; 1.1), he is a man that has no equal ("on diroit qu'il est né pour n'avoir point d'egal"; 1.1), and a man of great humanity ("il n'a pour les vaincus que de l'humanité"; 1.1). The audience is informed why Spartacus is an *exemplum* through the listing of his most positive traits. Saurin furthers this through the eyes of Emilie, Crassus's daughter, who describes "Spartacus un heros" ("Spartacus is a hero"; 2.1) and "des long-tems l'esclave a fait place au grand homme. / Il naquit libre" ("although after a long time the slave has given way to a great man. That man was born free"; 2.1). The audience sees Spartacus through the eyes of his men and lover throughout the play and while, as Futrell notes, there is a constant back and forth between Spartacus's loyalties to his army and Emilie. This constant need to be loyal to his army echoes the sense of fraternity, one of the maxims expressed in the French Revolution battle cry. Spartacus is a sentimental character to the audience and established as the *exemplum* to be followed. Saurin gives Spartacus more qualities, expressed through his actions, namely: his determination to gain liberty, equality, and to end the destructive power of oppression.

Liberty is a constant theme throughout Saurin's *Spartacus*. Spartacus continually has to reprimand the Romans, reminding them that their slave system does harm to the world and that to oppress others is unjust. One such exchange takes place between Messala, a Roman messenger, and Spartacus. In this scene Messala reminds Spartacus that he is a Roman slave ("esclave des Romains"; 3.4), to which Spartacus responds "leur esclave!" ("their slave"; 3.4). Spartacus does not want to be reminded he was a slave but wants to assert that he has come to free the nations enslaved by the Romans. He tells Messala:

Et malheur donc à Rome; antresois son esclave,
Aujourd'hui son vainqueur, j'aile droit du plus brave;

Ses titres aujourd'hui sont devenus les miens,
Puisque de votre aveu le succès sit les siens.
Qu'etoit Rome, en effet? Qui furent vos ancêtres?
Un vil amas de serfs échappés à leurs maîtres;
De femmes & de biens perfides ravisseurs.
Rome, voilà quels sont tes dignes fondateurs!...
Me faire le vengeur de la terre opprimée,
Que Rome quitte donc cette vaine hauteur,
Qui lui sied mal, sans doute, & devant son vainqueur. (3.4)

And so woe be to Rome. Once her slave
Today I am her conqueror, I have the right,
Today her titles become mine,
Since, by your admission, success is hers.
What was Rome, indeed? Who were your ancestors?
A vile heap of iron escaped from their masters.
Treacherous abductors of women and property.
Rome, here are your worthy founders!...
Make me the avenger for the oppressed of the world,
Would that Rome leave this vain height,
Which suits her badly, no doubt, and before her vanquisher.

Spartacus sees himself as the avenger for all of the people Rome has oppressed. Although Messala sees Rome and her founders as good, Spartacus recognizes that their success was only made through harming others. Messala, as a Roman, cannot see this and even attempts to turn the tables on Spartacus, claiming that Spartacus is equally cruel in his campaigns but Spartacus rebuffs him:

Eh! que sont en effet quelques cités détruites,
Quelques champs ravagés, si j'atteins à mon but,
Si du monde opprimé leur perte est le salut,
Et si des Nations par mon bras affranchies,
les biens, les libertés; les honneurs et: les vies
Ne sont plus le jouet de ces brigands titrés. (3.4)

Indeed, some cities are destroyed,
some fields ravaged, if I reach my goal,
if the oppressed lose part of their salvation,
and if the nations are freed by my arm,
property, liberty, honor, and lives
are no longer the toys of these titled bandits.

Spartacus believes it is through his campaign that property (*les biens*), liberty (*les libertés*), honor (*les honneurs*), and life (*les vies*) will be redeemed. Spartacus is an *exemplum* of the avenger, reminding the audience that when you oppress the freedom of others, someone will inevitably rise up against you. As Spartacus is assembling his army for the battle, he tells them: “Vengeurs des nations, enfans de la victoire, / Le jour approche, enfin, où, guidés par la gloire, / Nos mains renverseront ces monts audacieux, / Ces remparts menaçans, d'ou l'Aigle imperieux.” (“Avengers of nations, children of victory, / the day approaches, finally, or, guided by glory, / our hands will overthrow these daring mountains, / the menacing ramparts, from the Imperial Eagle”; 4.2).

Spartacus not only sees himself as the avenger, but he calls others to be the avengers also. Spartacus stands as the revolutionary character who will free the oppressed from their oppressors. For Saurin, Spartacus becomes the voice of Liberty or freedom from oppression. Saurin uses Spartacus to echo the sentiments of revolution and to exemplify the manifestation of rebellion by the oppressed.

Later in the play, Crassus approaches Spartacus’s camp and he makes Spartacus an offer. Crassus makes this offer, at the behest of the senate, which would give citizenship to all of Spartacus’s followers and would elevate Spartacus to the office of senator while simultaneously allowing him to marry Emilie. Crassus tells Spartacus:

Spartacus, vous jugez Rome par ses abus:
Croyez qu'on peut encore y trouver des vertus;
Vous connoissez Caton, & si du grand Pompée
La valeur n'étoit pas loin de nous occupée,
Peut-être...(4.3)

Spartacus, you judge Rome by her excess,
believe that we are still able to find virtues there;
You know Cato and also Pompey Magnus,
valor was not far from occupying you.
Perhaps...

Spartacus cuts Crassus off and after reminding him of Rome's past deeds, rejecting Crassus's offer because of how Rome treats others:

Du peuple cette fable éleva le courage;
On fit parler les dieux, mais on leur fit outrage:
Tous les foibles mortels sont egaux à leurs yeux,
Et le droit d'opprimer n'émane point des cieux.
De quelque oracle, enfin, que Rome s'autorise,
Contr'elle jusqu'ici le ciel me favorise,
Et j'espère... (4.3)

This story raised the courage of (some) people;
It causes the Gods to speak, but it causes an outrage to them:
All weak mortals are equal in their eyes,
And the right to oppress doesn't come at all from the heavens.
From some oracle, then, Rome authorizes itself,
until now heaven favors me against her,
And I hope...

Crassus offers Spartacus a warning: "Le sort peut encor vous trahir: / Notre courage au moins ne se peut dementir. / Quoi qu'ordonne le Ciel, Spartacus doit s'attendre, / Que le dernier de nous périra sans se rendre" ("Fate is still able to betray you: / our courage, at least isn't possible to deny, / that although heaven ordains, Spartacus must expect / that the last of us will perish without surrendering"; 4.3) before leaving Spartacus with one last offer: "Ecoutez, Spartacus; / Vous connoissez les biens et le rang de Crassus: / Prenez Rome pour mère; avec vous je m'allie" ("Listen, Spartacus. You are aware of the properties and rank of Crassus. / Take Rome for a mother; I align myself with you"; 4.3). Spartacus shows his obsession with overthrowing Rome. Crassus's offer would save lives and allow the slaves to gain access to this much larger system, and yet Spartacus rejects the offer. Futrell (2001), observing why Spartacus would have rejected this, states: "free status is not the 'freedom' for which they fight, nor do they desire the rights and protections of citizenship within the Roman system. For Spartacus, to become a senator of Rome would tacitly support a corrupt tyranny and Rome's customary disregard of human rights and decency... (84).

Spartacus recognizes that giving citizenship to his army and making him a senator will not change Rome. Rome would continue down the same path, only now Spartacus would be compliant with the spreading of inequality and ultimately decides that even if this is best, he will cease to be himself if he relents: “en m'unissant à Rome, / La liberté du monde á l'interêt d'un homme” (“While uniting myself to Rome, / I won't at all earn my happiness at this price of the freedom of the world and the interests of a man”; 4.3). Spartacus cannot and will not accept Crassus's offer. The system itself is corrupt and even with Spartacus as part of the it will still go on as it has, elevating some who are deemed to have a greater right over others deemed less so.

As the tragedy is coming to a close, Emilie finds Spartacus on the battlefield and attempts one last time to persuade him to consign himself and his men to the fate of becoming Roman. Emilie begs Spartacus to give in to Crassus, come to Rome and change her from the inside. She tells Spartacus:

Viens; & que parmi nous ton exemple ranime
Ce noble oubli de soi, cette vertu sublime,
Où jadis les Romains n'eurent point de rivaux,
Et qui fit de ce peuple un peuple de héros:
Tu sus vaincre: il te reste une plus noble gloire,
Fais croître l'olivier au champ de la victoire,
Rappelle avec la paix nos vertus et nos mœurs,
Venge-toi des Romains en les rendant meilleurs. (5.4)

Come and reawaken us through your example,
This noble forgetfulness of self, this sublime virtue,
In which once the Romans had no point of rivalry,
And which once made this people a people of heroes.
You could conquer, you still have a most noble glory,
Grow the olive tree in the field of victory,
Bring back the peace of our virtues and our customs.
Revenge yourself on the Romans by making them better.

Ultimately Spartacus cannot accept any condition where he is unified with Rome. Futrell (2001), again recognizes what is ailing Spartacus: “although Spartacus agonizes over the decision still

more, he finally claims that the peoples of the world have placed their trust in him to destroy Rome and ensure their freedom” (85). Equality is of the upmost importance and without that, Spartacus cannot participate in any system reliant upon the oppression and inequality of others. In the end, Spartacus is betrayed by Noricus, who accepts an offer from Crassus. Spartacus stayed true to his army (Fraternity) even when he is informed one of his own men has betrayed him. Spartacus dies in the arms of Emilie as she awaits death at her own hand.

Saurin’s *Spartacus* embodies the French Revolution through his continual reminder of what freedom and equality are. Spartacus refused to take part in the system that first enslaved him and then, when he was on the brink of taking it down, attempted to embrace him. Saurin reminds the audience of their own choice to choose liberty, equality, and fraternity or to choose servitude, no matter what status you hold. Saurin is successful creating a protagonist who could invoke thought and call into question the inequalities being suffered by not only French peasants but also the slaves suffering under the oppression of a rich upper-class.

In the years following Saurin’s play, there would come to be a greater interest in Spartacus as an *exemplum* of liberty and equality. This period that followed gave rise to sculptors and artists depicting Spartacus for the first time. Sculptor Denis Foyatier (1830) would be the first to immortalize Spartacus in stone. This sculpture (Figure 4), now housed in the Louvre shows Spartacus as a strong and daunting figure of immense strength but also deep in thought. This stoic look calls to mind the serious Spartacus of Saurin’s tragedy, always so torn between his love and army, but also always looking to save the world from Rome’s destructive force.



Figure 4. Spartacus. Marble Statue by Denis Foyatier. The Louvre, 1830.

The second sculpture (Figure 5), *Le Sement de Spartacus* (The Oath of Spartacus) by Louis Ernest Barris (1871), is now on display in the Tuileries Gardens in Paris. This sculpture shows the sacrifice Spartacus made, as



Figure 5. Le Sement de Spartacus. Marble Statue by Louis Ernest Barris. Le Jardin des Tuileries, 1869-1871.

young boy props Spartacus's dead body up against a tree. Both sculptures would be a reminder to the people of Paris of the *exemplum* of freedom Spartacus can signify.

Beginning in the 1790's, England began to question the system of slavery. Men like William Wilberforce began to bring motions before the House of Commons petitioning for the

abolition of slavery throughout the empire. And while it would take over thirty years for the Slavery Abolition Act to finally come into effect, abolitionist sentiments were sown and began to spread throughout the United Kingdom. It is during this forty-year period that England sees its very first Spartacan adaptation created.

Susanna Strickland's short historical fiction *Spartacus* was published in 1822 and not only represents the very first time that Spartacus is used as a protagonist in British literature, but also stands as the first time Spartacus is an *exemplum* fighting against the institution of slavery. Born to a prominent literary family in 1803, Strickland was well read and versed in classical literature, but also had a growing interest in abolition. She was a member of the Anti-Slavery Society in Suffolk (UK) and it is while she was a member of this abolitionist society that she assisted writing two slave narratives. The first, *The history of Mary Prince, a West Indian slave...* (1831) was dictated to her by Mary Prince in the home of Thomas Pringle.⁵¹ The second was the slave narrative of Ashton Warner, who dictated his story to her, which was published under the title *Negro slavery described by a negro: being the narrative of Ashton Warner* (1831). Strickland shows an interest at this time in using literature to discuss slavery and to provoke anti-slavery sentiments. Her work with Mary Prince and Ashton Warner shows her dedication to the cause of abolition, but it is her first short, often classified as a child's, book *Spartacus*, written when she was 19, where she starts to express her anti-slavery ideals. The work, which is loosely based on Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*, recounts a narrative style tale of Spartacus, infused with her anti-slavery sentiments.

Strickland's audience would have been one informed by years of classical education. Before her lifetime, Britain had already started importing and displaying countless Graeco-Roman artifacts in large museums, like the British Museum in London, and it was in these large museums

⁵¹ Sandra Paquet. "The Heartbeat of a West Indian Slave: The History of Mary Prince." *African American Review*, 1992, 131.

that British citizens would view and learn about Greek and Roman civilization. Not to mention, students would learn Latin from a young age, adding not only the art-historical knowledge of the classics to their social memory, but also much of the literature. And while Strickland's audience might only have a surface level knowledge of Spartacus, it was not a far stretch to begin using him as an exemplary model.

Strickland makes it clear to her audience that she is using Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*. On three occasions she has an aside "*Vide Plutarch*," which she uses when she uses something directly from Plutarch into her text. The first aside is in the context of Spartacus's escape from the gladiatorial school. Strickland writes: "their numbers had increased from seventy-two to a thousand men, and fresh insurgents daily crowded round the standard of Spartacus. - (*Vide Plutarch*)" (32-33). The second time Strickland does this, she, once again, attaches her aside to information that does not appear to need it. She writes: "taking the advantage of a snowy night, Spartacus choked up the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and marched his army over in safety. - (*Vide Plutarch*)" (102). The third and final instance of Strickland giving her aside comes just before the final battle where Spartacus kills his horse. Strickland writes: "when his war-charger was brought before him, he drew his sword and slew him; and upon the expostulations of those around him, made an answer - 'If I win this battle, I shall have many better steeds of the enemies; and if I lose it, I shall have no need of it. So saying, he began the fight with a desperate onset. - (*Vide Plutarch*)" (127-128). None of these examples do much to add to Strickland's story, and yet she still feels the need to include them, but why? Strickland is informing her audience of her authority. She knows Plutarch, can quote him, and use his authority on Spartacus in order to better serve her narrative. This authority gives her a foundation to stand on to present the themes her exemplary Spartacus will stand for.

Leanne Hunnings (2013) provides valuable insight into Strickland's *Spartacus*. Hunnings relates how Strickland mimics Homeric Epic in some parts of her novel (12-13), giving a specific example of Spartacus's son Eumenes rejecting his father's sword, thus invoking "the tender Hector/ Andromache/ Astyanax scene in *Iliad* 6, particularly since Eumenes rejects Spartacus's sword in much the same way as Astyanax rejects Hector's war helmet, both taking refuge with a woman"(13). Hunnings also draws parallels between Strickland's *Spartacus* and Christians, as Spartacus "follows the doctrine of 'love thy neighbor' by holding no grudge against Romans as a collective group, shown in his affection for the slave-overseer Sulpicius...his rescue of the boy Publius (who fantastically turns out to be Crassus's son) and the manner in which he tends to his wounds, with its distinct 'Good Samaritan' echoes" (14). This is yet another tool Strickland used to establish her authority for her audience. She is establishing that she had not only read Plutarch, but Homer. Taking her authority even one step further, as she invoked Christian exemplarity, she is able to present Spartacus as a moral agent unscathed by the Roman system that has enslaved him.

Strickland also establishes an exemplary Spartacus in how he views slavery and freedom. Throughout the novel, Spartacus constantly pursues freedom, not only for himself, but for others. In the opening of her book, Strickland recites a poem about Spartacus. She begins "what but thy radiant spirit could impart the dauntless impulse to the Thracian's heart, When o'er that awful dark eclipse of fate he rose so splendid, to divinely great; dared to adore, the slave'ry's gloomy hour Thy light, oh Freedom! and invoke thy power?" (1). Strickland's poem carefully lays out some themes she wants her Spartacus to exemplify, here particularly she calls on him to invoke the power of freedom. Strickland wants the audience to pay attention. Just as *Spartacus* grants Strickland the opportunity to show her ability to imitate Homer or to infuse Christian beliefs into

her work, she also wants her audience to see this text as an *exemplum* of freedom. Spartacus, upon seeing the suffering of his fellow gladiators, immediately understands what must be done: “all the honors of their situation rushed across the mind of Spartacus, and, in bitter anguish of his soul, he swore to obtain their liberty or perish” (2-3). The reader of this novel is constantly reminded that Spartacus is fighting for his freedom from slavery. Again, as Spartacus is preparing to strike against his masters, he exclaims: “arise! shake off this stupor of despair, and strike for freedom, for glory, for revenge!” (12). Strickland uses the word freedom, free, and liberty fifty times in her short one hundred thirty page novel, and it is clear that Strickland wants her audience to remember it. Spartacus is willing, and ready, to die for Freedom if he must, “when I fall, may it be in the cause of freedom, and my end be like this!” (54). Spartacus is represented as only wanting to fight for freedom. He doesn’t want to fight if he doesn’t have to. Spartacus exclaims: “Let each man throw down the accoutrements of war, and return in peace to his native plains” (68). Spartacus is nearly always shown as a reluctant warrior, giving him a noble characteristic to Strickland’s audience. He is not fighting to harm, only to gain freedom.

Strickland also uses this book as an opportunity to push her abolitionist ideologies. As the gladiators are working up the courage to enact their escape, they all agree, “any death were better than slavery” (11). Strickland, just as she repeats freedom, she also voices how terrible slavery is and to what lengths people are willing to go to escape it. Spartacus, speaking to his friend Pyrrhus, tells him: “what, my friend, can we lose but life, and that we have sworn to do, rather than again submit to slavery” (32). Spartacus cannot and will not abide slavery any longer, “man shall never more enslave me” (31). Hunnings, drawing attention to this, states: “to diminish the life of a slave is something to which death if preferable is acutely provocative; it hints to contemporary slave-owners that they have effectively become murderers by their involvement in chattel slavery” (15).

Strickland also alludes to the possibility and fear of slave uprisings. The fear of slave uprisings, especially after the Haitian Rebellion in 1791, grew rampant in slave societies. And although this entire novel is written to show a slave uprising, Strickland rarely represents the Roman perspective, choosing to act as a narrator observing the protagonist, Spartacus. There are a few instances where the focus shifts to the Romans who feared Spartacus and what his uprising could represent. Strickland writes: Spartacus's "name alone spread terror and dismay throughout Italy...he was now at the head of a mighty army, which was every day augmented by the oppressed of all nations, who, having nothing but their lives to lose, had become reckless of danger" (58). Spartacus acts as a reminder and a warning as to what the outcome of continued enslavement will bring about for the slave owners, who live in constant fear of rebellion.

Lastly, Strickland sought to solidify Spartacus's status as an *exemplum* for future generations. Strickland judges the ancient authors of Spartacan narratives of trying to silence Spartacus and prevent the world from knowing about him, "the renown for which he had made so glorious a struggle was established, and ages yet unborn shall read with wonder and admiration the deeds of Spartacus, in spite of the oblivion with which the Roman historians have labored to cover up his name; but enough remains to astonish the world" (61), this is true of some ancient authors, but not all. Strickland sees her work as solidifying Spartacus's story for future generations. Ultimately Strickland leaves Spartacus with two last exemplary qualities. As is the case with many of the authors of Spartacan narratives, she uses Spartacus's death to emphasize and exemplify the personification of choosing death over slavery. Strickland give Spartacus a glorious death, "covered in 100 wounds...Glory held out her mantle of light to receive him dying as he fell" (128).

Strickland eulogizes Spartacus to end her novel, "his glorious spirit appeared to rest on each godlike feature and seemed to say at length that he was free" (131). Spartacus's death is

simple and yet profound. Strickland's words express admiration for Spartacus and express what his death exemplifies. Spartacus, like so many slaves, gains his freedom in death, a freedom that cannot be taken by anyone.

Strickland's *Spartacus* is a monumental undertaking. Its scope is not extensive, and her language is not always elegant, but she is able to prove the point she hopes to make. If this is an anti-slavery/abolitionist text, she gives Spartacus a voice and allows her audience to judge for themselves how they should react to his escape, rebellion, and death. For many, especially her abolitionist audience, Spartacus would provide the sort of *exemplum* needed to show the trajectory of a slave society. Strickland's Spartacan narrative represents Spartacus as a slave who made the choice to overthrow his masters and to wage war against them, regardless of the cost, and he stood as a warning *exemplum* for those who wished to perpetuate slavery.

Across the Atlantic, there was a similar existential crisis happening in the recently formed United States. States argued with one another about the moral and economic implications of slavery in this country. Abolitionists and Proslavery groups were at odds with one another, oftentimes using violence as a means of expressing their views. Others would use their words to voice displeasure or affirmation of slavery. It is to this former group that Robert Montgomery Bird belongs. Bird was from Philadelphia. He began a career as a doctor, but soon left his practice to write. He struggled, as many early American authors did, to gain legitimacy. It was not until Bird began to submit plays to Edwin Forrest's dramatic competitions that his fame caught fire. Clement E Foust's biography on Bird relates how in April of 1831 Bird submitted his manuscript of *The Gladiator* to Edwin Forrest, the most famous actor of the day. Forrest, wanting to encourage the writing of native plays, decided to inaugurate a competition in which a panel would choose a winner and which Forrest would then stage. Foust notes of the beginning of this competition:

The first announcement of the offer he sent to his friend William Leggett, who published it in *The Critic* of November 22, 1828. 'To the author,' it ran, "of the best tragedy in five acts, of which the hero or principal character shall be an original of this country, the sum of five hundred dollars and half the proceeds of the third representation, with my own gratuitous service on that occasion. The award to be made by a committee of literary and theatrical gentlemen'. (36)

Just three years later Bird sent *The Gladiator* to Forrest, who sent Bird the following letter on May sixth:

MY DEAR SIR:

The M[anu]S[ript] of *The Gladiator* came duly to hand with your letter of Its instant. I think there can be no reasonable objections against producing your play in June, say, about the both if you think otherwise I will be control'd entirely by your directions and order a postponement of the same until the fall season. In my mind *The Gladiator* must prove victorious winter or summer to be sure he would not "groan and sweat" so much in cooler weather, but that will be his task not yours. I shall be in Philada[elphia]. about the close of next week when we may discourse fully upon this subject. Caius Marius on Monday Evening next.

Yours sincerely, EDWIN FORREST (38-39)

The play was thus put into production and performed in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and in numerous other cities over a number of years. Summing up its success, Foust writes:

A number of reasons combined to make *The Gladiator* effective, first of all the character of its hero. A finer type of elemental man than Spartacus hardly exists in literature, a perfect union of the primitive virtues, physical prowess, great courage, strong passions, and withal a heart of kindness. (46)

What made Bird's *Spartacus* so effective is the way it moved audiences to think about slavery.

Bird accomplished this by invoking a classical *exemplum* from ancient Rome, a common site of exemplarity, especially for such a young country with an amalgamated and newly generated social memories of its collective past. These social memories were established by the inhabitant's ancestors and perpetuated through literature and education in the early years of the United States. These traditions were still in their infancy, much like the country, and in many ways very different than their European counterparts. Understanding just who was receiving this education, how they were receiving it, and what they were receiving is important to understand how Spartacus, an

exemplum of the past, acted within the ancient Spartacan narratives, while also having the capability to remind their American audience of themselves and their slave system.

The early education system of the United States revolved around a classical education for young men. William J. Ziobro (2006) emphasizes that “the political importance attached to classical antiquity ensured its promotion in the public colleges and universities established in the years following the American Revolution” (14). The founders of this country and other educated men of the Revolutionary period received a solid education in the classics and relied on that education as a unifier. Carl Richard (1995) summarizes:

The founders loved and respected the classics for the same reason that other people love and respect other traditions: because the classical heritage gave them a sense of identity and purpose, binding them with one another and with their ancestors in a common struggle and because it supplied them with the intellectual tools necessary to face a violent and uncertain world with some degree of confidence. (12)

These men would read authors such as Caesar, Catullus, Cicero, Livy, Ovid, Sallust, Virgil, Homer, Plutarch, and the Bible (in Greek). These served as the foundation of any educated young man’s learning and no student could continue on in his education without mastering the Latin and Greek classics. From their earliest inceptions, the institutions of higher education in the United States have placed an emphasis on classical education. Many of the admissions requirements to these institutions rely solely on a knowledge of these texts. S.E. Morison (1935) lists the following admissions requirements for Harvard:

When any schollar is able to read Tully [Cicero] or such like classical Latine Authore *ex tempore*, & make and speake true Latin in verse and prose, *suo (ut aiunt)* Marte, and decline perfectly the paradigms of Nounes and Verbes in the Greek tongue, then may hee bee admitted to the Colledge, nor shall any claim admission before such qualifications. (333, 433)

By requiring such learning, Harvard emphasized what its president believed to be the foundation for higher education. As Ziobro (2006) relates that such requirements were not unique to Harvard.

He writes:

In colonial America, only nine such colleges were chartered to award degrees: Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, the College of New Jersey (Princeton), King's College (Columbia), the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania), the College of Rhode Island (Brown), Queen's College (Rutgers), and Dartmouth. All provided an education preoccupied with the study of ancient texts, and all required knowledge of Greek and Latin for admission. (16-17)

Because of this emphasis on classical education, many of the founding fathers and other intellectuals of the early Americas had, at the very least, a passive knowledge of the classics, and what is more likely, had a great understanding of the classics. Thomas Jefferson repeatedly emphasized the importance of classical education for himself, but also sought that others should gain such knowledge. In his autobiography, Jefferson states: "The learning of Greek and Latin, I am told, is going into disuse in Europe...I know not what their manners and occupations call for: but it would be very ill-judged in us to follow their examples in this instance" (197). This quote demonstrates how Jefferson wants the continued education of the youth in Greek and Latin, and he took this thought a step further when he wrote:

History, by apprising them [students] of the past will enable them to judge of the future; it will avail them of the experiences of other times and other nations; it will qualify them as judges of the actions and designs of men; it will enable them to know ambition under every guise it may assume; and knowing it, to defeat its views. (198)

Jefferson not only believed that classical education was important, but he saw the usefulness of *exempla* in order to more fully understand both the ancient and modern worlds. Jefferson believes that the study of the past is the best way to prevent the pitfalls of the future, echoing the sentiments of Diodorus Siculus:

It is fitting that all men should ever accord great gratitude to those writers who have composed universal histories, since they have aspired to help by their individual labours

human society as a whole; for by offering a schooling, which entails no danger, in what is advantageous they provide their readers, through such a presentation of events, with a most excellent kind of experience. For although the learning which is acquired by experience in each separate case, with all the attendant toils and dangers, does indeed enable a man to discern in each instance where utility lies... yet the understanding of the failures and successes of other men, which is acquired by the study of history, affords a schooling that is free from actual experience of ills.⁵² (1.1.1-3)

Jefferson is not only showing his love of classical education, but his reliance on it to make his point. Like Diodorus, and later Koselleck, he saw the usefulness of the past, especially the use of *exempla* – but not just any *exempla*, he urges the study of classical *exempla*.

The early University system of the United States, as echoed by Jefferson, emphasized the importance placed on classical education. As more and more students of the Classics emerged, their use of this classical education helped them to forge the founding political charters of this country. Classical history also helped them to elaborate their thoughts of freedom and resist the imperial pursuits of England. Richard (1995) echoes this:

The classics exerted a formative influence upon the founders, both directly and through the mediation of Whig and American perspectives. The classics supplied mixed government theory, the principal basis for the U.S. Constitution. The classics contributed a great deal to the founder's conception of human nature, their understanding of the nature and purpose of virtue, and their appreciation of society's essential role in its productions... The struggles of the Revolutionary and Constitutional periods gave the founders a sense of kinship with the ancients, a thrill of excitement at the opportunity to match their classical heroes' struggles against tyranny and their sage construction of durable republics. In short, the classics supplied a large portion of the founders' intellectual tools. (7-8)

Just as the founding fathers used the Classics to justify and fortify their resolve and actions, both in fighting against England and in establishing the Republic of the United States, the following generations included the Classics in order to both rationalize and demonize their generational struggle: slavery.

⁵² Translated by C. H. Oldfather.

Both slaveholders and abolitionists would have received a Classical education. Both groups would have studied similar exemplary models, and both groups used these models in order to justify their particular stance on slavery. In the south, pro-slavery sympathizers used Classical models to justify and perpetuate the ideas of racism and inequality. In the north, abolitionists used Classical models against slavery and racism. It is as part of the abolitionist movement that Robert Montgomery Bird wrote *The Gladiator*.

The use of classics to justify slavery in antebellum America is two-fold. Slave holders used the Classics to justify slavery through the very idea of classical education. Owners of slaves and Southern historians would use their own classical education as the standard for the humanity of their slaves. In privileging a classical education, they imposed impossible standards on their slaves, namely the understanding of the classical languages to which they would have no access. Having classical education as a tool to oppress, these slave owners would quote two specific works of the ancient world to further add justification for their cause. The first of these is Aristotle's *Politics* and the second is the Bible. Both of these works contain pro-slavery sentiments and slave holders systematically used these texts to justify their treatment of slaves.

John Calhoun, a senator from South Carolina, speaking at a Washington dinner party about the humanity of slaves and how that was dependent on some sort of classical education, famously stated that until someone could "find a Negro who knew Greek syntax" could he be brought to "believe that the Negro was a human being and should be treated as a man" (Hall 10-11). This quote needs little explanation, but it is in his valuing of "Greek syntax" that serves the purpose here. In placing the value of humanity on the knowledge of ancient Greek, Calhoun was able to universally exclude the vast majority of slaves. Calhoun valued classical education, but his valuing of it is to a fault. There is no evidence that Calhoun took the opportunity to teach his slaves Greek

and if he had, there is no proof that they failed in this endeavor. Calhoun sought to hold slaves to the impossible standard that, even if he himself had met it, was not something most Americans at the time were able to do. Calhoun was placing importance on an education reserved for the elite in most parts of the country and yet, as Ziobro (2006) observes:

The pattern of settlement in the Southern colonies made the establishment of preparatory academies difficult. Boys from well-to-do families lived on widely scattered plantations, and their introduction to ancient languages was left mostly to the discretion of the local minister or other college educated men who commonly served as tutors...In Jefferson's eighteenth-century South, there simply did not exist a rigidly maintained or universally accepted classical curriculum. (16)

Ziobro's statement is striking in his geographical reference. He mentions "widely scattered plantations" (ibid) and that the classical education of even the richest of families was dependent on each family itself. When paired with the Calhoun quote, it is striking that Calhoun, by using "Greek syntax" as the bar of humanity, could be excluding his fellow slave owners.

This problematic justification was not limited to Calhoun. Thomas Jefferson also echoed these sentiments, as shown by William Frederick Poole (1873):

He [Jefferson] was willing to admit, however, that a negro could write poetry and sentimental letters. Beyond this all was in doubt. He regarded it as highly probable that they could do nothing more. He says: 'Comparing them by their faculties of memory, reason, and imagination, it appears to me that in memory they are equal to the whites; in reason much inferior, as I think one could scarcely be found capable of tracing and comprehending the investigations of Euclid...The opinion that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion requires many observations.' The opportunities for making these observations he had never had. (27)

Jefferson, similarly, to Calhoun, sees African Americans as an inferior race⁵³. However, he differs from Calhoun in that he actively searched for and was willing to accept examples which contradict his opinion, and as Poole demonstrates, others took the opportunity to send him *exempla* to the

⁵³ I should note that Jefferson is not using the classics to justify slavery. In fact, he opposes it but still struggles with the idea of blacks being considered an inferior race.

contrary. Both Calhoun and Jefferson placed importance on classical education, but they are not alone. It was common on many plantations in the south.

In antebellum America, invoking the name Aristotle automatically attached authority to any statement. One such example is the authority placed on Aristotle's (misinterpreted) thoughts on slavery as found in *Politics* 1254b. Aristotle gives for his example the difference between "the soul and the body, of which the former is by nature the ruling and the latter the subject factor"⁵⁴ (1254a). Aristotle goes on to discuss the hierarchy of nature and how it is those who are governed by the soul, and thus intellect, who are natural rulers. Aristotle uses a parallel discussion of the soul and the body to assert that only those who are superior in goodness have a claim to rule and to be master, with those who are superior in body and weak in mind naturally subject to slavery or other manual labors (1255a). S. Sara Monoson (2011) demonstrates how Aristotle's idea of natural slavery was used in order to justify slavery during this period. Speaking of George Fitzhugh, Monoson states:

The strongest expression of the importance of Aristotle's standing as an opponent of natural rights theory for pro-slavery thought appears in the fiery work of the popular propagandist, George Fitzhugh...Fitzhugh proclaims: 'the true vindication of slavery must be founded on [Aristotle's] theory of man's social nature, as opposed to Locke's theory of Social Contract.'...With Aristotle on board he can urge that they, not us, are irrational extremists in the grip of false ideology. (257)

Fitzhugh justifies owning slaves based on this misinterpretation of Aristotle discussion, instead believing that some humans are naturally born to be slaves to one another. This invoking of a classical *exemplum*, over that of Locke, demonstrates how, not only Fitzhugh but other, slave owners would manipulate the use of these classical *exempla* in order to justify their participation in the slave system.

⁵⁴ All Aristotle translation given in this section by H. Rackham.

Exempla from ancient Greece are selective in their usage, and they require their reader to overlook other references. In their selectivity, these practitioners of slavery provided only the *exempla* that coincide directly with their agenda. In so doing they sought to legitimize themselves. It is directly against this practice that abolitionists beginning to use similar *exempla* to speak out against slavery.

In his powerful oration given to the Maryland Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, Dr. George Buchanan attacked slavery and the hypocrisy that the U.S., as a nation, could fight for freedom from England, stand as a beacon to the world for that freedom, and yet still keep slavery as an institution within its borders. He criticized anyone who felt they could justify slavery, and it is in his use of classical *exempla* that he does this. He first invokes a classical *exemplum*:

What a distressing scene is here before us. America, I start at your situation! The idea of these direful effects of slavery demand your most serious attention. – What! Shall a people, who flew to arms with the valour of Roman Citizens, when encroachments were made upon their liberties, by invasion of foreign powers, so basely descend to cherish the seed and propagate the growth of the evil, which they boldly sought to eradicate to the eternal infamy of our country, this will be handed down to posterity, written in the blood of African innocence. (Poole 12)

This overpowering line calls upon the American people to act, first praising them for their action against “foreign powers,” equating them to Roman Citizens. He used this *exemplum*, especially in this time of crisis, to rouse the hearts of the citizens, to move them to action, once again as “Roman Citizens,” to prevent this encroachment upon the rights of others. He aims this speech at other educated men, to force them to recall their own classical education. In his oration, this abolitionist makes use of classical *exempla* in order to stir the hearts of the audience to action. In so doing he is directly attacking the notion that Classical *exempla* justify slavery; in fact, he uses them equally for the reverse: the abolition of it. *The Gladiator* operates in this context. This abolitionist play

works in conjunction with Dr. Buchanan's speech. *The Gladiator* aims to use a classical *exemplum*, and in so doing it invokes the classical education of the audience, in order to decry slavery.

Bird's *The Gladiator* is set in ancient Rome and runs briefly as follows: Spartacus is a newly acquired gladiator who has refused to fight until, in the same moment he makes this declaration, he discovers that his wife, Senona, and child are still alive. Spartacus agrees to fight for his master, Batiatus Lentulus, if he (Batiatus) will purchase his wife and son. Batiatus purchases both and so, Spartacus agrees, reluctantly, to fight in the arena. Only when Batiatus promises emancipation for Spartacus and his entire family, does he agree to fight. Spartacus's first opponent is Phasarius, his brother. Both refuse and, after a brief discussion, they decide to fight together and lead a slave revolt. As the revolt progresses, Spartacus becomes separated from his wife and child. Eventually, he is able to capture the camp where she is being held and they are reunited. The revolt continues but, because of a mutiny, Spartacus's army is weakened and now vulnerable. Crassus, the Roman praetor, whose niece has been captured by Spartacus, offers him freedom in exchange for her, but Spartacus refuses. Rather, Spartacus asks only for the freedom of his wife and son. Crassus agrees to these terms but cannot release Senona and her son to Spartacus because they have died during an attempt to escape from Crassus's camp.

Richard Newman (2011) notes: "Perhaps more than any other public site in the new nation, the theatre reflected American's ambivalence about the place of slavery in a democratic system" (198). The stage became a site for public discussion. It served as an open forum to express ideas. Nothing can be truer of the drama *The Gladiator*. On the surface, this play is seemingly about the slave rebellion of Spartacus, an event nineteen-hundred years in the past, but it is much more than that. Throughout the play the characters evaluate and criticize the system of slavery. Although this play lacks racial slavery, in particular, and does not stage black actors performing as a gladiator or

slave, it does use abolitionist rhetoric to discuss the current slave system by staging the so-called “other.”

In *The Gladiator*, Bird used Spartacus as an *exemplum* from the past as a means to discuss the current system of slavery in the United States. Rome represented the space where Bird’s abolitionist sentiments could combine with Rome’s most famous slave rebellion. As just one example from the play, Spartacus, during the selling of his wife and young child, exclaims: “why didst thou not die? - / “Villains, do you put them up for sale, like beasts? / Look at them; they are human.” (1.1). For the abolitionist, lines such as these resonated because of the cultural knowledge acquired during their classical educations. Rome stands as the site of exemplarity where the audience is forced to see the inevitable outcome for any slave society...rebellion.

From the first lines of his play, Bird shows the audience that his characters will detest their masters. Phasarius and Aenomaiis, in the opening exchange, discuss whether there are good men to be found at Rome. As they discuss this, Aenomaiis brings up Crassus, who remains in Rome. Phasarius responds: “The miserable rich man (Crassus), the patrician monger, that, / by traffic in human flesh, has turned a patrimony / of an hundred talents into an hundred thousand!” (1.1). With these lines Bird demonstrates his views of those who sell slaves. To Bird they are not virtuous or good, but miserable mongers who “traffic in human flesh” (ibid). Bird begins with this discussion, clearly wanting his audience to know the tone of his drama as he was directly attacking those who buy and sell slaves. These men would place value on their status as slave owners and sellers. Orlando Patterson (1982) discusses this dichotomy when he says:

By no accident did this ideology [a slaveholder’s ideology] expand into the most elaborate and deliberately articulated timocracy of modern times. One part of the ideology referred to the master’s own conception of himself, and it is generally agreed that its pivotal value is the notion of honor, with the attendant virtues of manliness and chivalry. (94)

Here Patterson is showing the value placed on the slaveholder by the slaveholder. Aenomaïis is defending Crassus when he brings him up, just as Crassus would defend himself. Throughout the play, Crassus never has a moment of introspection questioning whether his actions are just. He is always greater than Spartacus and never inferior. Even after Spartacus has defeated numerous armies, Crassus still sees himself as a master who has the power to offer Spartacus his freedom. He defines himself through his love of wealth, as Phasarius makes explicit when he says, “if there be any virtue in the love of wealth, / then is the praetor a most virtuous man” (1.1).

Bird adds another tenet of the abolitionist movement: that slaves have an innate desire for freedom and will go to any lengths to get that freedom. From the very beginning of the play, one of the crucial elements of the plot is Spartacus’s desire to return home. Lentulus, Spartacus’s owner, discusses Spartacus with Bracchius, another gladiator owner. He is discussing Spartacus’s lack of interest in fighting and his constant longing for home. Lentulus says: “he will sit yon / by the day, looking at his chains, or the wall; and / if one has a word from him, it is commonly / a question. How many leagues he is away from / Thrace?” (1.1). Spartacus is continually looking to his homeland, wondering how far away he is, longing for it. His opportunity to fight in the arena does not matter. He has lost his home and his freedom, feelings that no doubt stir him up with hatred for his master. Patterson (1982) discussing this idea of freedom and revolt, noting:

Nor was the slave a wholly passive entity. He might, in relative terms, be powerless; but he always had some choice...Most chose simply to behave with self-respect and do the best they could under the circumstances. Nevertheless I know of no slaveholding societies in which some slaves at some times did not rebel in some manner. (173)

In discussing the relationship between a slave and his master, Patterson is making a fundamental point: slaves always have some agency in how they interact with a master. Patterson does not want to say that the slave has complete control, but to him the slave is able to choose ways to exercise his agency. This is exactly what Spartacus does in the play. Spartacus chooses to revolt at the

moment that he is forced to fight his younger brother Phasarius in the arena, a revolt which Spartacus had planned with Crixus earlier in act two. Spartacus is discussing honor with Crixus. Crixus understands honor to be something won in the arena, fighting with other gladiators. Spartacus, however, does not see it like this. He asks: “Were it not better / to turn upon your masters, and so die, / killing them that oppress you, rather than fall, / Killing your brother wretches?” (2.1). In saying this, Spartacus is telling Crixus that they both need to take control of their agency. They ought not to passively follow the commands of Lentulus, but they should kill their oppressors, seizing freedom in the purest way possible, by overthrowing their captors with their own hands. Having devised a plan of escape, the opportunity is not apparent until Spartacus is taken to the arena for the first time. Here he is forced by Crassus to fight his brother Phasarius. In the final lines of act two Spartacus yells: “Death to the Roman fiends, that make their mirth / out of the groans of bleeding misery! / Ho, slaves, arise! it is your hour to kill! / Kill and spare not, For wrath and liberty!- / Freedom for bondmen-freedom and revenge!” (2.1). Bird is doing a number of things by showing this scene of revolt. The audience would be aware of events that took place just forty years previous to the staging of this play. The revolution in Haiti might not be fresh in their minds, but people were keenly aware of it. Dr. Buchanan, in a note to his oration, discusses San Domingo (Haiti) as an *exemplum* of the natural outcome to slavery. He says:

This [that slaves are preparing to take revenge of their haughty masters] was thrown out as a conjecture of what possibly might happen, and the insurrections of St Domingo tend to prove the danger, to be more considerable than has generally been supposed, and sufficient to alarm the inhabitants of these States. (Poole 17)

The abolitionist would be aware, and there is no doubt that Bird would be aware of this. This can be looked at in two ways. Either Bird was not intending to talk about the present, or he was in fact implementing an idea of “other” to talk about the present. Sandra Joshel (2001) makes an observation about the staging of Rome. She says, “the ancient past itself becomes a screen for the

projection of contemporary concerns in ancient garb – a sort of retrofitting of the past with the present” (3). Bird continually enacts this idea of staging the present through the past in his play. He furthers his abolitionist stance in what might be the most moving scenes of his play: the purchasing of Senona, Spartacus’s wife, and their son.

Bird repeatedly asserts the abolitionist sentiment that all must recognize the humanity of slaves. This is especially true of his representation of Spartacus begging for the purchase of Senona and their child and the attitude that the Romans have of slaves, as they continually refer to them as barbarians. Both of these examples show how the Romans, in the play, continually dehumanize their captives, while Spartacus, Senona, and their son struggle to regain their humanity. Near the end of act 1, Spartacus discovers that his wife and son, previously believed to be dead, are in fact alive and in the possession of Bracchius, a rival *lunista*⁵⁵ to Lentulus, Spartacus’s owner. Bracchius offers to sell Senona to Lentulus for three thousand drachmas. Lentulus is able to talk Bracchius down to three thousand sesterces, until all of a sudden Spartacus recognizes Senona and makes it known to both Lentulus and Bracchius. Bracchius’s price immediately goes back up and Lentulus appears to be shying away from the deal. Spartacus cannot bear to see this bartering over his wife and implores them both: “Villains, do you put them up for sale, like beasts? / Look at them: they are human” (1.1). Spartacus is beside himself that these two men could be bartering over his wife. He offers himself to Lentulus, finally agreeing to fight for him if he only buys them. Lentulus relents and purchases Senona and the child from Bracchius. This scene illustrates a two-fold purpose: to show the necessity to conform in order to avoid harm and to invoke the thought of a slave market of the South. James C. Scott (1990) demonstrates the idea of conformity to avoid harm. He states:

⁵⁵ A runner of a gladiatorial school.

In any established structure of domination, it is plausible to imagine that subordinate groups are socialized...in the rituals of homage that will keep them from harm. A cruel paradox of slavery, for example, is that it is in the interest of slave mothers...to train them [their children] in the routines of conformity. (24)

It is this idea of conformity that Spartacus is demonstrating in his agreement to fight as a gladiator for Lentulus. When Lentulus asks: “And will you swear [the oath of a gladiator]?” Spartacus replies: “I will, / to be a cutthroat and a murderer, / whate’er you will, so you will buy them” (1.1). Spartacus is conforming to the standard that Lentulus has prescribed so that he can save his wife and child and keep them by his side. This scene is meant to invoke the imagery of the southern slave markets. Solomon Northup (1855) recounts a similar scene in his slave narrative. Northup is put up for sale in the slave market of New Orleans and describes a scene where a mother is being separated from her children. He recounts:

All the time the trade was going on, Eliza was crying aloud, and wringing her hands. She besought the man not to buy him, unless he also bought herself and Emily. She promised, in that case, to be the most faithful slave that ever lived. The man answered that he could not afford it, and then Eliza burst into a paroxysm of grief, weeping plaintively... unless she ceased that minute, he would take her to the yard and give her a hundred lashes. Yes, he would take the nonsense out of her pretty quick...Eliza shrunk before him, and tried to wipe away her tears, but it was all in vain. She wanted to be with her children, she said, the little time she had to live. (81)

The idea of losing family would be devastating to anyone. Both *The Gladiator* and Northup’s story exemplify the emotions involved when someone is about to lose their child to purchase as a slave. Bird is using this imagery to instill the humanity of Spartacus and his family into the audience. Spartacus cannot dissuade Lentulus and Bracchius, but he is able to enact emotion in the audience. They would sympathize with Spartacus and detest the Romans more and more.

Bird further exemplifies the humanity of Spartacus and the other slaves. Bird accomplishes this through Crassus’s continual inability to see Spartacus’s humanity, referring to him only as a barbarian. In act three of the play, Spartacus has defeated a number of Roman generals. Crassus’s

lieutenant, Jovius, attempts to acknowledge the humanity of Spartacus by paying respects to what Spartacus has done. Crassus, even in admitting that Spartacus is special, qualifies his compliment with the degradation that he is still a slave. Crassus begins:

Crassus: A scurvy gladiator, with no brains;
An ignorant savage.

Jovius: Come, give the rogue his due:
He has more brains than all our generals,
For he has beaten them; that's a soldier's proof.
This Spartacus, so late a bondman, has
A soul for master; though a shepherd bred,
He has fought battles, ay, and led men too,-
Some mountain malcontents in his own land,-
'Gainst Roman conquerors; and, by the faith
Of honesty, for honest I will be,
In courage, stratagem, resource, exploits,
He shows a good commander. He has formed,
Out of this slavish, ragged scum, an army;
Arms it and feeds it at his foeman's cost,
Recruits it in his foeman's territory;
Which foe is renowned Rome, resistless Rome,
Rome the great head and empress of the world!
Is he not then a general?

Crassus: I grant you,
The rogue is not a common one; but still
A slave. (3.1)

In refusing to acknowledge that Spartacus is on equal footing, Crassus persists in his dehumanization. But this will not stop Spartacus. In fact, Spartacus will continue to gain ground on Crassus. There is no evidence that Spartacus is aware of or even cares about Crassus's opinion. Once again, Patterson (1982) relates what Bird is trying to show here when he says: "there is absolutely no evidence from the long and dismal annals of slavery to suggest that any group of slaves ever internalized the conception of degradation held by their masters. To be dishonored...is not to lose the quintessential human urge to participate and to want a place" (97). Spartacus refuses to submit to Crassus, even when he offers him manumission. This idea of manumission will be the final discussion point for this play.

At the “Transhistorical and Inter-Disciplinary Approaches to Slavery” conference held at Purdue University in September of 2013, Orlando Patterson, when asked if Roman slavery was better because it allowed for manumission, responded⁵⁶ that manumission was absolutely about power over the slave. The master would promise manumission not as a reward for service, but as a motivating factor to get the slave to work harder. It was not about freeing the slave, it was more about servile labor. Orlando Patterson rightly characterizes the idea of manumission as a power relationship where the master gets what he wants from the slave with the promise of some reward once he has squeezed all he can out of the slave. The idea of manumission is very clear in *The Gladiator*. When Crassus sees that his niece has been captured, he can only offer Spartacus the release of Senona, his wife, and their child. Crassus has not yet realized that they have already escaped. Once he obtains this knowledge, he is forced to offer Spartacus the only thing that he has left: his freedom. In act five scene three Jovius has been sent to petition Spartacus for Crassus’s niece. He says: “For the Roman lady, / A princely ransome; for thyself, an offer / Of mercy, pardon, Roman denization, / And martial honour and command...” (5.1). Spartacus vehemently rejects Crassus’ offer upon learning that his wife and son have been killed. He chooses to fight rather than accept Crassus’s terms. Jovius continues to offer Crassus’s terms and Spartacus again refuses. Jovius leaves, with Crassus’s niece, but not with the surrender of Spartacus. Spartacus, resolved to fight, dies in battle. With his dying breath, Spartacus asserts his freedom when he says: “We’ll never heed the tempest, / there are green valleys in our mountain yet. / Set forth the sails, We’ll be in Thrace anon” (5.1). Crassus grants him burial, “not as a base bondman, / but as a chief enfranchised and ennobled” (ibid). In death, Spartacus is finally able to get the respect of Crassus.

⁵⁶ I am here paraphrasing his response.

Crassus is finally able to see the humanity of Spartacus. In the end, Crassus finally honors Spartacus.

Bird provides several allusions to his abolitionist sentiments throughout *The Gladiator*. This has not stopped scholars, beginning with the earliest discussions of the play, from discussing the intents of the play itself and searching for other meanings in and beyond the play. Shortly after its first performance, the play sparked a debate between the *Richmond Inquirer* and the *National Era* over the validity of the events shown (Nathans 177-178). More recently than that, scholars have looked for clues to whether this play was meant to invoke abolitionist sentiments or reflect a society where the government was imposing unfair rules over its subjects.

Allison Futrell (2001) is one of the first scholars to draw Bird's ambitions into question. She states: "in an American setting, Rome's imperial power is deployed as a metaphor for British imperialism, while the rebels are analogues for the American colonists who fought to ensure their political independence from Britain and now were trying to free themselves from cultural domination" (87). Futrell provides a liberalist reading to the play, seeing Rome as synonymous with Imperial England and having Spartacus and his followers metaphorically stand in for the colonists. Futrell observes that a protagonist who fought against the imperial forces of Rome would be a wise choice to discuss British imperialism, but she does not take into account two factors that indicate this is meant to be about American slavery. The first is the time and place of the production of *The Gladiator*. Newman and Mueller (2011) recount that Philadelphia had become an epicenter of Abolitionist activity and theater. They assert: "in the early 1830's Philadelphia hosted the inaugural national conventions of both the free black activists and the American Anti-slavery Society (1). Second, Futrell doesn't take into account the character chosen as the protagonist. Although Saurin chose Spartacus as a protagonist fighting against some larger imperial machine,

this was a different world than mid-eighteenth-century France. The Haitian Revolution gave the world not only the first successful slave rebellion, but it gave the modern world its first *exemplum* in Toussaint L'Ouverture, a charismatic leader who aimed to end slavery and who was often referred to as black Spartacus. Futrell's reading of the play is not altogether wrong, it merely needs more context.

Even more recently than Futrell, Margaret Malamud (2016) writes: "it is far from clear that the audiences would have read it as a criticism of American slavery. Rather, the play became increasingly presented and interpreted as a plea for the political and economic liberty of the free citizens, not for the bodily liberty of the slave" (62). Malamud is drawing on the paradoxical essence of liberalism of John Calhoun where the audience, especially a southern audience, might see Spartacus fighting against an overbearing government attempting to usurp control over a group in the minority. Malamud does, however, recognize that Bird's intentions are not always clear and that the abolitionist message does sometimes gets obscured, especially when it is dependent on the audience. Later in her book, Malamud falls just short of providing a key piece of evidence for how Spartacus in Bird's play was perceived by an abolitionist audience. She states: "observing one of Douglass's orations in 1841, one member of the audience thought of the Roman slave, Spartacus..." (96). Malamud likens Douglass to Spartacus, even providing the quote as it is found in "The Liberator" Vol.11 No.49, published on December 3, 1841 (Figure 6). It reads: "As Douglass stood there in manly attitude, with erect form, and glistening eye, and deep-toned voice, telling us that he had been secretly devising means to effect his release from bondage, we could not help thinking of Spartacus, the gladiator" (Malamud, 96; The Liberator, 193). Malamud ends her quote, leading the reader to believe the comparison is between Douglass and the Spartacus presented in the ancient Spartacan narratives. However, Malamud cuts the quote from *The*

Liberator short, leaving out a crucial point which informs the reader which Spartacus they are to be reminded of. The observer goes on “we could not help thinking of Spartacus, the Gladiator; his whole bearing reminded us of Forrest’s noble personation of that daring insurgent” (*The Liberator*, 193). This

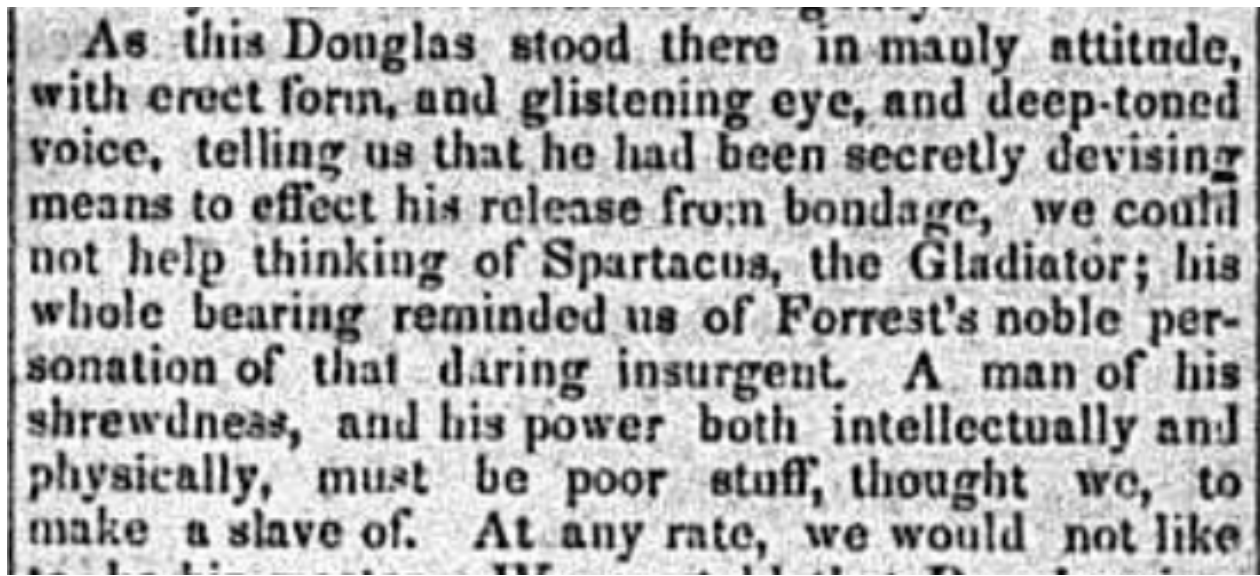


Figure 6. Clip from *The Liberator* Vol. 11 No. 49, December 3, 1841.

audience member was not just reminded of Spartacus, but the Spartacus being acted by Edwin Forrest. Thus, while Malamud can be correct that the abolitionist sentiments are not always clear, what is clear is how an abolitionist audience interpreted Spartacus and his exemplary use in Bird’s *The Gladiator* and applied it to Douglass, a strong and admirable leader in the abolitionist movement.

Late in 2019, Bird’s play and his abolitionist sentiments were once again called in to question, this time ending a production of the play at the annual meeting of the Society of Classical Studies (SCS). In a letter sent on 4 November 2019, Mary Boatwright, the president of the SCS wrote:

I write to withdraw SCS support of the production of ‘The Gladiator’ at the Annual Meeting...the significant problems attending ‘The Gladiator’ threaten to make the performance the focus of justifiable critiques of the SCS and our field. The appreciative

reception of the play by Walt Whitman⁵⁷ is a good example of selective reading practices that facilitate the insufficiently critical consumption of classics-related material. This is not the sort of reading the SCS endorses, but rather something we have been strenuously arguing against...we foresee questions about the SCS's 'celebration' in the 21st century, of the work of this problematic author and our 'promotion' of Bird's own appalling views about enslaved persons. (Boatwright 2019)

Boatwright is referencing a "secret record" found in the archival record of Bird's life. This quote, found as a footnote in Shaw (2005) shows that Bird, while writing this play, could not see past race. This note reads:

But consider the freedom of an American author. If the *Gladiator* were produced in a slave State, the managers, players, & perhaps myself into the bargain, would be rewarded with the Penitentiary! Happy States! At this present moment there are 6 or 800 armed negros marching through Southampton County, VA. murdering, ravishing, & burning those whom the Grace of God has made their owners - 70 killed, principally women and children. If they had but a Spartacus among them - to organize the half million in Virginia, the hundreds of thousands of the other States and to lead them on in the Crusade of Massacre, what a blessed example might they not give to the world of the excellence of slavery! What a field of interest to the playwrights of posterity! Someday we shall have it; and the future generations will perhaps remember the horrors of Hayti [sic] as a farce compared with the tragedies of our own unhappy land! The *vis et amor sceleratus habendi* will be repaid, violence with violence, & avarice with blood: I had sooner live among bedbugs than negros... (n.76)

This note is problematic in many ways. Bird's appalling sentiments are reprehensible, and they are a direct indictment of Bird's play and the possibility of it expressing abolitionist sentiments. As has been shown, there are indictments of the institution of slavery within *The Gladiator* and Bird takes several opportunities to give slaves a voice, calling on their masters to recognize their humanity (1.1), critiquing the cruelty enacted on slaves (4.1), and as Robert Groves observes in a response to cancelling the SCS performance, "they critique a society constructed upon a basis of slave labor and of the conquests of foreign people necessary to provide that slave labor" (Groves 2019). Again, the audience is faced with a paradox of Liberalism: can someone speak against slavery while at the same time harbor racist feelings against those who are enslaved. Alexis de

⁵⁷ "This play is as full of 'Abolitionism' as an egg is of meat" (158-159)

Tocqueville observes: “the prejudice of race appears to be strongest in the states that have abolished slavery than those where it still exists, and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those states where servitude has never been known” (Losurdo 51). De Tocqueville observes that this racism amongst the states abolishing slavery is a place where racism is running rampant. The modern audience of this play has the advantage of hindsight. The contemporary audience of *The Gladiator* would be confronted by a critique of the current slave system in the United States. Bird recognized that bloody revolution was imminent, and he wrote his play about just such an event. He utilized words and actions that were meant to stir up the viewer of his play and drive them to action. They would relate to Spartacus and detest the slave-mongering Romans. *The Gladiator* is the first American representation of Spartacus and the first dramatization of Spartacus to discuss the ordeal of slaves and not a broader social injustice. It stands as the most appropriate *exemplum* for the debate of slavery because it targets elite education in classics. By invoking a classical *exemplum*, Bird was targeting the learning of the elite. He intentionally used this classical *exemplum* in order to enter a dialogue with the practitioners of slavery that used the Classics to justify their owning of slaves and it stands as a prime example of how classical *exempla* can be used to discuss current issues, how *exempla* can be seen and used differently, even when using the same *exempla*.

In the 1830’s, the United States was a nation rushing toward Civil War. Thus, in a heightened state of crisis, Bird introduces *The Gladiator* as a classical *exemplum*. His *exemplum* of Spartacus is not new. Other works of Spartacan literature were written in the years preceding it, but Bird’s representation is different. In these other representations of Spartacus, he fights against monarchs and against imperial expansion, but on this occasion and in this place, Spartacus stands for freedom from slavery. Bird honors Spartacus, showing him “not as a base bondman, / but as a

chief enfranchised and ennobled. / If we denied him honour while he lived, / Justice shall carve it on his monument” (5.1).

The period of time between the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries saw a lot of change in the world. Liberalism created tension between people and their governments as philosophers and common people began to question the power governments should usurp its authority over its citizens. Although it also created a paradox for any discussion of race and slavery, it did provide the vocabulary so that as people began to question their own lives, they, as is often the case, choose to look toward the past as the primary means of discussing themselves. This retrospective way of viewing the *exempla* of the past allows each author and/or audience member to see their own world through a different lens, one that often will aide them in which direction choose. For Saurin, his choosing Spartacus as the protagonist of his tragedy not only set him apart from the authors of his day who chose Roman Republican heroes as the protagonist of their plays, but also allowed him to talk with greater depth about liberty, equality, and escaping from oppression. As a slave, Spartacus acts as a different type of *exemplum* than Brutus, Sertorius, of the Gracchi because, as Spartacus reminds Emilie in Saurin’s play, they are still part of the system. Saurin thought outside the usual suspects and succeeds in establishing the use of Spartacus as an *exemplum* in France and setting in motion his use by later authors. For Strickland, who embraces the abolitionist ideals spreading through England, she is able to draw on an established social memory of Rome as a site for exemplarity. Britain, as one of the premiere colonial powers collected and absorbed many cultural pasts, including those of the Greeks and Romans. Her audience would be familiar with the Acropolis Marbles (aka the Elgin Marbles), busts of prominent Romans citizens, and the like, all they would have to do is travel to the British Museum. Her selection of Spartacus, much like Saurin’s, showed her deep understanding of the best exemplary

models to choose for her target audience. Having read Plutarch, Strickland was able to adapt one of the ancient Spartacan narratives to fit her abolitionist literary themes. And although it is possible her audience, if it was in fact meant as a children's book, might not have heard of Spartacus before, they would be able to learn. Through her story, Spartacus's exemplary function was enhanced into a means of discussing chattel slavery. Lastly, Bird represents the culmination of this era. It must be conceded that Bird and his thoughts bring about complications for his work and the study thereof, but ultimately he is able to write a tragedy that still calls into question how slaves are treated and he gives an *exemplum* to his audience demonstrating the pitfalls of a political system that relies on being a slave society. With Edwin Forrest portraying Spartacus, Bird's play was able to reach vast numbers of people. His message, delivered through Spartacus's mouth, of freedom from bondage and death to all who buy and sell slaves echoed many of the abolitionist sentiments of his day. His message, combined with the appropriate language, i.e. Roman exemplarity, spoke to the educated and uneducated alike.

As this period came to a close, the world had already started changing yet again, only this time Spartacus's exemplary function would be changing with the times. As Spartacus is reconstructed in the modern period to become an ideal proletariat hero, his exemplary status becomes canonized in a number of works. These works, although they use the ancient Spartacan narratives as their initial basis, create something altogether new.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RECONSTRUCTED SPARTACUS: SPARTACAN NARRATIVES OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Spartacus emerges as the most capitol fellows in the whole history of antiquity. A great general (no Garibaldi he), of noble character, a real representative of the proletariat of ancient times.

--Karl Marx

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Marxist and communist ideologies began to spread through Europe. As these ideologies began to spread so did the name Spartacus. In fact, moving forward, Spartacus and the communist movement would come to be synonymous with one another. Three years before the Bolshevik Revolution, the *Spartakubund* was created as the communist party in Germany. Spartacus would start to be represented in Italy with Raffaello Giovagnoli's *Spartaco* (1878), *Spartaco* (1913) directed by Giovanni Enrico Vidali and *Sins of Rome* directed by Riccardo Freda. These different adaptations of Spartacan literature mimic the storyline of Bernard-Joseph Saurin's 1730's French play *Spartacus*. Lewis Grassic Gibbon (1933) would write his Scottish novel *Spartacus*, which told the story of Spartacus through the eyes of Kleon, a Greek who teaches Spartacus from a copy of Plato's *Republic* in the hopes of helping Spartacus establish a slave utopia. His book ends with Spartacus's death scene closely mimicking Plutarch's ancient Spartacan narrative. Arthur Koestler's *The Gladiators* (1939) likewise examines communism, but in many ways shows the failures of it. Where Spartacus is hailed as some sort of slave messiah, he is constantly being torn by the different interests of his army. In the end, all the slaves line the road, crucified by their former masters. While these works all help to perpetuate communist ideology throughout Europe and beyond it was not until 1951, when Howard Fast published his novel *Spartacus*, that Spartacus's exemplary role as a communist hero would truly take its form.

Howard Fast's novel *Spartacus* was self-published in 1951. Fast had to publish his novel himself because he had been blacklisted by J. Edgar Hoover and not by one of the numerous publishing companies would even dialogue on the record about publishing it. He submitted it to whomever would publish it. But, as the forward to the 1996 edition of his book Fast recounts:

When the manuscript was finished, I sent it to Angus Cameron, then my publisher at Little, Brown and Company. He loved the book, and wrote that he would publish it with pride and pleasure. Then J. Edgar Hoover sent word to Little, Brown, that they were not to publish the book. Angus Cameron resigned in protest, and after that, the manuscript went to seven other leading publishers. All of them refused to publish it. The last of the seven was Doubleday, and after a meeting of the editorial board, George Hecht, head of the Doubleday chain of bookstores, walked out of the room in anger and disgust. He then telephoned me, saying that he had never seen such a display of cowardice as among the Doubleday editorial board, and he said that if I published the book myself, he would give me an order for 600 copies. I had never published a book myself, but there was support from the liberal community and I went ahead, poured the little money we had into the job, and somehow it got done. (viii)

In his recounting of the circumstances under which he began to write his novel Fast tells how he “had just been released from prison.” His crime? He “had refused to turn over to the House Committee on Un-American Activities a list of supporters of the Joint Antifascist Refugee Committee” (vii). Fast had been sent to prison for being a communist in a time where communism was the greatest fear in the hearts of Americans. Before Osama Bin-Laden and Saddam Hussein there was Lenin and Stalin. This fear lead to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. This investigative committee, which was at first an ad hoc committee of Congress (1938-1945) and then later a permanent committee (1945-1968), sought out and imprisoned communists and communist sympathizers in the United States. Fast calls this time: “a bad time, the worst time that I and my good wife had ever lived in. The country was as close to a police state as it ever had been. J. Edgar Hoover, the chief of the FBI, took the role of a petty dictator. The fear of Hoover and his file on thousands of liberals permeated the country” (vii-viii). His imprisonment, the circumstances

that surrounded it, and the general atmosphere of the country all provided the necessary landscape for Fast to write his novel *Spartacus*.

Howard Fast's background on the blacklist informs why he chose Spartacus as the focus of his novel, why it had success, and why it is still culturally significant today. Part of the reason is the nature of this novel. Futrell (2005) describes Fast's break from the pre-established traditions of Spartacus. She says:

Saurin and Grillparzer⁵⁸ created an ancient rebel whose personal desires were in conflict with his political aims, whose private longings for domestic bliss presented an obstacle for victory, located as they were in love interests identified as Roman and therefore inherently hostile to Spartacus's goals. Unable or unwilling to choose a private life, these versions of Spartacus fling themselves into their public duty and promptly fail. With Bird's staging of Spartacus, we see a coalescence of the patriarch and the statesman, in which the essential status of the former is fundamental to the creation of the later. Conversely, the loss of family fatally undermines the rebellion for Bird's Spartacus. For Howard Fast, the connection between the family and the polity of the rebels is more than seamless: the two are identical. (96)

As Futrell observes, Fast's *Spartacus* is something unique in the long Spartacan tradition, breaking from the previously established tradition. Whether knowingly or unknowingly, Fast removes his novel from any of the pre-established Spartacan traditions and establishes *Spartacus* as the progenitor of a new Spartacan tradition, one that is still the most culturally significant today. Futrell (2005) discusses some of the previous Spartacan traditions, but there is no guarantee that Fast read any of these works before he began writing his novel. Futrell does however mention two authors who greatly influence Fast. The first of these is the author Rosa Luxemburg. Luxemburg was the leader of the *Spartakusband* (the communist party in post-WWI Germany). Futrell notes that "her work seemed to speak to his (Fast's) current situation, to his willingness to serve time for the preservation of political consciousness. Initially, Fast thought Luxemburg's life, particularly her leadership in the *Spartakusband*, would be excellent material for a new work" (91). Futrell notes

⁵⁸ Grillparzer, Franz. *Spartakus*. Stuttgart. 1849.

that Fast shifts his focus to Spartacus after reading earlier communist readings of C. Osborne Ward. Fast reads *The Ancient Lowly* (1888), a vast work dealing with injustices done to people throughout the known world. In his chapter on Spartacus, Ward does not recognize Spartacus as a slave and he even goes so far as to call “Spartacus...in all respects a workingman” (242). Ward’s purpose in this is clear, he wants to equate slavery to the working man, the proletariat suffering under the bourgeoisie aristocracy. This reflects the attitude of other Marxists, including, most famously, Karl Marx himself who in a letter to Engels says: “Spartacus emerges as the most capitol fellows in the whole history of antiquity. A great general (no Garibaldi he), of noble character, a real representative of the proletariat of ancient times” (Marx 265). Fast creates a new Spartacan narrative but does not create an altogether new exemplary function for Spartacus. As with other Spartacan adaptations Spartacus is always depicted as fighting against civil injustice, standing for freedom from tyrannical rule of a slave owning class. Spartacus internal struggle sometimes changes, but what does not change is his struggle against the far-reaching power of Rome. Fast’s novel adopts this theme, and yet, Spartacus exemplary function within the novel is different.

One of the reasons for these differences is the society for whom these works were written.

Fast (1950) writes:

Literature has always been the most precise reflection of the society in which produced it, and in a society rent by contradictions, strangling in its own economic chaos, and looking fearfully to a hideous world war as a possible solution, a great deal of that society’s literature will quite naturally be far from healthy. The literature, creative and critical, of America is sick, deeply sick; only a great progressive upsurge can kill it. (7)

Fast writes *Spartacus* as a reflection of the society in which he lived. For Fast, the US under the HUAC represents a site of negative exemplarity. He creates a Spartacus who will work as an *exemplum* for an America audience who is in a state of crisis, just as Rome is in a state of crisis in *Spartacus*.

The greatest example of this is the state of Rome after the rebellion has been squashed. *Spartacus* begins after the Servile War has ended and the slaves have mostly been killed. The narrative is told from a retrospective Roman point of view. Rome has been living in fear of Spartacus to the point where travel between cities has been banned. The book begins as the ban has been lifted, first for business and then for pleasure. Three young citizens, Caius Crassus, Helena, and Claudia Marius take this as an opportunity to take a vacation. Fast writes:

the news was posted around the city that any free citizen having business in Capua might travel there to transact it, but for the time being travel for pleasure to that lovely resort was not encouraged. However, as time passed and sweet and gentle springtime settled down over the land of Italy, restrictions were lifted, and once again the fine buildings and splendid scenery of Capua called to the Romans (3).

Rome had been in a state of panic and is now moving beyond it. They can go about their business, but what does their leisure and freedom from fear grant them?

The Romans, at least certain Romans, still live in fear. Not a fear of Spartacus, but a fear of other Romans. Fast exemplifies the fear through a foil of the Romans and the Gladiators. The Romans, in so many ways, represent a base and immoral society. In many ways the Romans care only for their own personal desires and will murder, rape, and/or harm anyone who stands in their way. One of the most striking examples of this is a scene between Crassus and Helena in Capua. Crassus takes Helena to see the arena in Capua. Once there, Crassus tells Helena about his exploits, but she is not impressed. She asks him if they can go up into one of the boxes and while there Crassus and Helena begin to speak to each other:

Then Helena said, ‘Don’t you feel anything toward me?’ ‘I feel that you are very lovely and intelligent young lady,’ Crassus replied. ‘And I, great general,’ she said quickly, ‘feel that you are a swine.’ He leaned toward her, and she spat full in his face. Even in the dim light, she saw how his eyes lit with rage. This was the general; this was the passion that never came into his words. He struck her, and the blow flung her off the couch and against the rotten fence, which splintered under her weight. She lay there, half over the edge, with the floor of the arena twenty feet below her, but caught herself and pulled herself back – the general never moved. The she was on him like a wildcat, scratching and clawing, but

he grasped her two wrists and held her away from him, smiling coolly at her now and telling her, 'The real thing is different, my dear. I know.' Her spasm of anger and energy passed, and she began to cry. She cried like a little spoiled girl, and while she wept, he made love to her. She neither resisted this nor welcomed it, and when he had finished an act without either passion or urgency, he said to her, 'Was that what you wanted, my dear?' She didn't reply, but fixed her clothes and her hair, wiped away what lipstick had smeared over her face, and wiped off the eye shadow that had run down her cheeks. (237)

This long scene shows the general mindset of the Romans in the book. Crassus is cool and calculated and cares very little for the lives of others. Although the novel states: "he made love to her" (ibid) this is not really what has happened. Crassus has raped Helena without consequence. This is not the only rape committed by Romans in *Spartacus*. In every case, the consequences are the same: nothing happens to the Roman.

The Romans are not able to see themselves as monstrous and are slow to recognize the humanity of Spartacus and his army. Often the Romans project their own monstrous acts on to the slave army. Just before the rape of Helena, Crassus and Helena are at a dinner party honoring Crassus. During the festivities of this party there is "a new dance which had been created specifically in honor of Crassus" performed (233). This dance "portrayed the rape of Roman virgin maids by blood-thirsty slaves" (ibid). This dance clearly plays on the fears of the Romans. There is a psychological element to this dance. They fear the violation of their own virgins by someone who is not a Roman male. They project a fear of violation and impurity in their maidens and they put the blame for this on the slaves. Is this warranted? *Spartacus*, in fact, has no examples of slaves raping Roman women. In the context of this book the answer must be no. The slaves do the exact opposite.

Fast always tries to create foils in his novel. When Fast depicts the base moral character of Romans he usually does his best to contrast them with the gladiator army doing the exact opposite. Fast uses Spartacus and his army as the moral *exempla* of his book. As the army is forming and

they begin to make their laws, Spartacus tells them that there are really only two laws that they need to follow. The first: “whatever we take, we hold in common, and no man shall own anything but his weapon and his clothes” (166) and second: “we will take no woman, except as wife...nor shall any man hold more than one wife. Justice will be equal between them, and if they cannot live in peace, they must part. But no man may lie with any woman, Roman or otherwise, who is not his lawful wife” (167). Fast’s Spartacus established this law in order to show the stark contrast between the slaves and the Romans. Who, therefore, is the more civilized person? The Roman general who approves of and commits rape, or the slave who strictly forbids his men from raping not only the women in their camp, but also any Roman woman they might capture. Romans have free reign over any and everything that they capture and the gladiators respect and honor what they capture. Ideally, they do not want more than they have nor will they harm others to get it, unless a Roman man stands in their way. Adding further to the very individualistic attitude of the Romans, is the way in which they view the world outside of Rome. They see themselves as the civilizing force of the world, which they accomplish, ironically, through slavery.

As crowds stand around the last crucified slave body in Capua, the narrator of *Spartacus* reflects on the torture of crucifixion and slavery. He says: “Where the Roman roads went, there too went the cross and the plantation system and the fighting of pairs and the enormous contempt for human life in bondage and the enormous drive to squeeze gold from the blood and sweat of mankind” (250). Rome is not a civilizing force to anyone outside of Rome. Rome takes what it wants and forces others to assimilate or face annihilation. They do not want to accept others and their aim is to enslave.

Again, the slave army as the opposing foil and *exempla* to the Romans. As the last slave hangs from the cross he reflects on his time with Spartacus. During this reflection, he recounts the

aims of the slave army. It was not to enslave, to rape, to pillage, but to consolidate the people of the world and to create a fair society where all are equal in power. He recounts:

What would be as a result of their rebellion became clearer and clearer in his mind. Since most of the world were slaves, they would soon be a force that nothing could stand up to. Then nations and cities would disappear, and it would be the *golden age* again. Once upon a time, in the stories and legends of every people, it was the *golden age*, when men were without sin and without gall, and they lived together in peace and in love. So when Spartacus and his slaves had conquered the whole world, then it would be so again. (270)

Spartacus's vision of a utopian society is something that the Romans are constantly fighting against. Fast uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* of fatherhood throughout his novel. Here, each member of Spartacus's army cares for the other and they see Spartacus as their father: "He is like a father to them. For men twice his years, he is a father in the old tribal way. They are all Thracians, but he is the Thracian. So he chants to them softly, like a father telling a tale to his children..." (76).

Throughout *Spartacus*, Howard Fast continually represents Rome in such a way as to engender feelings of disgust towards the Romans. Their far-reaching dominance of the world is not something to be admired but condemned. They do not care for each other nor do they care for others. They constantly betray and abuse each other, and this consistently reaches beyond themselves. They abuse everyone, regardless of their position. Fast uses these characteristics to cast a negative light on the army and show them as a negative *exemplum*. However, he does the opposite with the slave army, who constantly attempts to include everyone into their ranks while at the same time seek to stomp out the Romans who constantly oppose their new/old world order. This foiling of the two armies not only shows the Roman army as the negative *exemplum*, but, more importantly, shows Spartacus's army as a positive one. In seeking to establish this community where all citizens, including males and females, have equal rights, Fast, through Spartacus and his ever-present morality, is enforcing the idea that communism, when administered

by morally incorruptible figures, is the superior ideology. The greatest example of this can be found near the end of the novel. After Crassus defeats Spartacus, Varinia, Spartacus's wife, and their child remain alive. Crassus purchases them and brings them to live in his home. He pampers her and refuses to treat her like a slave. He tries to force her to love him constantly threatens to harm the child if she does not (328-329). Crassus asks Varinia: "why do you hate me so?" to which Varinia responds: "Should I love you, Crassus?" (330). Crassus, somewhat perplexed answers: "Yes. Because I've given you more than you ever had out of Spartacus." To which Varinia responds: "You haven't." (ibid). Crassus cannot accept this and presses the issue more. Varinia tells Crassus:

I could only love Spartacus. I never loved another man. I never will love another man. But I could live with a field slave. He would be somewhat like Spartacus, even though Spartacus was a mine slave and not a field slave. That's all he was. You think I'm very simple, and I am, and I'm foolish too. Sometimes, I don't even understand what you're saying. But Spartacus was more simple than I am. Compared to you he was like a child. He was pure. (331)

Crassus wants Varinia to elaborate on the last sentence of this statement. He wants to know why she considered him "pure." Varinia responds: "To me he was pure. He could not do a bad thing" (332). Crassus takes a very different point of view and asks: "And do you think it is good to raise that revolt and set half the world on fire?" (ibid). Varinia responds simply: "We didn't set the world on fire. All we wanted was our freedom. All we wanted was live in peace." (ibid). The exemplary message is clear: the slaves wanted their freedom and to live in peace, nothing more. They did not see their revolt as anything more than an attempt to remove themselves from slavery, to get their freedom, and to establish a new "*golden age*, [where] men [would be] without sin and without gall, and they [would live] together in peace and in love" (270).⁵⁹ Spartacus represents the pure idea of freedom. Spartacus is justified in killing Romans, but he never goes beyond the killing

⁵⁹ Words in brackets change the tense of the verbs from the past tense to the future tense.

of Romans who own slaves or who oppose his struggle for freedom. The political message is clear: capitalism when put in the hands of morally corrupt individuals oppresses and communism when put in the hands of the morally incorrupt enriches. It is no wonder that J. Edgar Hoover sought to suppress such a book. The message is clear and implicit in the text, with no greater example than when Crassus proclaims to Varinia: “Don’t you see that there is no other way in the world and never will be – but for the strong to rule the weak?” (333).

Spartacus enjoys success as a novel, and in 1957 was purchased by Bryna Production, a production company owned by Kirk Douglas. Bryna purchased the rights to make a film based on the novel from Howard Fast for one hundred dollars (Douglas 43) with the stipulation that Fast would write the screenplay (Douglas 43). Douglas agreed to the terms but the process of turning Fast’s novel into a film was not so easy as the small price Douglas paid for it. The screenplay went through several different authors before it reached its final version. To understand the film, it is first necessary to understand the process of adaptation and what that does to the overall production.

Hutcheon (2006) addresses the relationship that an adaptation has to its adapted text, stating that literature has an “axiomatic superiority over any adaptation of it because of its seniority as an art form” (4) and “adaptations have an overt and defining relationship to prior texts, usually revealingly called ‘sources’” (3). She also identifies the necessary connection between an adapted work to its prior text. She understands that “adaptations are never simply reproductions” (4). The relationship that an adapted text has to its predecessor is important and, as Hutcheon states, creates a role of dependency of the adaptation on its predecessor. There is a necessity for any adaptation to refer back to its predecessor because it is through its relationship to the predecessor that the adaptation is able to take part in the authentic aura of the original.

As Hutcheon shows in her book, it is important to first understand what adaptation is and how to define it. She defines adaptation as “a product (as extensive, particular transcoding) and as a process (as creative reinterpretation and palimpsestic intertextuality)” (22). This is especially important to the discussion of *Spartacus* in how Fast’s novel moved from a novel to a film. It is necessary to understand the “process” of adaptation and how that process turned Fast’s novel into something different altogether and yet something very much the same.

The process of making *Spartacus* into a film was difficult. From the start there were numerous obstacles placed in the way of Douglas and Bryna Productions. The first obstacle that Douglas encountered was when he went to United Artists to make the film. Douglas received word that United had already contracted a film about Spartacus based on the novel *The Gladiators* by Arthur Koestler. They had another big-name Hollywood actor signed on to play Spartacus: Yul Brynner. Douglas (2012) recounts how in a telegram from Arthur Krim, the chairman of United Artists, he was told “Spartacus’ covers the same story as ‘The Gladiators’ by Koestler. We are already committed to ‘The Gladiators’ with Yul Brynner to be directed by Marty Ritt which makes it impossible for us to interest ourselves in ‘Spartacus’” (44). Douglas would not be deterred, and he moved forward even though he was worried that United would be able to produce the film faster. They moved forward with Howard Fast as the screenplay writer and as Fast began writing the screenplay, Douglas began looking for a studio. Fast soon came to California and delivered the first draft to Douglas and Eddie Lewis. Douglas quotes Lewis who proclaimed: “This is Crap!” (Douglas 49) to which Douglas recounts: “he got no complaints from me” (49). Douglas goes on: “Dear God, it was awful – sixty pages of lifeless characters uttering leaden speeches. It was as if he hadn’t read his own novel. There was no dramatic arc, no spine on which to build a usable script” (49). Larry Cepair (2015) corroborates Douglas’s recounting of events, writing how:

Fast...turned in a 102-page step outline on May 27. It was written as three acts, and the third act was 57 pages long. Like his novel, it contained very little about Spartacus, and Fast told the entire story of the uprising from the Romans' point of view; he placed most of the emphasis not on the defeat of Spartacus's uprising but on the personal defeat suffered by the Roman leader Crassus. Fast acknowledged that he had incorporated large sections of his book into the outline because the novel 'was written so concisely and tightly' and was difficult to improve upon. No one who read Fast's outline liked it." (370)

Fast's failure as a screenplay writer might or might not have come as a surprise to everyone involved. Douglas worried about Fast as a screenplay writer and recalls his initial reaction to Fast insisting on writing the screenplay. Douglass (2012) recounts: "that could be a problem. Good authors are notoriously bad screenwriters. Scott Fitzgerald, Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis – all failed to master the craft" (43). Hutcheon notes that "telling a story is not the same thing as showing a story" (52). In his novel, Fast is able to tell a successful story, and his Roman perspective works in the reflexive manner of his novel, but this clearly would not, and did not work when "showing [his] story." Fast's inability to transform his novel into a screenplay could have derailed the project before it really began. Because of this Douglas and Eddie Lewis decided to bring another writer in on the project: Sam Jackson. Douglas recounts: "although we had hired him under the name 'Sam Jackson,' that was not his real name. It was Dalton Trumbo. And I didn't give a damn about his politics" (50). Douglas is referring to the fact that Trumbo, just like Fast, was a blacklisted former-communist. Trumbo, after reading Fast's outline, immediately discovered the problem with the adaptation. Ceplair (2015), relates Trumbo's response:

The form and concept of the novel, while it dealt with Spartacus as the perpetrator of overwhelming events, concerned itself mainly with the reaction of the characters to what an off-scene Spartacus was doing and had done to the Roman world. The motion picture must, of course, reverse that emphasis. (373)

Ceplair goes on to report how Douglas, wanting to use Trumbo, but fearing the repercussions of firing Fast, elects to "employ a device used in the old studio system: he would assign the same project to two different writers, unbeknownst to them" (373). This double deal with the directors

meant that two voices, at least for now, were constantly at odds during the production of the film. Adding further to this, the film had two different directors. The first director was Anthony Mann. Douglas recounts that “Universal really liked Anthony Mann, as did he [Lew Wasserman, Douglas’s agent]. Mann was a technician. Not an artist...” (55). This observation of Mann not being an artist is especially striking when thinking about film. Benjamin refers to film as an art form and highlights its uniqueness as “the first art form where artistic character is entirely determined by its reproducibility” (28). Mann does not last long as the director of the film and is fired just eleven days into shooting. They then hired Stanley Kubrick to direct the film, adding yet another voice to the already crowded production process. This addition changed the direction of the film. Ceplair describes in detail the growing antagonism between Kubrick and Trumbo. They rarely agreed and Kubrick constantly changed the screenplay to adhere to his vision. Hutcheon, writing about adapters in general notes how the process of adapting a novel constantly changes “through interaction with the director and the actors, not to mention the editor. By the end the film may be very far from both the screenplay and the adapted text in focus and emphasis” (83).

It is this shift and emphasis that nearly derailed the entire project of turning *Spartacus* into *Spartacus*. There are two shifts of emphasis between Kubrick and Trumbo. Ceplair describes the first as Trumbo’s “large” view and Kubrick’s “small” view (384). Trumbo’s “large” view of Spartacus involved portraying Spartacus’s revolt as “a major rebellion that shook the Roman Republic, lasted one year, involved a series of brilliant military maneuvers by the slaves, and required the entire Roman army to defeat it” where “Spartacus fought for the freedom of every person in his army and never doubted the rightness of his cause” (ibid). Kubrick’s “small” view involved portraying Spartacus’s revolt “as a quick outbreak and a dash for the sea, requiring only one Roman detachment to quell it” where Spartacus “fought only for the freedom of himself and

Varinia” (384). This shift from Trumbo’s “large” view would have cost this film the most important aspect of the novel, its departure from previous traditions. Trumbo sees the necessity to show the longevity of Spartacus’s conflict and to show his concern with, not just Spartacus and Varinia, but with a larger ideal of freeing slaves. This, as has been mentioned above, is what separated Fast’s Spartacus from the previous versions. He is able to remove the personal conflict from Spartacus and able to make him something new.

Trumbo grew increasingly disheartened as Kubrick continued to make changes to his screenplay. In a number of heartfelt pleas to Douglas, Trumbo attempted to stop the constant changes. In one of these notes: “A Last General Note on Spartacus,” Trumbo expresses displeasure for the shifting emphasis from spoken to visual when he mentions “the director’s opinion that the words don’t matter anyhow so long as they’re simple, and that any attempt with speech to provoke thought or illuminate intellectual, political, or moral concepts simply confuses the audience...” (Ceplair 388). In yet another note” “Directors and Their Delusions,” Trumbo once again takes up the plea that Kubrick, as a director who cares more about the visual than the underlying message of the film, was seeking to eliminate the thought-provoking political ideology of the screenplay. He says: “They [directors] hate dialogue because it presents ideas (which directors abominate), causes a thought reaction, and diverts attention from the visual contemplation of the scene (which, to a director, is the only valid reason for making a film in the first place)” (Ceplair 389). Kubrick, in his attempts to dilute the message of the screenplay in favor of a more visually pleasing film, nearly derails the underlying political message of the screenplay. This loss would have removed one of the most important elements of *Spartacus*’s aura and would have severed the film from its association to that aura.

The process of adapting *Spartacus* from a novel to a film was a complicated one. The shift from Fast to Trumbo and from Mann to Kubrick constantly pulled the screenplay into different directions. In the end, the film was finalized as a very different product than the original novel. The screenplay, before becoming a film, becomes a new piece of art, as Linda Hutcheon (2006) observes: “the adapter is an interpreter before becoming a creator” (84). Trumbo becomes a new artist of a new work of art, but one that necessarily needs its association with the authentic and original work in order to establish its own aura and find success as an adaptation. It must, as Hutcheon observes, have “difference as well as repetition” (114).

The writing of the screenplay is merely the process of adaptation. The product of that process is the film. *Spartacus* was released in theaters in 1960. It was the winner of four academy awards, although most of these are technical awards, and saw considerable success as a film. As one watches *Spartacus* they can see how the process of adaptation changed the focus of the film from that of the novel. The perspective changed from a completely Roman reflective perspective to an alternating Roman and Slave perspective. Characters are taken out and new characters are added. The story changes and yet Fast’s voice still remains within the work: Rome is still a society in moral decay and the slaves still stand as a foil to their decay. Rome still perceives itself as a civilizing power and the slave army sees itself as a community wanting only freedom and nothing else. The presentation of these ideals is different and yet they pervade. Walter Benjamin provides the answer when he says: “The technological reproducibility of the artwork changes the relation of the masses to art...The progressive attitude is characterized by an immediate, intimate fusion of pleasure – pleasure in seeing and experiencing – with an attitude of expert appraisal” (36). This does not mean that the audience is unable to react and interact with a work of reproducible art, and more specifically film. Hutcheon observes something similar. She says: “For an adaptation to be

successful in its own right, it must be so for both knowing and unknowing audiences” (121). Hutcheon, like Benjamin, sees the necessity of the knowing audience. In this way an adaptation works as a site of exemplarity. For an adaptation to maintain its relationship to its prior text, it constantly needs to reflect back to this prior text but also to establish itself as something new, it needs to move forward. Because of this relationship, Kubrick is never truly able to move beyond Fast’s *Spartacus*. He does however create a new and unique piece of art with great cultural significance.

Fast’s Rome was intended to reflect the current society while placing it in another time and place. The film continues this reflection of 1960’s America in ancient Rome. Near the end of the film Gracchus is brought to the senate house for a special tribunal with Crassus. During this meeting Crassus tells Gracchus that he has compiled a list devoted to the enemies of the state. Gracchus asks where his name is located on the list and Crassus tells him that it is listed at the top. This “list” and special tribunal bear a striking resemblance to the proceedings of the HUAC. J. Hoberman (2005) highlights this close association. He writes:

The House Un-American Activities Committee rules the republic. ‘Lists of the disloyal have been compiled,’ Crassus warns, threatening the more moderate and conciliatory senator Gracchus (Charles Laughton) with McCarthyite terror: ‘The enemies of the state are known...Tomorrow they will learn the costs of their treason’. (27)

Gracchus is faced with a similar tribunal to the one which Fast and Trumbo had to face. Crassus tells Gracchus that he will go into exile and that he will bring him back to Rome, “from time to time,” to act as Crassus puppet in placating the Roman mob when it gets too strong. Gracchus does not accept this fate and even goes so far as to kill himself rather than suffer this exile. Kubrick intentionally included this tribunal to vilify Crassus likening him to McCarthy (and Sulla too) and to glorify Gracchus, who is the constant republican who cares more about the people of Rome than his own personal well-being. In some ways Gracchus is the Roman communist who allies himself

against the ruling ambitions of Crassus. Crassus on the other hand has an imperial agenda both for his own life, i.e. in how he wants to rule Rome, and for Rome herself.

In both Fast's novel and the film *Spartacus*, Rome saw itself as a civilizing power for the rest of the world. Their roads stretched far and wide and with those roads the established order of Rome. It would be impossible to show a visual representation of Rome without showing her roads. Kubrick however does not use the visual representation of the roads as the metaphor for Rome's power. Rather, Rome's power is related through a monologue spoken by Crassus to Antoninus, one of his slaves. Crassus says, while looking from across the Tiber river at a marching army just outside the city of Rome:

Antoninus look, across the river. There is something you must see. There boy is Rome. The might, the majesty, the terror of Rome. There is the power that bestrides the known world like a colossus. No man can withstand Rome, no nation can withstand her. How much less, a boy? There is only one way to deal with Rome Antoninus. You must serve her. You must abase yourself before her. You must grovel at her feet. You must love her. Isn't that so Antoninus?

Crassus clearly sees Rome as the civilizing force of the world. Similar to the novel, Romans fail to understand anything beyond their own perspective. Crassus stands as the exemplar of this ideology throughout the film.

The film, in a similar fashion to the novel, uses the slave army, and growing community, to contrast starkly with the Roman imperial ethos. Immediately after the above scene, the viewer is able to see the slave camp on Mt. Vesuvius. The camp scene shows men training as fighters and running gauntlets. Women are cleaning children in a communal bath. The scene then moves to a group of slaves who have escaped from their masters. One of the generals, David the Jew, lays out their plan to hire pirates to take them home. Spartacus rides up to the group and begins to ask what these slaves can do for the community. Each person is assigned to a group in order to best serve the community. This is not the only invocation of community, family, and freedom from slavery

invoked in the film. The aforementioned plan to use pirates to sail home is the driving force behind all of the looting and fighting of the slave army. It is not until the end when Spartacus and the army are betrayed by the pirates, who had been bought off by Crassus, that they have any other idea than to return to their homes. The betrayal is realized, and Spartacus and the army are left with one option. Realizing what that option is Spartacus says: "Of course. Crassus is inviting us to march on Rome so he can take the field against us...he knows I won't let myself be trapped down here between two armies with my back to the sea. He knows my only other choice is Rome." The pirate then offers Spartacus a way for him and his generals to escape without the others. Spartacus tells him to "go away." Faced with the choice between escaping and fighting, Spartacus chooses to fight. For what will be the last time in the film, Spartacus gives himself to the army and in the end they are defeated by Crassus.

The opposition between the representations of Rome and those of the slave army could not be further apart. Throughout the film, Crassus and Gracchus constantly toy with each other positioning themselves for power. None of the Roman generals sent against Spartacus see him as a threat and they all fail to grant Spartacus nor his army any sort of humanity. However, Spartacus constantly sees the humanity of everyone, seeing the power in the individual and what that individual can do for the larger community. At first, Spartacus's only wish is to "free every slave in every town and village" and to leave Italy by "the sea." Their plan is to use the Cilician pirates to sail home. The slave army only engages the Romans for two reasons: a Roman army is sent to squash the rebellion or the slaves are plundering gold to pay the pirates for their journey. It is not until the final battle that Spartacus is forced to fight because it is clear Rome will not let the slaves leave. He does not desire to destroy Rome, only escape it.

The Rome of the film also reflects a society of moral decay, acting as a negative *exemplum*. The earlier example from the novel shows a lack of compassion that Romans have for other Romans. No one is really safe from the other, even in this supposed civilized society. The contrast to this was the instituted marriage in the slave camp and the necessity of marriage for any male and female to sleep with each other. The film does not use this, but it does aim to show Rome in a state of decay and how the slave army/camp are not.

This is best shown in the idea of gladiator battle in general. The film begins with Spartacus being purchased and taken to Italy as a gladiator. There he is trained, and he falls in love. It is during his time as a gladiator that he first encounters Crassus. This encounter shows the truly barbaric and demoralizing effects that slavery and gladiatorial battle truly have. Crassus and a group of Romans come to Capua to visit the *ludus* or gladiator school of Lentulus Batiatus. Here they insist on a fight to the death of two pairs of gladiators. Batiatus insists that they do not fight gladiators to the death in the school, but Crassus insists on the pairing and he offers to cover whatever the cost is. It is left up to the two women of the group to choose the pairs, Spartacus being among the group. As they fight, Draba, the gladiator chosen to fight Spartacus, attempts to kill Crassus and the group and is killed in the process. Draba's body is then hung in the slave quarters in order to remind them what rebellion would bring about. This moment is important for a lot of reasons in the film, the most important being that it is one of the driving forces behinds Spartacus's rebellion, but it also is meant to highlight the barbarity of the gladiator duels and the mean by which they were chosen.

Faced with a similar situation later in the film, Spartacus refuses to let his men fight Romans to the death as gladiators. Spartacus speaks to the group: "Noble Romans, fighting each other like animals. Your new masters betting to see who will die first." He orders the Romans to

“drop your swords.” They do and the other former gladiators get upset. Crixus, one of the former gladiators proclaims: “I want to see their blood. Right over here were Draba died. When I fight matched pairs, they fight to the death.” Spartacus responds: “I made myself a promise Crixus. I swore that if I ever got out of this place I’d die before I’d watch two men fight to the death again. Draba made that promise too. He kept it. So will I.” He tells the Romans to get out and then he addresses the whole group again: “What are we Crixus? What are we becoming Romans? Have we learned nothing? What’s happening to us?” Spartacus does not want them to be like the Romans, they are asked to be better than Romans. Spartacus stands as the morally upright *exemplum* who is willing to stand up when others fall into their baser desires. Never again do you see the army act in such a base way, and they strive from that point forward to free other slaves and to escape from Italy to their homes.

The film constantly reflects themes from the book but in most cases strives to represent these themes differently. The film, much like the novel, never invokes a cry for communism, but it constantly strives to show the power of the united community and the struggle of that community to fight against an evil and wicked Rome. In his final speech to the camp Spartacus says, “now instead of taking ship for our homes across the sea we must fight again. Maybe there’s no peace in this world, for us or for anyone else, I don’t know. But I do know that as long as we live, we must stay true to ourselves. I do know that we’re brothers and I know that we’re free. We march tonight!” Spartacus never seeks to place himself above anyone, even though he is clearly their leader. He considers everyone his brother or sister and in the end they all realize what they all represent. Spartacus was not just a man being portrayed by Kirk Douglas, he was an ideal, he was an *exemplum*, he was the representation of why they were all fighting. The outcome of the final battle exemplifies this point. When the Romans ask for the body or the whereabouts of Spartacus

each man in turn stands and shouts “I am Spartacus!” This can be read one of two ways. Either the remaining men hoped to prevent detection of Spartacus and the obvious punishment he would receive, or, they all saw themselves as Spartacus. He was not the lone man leading an army for a cause, the army and every member of it were Spartacus.

The film *Spartacus* constantly and recurrently uses themes from the novel *Spartacus*. This is necessary for an adaptation and as Hutcheon observes: “adaptation – that is, as a product – has a kind of ‘theme and variation’ formal structure or repetition with difference” (142). The significance of this adaptation is, to this day, still being felt. *Spartacus* appears in pop culture references ranging from *Seinfeld* to most recently the Tom Hanks film *Bridge of Spies*. The film, just like the screenplay, holds its own aura of authenticity and has continued the Spartacan tradition established by Fast’s novel. If one refers to Spartacus, at least in the United States, he or she will inevitably be reminded of the film. The novel and the movie are one and yet different. Where the novel uses a Roman perspective to show Spartacus as an *exemplum* seeking freedom and equality away from Rome, the movie uses Spartacus as an *exemplum*, fighting against Roman oppression, seeking freedom away from Rome. The character focus is different, but the message is the same. Although Trumbo moves away from Fast’s overall narrative structure, he never moves away from the underlying ideologies.

Following *Spartacus*’s 1960 release, Douglas’s movie became the bar for Spartacan adaptations. From that point onward mentioning Spartacus would invoke a response about the movie, how much they enjoyed it, how it was too long, how they had no idea Spartacus was a real person, etc. The film became an exemplary text inserted into the common social memory. Scholars like Winkler, Wyke, and Futrell have added a lot to trace not only the path Spartacan adaptations have taken, but the point many of them converge, namely at Fast’s book and Kubrick/Douglas’

film and although many do not directly influence the novel or the film, they took part in planting the seeds that converged to form this adaptation that is now a fixed point of reference. Since its inception, no Spartacan adaptation exists without using it as a point of reference. This is especially true of Damien Colman's Spartacan adaptation of this well-known film and book.

In 2015, Damien Colman wrote and produced a new Spartacan drama entitled *Spartacus "A Tale, a Myth, a Legend...A Fight for Freedom."* His drama is unique for many reasons, but one of the most important elements was the purpose of his performance. Colman wrote *Spartacus* for a program called Urban Sprawl, which is a theater company that employs homeless individuals or those who are at risk of being homeless. His travelling play has been performed at homeless hostels and performs a valuable function for the community. Any performance of this drama immediately draws the audience's attention to issues of class struggle beyond the drama. The drama itself focusses on Spartacus and his rebellion, much like many other Spartacan adaptations, but where the vast majority of other Spartacan adaptations choose either history or another adaptation as its basis, Colman chose to use Howard Fast and Kirk Douglass's *Spartacus* as his main points of reference. Colman's drama also takes in to account the historical accounts of Appian, Plutarch, and Sallust. Colman wants the audience to know from the start, as the narrator recounts, this is not a "piece of fluff fantasy brought to you by Hollywood" (2.20), but an important adaptation that combines a historical understanding of Spartacus with the tradition of Spartacan adaptations. Colman's drama is the most recent in long tradition of Spartacan reception and adaptation and it typifies Charles Martindale's (2006) idea of how classical reception "involves the acknowledgement that the past and the present are always implicated in each other" (12) and represents Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray's (2011) definition of classical reception as "the ways in which Greek and Roman material has been transmitted, translated, excerpted, interpreted,

rewritten, re-imagined and represented” (1). Through his intermingling of the historical account with the most well-known adaptation of it, Colman informs the audience how adaptation and history can be at odds with each other and in juxtaposing history and adaptation, at specific moments, Colman challenges how and what the audience has been informed and take for granted about Spartacus.

There are specific themes or plot necessities present in each adaptation of Spartacus. These themes revolve around the man Spartacus and his wife, the motivation for first escaping and then continuing to fight, Spartacus the general and his army of slaves, and the Romans, their attitude and important figures. Colman uses these themes in his adaptation. The narrator tells the audience this at the onset of the play:

I’m your humble narrator and filler of parts. Small parts, mostly. And we’re here to discover the story of a man, a myth, a legend, a fairytale - Spartacus, ‘whose deeds have been passed down to us across the centuries to serve as *exemplum* for rabble rousers, troublemakers, and hopeless optimists. (1.3)

Colman draws attention of his audience to how his adaptation differs from previous adaptations and he attempts to subvert what the audience knows about Spartacus.

In the film *Spartacus* (1960), Spartacus was only a descendant of slaves, working in the mines of Libya and not a deserter sold into slavery. The film begins with the narrator telling the audience:

In that same century, in the conquered Greek province of Thrace an illiterate slave woman added to her master’s wealth by giving birth to a son whom she named Spartacus. A proud rebellious son who was sold to living death in the mines of Libya before his thirteenth birthday. There under whip and chain and sun he lived out his youth and young manhood dreaming of the death of slavery, 2000 years before it would die. (*Spartacus* 1960)

As the narrator recounts the story of Spartacus’s early life, Spartacus saves another slave who has passed out from exhaustion. The guards attack him and knock him out. The scene shifts to a

caravan entering the mine carrying Batiatus, the historical *lanista* whom Spartacus rebels against.

The captain of the mine approaches him and addresses him:

Batiatus: Eleven miles through this disastrous heat, and the cost of hiring an escort ruinous. Even so I warrant you have nothing fit to sell have you captain. I have wasted both my time and my money. Tell me the truth.

Captain: I think we have a few you might be interested in.

Captain: This one here's not bad. He's a Gaul.

Batiatus: I don't like Gauls. Hairy. Can he come down from there unassisted?

Captain: Come down...come down!

Batiatus: Be good enough to show me the teeth.

Captain: Open your mouth!

Batiatus: Thank you! (He checks the teeth of the slave) To the teeth go so the bone....

Captain: This one's a Thracian. I'm making an example of him.

Batiatus: How?

Captain: Starve him to death.

Batiatus: Oh?

Captain: The only thing that impresses slaves.

Batiatus: Oh what a pity. (Touches him) He reacts, good muscle tone. Can I see his teeth?

Captain: Open your mouth Spartacus.

Batiatus: (Smelling him) You smell like a rhinoceros. Captain the teeth, you asked him to open his mouth, he doesn't obey you?

Captain: His teeth are the best thing about him. He hamstrung a guard with them no more than an hour ago.

Batiatus: Hamstrung? How marvelous. I wish I had been here. I'll take him. (*Spartacus* 1960)

This scene establishes the background for Spartacus in the movie and it has a significant role in Colman's drama. Colman wants his Spartacus to work as an *exemplum* and so he relies on the knowledge of his audience, using *Spartacus* (1960) as the initial site of exemplarity. This is significant for Colman because he uses this scene, almost verbatim, in his drama to inform the unknowing audience and to exploit the knowing audience's understanding of the film. This scene, between Batiatus and the narrator (acting as the captain of the mine), is as follows:

Batiatus: "Eleven miles through the disastrous heat...and the cost of hiring an escort – ruinous! Have you anything fit to sell me?" ...

Narrator: This one here's not bad. He's a Gaul.

Batiatus: I don't like Gauls. Hairy, pale and dumb. What about this one?

Narrator: This one's a Thracian. I'm making an example of him.

Batiatus: How?

Narrator: Starve him to death.

Batiatus: Oh?

Narrator: He attacked a guard not more than an hour ago, 'bit him on his calf, 'crippled.

He used to be a soldier, a Thracian Auxiliary with the Eighth, 'got sent direct to us after he deserted. I tell you – if *we* can't tame him, no-one can.⁶⁰

Batiatus: Good muscle tone. Can I see his teeth?

Narrator: Open your mouth, Spartacus!

Batiatus: He doesn't obey you? (1.3)

Colman sets the expectation of the audience by using the lines from Douglas's movie and intentionally subverts the audience's expectation by interjecting the lines they expect to be from the film with something from an ancient Spartacan narrative. Colman is informing the audience that Spartacus was not merely the son of a slave woman, but a soldier (Appian 1.14.116) and deserter. Colman's narrator relates Spartacus's being sold in Rome:

He was a mewling babe, a bumbling tot, a wide eyed infant filled with the vision of life, an invincible, impassioned youth making purpose of the expanding world around him, then a man, a warrior and finally a soldier, once for Thrace and then for Rome, marching and fighting for glory and honour. Yet he maimed, he killed his own countrymen, his kindred bent beneath the sword and forced to worship the standards. (1.5)

Here Colman is adding something new to his adaptation, a discussion of Spartacus as a baby, charting his life from birth, rather than focusing on Spartacus only during and after his life as a gladiator. Colman, again, subverts the audience's expectation of what they know about Spartacus. There are different types of audience members: those that have some knowledge of *Spartacus* (1960) and bring that knowledge with them to the drama, those without that knowledge of *Spartacus*. Those with only a historical knowledge of Spartacus and those with a knowledge of both. Hutcheon (2006) states that adapters "must satisfy the expectations and demands of both the knowing and the unknowing audience" (128), and Colman is doing just that in this scene.

This is not the only instance where Colman interweaves history and adaptation in his drama. The other notable moment is the end of Spartacus's life. The extent ancient Spartacan

⁶⁰ bolded for emphasis

narrative share similarities in how they recount Spartacus's death (Sallust 4.31, Plutarch 11.10, Appian 1.14,120). All of these sources agree that Spartacus dies fighting with the Romans. Colman treats the death of Spartacus, not as adaptation mingled with history, but rather he is more explicit in his treatment of Spartacus's death and the aftermath of the final battle.

Colman allows each character: Spartacus, Varinia, unnamed slaves, and Crassus all a final dialogue before discussing the aftermath. After these dialogues end, Crassus comes forward and announces what will become of the slaves. He says:

I, Marcus Licinius Crassus, the commander of Italy and Rome, am your new master. It was I who defeated you here today. It was I who drove you to this end. Now, in my generosity, I offer you a choice. Your lives are to be spared. Slaves you were...and slaves you remain. But the terrible penalty of crucifixion I will set aside...on the single condition that you identify the body...or living person of the slave called Spartacus
(Pause. Spartacus looks about him, and is about to stand when Slave #1 stands)
Slave #1: I'm Spartacus! (2.20)

Just as was the case with the purchasing of Spartacus, Colman uses lines similar to the film *Spartacus* to create this scene. In the film Crassus does not deliver the final edict, but a soldier.

"I bring you a message from your master, Marcus Licinius Crassus, commander of Italy. By command of his most merciful excellency your lives are to be spared. Slaves you were and slave you remain. The penalty of crucifixion has been set aside on the single condition that you identify the body or the living person of the slave called Spartacus. (Spartacus and Antonius stand at the same time and exclaim) I'm Spartacus (followed by all the others one by one exclaiming themselves to be Spartacus) (*Spartacus* 1960).

Immediately following this scene in the drama, Colman has the narrator tell us clearly why he chose this scene. The narration is what sets this scene apart from the film. The coupling of this scene with the narrator explicitly telling the audience: "but this isn't how the story ends, this piece of fluff fantasy brought to you by Hollywood. There was no brave final act, no display of solidarity. Spartacus's body was never found - we assume he was cut to pieces in the midst of battle, just another smear of blood in the dirt" (2.20). Colman is creating an adaptation which is, what Hutcheon (2006) calls, "not a slavish copying; it is a process of making the adapted material one's

own” (20). He is not subtly working in historical fact with a previous adaptation, he is using the adaptation and telling the audience that the romanticized adaptation is wrong and that Spartacus did in fact die fighting and was not saved by a grand gesture of his army and was not crucified at the gates of Rome, as the movie suggests.

Colman’s adaptation does not limit itself to these two usages of the film *Spartacus*. Colman explicitly quotes *Spartacus* one other time in his drama. The scene he chooses differs from the above scenes because it is not based on any historical account. It cannot be denied that Spartacus was transported to a school and he was initiated into this school, but the Greek and Roman authors are not concerned with this. Compare Coleman’s scene to the film:

Batiatus: Slaves... you have arrived at the gladiatorial school of Lentulus Batiatus!

Marcellus: Bow to your new master!

Batiatus: Here you will be trained by experts...

Batiatus: ...to fight in pairs to the death in the Arena, before *viri et matronae*, ladies and gentlemen of quality and who appreciate a fine kill.

Batiatus: Think of yourselves as prize stallions – to pampered, oiled, bathed, shaved, massaged, and most importantly you will be taught to use your heads. A toned and spritely body with a dull and stupid brain... well.

Batiatus: If you please me, you may be given the companionship of a young lady. If you learn and train well, you may live for five, maybe ten years. Some of you might even gain your freedom and become trainers yourselves. Like Marcellus, here. May Fortuna guide your way.

Batiatus: Marcellus, the second chap from the right, the Thracian, keep an eye on him. They were going to kill him for hamstringing a guard.

Marcellus: We'll break him of that.

Batiatus: Don't overdo it. He has quality. (1.4)

Again comparing this to *Spartacus* (1960):

Batiatus: Slaves...you have arrived at the gladiatorial school of Lentulus Batiatus. Here you will be trained by experts to fight in pairs to the death. Obviously you won't be required to fight to the death here. That'll only be after you have been sold and then for ladies and gentlemen of quality, those who appreciate a fine kill. A gladiator is like a stallion. He must be pampered. You will be oiled, bathed, shaved, massaged, taught to use your heads. A good body with a dull brain is as cheap as life itself. You will be given your ceremonial caudas...Marcellus please...there...Be proud

of them. On certain special occasions those of you who please me will even be given the companionship of a young lady. Approximately half our graduates live for 5, 10...10 years. Some of them even attain freedom and become trainers themselves...Marcellus (he bows) ...I congratulate you and may fortune smile on most of you. (To Marcellus) Marcellus watch the second from the right in front. They were going to kill him for hamstringing a guard.

Marcellus: We'll break him of that.

Batiatus: Don't overdo it Marcellus. He has quality.

Although many scenes in Colman's drama share congruities with their according film scenes, they never explicitly quote the film without providing some variation. Colman utilizes the repetition of this scene providing what Hutcheon (2006) calls: "part of the pleasure and the frustration of experiencing an adaptation" and it creates "familiarity bred through repetition and memory" (21).

Fast's novel prioritizes other's perspectives on Spartacus. Spartacus is only remembered in flashbacks. Douglas portrays a different Spartacus. The film, much like the book it is based on, relies on its own portrayal of Spartacus to create this character. He shares very little in common with the Spartacus presented in the ancient Spartacan narratives. The film, rather, chooses what Hutcheon refers to as being "framed in a context – a time and a place, a society and a culture" (142). Colman's drama interweaves itself with both the historical and the previous adaptation to create something very different. The interweaving of Colman's drama and the film *Spartacus* shows how he intends to inform and subvert the audience's knowledge of Spartacus at the same time.

Spartacus's wife, both historically and in adaptations, is a fairly complicated character. In large part this is due to the short singular reference to her in antiquity (Plutarch 8.4). This short description of her means that if any adapter wants Spartacus to have a wife, they are forced to create a character from very little historical information and in the majority of adaptations, they neglect the historical reference and create their own character. Colman, rather than creating a new character, uses Varinia, the character created by Howard Fast and later used in *Spartacus* (1960)

as a mouthpiece for women in the ancient world. In his novel, Howard Fast uses Varinia as an object to discuss marriage and desire. Her marriage to Spartacus is meant to represent the slaves ideal of marriage: “we will take no women, except as wife,” said Spartacus. “Nor shall any man hold more than one wife. Justice will be equal between them, and if they cannot live in peace, they must part. But no man may lie with any women, Roman or otherwise, who is not his lawful wife” (167). Varinia later becomes the object of Crassus’s desire. Near the end of the novel, Varinia has been captured by Crassus and is in his villa. He is paying her special attention and rather than treating her like a slave, he is attempting to make her his wife. Varinia says to him: “you can talk to me any way you please. You own me” to which Crassus replies: “I don’t want to own you Varinia. As a matter of fact, you own me just as completely. I want to have you the way a man has a woman.” Varinia replies: “I couldn’t stop you - any more than any other slave in the house could stop you” (328). In Fast’s novel, Varinia is defined more by her relationship to the men Spartacus and Crassus than as an individual. Although Spartacus treats her as an equal and Crassus attempts to treat her as an equal, she has only a small voice in the novel. This is important, especially in the way Colman’s Varinia exists in his drama.

Near the end of the play, when all the slaves are about to die or be crucified, Varinia has a long monologue following Spartacus. She says:

“My name is Varinia. I am a character invented by Howard Fast to provide a suitable counterpart to Spartacus in his 60s anti McCarthy era novel, although with a little modification by the writer of these words. **I hope I’ve done them justice. I am a woman, and for two thousand years my sex will count against me as it does you. I will be judged to have no soul. I will continue to be property, just as any slave.**⁶¹ And all I ever wanted will die here with me - freedom, equality, and justice. (2.19)

Colman creates a very different character than Fast. His Varinia is never the object of desire and is a strong female character, and more importantly she is used to give a voice to women. Colman

⁶¹ Bolded for emphasis

gives Varinia a strong voice and allows her to tell the audience what her outcome was. Varinia represents the thousands of women involved in this uprising who never had a voice. Colman's inclusion of the monologue is an important moment in the Spartacan tradition where women are finally given a part more than the object of desire or the womb that Spartacus, through his unborn son, could finally be free.

The motivation for Spartacus's rebellion varies from adaptation to adaptation. Each adaptation engages with the story of Spartacus differently and, as Hutcheon observes:

These ways of engaging with stories do not, of course, ever take place in a vacuum. We engage in time and space, within a particular society and a general culture... This explains why, even in today's globalized world, major shifts in a story's context – that is, for example, in a national setting or time period – can change radically how the transposed story is interpreted, ideologically and literally. (28)

Spartacus's motivation for escaping is always joined with the greater aim of the adaptation. Colman's adaptation is no different. Spartacus, in part of his closing monologue informs the audience about the end of his rebellion, he criticizes how his name will be used in the future and he expresses what Colman believes his aims are. Spartacus states:

My name is Spartacus. I was born twenty-one hundred years ago in the land of Thrace, modern Bulgaria, I am here today, in the Spring of 71 BC, with my tribe of slaves, we are trapped here, by the Siler River, with nowhere to go. I did not mean to stand as an example for the ages, I just wanted what we wanted, what you take for granted and still you do not possess. Freedom, equality, and justice. (2.19)

Again, Colman is criticizing previous adaptations with this. He is giving Spartacus a unique voice, not one filled with overly lofty ideals, but practical ambitions of achieving freedom for himself and his compatriots. And although Colman makes Spartacus an *exemplum*, he rejects the past and wants to represent Spartacus's motivations as fighting only for "freedom, equality, and justice" (2.19)

Although Colman gives Spartacus these very practical motivations, he chooses not to divorce his drama completely from Douglas's previous adaptation. Colman uses the death of Spartacus's gladiator friend Draba as the breaking point, driving him to rebel. Just as in Douglas's film, a group of Roman patrons come to Batiatus's gladiatorial school and they wish to have gladiator pairs fight to the death in honor of a Roman knight's dead father. Draba and Spartacus, who are friends, are compelled to fight one another. Once in the arena Draba refuses to fight Spartacus:

Batiatus: Fight, Draba, or I will have your head, by Mars!

Draba: It is not my head to lose!

Marcellus: Fight him, Draba!

Spartacus: Fight me, Draba, please!

Draba: Would you fight me, Spartacus? Are you not my friend?

Spartacus: Because you are my friend!

Roman Lord: I will take my custom elsewhere!

Batiatus: I will reimburse you, I have many fine warriors, we will provide you a battle, no less!

Marcellus: This is your last chance

Draba: Then I take it willingly

(Draba drops and places his spear carefully on the ground and smiles at Spartacus. Marcellus moves behind him and cuts his throat. Draba sinks to his knees...) (1.10)

Spartacus (1960) portrays the death of Draba slightly different. In the film, Spartacus and Draba are not friends, at least as far as the audience knows. In fact, based on their previous interactions, Draba refuses to be Spartacus's friend. When Spartacus first tries to speak to Draba, Draba tells him: "You don't want to know my name. I don't want to know your name. Gladiators don't make friends. If we're ever matched in the arena together, I'll have to kill you" (*Spartacus* 1960). When Spartacus and Draba are later paired together, Draba has a change of heart. He beats Spartacus in the arena and at the moment he is going to kill him, he turns and throws his trident at the Romans watching them fight. Draba rejects the Roman custom and through his act of defiance, takes his freedom back from the Romans. After throwing the trident he leaps up and attacks the terrified

Romans. Guards immediately jump to action and throw their spears into Draba's back, with Crassus delivering the final death blow to Draba's neck. Batiatus hangs Draba's body in the gladiator barracks adding fuel to the gladiator's fire (Figure 7). Although Colman changes Draba's death slightly, he has a continued reliance on previous adaptations in order to create his narrative and shows how "there is inevitable difference as well as repetition" (Hutcheon 114) in every adaptation.



Figure 7. Draba's body hanging in the ludus as other gladiators walk by, from Kubrick's *Spartacus*, 1960.

Dalton Trumbo criticized the scope of *Spartacus* (1960) in an eleven-page letter written to Kirk Douglas. One of the major critiques of the film, as it was being shot, was that Stanley Kubrick, the director was adopting what Trumbo called, a "small" view of *Spartacus*. This "small" view (Kubrick's) saw the revolt as a quick jailbreak and dash for the sea, requiring only one Roman detachment to quell it" (Ceplair 384). Trumbo believed in a "large" view of *Spartacus* which "posited the slave revolt as a major rebellion that shook the Roman Republic, lasted one year, involved a series of brilliant military maneuvers by the slaves, and required the entire Roman army

to defeat it” (ibid). The conflicting ideologies on how to portray Spartacus’s rebellion can be seen in the film *Spartacus*. The film never shows Spartacus’s army winning on the battlefield, rather it shows a montage with a map in the background showing the army marching south toward Rhegium. Because of this, the film, in large part, fails to live up to the power of its media. Hutcheon describes film as a “performing media, the emphasis is usually on the visual, on the move from imagination to actual ocular perception” (40). Apart from forfeiting the opportunity to show the battles of Spartacus, something no other previous visual adaptation attempts to do, the film fails to show the success of the historical Spartacus on the battlefield. Colman, although he never shows the battles, he reports the battle victories in order to show just how successful Spartacus was during the three years he marched through Italy, defeating eleven Roman generals on the battlefield.

Colman begins by recounting the defeat of Glaber, who, after reaching Mt Vesuvius, elects to “set up camp here and starve these silly slaves into submission” (1.10) yet he does not set up fortifications and when asked about it he responds: “Why ever would be do that, Centurion?... We are merely called upon to punish these unruly ingrates” (1.10) Surrounded, Spartacus and his generals devise a strategy to escape from the mountain. Spartacus declares “we’ll make ropes from vines and climb down out of sight and outflank them” (1.10). Spartacus and his army (“our 600 versus their three thousand”) “took them completely by surprise and cut them down where they stood” (1.10).

The defeat of Glaber is indicative of the initial Roman attitude toward the slave rebellion. They did not take it seriously. Colman is able to capture this attitude from the very beginning of his drama. After the reported raping and pillaging one senator exclaims: “We should send some ballet Dancers to bugger these slave scum! That’ll put the willies in ‘em!” (1.2), a clear attempt of Colman’s to remind the audience of the Bolshoi Ballet *Spartacus* (Figure 8).



Figure 8. Spartacus's Army in battle, from Khachaturyan and Grigorovich's *Spartacus*, 2008.

Upon returning to Rome, Glaber is forced to account for the loss. He tells the members of the senate: "They were just a bunch of slaves..." (1.10), mimicking Glaber's attitude in *Spartacus* (1960), "We arrived just after sunset. Sentries were posted every ten paces. We had to reason to expect an attack by night. And then again, they...they were just slaves" (*Spartacus* 1960).

After this defeat, Spartacus tells his army: "we will move north and break through to Gaul..." (2.3). As they march north, Colman shows the terror this roaming slave army inflicted on the Roman citizens. His play begins: "screaming babes in matrons' clasps and fathers shouting above the household din, shoulder packed on the Neapolitan Road, wild tales of rape and murder and slaughter and ravages and terrible omens and sacrilege and plundering and vandalism and..." (1.1). The army continues its rampage through the countryside: "and many more besides who've taken up his desperate cause, laying waste to farms and vineyards and orchards and houses and

villas and temples and olive groves left burning in the wake of their terrible rampage... (1.1). This represents one of the struggles Spartacus is constantly having with his army. The struggle manifests itself between Spartacus and Crixus throughout the drama. At the beginning of act two Crixus tells a surrounding crowd about his vision for Italy after they defeat the Romans. He proclaims: When we're done we'll have our own little Roman slaves running around after us - "Yes, master, no, master, sorry, master, please don't kill me, master! Just like we did for them. And look at me in the wrong way? Flayed and Boiled! D'you hear me!" (2.1). Spartacus hears him and asks: "Really, Crixus? The same as it was before?" (ibid). Crixus retorts: "It's not the same as it was before. Before it was them in charge - now it's us." (ibid). Spartacus snaps back: "So we'll be the Lords?" (ibid). Crixus replies: "Aren't we already?" (ibid). This attitude is reflected not only in the ancient sources but is a common theme in earlier Spartacan adaptation. This attitude towards the Romans is the only instance where Colman uses previous adaptations to describe the slave's attitude towards the Romans. Following the death of Oenomaus Spartacus tells Crixus:

We are what they have failed to become! We have learned from their mistakes because we are more the victims of those mistakes! We have become something more powerful, better, and kinder, Crixus. Because we value life, because we see each other's true worth, we share, we help each other, we are merciful... (2.2)

Colman is reflecting the aims of Spartacus in Lewis Grassie Gibbon and Howard Fast's *Spartacus*. Gibbon's Spartacus is attempting to create a utopian society. He tells his army: "this time will never be ours. For this is our proclamation as we march on Rome: that we come to free all slaves whatsoever, that in the new state we'll make even the Masters [Romans] will not be enslaved" (174). Fast's Spartacus has similar utopian ambitions:

What is Rome but the blood and sweat and hurt of slaves?' 'Is there anything we cannot make?' 'Then Rome will go to war with us.' 'Then we will go to war against Rome', said Spartacus quietly. 'We will make an end to Rome, and we will make a world where there are no slaves and no masters'... 'it will be the way it was in the old times, (166)

The major difference between Colman and these earlier adaptations is that Colman's Spartacus is not aiming for a utopian society. Even though this is the case, he does not seek to harm the Romans, only to fight for his, and his army's, freedom. Although he does not want to become cruel like the Romans, but he is unable to stop his army from being so.

The initial encounter between Spartacus and the two consuls takes place in act two scene three of Colman's drama. In this scene, there is a long back and forth exchange between Spartacus and Gannicus, pretending to be Clodianus. As the battle rages, Clodianus and Publicola separate their armies. Crixus insists on chasing after Publicola. He asks Slave #2: "do you think Spartacus'd mind if we had a little fun?" (2.3). Crixus and his troops chase after Publicola. Later in the act, Slave #2 reports back to Spartacus: "They wiped us out, sir. It was a trap..." Spartacus, shocked, asks: "Crixus?" "...Gone" (2.3). The death of Crixus causes Spartacus's only moment of weakness. He decides that Roman prisoners will fight in honor of the shade of Crixus. Varinia does not like this and questions Spartacus's resolve: "what are we doing, Spartacus, making prisoners fight to the death! In matched pairs, Spartacus, like dogs, jeering and baying, the slaves you freed but...something cruel...What have we become!" (2.3). Spartacus begins to amass victory after victory. The narrator relates:

These are the results of 72 BC. Firstly Picenum a couple of rematches. Slave army = 1 Consular Army under Clodianus = nihil" "also from Picenum latest in...Slave Army = 1 Consular Army under Publicola = nihil" "now from Modena we have Consular Army (numbering 10,000) under Longinus = nil Slave Army = 1" Therefore the results for 72 BC are = Slave Army = 5 Romans = 1. (2.6)

After these victories, Spartacus relents to the pleading of his army and turns back into Italy:

Slave #3: We are unstoppable!

Slave #1: Bring it on, I say!

Slave #3: Next stop, Rome!

Slave #1: They won't stand a bloody chance! (2.7)

This movement toward Rome and the defeat of the consular armies both force the Roman Senate to take drastic measures: “I propose we appoint Crassus!” (2.5). Crassus tells the senate that he will “cover the expense and hardship of recruiting, training, and equipping the necessary forces for this endeavor (as I had already offered to do). In return you will elect me praetor and you will assure me full Triumphal honours upon completion of this heavy task” (2.5).

Colman again subverts the expectation of the audience, by making Crassus more like a dictator than just a general, choosing to imitate Fast and *Spartacus*’s (1960) depiction of the Roman. Upon arriving at the army, Crassus chooses to decimate his army:

“Marcus Licinius Crassus will tolerate no cowardice in his armies nor sedition within his ranks. The word of Marcus Licinius Crassus will be obeyed without question. Without question! Marcus Licinius Crassus will not tolerate cowardice, by deed or word, nor any besmirchment of the Roman standards. Marcus Licinius Crassus therefore, in response to the gross cowardice as displayed by our Legions, decrees the reintroduction of decimation. That every tenth man from the offending legions will be chosen by lot and will thence be killed by his comrades as apology for fleeing from the field. And let this serve as a lesson that Marcus Licinius Crassus is more to be feared than this slave, Spartacus” (2.10)

The repeating of “Marcus Licinius Crassus” shows where he intends the loyalties of the army to be, to him and him alone. His tactics work and immediately after Crassus orders the decimation his army wins their first victory over Spartacus in act two scene eleven. Following this defeat, Spartacus makes his next move. He tells Varinia:

Rome was never in our grasp - it was just there to tantalize us, as it did Hannibal. Even if we could have taken Rome, we could never have held it. How do you hold on to eternity? Now we must decide. The Cilician Pirates have agreed to give us safe passage to Sicily, so we must fall back to the Straits of Messina and await them there. Once in Sicily we will establish a Republic. (2.12)

Crassus thwarts Spartacus’s plan and conducts “a separate agreement with the Cilician Pirates that they will NOT give safe passage to Spartacus, ‘that the slaves are in fact trapped between ourselves and the sea, and that I shall bring their reign of terror swiftly to its end” (2.13). Once again, Colman is relying on the ancient sources to slightly change the audience’s expectation. In *Spartacus* (1960),

the slaves do hire Cilician Pirates to sail them away from Italy, not to Sicily, but to their respective homes. Plutarch recounts: “after coming to an agreement and accepting gifts, the Cilician pirates double-crossed them and sailed away” (10.7). None of the ancient sources credit Crassus with deterring the Cilician pirates, and only Plutarch mentions that they “double-crossed him and sailed away” (10.7).

Crassus then builds a wall to contain Spartacus in the peninsula, but Spartacus is able to break through the wall and march east toward Brundisium (Plutarch 10.7-8 and Colman 2.17). Spartacus’s army splits again, and the second army, led by Canicius or Gannicus, is defeated (2.16). Finally, Spartacus is surrounded (Plutarch 11.3 & Appian 1.14.120) having been recalled by the senate at Crassus’s request (Plutarch 11.11). Spartacus and his army were finally defeated in 71 BCE by Crassus and his army. The outcome for the slaves, not because they were unwilling to give Spartacus up but because the Romans needed to send a message, was crucifixion on the Appian way. Colman ends his drama with this crucifixion:

6,000 of you slaves, you dirty mindless beasts, 'dragged from the field and nailed (your hands and feet), NAILED (feel the hammer) NAILED to wooden stakes then driven into the ground (imagine the pain, the suffering) along the entire length of the Appian Way, all 120 miles of it, from Rome to Capua, and left to suffocate in agony (all hope erased) to die (broken) and to rot over the months, food for crows and dogs, humiliated even in death, as a dire warning to you! This is what you get! This is what you get if you defy your owners and masters! This is what happens when you dare to question the natural order of things! There is no utopia, no haven, no paradise where all are equal, and nor will there ever be such a thing! Did not the gods appoint us to have dominion over all the world! Would you question our divine right to rule! (2.20)

A grisly scene to end the drama, but a scene that was no match for the real crucifixion.

Colman’s *Spartacus* “*A Tale, a Myth, a Legend...A Fight for Freedom*” differs from previous adaptations of Spartacus in how he subverts his audience’s expectations. He not only relies on multiple sources in writing his drama, he is able to utilize the complicated and confused social memories of his audience and leads to his audience through his original Spartacan drama.

Colman uses each of these sources sometimes when the audience might expect something altogether different. Colman is able to combine the ancient Spartacan narratives with modern Spartacan adaptations to create a drama that complicates but also enriches any scholarly discussion of Spartacus. His is a culmination of numerous narratives, tragedies, novels, and films and he allows Spartacan scholarship to move forward, aware of the ancient Spartacan narratives but also mindful of everything in between that informs each audience member.

When Howard Fast wrote his novel *Spartacus*, he was living in a United States he saw as broken. He was imprisoned and removed from his community. He recognized that he needed to create a story portraying a positive *exemplum*, someone who could bring change and hope. His choice to create a Spartacan narrative allowed him use one of America's favorite stages as its site for exemplarity. As he wrote, he used Rome in a similar way to many of the modern authors of Spartacan narratives, as a place where corruption or slavery is so rampant and the people have become so corrupt that it lacks a positive *exemplum* until a slave is able to rise up and provide them with the exemplary model they need. In Fast's novel, Spartacus fulfills this exemplary function. *Spartacus* (1960), as an adaptation of that novel fulfills a similar exemplary role, only one that moves onto the screen. For Colman's tragedy, as he uses both the established Spartacan literary and exemplary tradition, he is able to subvert his audience's expectation. His work brings the ancient and modern authors of this Spartacan literature together to create something new and old at the same time. Ultimately, Colman reflects the current trends of Spartacan literature and how people receive that literature. It is through these adaptations that people come to know who Spartacus was and is, because for each he can, and often does, signify something different. And as this literature is constantly evolving, it becomes increasingly necessary to remind audiences, as

Colman did, that there is a rich tradition of Spartacan Literature, and it is through an understanding of all this literature that one can under Spartacus.

CONCLUSION

The opening slide of the 1913 silent film *Spartaco* states: “Spartacus’ is a romance of ancient Rome founded upon the famous revolt of the gladiators -- and while fiction is intermingled with history, it is withal a true, vivid and colorful story of Pagan Rome” (*Spartaco* 1913). This slide emphasizes the ongoing discussion of the plethora of representations of Spartacus in popular culture and the continuing influence these representations exert through their blurring of this historical figure with local themes and ideologies of modern authors. Each production, literary text, and performance draws from Ancient Greek and Latin sources, infusing the information with contemporary social issues to create an updated retelling of Spartacus. This process has created a split in scholarship about Spartacus, between a historical emphasis on Spartacus, which focusses on both the historical and the sociological impact Spartacus had on Rome, and Spartacan literature, which focusses on the representations of Spartacus in popular culture. This dissertation shows how this split in scholarship has hindered those who take the ancient sources of Spartacus at face value. Rather, it is arguing that Spartacus had an exemplary function in the ancient world and that each of those ancient authors use Spartacus, in much the same way as modern authors do. Understanding this allows a reconciliation between the ancient sources and modern adaptations, creating a common language through which to discuss both.

From the very first time Caesar put pen to paper, and he reported his speech given in Gaul he began a tradition that would continue to this very day. In the speech, he reminds his soldiers that a Roman army had beaten group of Gauls in Italy, even after they had taught them to fight. Caesar’ reference to Spartacus and his gladiator army show the first instance of an author using Spartacus as an *exemplum*. Caesar does not use Spartacus any more than to align himself and others with past great generals, and yet with this first instance Caesar was establishing the language of

discourse for Spartacus that we use now. Cicero would perpetuate this usage, slinging the name Spartacus around as an inflammatory insult at his enemies. To be a Spartacus was a heavy insult to bear, being one of the biggest threats Rome had seen. Later ancient authors would continue to perpetuate Spartacus's use as an *exemplum*. Sallust, even if his works are fragmentary, clearly used Spartacus to discuss the degeneration of the Roman army during the late Republic. Plutarch, writing during the second sophistic, uses Spartacus as an *exemplum* and foil to Crassus, giving him a mimetic function, something inherent in an *exemplum*. Appian creates a Spartacus who accomplishes his thematic objectives of showing the degeneration of the Republic because of the constant quarrels between the plebeians and patricians allowing Spartacus to be an outlet for the former to rebel against the later in a different way. Each of these authors find different ways to use Spartacus as an *exemplum*. Moving into the modern world, this practice continues, creating a common language for discussing Spartacus.

By the mid-eighteenth-century Spartacus had once again begun to be deployed as an *exemplum* by several different authors. Each of these authors creates a very different Spartacus for their exemplary model, although still one that informs the audience about part of an ongoing struggle of their own age. Much like was the case in Rome, for any of the adaptations to work, they would rely on an established cultural knowledge of the classics in order for the *exemplum* of Spartacus to carry its greatest weight. For Bernard-Joseph Saurin, Spartacus exemplifies a hero of the French Revolution who sees liberty, equality, and fraternity as the ultimate goals of anyone. Spartacus cannot be deterred in Saurin's play, rather, Spartacus is betrayed and loses his lover all because he places these values above his own life. Susanna Strickland similarly addresses a prevalent issue of her day through her discussion of Spartacus as a freedom fighter seeking to end the institution of slavery. Spartacus, who even befriends Crassus's son cannot dissuade Spartacus

that for all to truly be happy there would need to be an end to slavery. Robert Montgomery Bird's *The Gladiator* reminds the audience of the brutality and inhumanity of slavery. It was important to address the disagreement in scholarship about whether or not *The Gladiator* was an abolitionist play or not. This point can be argued over and over, but what appears clear in the play is that the destruction of a slave system is a necessary outcome within the play itself. Slaves are the heroes and those who buy and sell slaves are the villains.

The modern adaptations are the hardest to discuss because of their sheer volume. The original scope of this dissertation was to address each modern adaptation and show the exemplary function found within the medium. This scope was too broad and will be something to pick up as this research continues. Rather than focus on all of these adaptations, this dissertation focuses on three, the first a combination of Howard Fast's *Spartacus* (1951) and Kirk Douglas's *Spartacus* (1960), and then showing the effects these two Spartacan adaptations had on Damien Colman's (2105) *Spartacus "A Tale, a Myth, a Legend...A Fight for Freedom."* The parallel analysis of these three pieces of literature demonstrate how different literary compositions work in tandem as a line of adaptation. Fast, who writes his novel, clearly relying on Plutarch and Appian, generates a new retelling of Spartacus. This novel, as it is turned into a film goes through several changes that shift the exemplary focus on Spartacus. Where Fast uses Spartacus to exemplify a leader establishing a communist/slave utopia, Douglas's Spartacus exemplifies a strong leader who only wants to live in peace with his brothers and sisters where they are no longer faces with the burden of labor. Colman uses this well-known adaptation and takes it one step further, bringing this discussion full circle back to where it began with a blurring of ancient and modern Spartacus. Colman subverts the expectation of his audience as the performers directly quote Douglas' *Spartacus*, and yet they interject information found in Appian or Plutarch.

The aims of this dissertation were to reconcile the ancient Spartacan narratives with their modern adaptations. By demonstrating the exemplary function of Spartacus in the ancient Greek and Roman sources, a dialogue is created. This dialogue allows further research into what all of these Spartacan representations can tell us. Not only can they tell us about how each author viewed their own world, but how someone has their “I’m Spartacus” moment within that world.

APPENDIX

ROMANS DEFEATED BY SPARTACUS

	73 BC	72 BC	71 BC
Consul		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lucius Gellius Publicola (d) (Pl) - according to Sallust, defeats Crixus ➤ Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus (d) (Pl, Flo) <p>Appian only mentions “2 consuls”</p>	
Consular Legate			
Praetor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Caius Clodius Glaber (d) (Pl, App, Flo, Sal, Livy) ➤ Publius Varinius (d) (Pl, App, Flo, Sal, Livy) ➤ Publius Valerius (d) (App) ➤ Quintus <u>Arrius</u> (Livy) - defeats Crixus ➤ Lucius Cossinius (d) (Pl) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ <u>Cnaeus Malius</u> (d) (Livy) 	
Praetorian Legate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Lucius Furius [Varinius] (d) (Pl) 		
Quaestor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Caius T[h]<u>oranius</u> (d) (Flo, Sal) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Cnaeus Tremellius Scrofa (d) (Pl)
Pro-Consul		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Caius Cassius Longinus (d) [Cisalpine Gaul] (Pl, Flo, Livy) ➤ Marcus Licinius Crassus (Livy) - Defeats <u>Castus</u> and <u>Gannicus</u> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marcus Licinius Crassus Dives (Pl, App [has him as praetor], Flo, Sal) - awarded <u>ovatio</u> by the Senate ➤ Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus - defeats the camp and rounds up remnants of Spartacus’ army
Pro-Consular Legate		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Mummius (d) [Crassus] (d) (Pl) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Quintus Marcius Rufus (d) [Crassus] (Pl)

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CURRICULUM VITAE

Benjamin Franklin Howland
Comparative Literature PhD Candidate
Louisiana State University
&
Instructor of Latin
Southeastern Louisiana University
Phone: (765) 418-5557
Email: benjamin.howland@selu.edu

Academic Record

Educational History

- Ph.D., Louisiana State University (LSU), Comparative Literature, 2020
 - Thesis, *The Exemplary Spartacus: Reception, Adaptation, and Reconstruction*
- M.A., Indiana University, Classical Studies (Latin), 2014
- M.A., Purdue University, Comparative Literature, 2010
- B.A., Purdue University, Classical Studies & History, 2007
 - Anatolian Archeology Field School, Turkey: Summer, 2006
 - Discovery Park Undergraduate Research Internship (DURI): Spring, 2006

Membership in Academic, Professional, and Scholarly Societies

The Classical Association, UK
Classical Association of the Middle West and South (CAMWS)
Eta Sigma Phi
Modern Languages Association (MLA)
Society of Classical Studies (formerly APA)
Louisiana Classical Association (LCA)

Keynote Addresses

- “Spartacus: The Man and the Myth”, Eta Sigma Phi Sponsored Talk, Wabash College, 16 September 2010.
- “Rome: The Public and the Private”, Purdue Classics Association Lecture Series, 8 April 2010.

Academic/Conference Talks

- “The Birth of a Discipline: White Supremacy and Classics in late 19th-century America”. Society of Classical Studies (SCS) Annual Meetings, Virtual Conference. 5-10 January 2020.
- “The κύκλος Klan and the Dark-side of Classics”. 114th Annual Classical Association of the Middle West and South (CAMWS) Conference, Albuquerque, NM 11-14 April 2018.
- “*Spartacus* and Ancient Sex Trafficking”. 39th Annual Southwest Popular/American Culture Association (SWPACA) Conference, Albuquerque, NM, 7-10 February 2018.

- ““He could destroy us”: Oedipus, Palpatine, Vader and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy”, The Classical Association Annual Conference 2017, University of Kent (UK), 27 April 2017.
- Panel on Teaching World Literature, “Literature and Its Boundaries”, 1st Annual Languages and Literature Conference, Louisiana State University, 25 March 2017.
- “Spartacus: The Man and the Myth”, 11th Annual Postgraduate Symposium on Ancient Drama (APGRD) Postgraduate Symposium, "Journeys", Oxford (UK) and Royal Holloway: University of London, 27 June 2011.
- “Schliemann: Scandal in Indiana”, Classics in Indiana Symposium, Purdue University, 31 March 2011.
- “The Slave Rebellion of Spartacus”, Indiana Classical Conference, 31 March 2007.

Conferences Organized

- “Time, Consciousness, and Exile”, 2nd Annual Languages and Literature Conference - Comparative Literature Graduate Association, 9-10 March 2018.
- “Classics in Indiana Symposium”, Purdue University, 31 March 2011.

Panels Facilitated

- “The Ancient Greek and Roman Slave Narrative”, Transhistorical and Inter-Disciplinary Approaches to Slavery, Purdue University, 26 September 2013.

Podcast Contributions

- “Star Wars and Classical Reception”, Classical Confidential: Talking about Ancient Greece and Rome. 25 July 2017. <https://classicsconfidential.co.uk/2017/07/25/star-wars/>

Teaching/ Instructor of Record

Southeastern Louisiana University - Instructor

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| • Latin 202: Latin | Fall 2020
Spring 2020 |
| • Latin 201: Latin | Fall 2020
Spring 2020
Fall 2019 |
| • Latin 102: Intermediate Latin | Fall 2020
Spring 2020
Fall 2019 |
| • Latin 101: Introduction to Latin | Fall 2020
Spring 2020
Fall 2019 |

Louisiana State University - Graduate Teaching Assistant

- CLST 2101: Greek Civilization (Online)
Spring 2019
Fall 2018
Summer 2018
Spring 2018
- CPLT/ENGL 2201: Ancient World Literature
Fall 2017
Spring 2017
Fall 2016
- Lain 2051: Intermediate Latin
Spring 2016
- CLST 2090: Greek and Roman Mythology
Summer 2016
Summer 2015
- Latin 1001: Introduction to Latin
Fall 2015
Spring 2015
Fall 2014

Indiana University - Graduate Teaching Assistant

- CLAS-209: Medical Terminology
Fall 2013
Fall 2012

Purdue University - Graduate Teaching Assistant

- CLCS 330: Greek Literature in Translation
Fall 2009

Teaching Assistantships**Louisiana State University**

- CPLT 8900: Teaching World Literature Practicum
Fall 2019
Fall 2018
Fall 2016
Spring 2016

Indiana University

- CLAS C101: Greek Culture
Spring 2014
- CLAS C205: Classical Mythology
Spring 2013
Fall 2013

Purdue University

- CLCS 380: Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic World
Spring 2010
- CLCS 181: Classical World Civilizations
Fall 2009
- CLCS 335: Classical Mythology
Fall 2009
- CLCS 381: Julius Caesar, Statesman, Soldier, Citizen
Spring 2009
- CLCS 330: Greek Literature in Translation
Fall 2008
- CLCS 237: Gender and Sexuality in Greek and Roman Antiquity
Fall 2008

Service

- Assistant Coordinator - College Greek Exam - 2015-2018
- Treasurer - LSU Comparative Literature Graduate Association - 2018, 2016
- Vice President - LSU Comparative Literature Graduate Association - 2017
- Content Tutor - Louisiana State University Athletic Department- 2016
- Content Tutor - Indiana University - 2011-2012
- Student Worker - Purdue Art Galleries - 2006-2007
 - assisted in the installation of small galleries and gallery monitoring
- *Hyparchos* - Purdue Chapter of Eta Sigma Phi – 2006-2007
- Vice President - Purdue Classics Association – 2006-2007

Awards

- Graduate School Dean's Travel Award – April 2017
- Graduate Student Travel Award – March 2017

Academic References

1. Professor Greg Stone
Professor of French and Comparative Literature, LSU
Address: Department of French Studies
405 Hodges Hall
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge LA 70803
Phone: (225) 578-6627
E-mail: stone@lsu.edu
2. Dr. Patrice Rankine
Dean of the School of Arts and Sciences, Professor of Classics, University of Richmond
Address: Office of the Dean
School of Arts & Sciences
Boatwright Library Administration Wing
28 Westhampton Way
University of Richmond VA 23173
Phone: (804) 289-8416
Email: prankine@richmond.edu
3. Professor Solimar Otero
Professor of Folklore
Address: Indiana University
Classroom Office Building
800 E. 3rd St., 213
Bloomington, Indiana 47405
Phone: (812) 855-2732
Email: solioter@iu.edu