

proved my eye," he proceeds to discuss the letter-spaces which originally contained the initial letters of the archon's name, and he finishes by stating that "before the fourth stoichos from the end, I could see nothing of any letter." Discussing next the pre-antepenultimate stoichos, he concludes his comments on it by observing that "the vertical of Professor Meritt's beta is there," that "the other marks are clearly scratches," and that "Meritt's beta will not hold." Passing then to the antepenultimate letter-space, he says that when examining it under limited lighting, "I saw less of the phi than on the squeeze; in fact, I must admit that I could barely make it out. But playing my penlight across the surface, the phi became clearer and clearer—still very difficult, but clear. . . . I then," he continues, "moved the stone on its dolly back to a big light. When I used both lights, the oval of the phi became very clear. . . . Given the condition of the stone the $\Phi\Theta\Lambda$ could not be clearer, and the clarity is such that many would not dot any of these four letters."

Thus does an impartial scholar's examination of the stone confirm what the reader may see for himself in plates 2–4: the partially bisected, symmetrical oval antepenultimate in the name of the archon of *IG*, 1². 19. Because this oval can belong to no letter but phi, the phi in [$\Lambda\upsilon\tau$] $\Phi\Theta\Lambda$ is guaranteed, and so in consequence is the 418/17 date of the alliance which *IG*, 1². 19 and 20. 1–2 record.¹⁹

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19. Since the alliance recorded in *IG*, 1². 19 and 20. 1–2 dates to 418/17, the alliance recorded in the later lines of *IG*, 1². 20—that between Athens and Sicilian Halikyai—can date no earlier than 418/17, just as it can date no later than 413 (Wick, "A Note on the Date of the Athenian-Egestan Alliance," p. 190, n. 32). If the AP which appear in the fifth line of *IG*, 1². 20 belong to the name of the archon, as thought likely by U. Köhler, then the name of the archon is Arimnestos and the date of the alliance 416/15 (*ibid.*). But if, as Meritt ("The Alliance between Athens and Egesta," p. 446) is very possibly correct in believing, the AP belong to the name of the *epistates* and the name of the archon was not specified, then the recording of the two alliances on the same stele and the naming of the archon in the first but not in the second combine to suggest for the second, as for the first, the year of the archonship of Antiphon.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SALLUST *CATILINE* 10. 1–11. 3

It has long been noticed that in chapters 10–11 of the *Bellum Catilinae* Sallust appears to contradict himself. Chapter 10. 3 states that "primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit," and from the next two sentences, which develop these two concepts respectively, it is clear that Sallust identifies "pecuniae cupido" with *avaritia* and "imperi cupido" with *ambitio*. But only two sentences later, in 11. 1, we are told that "primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat." In his recent commentary on the *Catiline*, P. McGushin expresses his dissatisfaction with existing attempts to explain this apparent contradiction.¹ K. Büchner's

1. C. Sallustius Crispus, "*Bellum Catilinae*": *A Commentary* (Leyden, 1977), pp. 90–91. See also the recent discussion by K. Vretska in his extensive commentary: C. Sallustius Crispus, "*De Catilinae coniuratione*," vol. 1 (Heidelberg, 1976), p. 213. Vretska, unlike McGushin, finds an earlier explanation of the passage acceptable, namely, that of D. C. Earl (see n. 3).

conclusion that in 10. 3 Sallust names the two vices in their order of importance, then later in 11. 1 in their temporal sequence,² seems to force the interpretation of *primo . . . deinde* in 10. 3, which taken at face value indicates a merely chronological order. D. C. Earl's proposal that the verb, *exercebat*, meaning "tormented," is emphasized in 11. 1, hence that the sense of the whole is "although *avaritia* arose first, it was *ambitio* which first tormented men's minds,"³ is equally unsatisfactory in McGushin's view, for it "would have us believe that *avaritia* lay dormant even though it was a far more widespread vice than *ambitio*."⁴ McGushin's own suggestion is that "we should not shrink from an obvious explanation: S. is guilty of careless writing."⁵ But the problem is that if the apparent discrepancy between 10. 3 and 11. 1 is a true contradiction, Sallust is guilty not only of careless writing but of careless thinking, and one wonders whether he could have been quite so muddled as such a contradiction would imply on a point involving concepts which, by common agreement,⁶ are central in his thought. The hypothesis of L. A. MacKay, that the "mild incoherence" in this passage is a sign of a "double recension,"⁷ merits consideration: Sallust might well have changed his mind in the process of composing. The indictment then becomes merely careless writing, but it still requires us to believe that Sallust was so careless in presenting concepts of considerable importance in his work that having changed his mind on a certain point, he failed to excise or modify his earlier statement on this point, but rather inserted a contradictory statement only four sentences distant from it. This explanation is not entirely satisfactory, but might be accepted *faute de mieux*.

Without denying that Sallust is to some extent a careless writer—for if he were not, presumably the passage would not be so obscure as to have engendered the present controversy—it may be suggested that the passage at hand requires neither the conclusion that he was so careless a writer as MacKay implies, nor so careless a thinker as McGushin implies. Rather, although it must be granted that Sallust's second statement qualifies his first, it may be possible to interpret plausibly the received text in such a way that there is no contradiction between the two statements.⁸

The interpretations cited above (except for that of Büchner, who denies that *primo . . . deinde* indicates a chronological sequence) all assume that Sallust intends his statement in 10. 3 as a full account of the origins of *avaritia* and *ambitio*. If this assumption is discarded, however, fresh possibilities of interpretation arise. In particular, if in the earlier stage of Rome's degeneration some *ambitio* existed *other than* that of which Sallust speaks in 10. 3, then it might be possible that "*primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat*" even though the growth of some *ambitio* was preceded by that of *avaritia*. Since this interpretation would

2. Sallust (Heidelberg, 1960), p. 320.

3. *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge, 1961), p. 14.

4. *Commentary*, p. 90.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

6. See, e.g., Earl, *Political Thought of Sallust*, pp. 5–17 and passim; E. Tiffou, *Essai sur la pensée morale de Salluste* (Paris, 1975), pp. 353–413; E. Koestermann, "Das Problem der römischen Dekadenz bei Sallust und Tacitus," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1973), 1.3:790.

7. "Sallust's *Catiline*: Date and Purpose," *Phoenix* 16 (1962): 191.

8. Alternately, the difficulty in the passage could be removed by emending the text (cf. K. L. Nipperdey, *Opuscula* [Berlin, 1877], p. 542). The interpretation of the received text below is presented in the belief that it is sufficiently plausible to render emendation unnecessary.

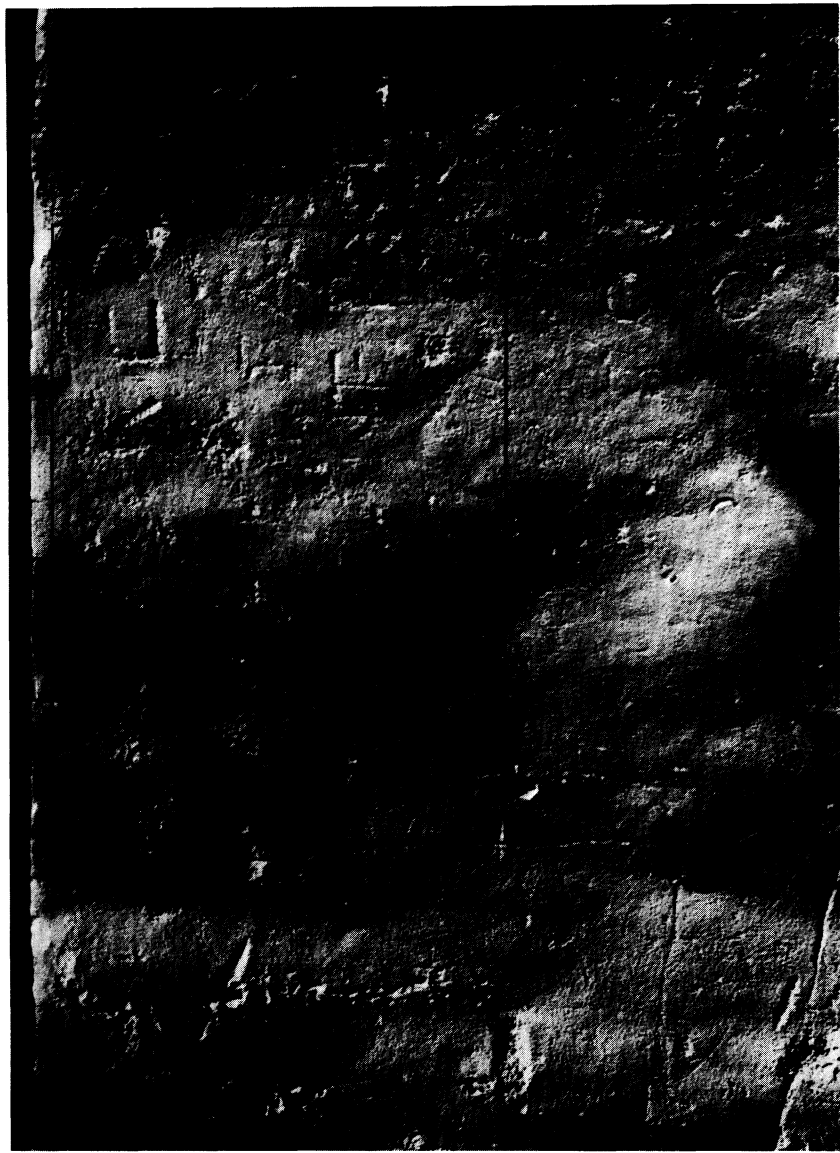


Plate 1



Plate 2



Plate 3



Plate 4

solve the problem posed above, let us investigate whether the text warrants such a reading.

If we examine the passage closely, we shall find support for the hypothesis that Sallust believes in multiple motives for *ambitio*, only one of which gave rise to the *ambitio* mentioned in 10. 3. Sallust's basic definition of *ambitio* I take to be *imperi cupido*.⁹ Now power may be pursued either for its own sake, or for the sake of some other goal. It is plausible that in 10. 3 Sallust is thinking not of wealth and power as independent goals but rather of the pursuit of political power (and/or positions of military command) as a means to the end of acquiring wealth.¹⁰ In other words, when Sallust says "igitur primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit," we should read "therefore first the desire for money, then [*sc.* as a consequence of this] the desire for power grew." Apart from the intelligibility which this reading bestows upon the passage as a whole (see below), two independent considerations may be urged in support of it. (1) While *primo . . . deinde* strictly denotes only a temporal sequence, the context here seems to demand the inference that the sequence is causal as well. The entire clause "primo pecuniae, deinde imperi cupido crevit" is governed by *igitur*; thus the growth of both *pecuniae cupido* and *imperi cupido* somehow results from *otium* and *divitiae* (10. 2). Presumably the growth of *pecuniae cupido* results from *otium* and *divitiae* because the taste for the latter, once acquired, becomes addictive and so engenders a need for *pecuniae*. But how can the growth of *imperi cupido* result from *otium* and *divitiae* unless power is desired as a means to the acquisition of wealth, which in turn is desired as a means to the enjoyment of *otium* and *divitiae*? (2) The causal link between *avaritia* and *ambitio* is conspicuously illustrated in the narrative to follow by the case of the Catilinarian conspirators, whom Sallust represents as desiring power primarily as a means to the end of acquiring wealth.¹¹ Thus it is reasonable to suppose that this link is prominent in the author's thinking as he embarks upon his monograph. From this reading of 10. 3 it does not follow, however, that *avaritia* is the *only* possible motive for the pursuit of power. Rather, that there are others is suggested by Sallust's language in 11. 1: "Nam gloriam, honorem, imperium bonus et ignavus aequè sibi exoptant." Here Sallust seems to be speaking of power pursued for its own sake and/or for the sake of *gloria* and *honor*.¹²

If this hypothesis of multiple motives for *ambitio* is accepted, then it becomes possible to read Sallust's second statement on *avaritia* and *ambitio* as a qualification, rather than a contradiction, of his first. In 10. 3 Sallust says, in effect, that *ambitio* grew following the growth of *avaritia* (the time interval is unspecified) and

9. This is indicated, as we have seen, in 10. 3–5. This basic definition is qualified in 11. 2 by the implied stipulation that before the desire for power could be considered true *ambitio*, it would have to be pursued in the absence of *bonae artes*, by improper means such as *dolis atque fallaciis*. See Earl, *Political Thought of Sallust*, p. 14.

10. In Sallust's time the acquisition of personal wealth from the tenure of public office was of course a normal part of the political system, an occasional charge of *pecuniae repelundae* notwithstanding. Sallust, with his fortune acquired in North Africa, would be as conscious of this as anyone.

11. Cf., e.g., 16. 4: "Eis amicis sociisque confusus Catilina, simul quod aes alienum per omnis terras ingens erat et quod plerique Sullani milites largius suo usi rapinarum et victoriae veteris memores civile bellum exoptabant, opprimundae rei publicae consilium cepit."

12. The reader has been told in the prologue (1. 3–4) that *gloria* is one of the ultimate goals which men may pursue in life. On the importance of this ideal for Sallust, see Tiffou, *Essai*, pp. 75–117.

as a consequence of it. Now, if *ambitio* had sprung *only* from *avaritia* during the period of Rome's degeneration, then *ambitio*, since it was merely a means to fulfilling *avaritia*, would have been a less important motive than *avaritia* throughout the entire period. Sallust does not say in chapter 10 that such was the case, but he leaves this impression by not saying otherwise. To this misleading impression the adversative force of *sed* in 11. 1 is addressed. During the earlier part of the period, we are now told, *ambitio* was actually more important as a driving force in men's minds than *avaritia*: "Sed primo magis ambitio quam avaritia animos hominum exercebat." This is possible only on the supposition that a different motive or motives for *ambitio* existed and were predominant at this earlier stage.¹³ Sallust does not make this plain, but his association (11. 2) of the desire for *imperium* with the desires for *gloria* and *honor* confirms that he is thinking along these lines. Chapter 11. 1-2 thus amounts to a qualification of chapter 10 on two related issues: the origins of *ambitio* (it grew partly from *avaritia*, but that was not its only source) and the relative importance of *ambitio* and *avaritia* during the period of degeneration.

The above interpretation would resolve the alleged contradiction between 10. 3 and 11. 1. But will it also account for the composition of the passage as a whole? In particular, one might raise the following objection: if the qualification in 11. 1 is an important one (as it appears to be, since Sallust evidently uses it as the basis for his subdivision of the period of degeneration into two stages),¹⁴ then why did Sallust wait until chapter 11 to introduce it, instead of explaining it at the outset of chapter 10 when he first takes up the subject of Rome's decline? Or if it is not important, then why did he mention it at all? The answer is that the qualification is important, but not so important that it cannot wait until he has expounded the *avaritia-ambitio* syndrome.¹⁵ Without assuming any particular carelessness of composition on Sallust's part, there are a number of reasons why he might have delayed introducing the qualification. The *avaritia-ambitio* syndrome is, first of all, the latter part of a causal series into which the author's mind is naturally led by the transition from the fall of Carthage and the beginning of Rome's supremacy (supremacy led to leisure and wealth, which resulted in greed and then, as a result of greed, ambition). Being thus naturally impelled into an exposition of the syndrome in chapter 10, there are two good reasons for him not to resist the impulse. First, it was this syndrome which most characterized the period of degeneration as a whole (it was present to some extent even during the first subperiod), so in explaining it first, before moving to the qualification, he is following his normal method of composition, which is to issue first a generalization and then explain or elaborate upon particular points in his earlier pronouncement.¹⁶ Second, the topic of the *avaritia-ambitio* syndrome is superior in importance to that of the subdivi-

13. This stage probably corresponds to the time described in 10. 6, when *avaritia* and the concomitant type of *ambitio* were still growing gradually and thus had not yet become widespread.

14. See 11. 4, where the dictatorship of Sulla seems to be specified as the time at which *avaritia* surpassed *ambitio* in importance. For a different interpretation of 11. 4, but one in which the distinction in 11. 1 is still recognized as the primary basis for Sallust's subdivision of the period of decline into stages, see Earl, *Political Thought of Sallust*, pp. 14-15, 112.

15. By this term I mean the process in which *avaritia* generates *ambitio* and the consequent association of the two.

16. McGushin, *Commentary*, p. 34.

sion into periods, for it is the former which assists the reader's understanding of the narrative to come. It is therefore appropriate to devote a chapter to the former before proceeding to the latter. On the other hand, it is worthwhile for Sallust to identify and at least mention in this digression the first subperiod in his historical scheme, even though he does not develop the subject at length here. By so doing he puts the degeneration of his own era into clearer perspective, for, as he explains, *ambitio* in itself is considerably less vicious than *avaritia* (11. 1-3),¹⁷ so that the subperiod in which *ambitio* was a more important motive represents a relatively more noble age than the more recent subperiod. The entire period after the fall of Carthage was depraved, but there are degrees of depravity, and matters have gone from bad to worse. This idea, introduced in 11. 1-3, forms the basis for the author's tirade against the utter dissolution of his own times, which occupies him from 11. 4 to the end of the long digression of which the passage under discussion forms a part.

Thus, the solution advanced above appears sufficient to account for both the text of Sallust's statements in 10. 3 and 11. 1 and the composition of the passage as a whole. Some might fault Sallust for not choosing more explicit language, or not including some further explanation of his meaning, or possibly for not presenting his ideas in some other order. But there is no demonstrable contradiction in the passage; on the contrary, the language of the passage points toward a consistent, though incompletely articulated, underlying conception of the role of *ambitio* and *avaritia* in Rome's decline.

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17. It is possible that there is also a personal motive involved in Sallust's explanation here. In his prologue (3. 4), Sallust had admitted that he himself, in his youth, had succumbed to *ambitio*. It may therefore be important, for the sake of the author's own reputation, for him to stress the difference in degree of turpitude between *ambitio* and *avaritia* and to remind the reader (with the phrase "gloriam, honorem, imperium . . . exoptant,") that *ambitio* does not always arise from *avaritia*.

PROPERTIUS 2. 9. 52:
A NEW SUGGESTION FOR MORTE . . . TUA

atque utinam, si forte pios eduximus annos,
ille vir in medio fiat amore lapis!

* * * * *

non ob regna magis diris cecidere sub armis
Thebani media non sine matre duces,
quam, mihi si media liceat pugnare puella,
mortem ego non fugiam morte subire tua.¹

[Prop. 2. 9. 47-52]

1. E. Howald, *Das Wesen der lateinischen Dichtung* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1948), p. 64, summarizes the problem: "In II. 9 scheinen alle Erklärungen zu versagen, so dass man nach gewaltsamen Auswegen wie Umstellungen, Annahme von Lücken, zu greifen sich berechtigt fühlt, weil man den verbindenden Faden nicht finden kann."

Commentaries and critical notes cited by author's last name: D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana*