

Sallust notes 9-10

IX

"the emphasis is on *mores* both in war and peace. This concentration on the moral aspect gives rise to a generalised and idealised picture, deliberately contrived to heighten the contrast with the picture of deterioration which follows in chs. 10-13." (McGushin, *ad loc.*).
Igitur: "signalling a return to the topic interrupted by the digression in chapt. 8" (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

domī...: at home and abroad; locatives.

concordia maxima (erat et): add a verb. "*concordia* is the leading concept chosen by S. to characterise the period of greatness, just as *avaritia* becomes the leading concept of his picture of the decline in chs. 10-13." (McGushin, *ad loc.*).

maxima [=maxima], minima: note the contrasting juxtaposition. Lots of antithesis in this passage. With the surrounding nouns= chiasmus. "*minima*: virtually equivalent to *nulla* and used here to balance *maxima*; the antithesis is strengthened by the chiasmic arrangement of the two nouns and adjs. S. delays the introduction of *avaritia* as a serious factor until 10.3ff. The insistence on *concordia* is a willful distortion because it ignores the bitter internal disputes between the plebeians and patricians that occupied so much of the first two centuries of the Republic. True concord between the two rival orders was not established until the *lex Hortensia* was passed in 287 B.C. giving the plebeian assembly the right to pass laws binding on the whole *populus*." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

iūs bonumque: justice and goodness; a substantive. "note that *ius* ("right," "justice") may be enforced by a set of laws or statutes but is never defined by these laws. It exists absolutely and provides an absolute standard according to which the laws themselves may be judged as either good or bad." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

valebat: "sing. because the compound subject *ius bonumque* ("right and goodness") is viewed as forming a single concept." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

lēgibus, nātūrā: because of...; abl. of cause; "by nature," i.e., their natural disposition." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

iūrgia (et) discordiās (et) simultātēs: accusatives. "It omits such well-attested features as troubles with armies, the growth of wealth and luxury, demoralisation and unrest at home..." (McGushin); "Apparently S. 's liking for asyndetic lists (Introd . p . 14) sometimes triumphs over brevity : one word would have sufficed for iurgia discordias simultates" (McGushin).

supplicii: in the supplications; i.e. prayers (Steadman; McGushin suggests archaism for *supplicationibus*; cf. Ramsey "*suppliciis* = *supplicationibus* ("acts of worship") here and at 52.29 (lit., "bending the knee in worshipping the gods"). This meaning of the word *supplicium* is archaic and is never found in Cic. or Caes., where it always means punishment or torture." Note variety of expression (domī: at...; locative, place where, then in amīcōs: toward...in relation to...): "to produce *inconcinntas*" (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

magnifici (et)...parci...fidēlēs (erant): all three are nom. pred. of erant, 'they were'.

duābus hīs artibus: abl. of means. "'practices," ...; abl. of means, further specified by *audacia* and *aequitate*, which are chosen for the sake of alliteration. *Audacia* is used here, and occasionally elsewhere, in a positive sense ("daring" rather than "recklessness")." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

audācia...aequitāte: in apposition to abl. pl. artibus.

ubi pāx ēvēnerat: when...; parallel to in bellō and qualifying aequitāte. "deliberately substituted for *in pace* (used below 9.5) to produce *inconcinntas* by avoiding balanced parallel phrases in chiasmus; for the plupf. indic. in a temporal *ubi* clause, vid. 6.5n. *propulerant*." (Ramsey *ad loc.*).

sēque remque pūblicam: both...and... “the combination *-que ... -que*, which S. frequently employs to join two words, is archaic and poetic. With one exception, the first member of the pair is always *me* or *se*.” (Ramsey ad loc).

quārum rērum: of these things.

habēō: I consider (x) (y); governs a double acc.: *haec* as object and *documenta* as pred.

quod: (namely) that...; appositive to *haec*. “the conj. introducing the first of two substantive clauses standing in apposition with *documenta haec* (“the following proofs,” “examples”): = “namely the fact that ...” (Ramsey ad loc).

vindicātum est: they inflicted punishments; ‘it was punished,’ impersonal pf. pass. “those were punished” (lit., “punishment was exacted against those who ...”); *in* with the acc. occurs with *vindicare* only in the passive voice, which is always impersonal.” (Ramsey ad loc).

qui ... pugnaverant: cf. 52.30 T. Manlius Torquatus ordered the execution of his own son for fighting a unauthorized duel. “Likewise A. Postumius Tubertus, dictator in 431 B.C., is said to have ordered his son to be executed for engaging the enemy contrary to orders (Livy 4.29.5–6; Val. Max. 2.7.6), and Q. Fabius Maximus, Master of the Horse, barely escaped the death penalty through the intervention of the senate and army after he had defied the order of his superior and fought a successful engagement against the Samnites in 325 B.C. (Livy 8.30–36; Val. Max. 2.7.8). (Ramsey ad loc).

imperium: command; i.e. against orders.

in hostem: against... “the sing. is used in a collective sense in place of the more usual pl.” (Ramsey ad loc).

quīque: and who...; ‘et quī’

tardius: comparative adv. ““too slowly,” put first in the relative clause for the sake of emphasis, but to be taken with *excesserant* rather than the participle *revocati*.” (Ramsey ad loc).

proeliō: from...; abl. of separation.

quam: that (those)...; following *saepius*; “*quam qui*: = *quam (in eos) qui*, completing the comparison introduced by *saepius*. (Ramsey ad loc).

signa: military standards; i.e. retreated.

loco: from their position; abl. of separation. “sc. *suo*, “(their assigned) position,” abl. of separation best taken with *cedere*, which corresponds to *proelio excesserant* just above, while *pulsi* (“routed”) is used absolutely and balances *revocati* in the earlier clause. (Ramsey ad loc).

ausī erant: plpf. semi-deponent audeō.

“Just as in time of war *virtus* expresses itself in *audacia* and endurance, so in peace it is marked by the *artes* - *iustitia*, *aequitas*, *continentia*.” (McGushin, ad loc.).

in pace vērō quod: and that in peace in fact...; a 2nd quod-clause in apposition to *haec*, 3 lines above; vērō is an adv.

beneficiīs, metū: abl. of means, i.e. behaved as patrons bestowing favors (beneficia) on client-states.

acceptā iniuriā: abl. abs.

persequi: sc. *eam* from *accepta iniuria*.

X

labōre atque...: because of...; abl. cause.

crēvit: pf. Crescō.

reges magni: “e.g., Philip V and Perseus of Macedon, Antiochus the Great of Syria. These kings were the last representatives of the dynasties founded in the eastern Mediterranean in

the 4th cent. B.C. by the successors to Alexander the Great (the so-called *diadochi*). Their kingdoms began to fall to Rome one by one in the 2nd cent. B.C.” (Ramsey ad loc).
domitī (sunt)...subāctī (sunt)...interiit: 3p pf. pass., all verbs in the same ubi clause.

nationes ... populi: “together forming a class separate from monarchies; the first word refers to loosely organized societies such as the native tribes of Spain and North Africa. *Populus*, on the other hand, implies a higher degree of formal organization such as Carthage enjoyed and the various states in Italy and Sicily which Rome eventually incorporated into the commonwealth by grants of full or partial citizenship.” (Ramsey ad loc). Note variety with actives and passives in this sentence. “subdivisions of a class distinct from that denoted by *reges*. *Populus* denotes a community enjoying an organised life and constitution, *natio* such a people as the Spaniards, Alpine Gauls, Thracians, etc. ('tribe'). The Carthaginians would form a *populus*.” (Summers, ad loc.)

vī: by force; irreg. abl. sg. of vīs.

ab stirpe: “utterly” (lit., “from the root”). After the capture of Carthage in the Third Punic War (149–146 B.C.) by the Younger Scipio, the city was razed, a curse was pronounced upon the site, and the ground was symbolically ploughed up and sown with salt. Approximately one hundred years elapsed before resettlement was successfully carried out by Julius Caesar and Augustus. The corrupting influence of peace and prosperity is a *topos* which S. may have found in Cato among others (e.g., Cato, fr. 122, 163 ORF³). Likewise, the belief that union at home is fostered by the fear of a foreign enemy is well grounded in tradition (e.g., Xen. Cyr. 3.1.26; Plato, *Laws* 698Bff.; Arist. *Pol.* 1334a–b; Polyb. 6.18, 6.57.5). Most historians before S., however, placed the crisis in Roman society that led to a process of accelerating moral decay well before the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. Various dates were given for this turning point: e.g., 187 B.C. when Manlius Vulso's army returned from Asia (Livy 39.6.7, drawing on the early annalists); 168 B.C. following the collapse of the Macedonian Kingdom (Polybius 31.25.3ff.); 154 B.C. (L. Calpurnius Piso, fr. 38 HRR). Possibly the important role played by the Elder Cato in advocating the destruction of Carthage is what drew S.'s attention to this event and led him, in preference to the annalistic tradition, to view the removal of Carthage as the turning point in Roman history. Significantly one of the main arguments employed by Scipio Nasica, who opposed Cato and advocated the preservation of Carthage, was the danger that Rome would grow soft in the absence of a threat from abroad. (Ramsey ad loc).”

Carthāgō aemula imperi: imperi = objective genitive dependent on *aemula*. S chooses 146 BC (when Carthage was destroyed) as his turning point and thus S. rejects a well-established tradition that by the middle of the 2nd cent. the processes which eventually destroyed the Republic were already at work. This is not the result of ignorance. The reason seems to lie in his concentration on an aspect of the period which appears in Cato, Polybius, Piso and Livy. His emphasis is on *concordia*, the result of *virtus*, which made Rome great. By concentrating on this factor and ignoring concomitant aspects of a most complex situation, such as factions among the nobility, increase in public and private wealth etc., S. produces a generalised and idealistic account.” (McGushin, ad loc.).

maria terraeque: “here and at 53.2, S. deliberately reverses the normal order of words in this familiar combination for the sake of variety. (Ramsey ad loc).

patēbant (et)...coepit: main verbs. “*patebant*: “lay exposed,” i.e., accessible, subject to Rome's control. This is the fifth and last verb in a series dependent on the temporal conj. *ubi*; a switch in tense to the impf. is made because the statement is descriptive in contrast with the other four verbs.” (Ramsey ad loc).

fortuna: “S. uses this word in two slightly different senses: (1) mere chance or fate over which man has no control whatsoever (e.g., [8.1](#), [34.2](#), [41.3](#), [51.25](#), [53.3](#), [58.21](#)) and (2) good or bad fortune, as here, which is influenced by the presence or absence of *virtus* and *boni*

mores (e.g., [2.5](#), [20.14](#))". (Ramsey ad loc). "Stated briefly, his thesis is that *virtus* and *fortuna* are fused in contexts of action and activity. The stronger and wider the influence of *virtus*, the more reduced is the influence of *fortuna*. This is the meaning behind *saevire fortuna coepit*. Once *virtus* and the *bonae artes* it implies are laid aside *fortuna* is allowed free play." (McGushin, ad loc.)

quī...tolerāverant...iīs: to those who...; the antecedent of quī is dat. pl. eīs. "the relative clause is placed before its antecedent *eīs* to stress the contrast between former times and the change that occurred after prosperity became prevalent." (Ramsey ad loc).

rēs: circumstances, situations.

otium divitiaeque: "most MSS omit the *-que*; asyndeton, however, is rare with only two words except in formulas and agitated discourse; *labores*, *pericula* above might be cited as a parallel if we take *dubias atque asperas res* as an appositive (balancing *optanda alias*) defining the preceding pair, rather than the third member of a series." (Ramsey ad loc).

optanda: things worthy to be desired elsewhere; gerundive and adv. "'desirable (things)" (lit., "to be desired"). This reading is preferable to *optandae*, which is better attested in the MSS, since adjs. or participles are generally made neut. pl. when they modify two or more abstract nouns of different genders. In the same way, the demonstrative pronoun *ea* below (10.3), which stands for *pecuniae cupido et imperi cupido*, is neut. pl. rather than f." (Ramsey ad loc).

alias: "adv., "in other circumstances" in a temporal sense—the only occurrence of this word in S. An alternative reading, the dat. *aliis*, which is found in most MSS, also makes sense in this context (i.e., desirable things for others as opposed to the Romans who found them burdensome), but it is less likely to have been altered to *alias* (the *lectio difficilior*) than the other way around." (Ramsey ad loc).

onerī...fuēr(unt): serves as...; a double dative: dat. of interest /predicative dative (eīs) and dat. of purpose, 3p pf.

pecuniae ... imperi: "obj. genitives depending on *cupido* and further defined in the following sections as *avaritia* (10.4) and *ambitio* (10.5). The introduction of these vices by the words *primo ... deinde* is in apparent conflict with S.'s statement below (11.1) where he claims that at first *ambitio* rather than *avaritia* had a greater influence. This latter assertion, however, does not provide sufficient justification for emending the present passage to *primo imperi, deinde pecuniae* as Nipperdey proposed to do. Note that *avaritia* is recognized as a factor even before serious corruption was felt (9.1), and in this chapter S. takes up each vice in his analysis of its characteristics according to the order in which it is first introduced. This is the way S. ordinarily develops two separate topics that are first mentioned together and then treated individually (e.g., [9.3–5](#) *in bello, ubi pax*; [51.18–20](#) *metus aut iniuria*), although sometimes the arrangement is deliberately chiasmic (e.g., [46.2](#) *cura atque laetitia*)." (Ramsey ad loc).

ea: these; i.e. *cupīdō pecūniae et imperī*. "One might have expected that the gender would be attracted into the f. sing. by the predicate nom. *materies*, but this is not the case since *fuere* shows that the subject is pl. For the use of the demonstrative rather than the rel. pron. introducing a subordinate clause, vid. [8.1n](#). *ea*." (Ramsey ad loc).

fuēre= fuēunt: syncopated 3p pf.

artīs: artēs.

subuortit: = *subuertit* (archaic).

prō: in place of..., instead of...;

superbiam, crūdēlitātem, deōs neglegere, omnia vērālia habēre: asyndeton with a lack of parallelism; four separate objects of the verb *ēdocuit*. Ramsey on *edocuit*: "taking four objects in pairs: 2 accs. and 2 infs. (cf. [5.9n](#). *disserere*); the last member of the series is the longest and provides a climax. Another acc. describing the persons taught (e.g., *homines*, *Romanos*) is understood with all four objects. Contrast the meaning of *habere* here (= "to

treat") with its meaning below in 10.5 ("to have"). S. often reproaches the Roman nobility for its venality." Note variety.

habēre: to consider (x) (y); 'to hold (x) (y)' governs a double acc.: obj. and acc. pred.

multōs mortālēs...subēgit: drove many mortals + several complementary infinitives. "*multos mortalīs*: "the further alliteration of *falsos fieri* adds weightiness to this statement. (Ramsey ad loc).

falsōs: deceitful; falsus is PPP of fallō but active in sense; predicate of inf. fiō. "*falsos*: "deceitful," amplified by the three infs. that follow *subegit*." (Ramsey ad loc).

subegit: "impelled" (=coegit), a common meaning in Plautus but never used by Cic. in this sense. The inf. with *subigo* is rare outside of S. as opposed to *ut* + the subjn." (Ramsey ad loc).

aliud...habēre: to have one thing...(and) another thing...; inf. governed by subēgit and parallel to fieri; aliud...aliud are objects.

clausum ... promptum: "the antithesis is reinforced by the chiasmic arrangement of the predicate adjs. and prepositional phrases." (Ramsey ad loc).

ex rē: according to real (worth). "according to its merit/true worth" as opposed to expediency" (Ramsey ad loc).

vultum: i.e. a deceitful facial expression. Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 9.312-313 (words of Achilles); McGushin cfs fragment of Ennius (possibly reworking the Homer) *eo ego ingenio natus sum: amicitiam atque inimicitiam in frontem promptam gero*.

Haec: "i.e., *avaritia* and *ambitio*". (Ramsey ad loc).

crēscere: grow; historical infinitive, haec, 'these (vices)' is neuter pl. subject. "*crescere ... vindicari*: historical infs., the latter illustrating S.'s freer use of this construction by extending it to verbs in the passive voice" (Ramsey ad loc).

post ubi: later, when...

contāgiō: "infection," "pollution" (containing the notion of something spread by contact, cf. *contingo*); the only occurrence of this word in S. It leads naturally to the comparison with an infectious disease (*pestilentia*—the stronger and more restricted term—always physical contagion in prose). Elsewhere S. employs *tabes* in the same sense as *pestilentia* (twice with *invado*) to describe the rapid spread of some evil. (Ramsey ad loc). "S. is no doubt influenced by the powerful description of the plague and its devastating moral effects in Thucydides, 3.47ff." (McGushin, *ad loc.*)

inmūtāta (est et)...factum (est): 3s pf. pass. in the main clause.

imperium: "referring especially to the administration of Rome's overseas territories and provincial corruption in contrast with the *civitas* (affairs at home affecting Roman citizens)."

factum: supply *est*.