

RÓMVERJA SAGA:
AN INTRODUCTION AND TRANSLATION

by

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Abstract

Rómverja saga ('The Saga of the Romans') is an Old Icelandic translation of three Latin works by Sallust and Lucan on historical themes from the classical period. In this thesis, I provide the first English translation of this little-known text in the hope that it might prove a tool for scholars interested in the reception of Latin literature in the medieval period. The saga is a free rendition of its models, and as such it gives us a glimpse into what elements a culture removed in both time and place valued and appropriated from Classical Rome. In the introduction, I will start by placing *Rómverja saga* in its literary context. I will then review the modern scholarship on the saga, focusing on its two different versions. Following that, I will list features and key terms that show how the redactor has adapted the text to his native context. The introduction ends with an overview of my translation choices. The translation of the second version of *Rómverja saga* follows.

Lay Summary

Rómverja saga ('The Saga of the Romans') is a medieval Icelandic translation of three works on historical themes written in Classical Rome. In this thesis, I will provide the first English translation of the text so that more scholars who are interested in the reception of classical literature in the Middle Ages may have access to it. In the introduction to the saga, I discuss the features and terms that show how the redactor has adapted the works to his native context.

Preface

This thesis is the original, unpublished, independent work of the author, Svala Lind Birnudóttir.

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Introduction

*Rómverja saga*¹ is an Old Icelandic translation of three Latin works on historical themes from the classical period. In this thesis, I provide the first English translation of this little-known text in the hope that it might prove a resource for scholars interested in the reception of Latin literature in the medieval period. The saga is a free rendition of its models, and as such it gives us a glimpse into what elements a culture removed in both time and place valued and appropriated from Classical Rome. *Rómverja saga* might at first glance seem insignificant, but the fact that it constitutes among the first, if not the very first, renditions of Sallust and Lucan into the vernacular – and not just any vernacular but one of the predominant literary languages of the Middle Ages – makes the saga an essential site of reception for the classical texts in question.

***Rómverja saga* in context**

Old Icelandic prose, the origin of which can be traced back to the early 12th century, is traditionally divided into five genres: the King's Sagas, national histories and pseudo-histories of Iceland and its secular and ecclesiastical leaders, the Sagas of Icelanders, the Knights' Sagas, and the Legendary Sagas.² However, five sagas written in the late 12th and the middle of the 13th century defy this classification. They are all Icelandic translations of historiographical works originally written in Latin. *Rómverja saga* is the earliest example and stands out as the only one of those sagas that is based on classical works. It tells the *Saga* or the *History of the Romans*³ from the start

¹ The 94 sections of *Rómverja saga* will be referred to as *RS* (followed by the number given to the sections in Þorbjörg Helgadóttir's edition) throughout this work.

² This classification is taken from Sverrir Tómasson 2007, 75. See his whole chapter on Old Icelandic prose for the literary context of *Rómverja saga*.

³ In Icelandic, 'saga' refers to any kind of (hi)story, either oral or written. Sverrir Tómasson 2007, 72 points out that "no distinction is made between fact and fiction" when it comes to 'saga'. The word derives from the verb 'segja', which is cognate with the English verb 'to say'.

of the Jugurthine War in 112 BCE to the death of Augustus in 14 CE. The work comprises Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Coniuratio Catilinae*, Lucan's *De bello civili*, and transition passages which were likely based on scholia and an *accessus*, the name given to medieval introductory guides to classical works.⁴ The translation of Sallust's works follows closely the historical narrative of the originals, whereas the Lucan part of the work is rather a retelling of the main events. This exact combination of verse and prose adapted into a single prose work is unique in medieval literature.⁵ As is common among Icelandic sagas, *Rómverja saga* is preserved in more than one version; there are two, the earlier of which has been dated to c. 1180.⁶ The later redaction is thought to have been produced in the middle of the 14th century.⁷

The exact combination of the Latin originals in *Rómverja saga* offers a historical narrative that covers the last decades of the Roman Republic. Sallust's *Bellum Iugurthinum* (written c. 41-40 BCE) is an account of the war that the Roman Republic fought against Jugurtha, king of Numidia in Africa, in 112-105 BCE.⁸ Jugurtha was the adopted son of King Micipsa with whose sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal, he was meant to share the kingdom. Jugurtha seized all the power for himself, and the Romans intervened. The consuls Bestia, Metullus, and Marius led the campaign against Jugurtha. The war ended when Jugurtha's father-in-law, King Bocchus of Mauretania, betrayed him and negotiated peace with the Romans. Sallust's other monograph, *Coniuratio Catilinae* (written c. 42-41), deals with the conspiracy planned by the senator Catiline

⁴ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 1997, 207-10. For further information see Sanford's 1934 article "The Manuscripts of Lucan: *Accessus* and *Marginalia*".

⁵ Würth 1998, 13.

⁶ Würth 2009, 164. This combination might seem strange to the modern eye, but Lucan was actually considered an historian rather than a poet for the longest time (Würth 1998, 14).

⁷ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, xlv.

⁸ I recommend J. C. Rolfe's translation of Sallust's works published as part of the Loeb Classical Library Series in 2013.

to overthrow the Roman government in 63 BCE. Cicero was consul at the time, and a senatorial decree allowed him to deal with the conspirators as he thought best, and he chose to have them killed. In both those works, Sallust lays a great emphasis on the moral decline of Rome.

Sallust's works constitute the first half of *Rómverja saga*. Being the only ancient historian that "survived that reduction of school texts which marked the decline of culture in the late empire in the West",⁹ he continued to be widely read in schools in the Middle Ages, both in continental Europe and in Iceland.¹⁰ His popularity can be explained by the fact that he served three purposes in the eyes of the medieval reader. Firstly, he was a moralist, and through his influence history was considered to have a moral purpose.¹¹ Secondly, Sallust's style was seen as an important stylistic model, especially when it came to his descriptions of characters, battle scenes, and speeches.¹² Thirdly, Sallust was a model for historiography, and among his main contributions in that area are the historical monograph as an alternative to e.g. universal history and biography and an interest in geography and ethnography.¹³ The fact that production of Sallust manuscripts decreased after its peak in the 11th and 12th centuries suggests that the use of Sallust as a historian lost its rigour with time, not least with increased translation into the vernacular.¹⁴

The manuscripts of *Bellum Iugurthinum* and *Coniuratio Catilinae* are divided into two categories, *mutili* and *integri*. The *mutili* are so called because they have a lacuna from 103.4

⁹ Smalley 1971, 168.

¹⁰ Sverrir Tómasson 2007, 70 does not mention any other classical historians when he discusses the texts with which Icelandic school boys must have been acquainted.

¹¹ Smalley 1971, 166.

¹² Smalley 1971, 168.

¹³ Smalley 1971, 171; Osmond and Ulery 2003, 194.

¹⁴ Osmond and Ulery 2003, 193.

(*quinque delegit*) to 112.3 (*et ratam*), whose text is often added to them by a later scribe.¹⁵ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir identifies the manuscript that served as the basis of the *Rómverja saga* as a member of the former category, and she argues that it has a strong relationship to manuscript *D*, although *D* cannot have been a direct source of the text that was used.¹⁶ She also mentions that *D* contains many interlinear and marginal glosses, but if such glosses are at all incorporated into the Sallust part of the saga, it is much less obvious than in the Lucan part. The same applies to medieval commentaries to Sallust. We know that seven existed to *Coniuratio Catilinae* and six to *Bellum Iugurthinum*,¹⁷ but they do not feature in the scholarship on *Rómverja saga* like the Lucan commentaries do.

Lucan's *De bello civili* (written in the early 60's CE) is a (probably unfinished) epic poem in ten books about the civil war waged by Julius Caesar and Pompey the Great in 49-48 BCE.¹⁸ It starts with Caesar's crossing of the river Rubicon, covers their battle at Pharsalus, and ends with Caesar in Alexandria. Lucan was, like Sallust, part of the medieval school curriculum, and he was very popular: there exist about 400 manuscripts of the text, albeit in a highly contaminated tradition.¹⁹ Since Lucan was taught in schools, "the need for exegesis and clarification was continuous".²⁰ This is why we find *scholia*, some perhaps descending all the way from antiquity, either in the margins and between lines in the manuscripts or as continuous commentaries.²¹ Knowledge about a wide range of topics was sought in Lucan's poem: "Aside from notes on points

¹⁵ Reynolds 1983, 341.

¹⁶ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, lxxix.

¹⁷ Osmond and Ulery 2003, 195.

¹⁸ Lucan's *Civil War*, translated by Susan H. Braund, was published in 1999.

¹⁹ Werner 1990, 347.

²⁰ Werner 1994, 344.

²¹ Werner 1994, 343-4.

of rhetoric and syntax, those on ethics, history, antiquities and religion, geography, astronomy, and other natural sciences are especially common.”²² Medieval translators tended to incorporate these comments in their translations. We see this in the Irish tradition in *In Cath Catharda* and in the French tradition in *Roman d’Eneas*.²³ The Icelandic *Rómverja saga* is no exception.

A thorough analysis on the use of *scholia* in the saga has yet to be undertaken, but I have nevertheless managed to produce a few examples.

- In RS 54, Arruns the haruspex assigns Pompey and Caesar a knot each which he had tied on the entrails of a bull he had sacrificed. This does not happen in Lucan’s poem. There is, however, a parallel for such a division in *In Cath Catharda*, in which the entrails are divided into two parts that are assigned to Pompey and the Senate on the one hand and to Caesar on the other.²⁴
- In RS 67, the redactor refers to Parnalium (i.e. Mt. Parnassus) as ‘the centre of the world’. In *In Cath Catharda*, Mt Parnassus is called ‘the navel of the world’, and Poppe maintains that this statement comes from the *scholia* since it does not appear in the Latin original.²⁵
- In RS 85, the passage on the snakes differs considerably from Lucan’s text, especially the effect that each snake has on its victim. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir suspects that the redactor is relying on a commentary of some sort.²⁶ She argues that this idea is reinforced by Sanford’s statement

²² Sanford 1934, 292.

²³ See Poppe’s 2015 article on *In Cath Catharda*, a translation of Lucan’s work, for examples (and references for further examples on p. 432). See Cormier’s 1989 article for examples from the French *Aeneid*.

²⁴ O’Hogan 2014, 32.

²⁵ Poppe 2015, 435.

²⁶ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, cxiv.

that “Cato's journey through the desert is often noted, and the names of the snakes, sometimes with strange zoological lore, jotted down in the margins”.²⁷

Lucan *scholia* are also a likely source for the transition passage between the Jugurtha and the Catiline parts of the saga. A commentary on Book II of *De bello civili* found in manuscript X bears great similarity to the saga.²⁸ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir therefore includes references to ‘LucSch.’ in the critical edition of *Rómverja saga*.

Accessus is a term that refers to a certain type of medieval commentaries on texts. An *accessus* introduces the main points of the text in question and is often accompanied by a *summa historia* (an overview of the historical background of the work) and a *vita* (biographical information on the author).²⁹ It is very likely that the redactor of *Rómverja saga* had such commentaries at his disposal while writing the passages in the saga that supplement the historical narrative before and after the Lucan part.³⁰ The exact commentaries have, however, not been identified. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir nevertheless includes references to two *accessus* in the critical edition of the saga text “to give an idea of the natures of these texts”; they are ‘AccBT’ (a reconstructed text based on two *accessus* to Lucan, B and T, from the 12th century) and ‘AccA’ (which stands for ‘*accessus* A’, by the 12th-century commentator Arnulf of Orléans).³¹

²⁷ Sanford 1934, 293.

²⁸ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, lxxxiii.

²⁹ Sanford 1934, 281-2.

³⁰ Hofmann 1986, 144; Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, lxxxvi-lxxxviii.

³¹ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

Modern scholarship on the saga

Rómverja saga is understudied; in fact, only two modern scholars have engaged with it extensively. In her 2005 book chapter, “Historiography and Pseudo-History”, Stefanie Gropper³² deals with the *Rómverja saga* and its sister texts under the subheading “Translated Historiography”. She briefly discusses medieval translation practices, namely how the translators were more concerned with keeping intact the *materia*, i.e the content, of texts than with translating them verbatim and would thus take great liberty in altering the texts. She then goes on to give a short survey of each of the four remaining texts. *Trójumanna saga* (‘The Saga of the Trojans’) is a translation of Dares Phrygius’ *De excidio belli Troiani* supplemented with passages from *Ilias Latina* and the *Aeneid*.³³ Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia regum Britannie* served as basis for *Breta sögur* (‘The Sagas of the Britons’). Walter of Châtillon’s 12th-century *Alexandreis* was translated as *Alexanders saga* (‘The Saga of Alexander the Great’). *Gyðinga saga* (‘The Saga of the Jews’) is for the most part based on Peter Comestor’s 12th-century *Historia scholastica*. Together, these sagas form a genre that in modern scholarship is called ‘pseudo-history’.

Gropper had remarked that the term ‘pseudo-history’ is not fully appropriate “due to its pejorative connotation” in her 1998 monograph *Der „Antikenroman“ in der isländischen Literatur des Mittelalters*,³⁴ but nevertheless she continues to use it for lack of a better term.³⁵ Sverrir Tómasson also utilizes it in his 2007 chapter “Old Icelandic prose”. Neither scholar, however, truly defines what they mean by ‘pseudo-history’. In the monograph, Gropper writes about all the

³² Stefanie Gropper published as Stefanie Würth before 2009.

³³ *Trójumanna saga* was translated into English by Randi Eldevik in her 1987 dissertation.

³⁴ The full title translates to *The “Ancient Novel” in Icelandic Literature in the Middle Ages: An Examination of the Translation and Reception of Latin Literature in the North*.

³⁵ Würth 1998, 2: “Aufgrund seiner pejorativen Konnotation...”

translations mentioned above. She covers their origin and transmission, their Latin models, and how the translations relate to said models. She also discusses the history of their reception and their literary context both in Iceland and on the European continent. The title of the book includes ‘antique novels’ [Antikenromane] within quotation marks. This is her attempt at an alternative to ‘pseudo-history’, and it refers to the kind of works that was popular on the European continent at the time. These include verse adaptations of themes from classical antiquity, which marked the dawn of the chivalric romance genre of the Middle Ages. Gropper is nevertheless hesitant about applying this term to the Icelandic works. She argues that although they have subject matters similar to those of the ancient novels, they lack two elements critical for their placement within the genre. First, their subject is not reimagined in and adapted to a medieval court setting (nor a Nordic setting). Second, the Icelandic texts do not incorporate love as a theme. Thus they remain quite different from the continental works, and Gropper further argues that by describing how some features of their style are uniquely Icelandic. I maintain that the term ‘antique novel’ is extremely problematic in and of itself since it implies that the works were fiction. The abovementioned scholars do nothing to justify their insistence on characterizing the works as fictitious when it seems perfectly reasonable to refer to them as ‘historiography’ or ‘historical narrative’.

Gropper rehashes the distinctly Icelandic features in her 2009 book chapter “Sallust und Lucan auf Isländisch...”³⁶ In *Rómverja saga*, Icelandic narrative style manifests itself in various ways. The narrator “retreats into the background”³⁷ and refrains from imposing judgments upon

³⁶ The full title translates to “Sallust and Lucan in Icelandic: An Example of the Position of Medieval Translation between Text Reception and Text Production”.

³⁷ Gropper 2009, 159: “tritt [...] in den Hintergrund”.

characters and events. There is a strong preference for directness, both in the language (e.g. indirect speech in the Latin is often replaced by direct speech) and in the narrative style, where Lucan's numerous digressions are almost all omitted in favour of a linear storyline.³⁸ Rhetorical devices are avoided.³⁹ The introduction of new characters also follows the Icelandic tradition in naming a character as soon as he or she appears as opposed to naming them when they have completed an action. All these elements correspond to the style of the sagas, and Gropper refers to it as 'popular' (German: 'volkstümlich').⁴⁰

In 1998, Gropper commented that the state of scholarship on *Rómverja saga* suffered from the fact that no critical edition of the text existed. The saga had actually been edited in 1860 by Konráð Gíslason, in 1910 by Rudolf Meißner, and in 1980 by Jakob Benediktsson, but in 2010 both versions of the text were published in a critical edition. The editor, Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, had previously written two articles on *Rómverja saga*.⁴¹ In the first one, "On the Sallust Translation in *Rómverja saga*", she examines divergences in the saga from the *textus receptus* of Sallust in her attempt to identify the manuscript which served as the basis of the translation. In the second article, "On the Sources and Composition of *Rómverja saga*", she turns her focus towards the passages that supplement the historical narrative between Sallust's and Lucan's works and towards the saga's conclusion. It is difficult to identify the exact sources for those parts of the work, but

³⁸ This emphasis on the historical narrative is also reflected in the medieval Irish tradition. Burnyeat 2014, 206 points out that there was much greater interest during that time in historical and genealogical topics rather than in the heroic and personal, which are the elements that typically interest modern readers.

³⁹ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, cxxxviii, clxx nevertheless points out numerous cases of alliteration.

⁴⁰ Stylistic adaptations of classical topics to a medieval vernacular also exist in the Irish tradition (cf. Poppe in his 2014 book chapter on the Irish *Imtheachta Aeniasa*).

⁴¹ "On the Sallust Translation in *Rómverja saga*" is from 1986-9, whereas "On the Sources and Composition of *Rómverja saga*" is from 1994-7.

Þorbjörg Helgadóttir suspects them to be scholia and an *accessus ad Lucanum*, an introductory guide to Lucan.

The two versions of the saga

The 2010 critical edition comes in two volumes. *I Introduction* builds on Þorbjörg Helgadóttir's earlier research into the manuscript tradition, both of the saga itself and of its models.⁴² Furthermore, she offers an analysis of the differences between the first and the second version of *Rómverja saga*.⁴³ Both redactions are then included in *II Text* along with the Latin original. The most obvious difference between the redactions is that the second one is shorter. It is, however, difficult to gauge how much shorter it is. The first version is preserved only in fragments. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir sums up the method of shortening as follows:

It can be said that generally the redactor of the later version has shortened the text by leaving out parts of a sentence, whole sentences or longer passages. Sometimes he paraphrases a longish passage in his own words and sometimes he makes a kind of summary in one or two sentences.⁴⁴

She maintains that “[t]he later version of *Rómverja saga* is [...] a shortened version of the original translation”.⁴⁵ This is in direct contradiction to Gropper who holds that each version is an

⁴² In chapter 1, “The Manuscripts”, she discusses AM 595 a–b 4° (which she, on p. xxxiii, maintains cannot be the archetype of the first version), AM 226 fol., manuscript fragments, and their palaeography, orthography, and provenance. In chapter 2, “The Sources”, she talks about medieval manuscripts of Sallust’s and Lucan’s texts and possible sources for the passages which are used to fill in gaps in the historical narrative.

⁴³ In chapter 3, “The Translation”, she goes through what has been shortened/amplified and omitted/added in both AM 595 a–b 4° and AM 226 fol. in addition to how it deviates from the originals. She also considers their style with regard to both vocabulary and grammar.

⁴⁴ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, clxx.

⁴⁵ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, clxx.

independent adaptation of the models.⁴⁶ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir's statement is not entirely plausible if we consider that although many terms that appear in the first version in Latin are retained in the second version, there are Latin terms in the second version that do not appear in the first (e.g. *senator*).⁴⁷ This implies that the redactor was consulting a Latin original and not producing a mere abridgement of the saga.⁴⁸ Whether Þorbjörg Helgadóttir or Gropper are correct, the redactions remain two different sites of reception for the classical texts.

Gropper sees the fact that the first Sallust translation was faithful to the original but the second translation was “shortened almost to the point of incomprehensibility” as an indication of the great extent to which interest in Sallust was dropping.⁴⁹ The divergences between the two redactions is better explained by the text taking on another role with time. The different ways in which the speeches are rendered come to mind. Consider the following:

The value of *Rómverja saga* for Icelandic historiography lies not least in its demonstration of how Roman authors wrote about the past, for instance, giving ancient leaders speeches that obeyed the rhetorical rules that Icelandic students had to study during this time; the re-creation of the past with the help of rhetorical devices brought history to life for the audience, which included students who later were to write their own works.⁵⁰

According to this, the structure of the speeches was thoroughly studied by schoolboys as part of their rhetoric education. Therefore, we would expect the speeches to have been translated as

⁴⁶ Würth 1998, 142.

⁴⁷ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, clxxxvi.

⁴⁸ It is possible that the redactor of the second version simply decided to add Latin terms that he knew.

⁴⁹ Würth 1998, 142: “fast bis zur Unverständlichkeit verkürzt”. As I hope to demonstrate with the present translation, this is an exaggeration.

⁵⁰ Sverrir Tómasson 2007, 96.

faithfully as possible, and Gropper observes that the translator of the first version did in fact lay great emphasis on accurate translation and that this, in turn, suggests that *Rómverja saga* may have served as a model for later translations.⁵¹ This, however, is not the case for the second version. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir recognizes in the redactor a tendency either to translate only the beginning of a speech faithfully and then paraphrase the rest of it or to paraphrase it in its entirety.⁵² This approach to the speeches in the second version indicates that the work was not meant as an instructive tool for rhetoric in the same way as the first version.

If we consider the context in which the text is preserved, we get a better idea of its new role. The younger redaction of *Rómverja saga* is preserved in manuscript AM 226 fol. which also includes *Alexanders saga*, *Gyðinga saga*, and a translation of the Old Testament from the Genesis to 2 Kings. Together they form an historical overview of the period from the creation of the world to the beginning of the Common Era.⁵³ The shorter version of *Rómverja saga* thus first and foremost provides an account of events in Roman history for this compendium.⁵⁴ It is, however, important to note that all the pseudo-histories exist in two versions.⁵⁵ Whether they were all shortened for such a purpose, I cannot say at this time. It is perhaps possible to see in this process a solidifying of the Icelandic saga tradition with its preference for succinct prose. This tradition had not yet begun when *Rómverja saga* was first translated.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Würth 1998, 254.

⁵² Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, clxxv.

⁵³ Gropper 2009, 168.

⁵⁴ It is interesting to note that *Imtheachta Aeniasa*, the medieval Irish *Aeneid*, is also positioned within a larger historical cycle in this way (Poppe 2014, 25).

⁵⁵ Würth 2005, 165-6. From what I could gather, at least *Trójumanna saga* and *Gyðinga saga* survive in an older, longer version and a younger, shorter version as does *Rómverja saga*.

⁵⁶ Gropper 2009, 159.

We can summarize the features of the two versions as follows:

first

- fragmentary
- longer and more faithfully translated in many places, e.g. speeches
- a freestanding text

second

- complete except for a few illegible letters
- shorter since words, sentences, and passages have been omitted; especially noticeable in speeches
- a part of a work on world history
- perhaps an abridgement of the first version, but word choices are made that suggest that the redactor was consulting a Latin text

In this thesis, the second version of *Rómverja saga* (AM 226 fol.) will be translated. Since that version is much better preserved than the first, this text simply offers much more material for study. Moreover, the way in which Icelandic sounds are represented in the second version is closer to Modern Icelandic spelling than in the first version.⁵⁷ Such differences make the second version slightly easier to read. The text is divided into 94 sections, each of which opens with a simple heading that names the main character(s) of the section. They are quite repetitive; *RS* 3 is entitled “On the Romans and Jugurtha” but *RS* 11 “On the Romans and King Jugurtha”. *RS* 51 and 61 both bear the title “On Julius’ journey to the city of Rome”.

⁵⁷ An example for this is the word ‘þeir’ (‘they’ in the masc. plur. nom.). The sound ‘ei’ (which is a diphthong, [ei], in Modern Icelandic) is spelled in the same way as it is in Modern Icelandic in the second version, but ‘æi’ in the first version.

The idiosyncrasies of the saga

The redactor of *Rómverja saga* adapts it to his own culture in various ways. Many of the choices he makes lend the saga an air of peculiarity, both with regard to the language and the content. I have compiled a list of the general features that contribute to this, organized by theme.

Proper names

- An overwhelming minority of the names of characters, tribes, and places are spelled according to Latin convention. Not even all of the main players in the narrative have intact names. Thus we see e.g. Jugurtha, Julius, and Pompeius but also Silla [Sulla], Katelinus [Catilina] and Puplius Cipo [Publius Scipio].
- A name is not necessarily spelled the same throughout the work. King Bocchus' name is spelled in five different ways (Bachus, Bochus, Boccus, Bokkus, and Bókus), yet never correctly. Kato appears as well as Cato. Both these names show that the redactor recognizes a hard C-sound.
- There are names that appear as if they were of different declensions. Brutus and Bruto occur only two sentences apart where the Latin original has the genitive Bruti and Brutus.⁵⁸
- Place names are not consistent. Some are close, like Spain which is called Hispania, Spania, and Hyspania, and Greece which is called Girkland and Grecia. Others are not, like Scythia which is rendered as Sithia in *RS* 59 but had been rendered as 'Sweden the Great' in *RS* 53.

⁵⁸ Sall. *Cat.* 40.5.

- Sometimes a character's name is not what it is in the Latin original. Thesbes who gets his own section heading is named Laelius in Lucan's text.⁵⁹ An oracle tells Appius to go to the island of Robora instead of the Euboean coast.⁶⁰
- The redactor often chooses to refer to characters by their less-used names even when the more common one is used in the Latin original. Thus Cicero is usually called Tullius, and Julius appears more often than Caesar.⁶¹

Latin terms

- 'Questor' [sic], 'pretor'/'precor' [sic], and 'dictator' only appear as such, whereas 'consul' is also referred to as 'ræðismaður' twice (which is the term used in Modern Icelandic; its literal meaning is 'rule-man'), 'hertogi' ('duke'), and 'jarl' ('earl').
- 'Senator' appears several times. 'Senatus' does not; it is translated as 'höfðingar'.
- The redactor adapts the Latin terms to their case in Icelandic. For example, we see the dative form 'senatoribus' with the preposition 'af' ('by'), and is not a form borrowed directly from the Latin.⁶²
- The redactor recognizes the *kalendae* of June as a specific date in RS 29 but seems to think the *kalendae* span a few days in RS 92.

⁵⁹ RS 53.

⁶⁰ RS 67.

⁶¹ Cicero is called Tullius throughout RS 37 and 38, but that name is used only once in the corresponding Latin sections (i.e. in 24.1). Caesar is mostly called Julius in the Lucan part of the work, but Lucan himself calls him Caesar throughout.

⁶² RS 10.

Icelandic terms

- There are two fjords ('sinus') at the extreme edge of Africa.⁶³ Furthermore, it turns out that the river Iader falls into the fjord Adriaticus.⁶⁴
- We come across a few vikings in the saga. Hamilcar is a viking ('homo nobilis').⁶⁵ The pharaoh of Egypt is also, in Pompey's opinion, a viking ('tyrannus').⁶⁶
- It is a great virtue to be a 'drengr', i.e. 'a high-minded person'. The term occurs several times in connection with soldiers, e.g. as a translation of 'vir' and 'Quirites'.⁶⁷ Sigurður Nordal writes that it has an "aura of unspoiled youth, sincerity, and trust", and he considers the term, which survives in Modern Icelandic, to be no less than "among the most valuable possessions of the Icelandic people".⁶⁸

Religious terminology from Norse mythology and Christianity⁶⁹

- According to the text, the most glorious temple in Rome is the temple of Thor.⁷⁰ Jupiter's name is never mentioned. Instead he is called Thor, both in Rome and in his seat in the land of the Garamantians, where he goes by the name of Hammon.⁷¹
- Another Norse god makes an appearance. Njörður was a god of the sea, winds, fertility, wealth, and summer. The redactor equates his temple with 'Phoebea Palatia', and it seems that he does not know that Apollo is the god in question.⁷² In another instance, Apollo's oracle is consulted

⁶³ RS 23.

⁶⁴ RS 64.

⁶⁵ RS 23.

⁶⁶ RS 80.

⁶⁷ 'vir' RS 68/Luc. 5.327; 'Quirites' RS 10/Sall. *Jug.* 31. 27.

⁶⁸ Sigurður Nordal 1990, 138.

⁶⁹ Iceland was Christianized in the year 1000.

⁷⁰ RS 49.

⁷¹ RS 83.

⁷² RS 61.

and his name retained.⁷³ It is clear, therefore, that the redactor does not choose to adapt all the gods to a Nordic context; the name of Vesta is also retained.⁷⁴

- Domitius finds “life not much better than hell”.⁷⁵ The Icelandic word used is ‘hel’. Hel is the Norse goddess of death, and the word can refer to her, to hell in the Christian sense, and to death in general. Since the redactor of the text always capitalizes proper names, he is probably not using it in the mythological sense. I use the word ‘hell’ ten times in my translation. It was a translation of ‘hel’ once, but of ‘helvíti’ nine times.⁷⁶

The redactor’s editorializing

- The redactor clarifies terms for the reader. A new consulship starts around Christmas time.⁷⁷ Apollo is what an Icelander would call a sun god.⁷⁸ Locations are explained, such as Numidia which is ‘out west in Africa’ and Mt. Parnassus which is ‘the centre of the world’.⁷⁹
- The redactor expresses that people’s practices in antiquity are different from those of medieval Icelanders by saying that someone does something ‘according to custom’, be it ‘the custom of the Romans’ or simply ‘an ancient custom’.⁸⁰
- The redactor alludes to Macrobius, a Latin author of the 5th century CE, whom he expects the reader to know, who is not mentioned in the original Latin.⁸¹

⁷³ RS 67.

⁷⁴ RS 30 and 32.

⁷⁵ RS 58.

⁷⁶ ‘hel’ RS 58; ‘helvíti’ RS 54, 55, 60, 73

⁷⁷ RS 66.

⁷⁸ RS 54.

⁷⁹ RS preface; RS 67.

⁸⁰ RS 14, 43, 44, 68, 77, 83, 87, and 92.

⁸¹ RS 1.

Key terms

In the translation process I have identified certain key terms that are found time and time again in *Rómverja saga*. Each of them appears as a translation of several different Latin terms or phrases. It seems that sometimes the redactor cannot distinguish the difference between them or is unable to find words in Icelandic to distinguish them, but in most cases it seems a conscious choice on the redactor's part when he opts for a term with a more general meaning. Occasionally these key terms occur when there is no specific term in the Latin, at least in the *textus receptus*, to prompt them. This shows that the redactor is adapting the text to suit his purpose. I have chosen to include some of the key terms in the text within square brackets, [...], but I have been selective in noting them so as not to detract.

Riki is a term that appears over 100 times in *Rómverja saga*. Its most common meaning is 'kingdom' or 'state', i.e. 'a territory under one government'. When referring to a *riki* outside Italy, it is often a translation of the Latin term 'regnum'. When Lucan describes Egypt under 'sceptra',⁸² again the redactor uses *riki*. Sometimes it stands for geographical features that represent the whole dominion of which they are part, as in 'urbis et agri' and 'Numidia',⁸³ rather than a single Latin word. *Riki* is also often applied to the Roman state. In those cases, it is not a translation of one specific term in the original. The '*riki* of the Romans' and the '*riki* of the city of Rome' appear as renditions of 'Roma', 'nomen Romanum', 'res publica', and 'Ausonia'.⁸⁴ At the end of the saga,

⁸² RS 79.

⁸³ RS 1/Sall. *Jug.* 5. 4: "populus Romanus quascumque urbis at agros manu ceperat"; 'Numidia' RS 15/ Sall. *Jug.* 48. 3.

⁸⁴ 'Roma' RS 8/Sall. *Jug.* 20. 1; 'nomen Romanum' RS 43/Sall. *Cat.* 52. 24; 'res publica' RS 32/Sall. *Cat.* 5. 6; 'Ausonia' RS 68/Luc. 5.497.

Augustus' empire is called *riki*.⁸⁵ In addition, *riki* can refer to 'power' as in 'imperium'.⁸⁶ Therefore, it is necessary to translate *riki* with a wide range of terms. I have included every occurrence of the term in the text.

Höfðingi refers to any 'chief' in the saga, and appears, unsurprisingly, almost 200 times. The word derives from '*höfuð*' ('head'). It is used instead of the titles of various magistrates, including 'tribunus', 'praefectus', 'censor', 'praetor', and 'imperator'.⁸⁷ This does not mean that these offices are always called *höfðingar* [pl.]; 'praetor' and 'prefect' appear in their Latin form in several instances.⁸⁸ *Höfðingar* also refers to bodies of men of higher birth, such as 'reges' and 'nobilitas'.⁸⁹ In fact, the most common rendition of *höfðingar* is 'senatus'.⁹⁰ 'Chief' is the term that will be used throughout the saga as a translation of *höfðingi*.

The terms, or rather the term, that the redactor uses for divisions of the army reveal how far warfare is from the experience of a 14th-century Icelander.⁹¹ Judging from the translation, the language does not possess nuanced words for such terms. The word *fylking* appears throughout *Rómverja saga*. Its primary meaning is 'a group of people', and it is cognate with 'fólk' ('people', cf. 'folk'). In the saga, it is used to refer to the unit 'legio'.⁹² It also refers generally to a body of

⁸⁵ RS 94.

⁸⁶ RS 1/Sall. *Jug.* 6. 3.

⁸⁷ 'tribunus' RS 11/Sall. *Jug.* 34. 1; 'praefectus' RS 23/Sall. *Jug.* 77. 1; 'censor' RS 36/Sall. *Cat.* 23. 1; 'praetor' RS 44/Sall. *Cat.* 55. 2; 'imperator' RS 11/Sall. *Jug.* 32. 2.

⁸⁸ 'praetor' RS 10/Sall. *Jug.* 32. 1, RS 46/Sall. *Cat.* 59. 6; 'prefect' RS 46/Sall. *Cat.* 59. 6.

⁸⁹ 'reges' RS 6/Sall. *Jug.* 14. 5; 'nobilitas' RS 10/Sall. *Jug.* 27. 1.

⁹⁰ RS 4/Sall. *Jug.* 9. 2., RS 6/Sall. *Jug.* 13. 3, etc.

⁹¹ The closest thing to a war ever to take place in Iceland was 'The Age of the Sturlungs' (Sturlungaöld) in the mid-13th century. It was a period of internal strife between chieftains which resulted in several clashes between them and their followers. The most severe confrontation was the 1238 Battle of Örlygsstaðir in which about 2500 men fought. See the chapter "Colonization and Commonwealth" in Gunnar Karlsson's *Iceland's 1100 Years* from 2000 for further information on the historical landscape of the times.

⁹² RS 44/Sall. *Cat.* 56. 2.

people engaged in battle (‘acies’, ‘agmen’, and ‘hostis’).⁹³ The redactor, therefore, seems to use it only for larger groups of people. Smaller groups such as ‘caterva’ and ‘pars copiarum’ are called ‘flokkur’ or ‘sveit’.⁹⁴ For ‘cohors’, however, ‘fylking’ and ‘flokkur’ are used, which suggests that the redactor does not know how many men are in a cohort and thus whether to consider it a small or a large group.⁹⁵ In fact, he does not know how many men make up a legion either. He believes the number, which does not appear in the Latin original, to be 666.⁹⁶

Riddari is another military term that has a wide range of meaning and use in *Rómverja saga*. The word itself means ‘rider’, as it derives from the verb ‘ríða’ (‘to ride’). As expected, it is commonly used to render the Latin term ‘eques’ and related words (such as ‘riddarasveit’ for ‘equitatus’) into Icelandic.⁹⁷ It also, however, refers to a common soldier (‘miles (gregarius)’ at times.⁹⁸ When Jugurtha comes to Rome “cultu miserabili”, he is dressed “as a poor *riddari*”.⁹⁹ Gropper maintains on the basis of these usages of *riddari* that the term carries no medieval connotation, as one could expect seeing that *riddari* is the term that is used for ‘knight’ in the chivalric romances.¹⁰⁰ She, however, fails to isolate the elevated usages of the term.¹⁰¹ On two occasions, Adherbales addresses the ‘patres conscripti’ (who are never addressed as such in the saga) as “fellow *riddarar* [pl.] of my father” to evoke a sense of loyalty when he is asking them

⁹³ ‘acies’ RS 46/Sall. *Cat.* 60. 4; ‘agmen’ RS 16/Sall. *Jug.* 50. 3; ‘hostis’ RS 74/Luc. 7.237.

⁹⁴ ‘caterva’ RS 32/Sall. *Cat.* 14. 1; ‘pars copiarum’ RS 15/Sall. *Jug.* 49. 1.

⁹⁵ ‘fylking’ as ‘cohors’ RS 74/Luc. 225; ‘flokkur’ as ‘cohors’ RS 23/Sall. *Jug.* 77. 4.

⁹⁶ RS 44.

⁹⁷ ‘eques’ RS 8/Sall. *Jug.* 21. 2., RS 28/Sall. *Jug.* 105. 3; ‘equitatus’ RS 15/Sall. *Jug.* 49. 1.

⁹⁸ ‘miles’ RS 51/Luc. 1. 202; ‘miles gregarius’ RS 25/Sall. *Jug.* 93. 2. ‘Hermaður’ (‘army-man’) is the generic term for a soldier in the saga.

⁹⁹ RS 11/Sall. *Jug.* 33. 1.

¹⁰⁰ Würth 1998, 29.

¹⁰¹ The following translation choices strongly suggest that the redactor is not very familiar with the political system in Rome.

for support.¹⁰² Moreover, ‘riddaratign’ (‘equestrian title’) appears as a translation of ‘tribunatus militaris’.¹⁰³ *Riddari* thus has a wider range of meaning than Gropper assigns to it. I have chosen to translate *riddari* as ‘knight’ each time it occurs.

A note on the translation

This translation of the second version of *Rómverja saga* makes a text that is little known available in English for the first time. It has been my goal to preserve the style of the Old Icelandic. For this reason I have retained all the sudden shifts in verb tenses that take place even within a sentence. I have chosen to keep the connective ‘og’ (‘and’) but omit the connective ‘enn’ (‘but’). This is done for the sake of idiom since ‘but’ implies a contrast whereas the Icelandic ‘enn’ does not. Whenever practicable, I have opted for translations consisting of the same parts of speech as the original and vocabulary showing a preference for English cognates of the Icelandic words that are being translated.

Except in proper names, capitalization in the beginning of clauses in the manuscript seems wholly arbitrary. At first sight, the same applies to the placement of periods after every few words. Once one realizes that periods act as substitutes for all other punctuation marks, their usage is justified for the most part. The division of the text into sentences thus becomes a matter of deciding what clauses fit into a single sentence on a case-by-case basis. Very long sentences consisting of multiple clauses connected by ‘and’ proved unavoidable at times. Moreover, in a few places I found it necessary to add words into the text (identifiable by <...>) for the translation to make sense.

¹⁰² RS 6/Sall. *Jug.* 14. 1, RS 9/Sall. *Jug.* 24. 2.

¹⁰³ RS 19/Sall. *Jug.* 63. 4.

The spelling of proper names is highly irregular in the saga. I have chosen to adapt all names whose classical forms are easily recognized to their standardized spelling. Several names occur, however, that cannot be identified and, as a result, their spelling is left as it is. Whenever a Latin term is retained in the saga, I have opted for keeping it. That means that I have kept words such as ‘tabulae’ and ‘quinquium’. Similarly, I only use Roman original terms such as ‘consul’ and ‘dictator’ when they appear in the text itself.

To a native speaker of Modern Icelandic, translating *Rómverja saga* offered some challenges. The spelling has not been modernized as in the sagas I had previously read. It took me a while to grow accustomed to it, but it hardly posed any problems in the end. Furthermore, some words have nowadays taken on a meaning slightly different to the one they carried in the 14th century. This was often the case with abstract nouns, e.g. ‘réttindi’ which means ‘justice’ in the saga but ‘rights’ in Modern Icelandic. *A Concise Dictionary of Old Icelandic* by Geir T. Zoëga, originally published in 1910, was my greatest aid in dealing with those terms as well as with phrasal verbs. On the whole, the saga proved surprisingly easy to read, and problems posed by idiom were no greater than I would expect when translating Modern Icelandic.

The division and numbering of the sections follow those in Þorbjörg Helgadóttir’s 2010 critical edition. The corresponding range of sections in the Latin originals follows the section headings.

Rómverja saga: a translation

[Preface]¹⁰⁴ [Sall. *Jug.* 5.1-4]

Thus says Sallust in his account: “I am going to write about the battles which the Romans fought against Jugurtha, king of Numidia. It is out west in Africa and is called the Great Land of the Saracens.¹⁰⁵ I write about the events for the reason that their battles have been intense and great, and also for the reason that opposition was for the first time offered to the noble men of the district of the Romans due to the arrogance of the statesmen [*riki*] along with greed for power [*riki*] and envy among them. Those vices have been the most harmful both in heaven and on earth. And this took place in such a state of folly that battles between the men of the land almost completely destroyed the whole state [*riki*] of the country of Italy. But before I relate the beginning of this account, I will write about the things that happened earlier so that the account will be easier to understand. After the Romans had defeated Hannibal, king out west in the city of Carthage in Africa most excellent, Publius Scipio was the name of the earl who reigned there. He was the younger by that name. His father’s father also had that name. They were excellent men, and Publius was elected for a position when he was old enough according to Roman laws. He was thereafter called Africanus.

1. Here begin the sagas of the Romans. On King Masinissa. [Sall. *Jug.* 5.4-7.1]

Masinissa was the name of the king of Numidia. He was a great friend of Publius. Therefore he assumed great ambition from the Romans. So they made him chief and king of all the states [*riki*]

¹⁰⁴ ‘Preface’ is the title I have given to this section since it does not bear a title in the manuscript and is not assigned a number in Þorbjörg Helgadóttir’s edition.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Serkland hit mikla’; Saracen is a term used in the Middle Ages for Arabs, and is clearly anachronistic here.

which Publius Scipio had conquered, and then those states [*riki*] which Hannibal had possessed, and also those belonging to the king called Syphax¹⁰⁶ and he had possessed in Africa. Publius Scipio was staying with this Masinissa when he dreamt the dream which was later written down in Macrobius¹⁰⁷ and which had great wisdom. He shared friendship and loyalty with them his whole life. Micipsa was the son of Masinissa. He received the kingdom after him. His [i.e. Masinissa's] other sons, Mastanabal and Gulussa, died young. King Micipsa had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. The son of Mastanabal was called Jugurtha. He was as a young man both large and powerful in physical strength, handsome to look at, but yet much stronger in his heart and with regard to his sense and his whole vigour. But because he was the son of a concubine, King Micipsa does not want to grant him the kingdom, but he reared him like his own sons. Such was the nature and habit of Jugurtha that he did not spoil himself with laziness and indulgence of the body. He rather did what was the custom there: to ride into forests or race his peers. And he was always first in all things. And such things brought him into great affection. He first grew accustomed to hunting lions or other large animals. He was always at the front in all hunting, and yet he praised himself the least.

Because of these things King Micipsa became happy and expected his great kingdom [*riki*] to get much help and support from Jugurtha's prowess. But as Jugurtha's strength grew with age and accomplishments, the king was weighed down by old age. His sons were not far along with respect to age and prowess. He then started to fear for his sons who were lesser in sense and maturity than Jugurtha. But what he feared the most is that it is the nature of many men to covet

¹⁰⁶ He is wrongly called Selualin in the saga.

¹⁰⁷ Sallust does not mention Macrobius.

the [*riki*] if there is any chance, and then the mind goes rushing to fulfill its will. He also saw that Jugurtha would be able, if he wanted to become king, to be elevated to the throne [*riki*], but he thought that it sufficed for him to be an average man in all things. He [i.e. King Micipsa] felt that the people loved him. And yet, if he ordered him to be killed with any deceit, he was afraid that unrest would come of it. And he saw that it would not do to hustle to the ground a man so popular among all people and that it would be a better idea to lead him into some great danger.

2. Here is an account of Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 7.2-6]

At that time the Romans in Spain went with their army to a place called Numantia. Publius Scipio was the general of that army. The Romans now send word to King Micipsa that he send them an army, both knights and infantry. And so he did. He appointed Jugurtha as general of that army, and he [i.e. King Micipsa] thought to himself that that man would die in this danger being as eager as he was in all rigours or else the violence would prevent his happiness if it would prove difficult to kill him. But this happened in a different way than he expected, because when Jugurtha came to the Romans, he became keen of spirit and resourceful. He quickly became acquainted with the disposition of Publius Scipio and then of his enemies. Soon he was so dear to Publius that he called on Jugurtha to handle anything. He was willing to enter any danger which he wanted. Jugurtha carried a great concern over what he could do that would bring the greatest aid to the Romans. And until then he spared neither effort nor pains nor mortal danger. Thus he bound himself in friendship to chiefs and all other Romans. His friends feared him most of all. He was the strongest with a weapon and the keenest of spirit. Publius directed Jugurtha to where it was most needed for the reason that he was the toughest and he felt that neither his counsel nor plan ever went unheeded. He [i.e. Jugurtha] was for this reason most beloved by him and the whole army. And so everyone

reckoned that he would gain for him the greatest victory. He was also most generous with money and most modest towards all men.

3. On the Romans and Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 8.1-2]

At that time, in the army of the Romans, were many noble men and ignoble, that is those who valued bribery more highly than good personal qualities and were cunning and treacherous. They convinced Jugurtha that if King Micipsa would die in Numidia, no one would be as well-suited to assume power as Jugurtha. And they said that he possessed all things necessary to be chief of such a kingdom [*riki*] and he knows truly that in the city of Rome all things are for sale. When Numantia had been conquered, the whole army returned to the city of Rome. On leaving, Publius Scipio summons Jugurtha to a square and gave him generous gifts and promised him his following and troops and praised him much before the all the people of the city of Rome who were present. He then took him aside for a conversation in private and gave him good advice and spoke thus: “Love the friendship with the Romans in public but do not give them great gifts in secret. And know for sure that it is not good to buy from few people that which many possess. But if you want to continue the good behaviour which you have shown us, then the kingdom [*riki*] is within your reach. But if you rush heedlessly and prove yourself to be fickle, then you will lose money and your life.”

4. On King Micipsa. [Sall. *Jug.* 9.1-10.8]

Publius now sends Jugurtha back to King Micipsa with letters that say the following: “Your cousin Jugurtha is so well-experienced in all battles and counsel that he is dear to us and all chiefs of the city of Rome for it. For this reason you ought to welcome him for his merits. I thank you for this by means of our friendship. Here you have a worthy man similar to you and your father Masinissa.”

And when the king had read over these letters, he has become wise to the events that had taken place on the expedition. And his concerns started anew as this great fortune and advancement of Jugurtha became known. He now intends to win him over as best as he can and make him trusty to his sons through his affection. He now makes Jugurtha along with his sons an heir to a third of his estate.

But after a few winters had passed, Micipsa came down with an illness in his old age. And as the illness beset him, he summoned his sons Adherbal and Hiempsal and his nephew Jugurtha and many other relatives and friends and says: “Jugurtha, remember now when I took you as a little boy, fatherless and destitute, into my court and care and you had no claim to inheritance or to the kingdom [*riki*] according to our laws. And I made you as dear to me as my sons. And for that reason I expect you to be wholly loyal to me and them in all things which you accomplish. For so well and laudably did you lead the army in Numantia that I think that you would be a great aid to my kingdom [*riki*]. And you displayed to the Romans such great excellence that you made the name of our kinsmen known in Spain. As the days of my life are coming to a close, I hand over to you a strong kingdom [*riki*], and I remind you that you are fit to rule. And may you sustain your friendship with your compatriots well. Remember also my benevolence – how I have elevated you from being lowly and little to power [*riki*]. And be a help to my sons, your cousins, because you surpass them in both strength and wisdom. And never will you have more loyal friends than those brothers if you wish to cherish that. In every dispute he gains the upper hand who breaches justice. But you, brothers, Adherbal and Hiempsal, now listen! Honour and love well this man and imitate his accomplishments and counsels. And may the whole people see that I have raised dear foster-sons.” Jugurtha replied well to all the things of which the king had spoken even though it was not

all to his liking. For he did not want to sour the king's temper being as ill as he was. King Micipsa died shortly after that.

5. On the meeting and council of kings. [Sall. *Jug.* 11.1-13.1]

After this the kings have a meeting with each other about the structure of the kingdom [*riki*]. And when they sat down in the seat of honour, Hiempsal sat down on his brother's right-hand side. He was a cruel and temperamental man. He despised the maternal side of Jugurtha's family. And he wanted his brother Adherbal to sit between them in the highest seat¹⁰⁸ because he said that it was not Jugurtha's. But Adherbal rushed over to him and asked him to sit and yield to his brother for seniority's sake, but yet he barely got him to do it. Now they speak about the rule of the kingdom [*riki*]. Jugurtha then said that the *quinquinium* should be annulled as it was customary, when decrepit kings had died, to annul all their judgments and counsels within the five following nights.¹⁰⁹ Hiempsal then replied and said that this was also his choice "for King Micipsa left a third to you equal to what we possess of the kingdom [*riki*]". These words seized Jugurtha's heart more firmly than anyone suspected, and from that moment on Jugurtha was very preoccupied with the devices he should use to kill Hiempsal. But although he was tormented by it for a while, he nevertheless sets his mind to one solution. At the meeting that was just mentioned and <as> a quarrel among the kings began, they agreed on dividing the kingdom [*riki*] and cash. And the hour and date of a meeting was decided there.

¹⁰⁸ This is Icelandic idiom. Latin talks of the middle seat.

¹⁰⁹ The redactor misunderstands the Latin here, which reads: "oportere *quinquenni* consulta et decreta omnia rescindi" ("it was befitting to annul all resolutions and decrees passed within the five previous years").

The kings now went to the places that were nearest to the greatest treasuries and each took up lodging. Hiempsal went to a castle¹¹⁰ that was called Thirmida and took a room in the house of the man who was King Jugurtha's sword-bearer¹¹¹ and was exceedingly dear to him. Jugurtha enticed this man with generous gifts and solemn promises to invite King Hiempsal to his home and ask him to arrange all things as if they were his own. But once the king had arrived in his home and had received keys and custody of the rooms, "come to me then with a scheme for leading my knights in stealthily, for I will come there with a great band."¹¹² That same night Jugurtha led in a great band of knights into the king's room. And as they came into the castle, they broke into the rooms and search for the king and kill some men as they are sleeping but others as they offered resistance and ransack all rooms and cause a great din and rattle. When King Hiempsal heard the disturbance, he ran into a maid's small house to get away because the place was very unfamiliar to him. There they found him and beheaded him. They then brought Jugurtha the head. News of this crime got around all Africa and great fear emerged about the whole kingdom [*riki*]. And thus Adherbal and his friends were afraid. All the people leap into two factions. A greater number followed Adherbal but Jugurtha had better troops.

6. On the envoys to the city of Rome. [Sall. *Jug.* 13.2-15.1]

Jugurtha now gathers an army as great as he is able and rides against cities and seizes them by force, but others were given up. He expresses clearly to everyone his intention of keeping for himself the whole kingdom [*riki*] of Numidia. Adherbal sends men to the city of Rome and makes

¹¹⁰ The Latin (Sall. *Jug.* 12.3) has 'oppidum' ('town').

¹¹¹ His title is 'lictor' ('an attendant upon a magistrate') in the Latin original (Sall. *Jug.* 12.3).

¹¹² The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

the killing of his brother Hiempsal and his own misfortune known to the chiefs. He gathers an army as great as he is able and considers himself safe due to the multitude of people. And now the kings meet, and a very intense battle began. And Jugurtha gained victory, but Adherbal fled northwards to the province¹¹³ and from there to the city of Rome. Jugurtha now seized the whole kingdom and became king over it. He now thought about the great undertaking in which he had engaged and feared greatly the wrath of the Romans because he did not think that he had the power to resist them. He took comfort in the fact that he knew that the chiefs of the city of Rome were greedy and he had an immense amount of cash. And within a few days he gathers much gold and silver and sent it to the city of Rome and offers it first to his old friends. He then requested that new friends would be bought for him with the money – any friend possible while the money lasted.

When they came to the city of Rome, they first gave gifts to their host but then to the chiefs, and they enticed everyone to friendship and assistance to Jugurtha. And with this he gained the friendship of the Romans. Some supplied him with troops in exchange for money but others in exchange for hope, and they prescribed that debt would not fall heavily upon Jugurtha. Once the envoys knew the minds of the chiefs, he asked for a meeting with them and obtained it. When Adherbal arrived, he said: “Listen, as the fellow knights of my father, King Micipsa. My father ordered me on his dying day to take control over the kingdom [*riki*] of Numidia because your power extends there. And he always asked me to be of use to the Roman people and stand in my kinsmen’s place. And if I did that, I could freely be king in Numidia. Now, I followed this order of my father, but Jugurtha took a large part of the kingdom [*riki*] and of all of Masinissa’s riches

¹¹³ The redactor understands this as a proper name, Provinz.

away. However dear he is to you, he is still the greatest criminal on whom the sun shines and far beyond your authority. See now into what a calamity you have rushed because justice seems to me to crawl into its sheath but injustice to increase and grow stronger because you do not know yet who Jugurtha wants to be. I am now compelled to show you my need. Most chiefs only come to you for the reason that they have been defeated by you in battle and have no other choice but to ask mercy of you. Then our parent came to you as you were at war with the men of Carthage, and you needed their support then. Do not let me wait long for your aid if I am not going to get it. Is it, however, enough that I do not have another trouble than that I was up until recently rich and a king? Now I have parted with money and peace, kinsmen and freedom, and the kingdom [*riki*] with it. Jugurtha killed my brother, his cousin and made the kingdom [*riki*] his spoils. He also took my power [*riki*] and patrimony. I narrowly got away. My friends and kinsmen are crucified. Some have been cast into the mouths of savage beasts, but the few who live are hidden in dark rooms so that life is worse for them than death. Now, it would be cause of glory for all of you to help me get my due because all peoples serve your power and fear your great achievements. King Micipsa, my father, taught me that I should serve no one but Romans, and he said that you would offer considerable resistance on my behalf against my enemies. Now listen, rulers of the whole world, by the strength of your power [*riki*], by your honour, help me, and do not let the words of my father become slanderous for me, and do not let the kingdom [*riki*] of the men of Numidia diminish in your day – the kingdom which they should hold by right for Jugurtha’s crime and the death of our men. And push this burden strongly off of me.”

The king now falls silent but sent men to speak a few words because they trusted more in cash gifts than in causes. They said that King Hiempsal was killed by the people of the land for

his cruelty and said that Adherbal attacked Jugurtha first and then fled from him, and they said that he was now complaining that he could not protect himself from him in equal measure. “The Romans shall now think of him as the man they want him to be and have perceived him to be.” The meeting was adjourned on the note that nobody pay more heed to Adherbal’s complaint than to Jugurtha’s crimes.

7. On Lucius the envoy and Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 15.2-19.8]

The following day the chiefs attend to these matters, and everyone who had accepted money from Jugurtha is on his side. This was a large number of chiefs, and they sided with him in all ardour and spoilt all of Adherbal’s speeches. On the other hand, there were a few men who valued right judgments more than cash gifts and wanted to be of assistance to Adherbal and avenge Hiempsal. The conclusion was eventually that the faction which had accepted the bribe decided the judgment. For this reason the judgment was that ten men should be sent west to Africa and they should divide the kingdom [*riki*] which King Micipsa had ruled in half between Jugurtha and Adherbal. The man who headed them was called Lucius Epineius.¹¹⁴ He had killed two innocent consuls, Gaius Solius and Marchus Plato.¹¹⁵ When Lucius came to Numidia, Jugurtha welcomed him very warmly because Opimius had previously assisted him in Rome and accepted great gifts for it now. Jugurtha promised him many goods and asked him to keep the kingdom under his control, and he entices each of the envoys with generous cash gifts so that few of them tell the truth¹¹⁶. They divide the

¹¹⁴ He is called Lucius Opimius in the Latin original.

¹¹⁵ The redactor misunderstands the Latin here, which says that Opimius was influential as consul after C. Gracchus and M. Fulvius Flaccus (notice the difference in the names) were killed.

¹¹⁶ I believe that “halda þar um sannindum” (‘sannindi’ is ‘truth’) means “tell the truth”. The Latin says: “paucis carior fides quam pecunia fuit” (“honour was dearer than money to few of them”).

kingdom [*riki*] in such a way that Jugurtha possessed the eastern part that borders on Mauritania. That part was more populous and better. Adherbal obtained the one that lies in this direction to the Njörvasund¹¹⁷, and that part was better on account of cities, houses and harbours.

Sallust reports on this division of land as follows: There is a wholesome people there, and the people bear well hardship and toil and are very able. Africa extends all the way west to the sea and south to the Mediterranean and east to the Nile. Most people died of old age there unless they are struck dead in battle by weapons or are killed by animals. Men seldom die of illness there. It says in the books of King Hiempsal that Africa was first inhabited by peoples called Gaetulians and Libyans who nourished themselves with the flesh of animals. They did not have a chief and no houses and no laws. And they lived as livestock, and they lay down in the place they reached at night. But when Hercules died in Spain, as the Saracens say, and his army was composed of all peoples and tongues, his troops spread and sought land for themselves. Of these men a few went to Africa – Medes, Persians and Armenians – and settled close to the Mediterranean Sea, and yet the Persians the closest to the ocean. They turned their ships upside down and used them as houses. They could not make trading voyages to Spain on account of ocean storms and a foreign tongue. They went to the Gaetulians to find wives. From them derived the tribe that men call Numidians. They inhabited the land with villages and houses. The Medes and Armenians joined forces with the Libyans and mixed with them. They built for themselves cities and castles and went on trading voyages over to Spain. And as the population increased, the ones who lived by the sea were more intense. The Libyans were hardier than the Gaetulians. The people that are called Phoenicians lived

¹¹⁷ This is the Strait of Gibraltar.

closer to the sea from Carthage in the east to Egypt. They built these coastal cities: Hippo, Hadrumetum, and Leptis, and many others. The place is called Catabathmos where Africa and Egypt are divided. In the south, at the ocean, stand these cities: first Cyrene, Colonia and Tricon is the greatest of them all.¹¹⁸ There are three fjords difficult to cross that are called Cirei.¹¹⁹ Between them is Leptis, next Philon.¹²⁰ To there extends the kingdom [*riki*] of the Carthaginians. Then the Saracens reign in many other places that were in Numidia as far as Mauritania. They ruled over Spain and that was their dominion [*riki*]. Upwards from Numidia are the Gaetulians, and they live in small houses here and there. Some wander with their livestock where Blueland the Great¹²¹ lies, and it burns from the sun.

At the time when this saga took place, the chiefs of the Romans appoint widely their own men as rulers over the regions of the Saracens and Carthage and the kingdoms [*riki*] that they last obtained in Africa. Under King Jugurtha was a great number of Gaetualian men. The kingdom [*riki*] of Numidia extended all the way to the river called Muluccha. King Bocchus ruled Mauritania. The envoys who had divided the kingdom [*riki*] now went home.

8. On Jugurtha and Adherbal. [Sall. *Jug.* 20.1-21.2]

Jugurtha sees now that he has received a greater reward for the crimes than he expected. He now understands that it is true what he was told in Numantia, that all things are for sale in the state [*riki*] of the city of Rome. And now he trusted the friendly assertions of the envoys and provokes

¹¹⁸ The redactor misunderstands the Latin here, which reads: “Cyrene [...] colonia Theraeon” (“Cyrene, a colony of the people of Thera”).

¹¹⁹ They are called Syrtes in the Latin original.

¹²⁰ Philon is a distortion of “Philaenon arae” (“altars of the Philaeni”).

¹²¹ i.e. Ethiopia.

Adherbal anew because he was quiet and not much of a fighter nor as cruel as Jugurtha. And because he recognized that he was in great power, he was fearful about it. Jugurtha goes with a large number troops and expects that Adherbal will want to avenge himself and fight against him. Adherbal trusts the Romans more than the men of the land, and he sent men to Jugurtha and asked him for penitence. Jugurtha gave him in return threats and menace and reprimands the envoys gravely. At that they go home and told Adherbal, but he preferred to bear <Jugurtha's> encroachment because the troops had proven bad at fighting. And when Jugurtha sensed this, he gathered his troops and attacks Adherbal's dominion [*riki*] and takes control of castles and cities. And once he saw that he had to either flee or turn around, he gathered troops, and he and Jugurtha meet at the castle that is called Cirta, near the sea. And this was early in the morning, and they did not want to fight until the following day. But in the middle of the night, Jugurtha's knights attacked Adherbal's camp that was taken by surprise with trumpets and a cry and killed most of Adherbal's army. He barely got away into the castle Cirta with a few knights. The Romans besieged the castle with a great force. They closed the gates and kept Jugurtha's men from entering. And they kept Adherbal with them.

9. On King Jugurtha and King Adherbal. [Sall. *Jug.* 21.3-26.3]

Jugurtha now lays siege to the castle and attacks with all the kinds of war machines of which he could think and wanted to have conquered the castle before the envoys of King Adherbal, which he had sent to Rome before the battle, returned. When the chiefs in Rome heard these news from Numidia, they sent three men westwards to Africa. And the words of the chiefs in Rome say that the kings should be reconciled and make peace with each other.

Envoys came to King Jugurtha and told him the words of the chiefs in Rome as they had been told to do. But he said that the friendship of the Romans was the dearest to him of all things. “They know how I have proven to be to the best men in Rome, first to the excellent Publius Scipio. And because of that distinction, King Micipsa began to raise me to the throne [*riki*]. And he was not even without sons before. Now the more I have advanced on the basis of my courageous deeds, the worse I find it to bear the disrespect <shown> by Adherbal since he wants to lie in wait with the prospect of killing me. But as soon as I became aware of Adherbal’s treachery, I went with my army to meet him. I believe that the Romans will not forbid me to avenge myself on my enemies, as all peoples do. When this war comes to an end, I will send men to the city of Rome in order to tell them of Adherbal’s greed.”

The envoys then went home, but Jugurtha began anew to attack the castle but does not accomplish much since it was very sturdy. He has sturdy and tall tree-castles made with which to attack the castle. Then he had men dig under the walls, and he never paused his attack night or day. When Adherbal saw that the castle would be conquered, he sends men with letters to the Romans who affirm thus: “Listen, Romans, fellow knights of my father! Not because of my greed do I have to demand your aid so often, but a great necessity compels me to do so. For Jurgutha attacks me with such aggression that he has captured my dominion [*riki*], but he has trapped me in a castle in such need that I do not know which harms us more, hunger or lack of weapons. And the good deeds of King Micipsa, my father, do not help much, nor of Masinissa, my father’s father, and the service they rendered to you. But I do not write about the evil acts of Jugurtha. Help me now for the sake of your humanity and keep your oaths to my forefathers and help me get my due because your assistance will soon be too late if you delay longer.”

When the letters had been read out loud, some of the chiefs wanted to send an army to Africa immediately. But Jugurtha's friends discouraged it greatly because the bribery prevailed to such an extent that there was no lawful procedure. And yet a little later Marcus Scaurus, who was one of the most excellent in the city of Rome, was sent to Africa. And when he came to Africa, he sends men to Jugurtha <with the message> that he wants to meet him. And when Jugurtha noticed that such an excellent chief had arrived, and also that he wanted to meet him...¹²² He now resorts to attacking the castle with all his might and cannot conquer it. The castle-men [i.e. Adherbal's men inside the castle] do not get intelligence of the envoys. It seems to them that the assistance is delayed. Avid hunger then presses them and they expect a truce due to the influence of the Romans if they give up because Jugurtha had often offered them this. They constantly try to persuade Adherbal to give up and stipulate safety for life and limbs and appeal their whole case to the Romans. But although everything was dearer to the king than to believe Jugurtha's flattery, he still knew that the defense was up to the castle-men. And per their request it was decided that they give up and submit to Jugurtha. And already during that truce King Adherbal was killed and all his men, but the Romans received pardon.

10. On Gaius Memmius and Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 27.1-32.1]

This news got to the city of Rome from Numidia, and Jugurtha's friends demanded that this not be avenged and most agreed to that. Gaius Memmius was the name of the man who was at that time designated for a high office. He was loathed by the chiefs on account of his boldness and outspokenness. He replied to this case in this way: "You are saying this on account of bribery and

¹²² There is a short lacuna in the manuscript here.

treachery. And although you now have the power to adjudicate as you wish, the gods will not allow that sentence to be passed so unjustly without punishment for you.”

Now, after his words, it was agreed upon by the senators that an army be sent to Numidia and that two consuls lead the army. One was named Publius Scipio but the other Lucius Calpurnius Bestia.¹²³ When Jugurtha heard about this, he sends men to the city of Rome with cash gifts towards his aid, for rich and poor alike, because he thought that in Rome he could buy all things with money. His two sons led the trip. When they came to the city of Rome Calpurnius Bestia becomes aware of their presence and tells the chiefs that it is now advisable that they should not be able to enter the city. The chiefs said that they would gain entrance into it if Jugurtha would be willing to give up the kingdom [*riki*], “but if they go around as the men previously with money and bribery and mean to deceive us with them, then they shall not come into the city and leave Italy within the next ten days.”¹²⁴ And when the envoys hear this, they return home.

But Lucius Calpurnius Bestia and Manilius Publius Scipio¹²⁵ now prepare the army of the Romans and go first to Sicily and from there to Africa. And when they arrive in Numidia, they wage war and conquer the wide land. And when Jugurtha hears this, he sends men to them with cash gifts. And by the large amount of the money Calpurnius falls sick in his mind. He now makes an appointment with Jugurtha, and they gave themselves up as hostages¹²⁶ while the meeting took

¹²³ The redactor misunderstands the Roman name conventions here. The Latin reads: “P. Scipio Nasica, L. Calpurnius Bestia”, i.e. Publius Scipio Nasica, Lucius Calpurnius Bestia.

¹²⁴ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

¹²⁵ Scipio does not appear in the Latin at this point so it is impossible to say from where the Manilius name comes.

¹²⁶ This is the only meaning I can assign to “sellduz gisla”. The Latin original does not help me in making sense of this phrase.

place. Jugurtha now comes to the camp of the Romans and he spoke first about how he was defamed in the city of Rome, and he said that his surrender to Calpurnius and Publius was certain.

The next day they were at a meeting, and they communicate to each other what they thought was wrong, and they agreed that Jugurtha would give up his dominion [*riki*] to the power of the Romans and that he would give them thirty elephants and many horses and many other possessions and load the elephants with gold and silver and fine clothes and put that money into the hands of Sextius Quercor.¹²⁷ He and Lucius Calpurnius went home to the city of Rome to find out from the chiefs whether the agreement they had reached with Jugurtha should stand. When they told the chiefs about the agreement, then they saw that the men had been deceived with cash gifts and discussed amongst themselves whether they should break this agreement and kill Calpurnius and Publius or find out whether other chiefs were involved in the deception. But it turned them away from the right <course> that they did not want to attack Scaurus who had been involved in their plan regarding the army. And when Gaius Memmius saw that they agreed on this and he was hated by chiefs on account of his righteousness and outspokenness but loved by the people, he held a meeting with the chiefs and desired revenge. But they delayed the decision.

He then spoke of the long-lasting unrighteousness and arrogance of the chiefs and stirred it up as much as he was able by speaking thus: “Many things discourage me but some encourage me to speak to you about your conduct. And I would rather stay silent, if it were not for the great necessity to show you the cunning deeds that you call patience. But what encourages me the most is when kindness turns into unnecessary greed. I find it difficult to report what has happened to

¹²⁷ The redactor does not recognize the title ‘quaestor’ and mistakes it for a proper name, Quercor.

chiefs during those ten winters on account of the arrogance of our men or how disgraced you are or how all your defenders have been killed off or how much our hearts are spoilt by cowardice and stupidity but you do not wish to rise up, subjugated by your friends. And you are afraid of those who should rather be afraid of you. But although this is the case, my mind desires to rise against the power of lies. Now it will put to the test whether I want to follow in my father's footsteps. And you who are cowardly accidentally have power over others and let yourself be cowed into submission by your subordinates. The Romans had many troubles when Tiberius Aluius¹²⁸ Gracchus wanted no one but himself to hold all the state [*riki*] of the Romans and was killed for it and many others by his example but some put in a dark room.

“Consider the disgrace: Your enemies exert themselves against you, but some of them who kill your men request a high office from you, but some boast of the plunder as of their victory. The slaves, if they are proud of their wealth, do not tolerate the command of their masters. Listen, those of you who are born to power [*riki*]: All peoples will mock you. And the more shamefully one acts, the safer one is. For your cowardice takes on from the criminals all the things they commit. The situation is now, Romans, that you are nearly subjugated, you who previously subjugated everyone else. You were the rulers of the whole world. But now you will be pleased if you manage to stay alive. Now your fellow knights and your confederates have been killed off like livestock but your cities and dominions [*riki*] conquered. Stand up, high-minded men, and ward off this reproach and reproof. And yet we barely have revenge in that all our enemies have been killed off because we have ample strength and power to rise above all peoples, if manliness is not wanting.

¹²⁸ This name does not appear in the Latin original.

And let us remember for a long time how badly we have been treated.” These things Gaius Memmius usually spoke at assemblies and asked Lucius Cassius (he was then praetor in Rome) to go with Jugurtha under protection to Rome in order for him to tell who had accepted money from him for the court.

11. On the Romans and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 32.2-34.2]

And as these things were happening in Rome, it happened in Numidia that those from Calpurnius’ army who were left behind followed their chief’s example and took money in order to give Jugurtha the dominion back. Some of those who were supposed to be at peace plundered. When Cassius the praetor, chief of the Romans, came to meet Jugurtha following what Gaius Memmius had urged, he tries to persuade him to hand himself over to the power of the Romans. “For the common people in Rome has given their word that you will be safe there, and additionally I have given my word which some men find to be worth quite a bit.”¹²⁹ And by this persuasion Jugurtha goes with Cassius to the city of Rome dressed as a poor knight. He expected great assistance from Publius Scipio on account of the gifts which he had sent him. And when they came to the city of Rome, Gaius calls for an assembly. And many chiefs and many people came there and the people rush very hastily upon Jugurtha, and the people want him tied up immediately, but some want him killed unless he tells who had accepted money to support his cause. But Gaius Manlius wants the Romans to keep their word and not spoil the pledge that had been given to him by the people. Gaius Memmius now reminds Jugurtha of the ill deeds he has done in Numidia to his father’s brother and his sons and asks him to tell who had promised him their support in such things and

¹²⁹ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

to name those whom he had given money for their assistance and tells him that he has hope for mercy if he does so. Then Gaius Berilius, the chief of the common people, stood up. He asked King Jugurtha to stay silent and answer nothing. All the common people at the assembly rushed upon Jugurtha with a cry and urging and wanted him to name the traitors. But at this assembly, those who were in control were in the wrong and protected their cause.

12. On Massiva and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.*35.1-10]

There was a man in Rome called Massiva, son of Gulussa, son of King Masinissa. This man had been with King Adherbal and escaped in Cirta when the king died. He then went to the Romans. The Romans now try to persuade him to request the control of the kingdom [*riki*] of Numidia but that Jugurtha should be declared to have forfeited the dominion [*riki*] on account of his crimes. Spurius Albinus was then consul, and it had fallen to him to conquer Numidia but to Minucius to conquer Macedonia. He begins this undertaking. Jugurtha becomes aware of this and does not want to wait for him. He then asked his kinsman and respected friend Bomilcar to give him money so that he would kill Massiva. Bomilcar swallows the bait and lies in wait for Massiva. And one of his men became too eager to hunt and ran up to Massiva and was going to kill him, and he was apprehended and tortured so that he would speak. He then confessed that Bomilcar had egged¹³⁰ him on to do this. And because of this Bomilcar was exiled from the state [*riki*] of Rome but not killed because he was under protection of the Romans along with Jugurtha. But when Jugurtha got caught in this fraud, all his cash gifts gave rise to hatred of him. Jugurtha got Bomilcar, his kinsman, away secretly. He gave the Romans 90 <men> as sureties because Jugurtha knew that if

¹³⁰ Throughout, I translate the verb ‘eggja’ with the verb ‘to egg on’ since it is derived from the Old Norse.

Bomilcar were killed, there would not be many to serve him. And a few days later Jugurtha goes out of Rome and to Numidia because the chiefs asked him to leave as quickly as possible. And when Jugurtha rode out of Rome, men say that he turned his horse around towards the city, saying the following: “I see a city for sale which will quickly perish if she finds her buyer.”

13. On Albinus Spurius. [Sall. *Jug.* 36.1-39.5]

Albinus Spurius now prepares the army of the Romans in Africa and wants to have won the victory before the change-days¹³¹ came. “Either kill Jugurtha or arrest him.” When Albinus came to Numidia, Jugurtha sends him a message <saying> that he does not need to wage war because he wants to surrender himself to his power or else flee the land and the kingdom [*riki*]. He nevertheless prepares his army as for a battle and tells his men that he will have the courage to fight the Romans. Albinus hardly knows what to expect and the hour is thus delayed. There were some men who said that Albinus would have knowledge of these plans along with Jugurtha.

When the change-days were approaching, Albinus went to Rome, as was his duty, but put his brother Aulus in charge of the army in the meantime. In Rome arose a dispute among the chiefs about who should be consul, Publius Lucullus or Lucius Annus.¹³² The chiefs of the people did their best so that it would be the same men, and this disagreement stalled the election so that no one was elected that year. And as a result of this delay Aulus, who was in charge of the army in Numidia, expected a high office. And therefore he plucks up courage and means to fight Jugurtha

¹³¹ ‘Change-days’ sounds like a day on which a new consulship would start. The Latin text refers to ‘comitia’, the election itself. This is late in 110 BCE.

¹³² In the Latin text, these men are contending for being tribune of the people, or ‘chiefs of the people’ as we see in the following sentence.

and chase him out of the kingdom [*riki*]. He summons the army and goes to a castle called Suthul. Therein were Jugurtha's deepest treasuries. The castle could not be conquered while there were provisions¹³³ in it for it stood on a high mountain. Aulus now advances and is not able to attack the castle. Jugurtha is impressed with what Aulus did by ignorance. He then sends him a message, and yet with some slyness, and says that he would prefer to submit to his power than for him to keep doing such things. He often sent men with this message and acted as if he were afraid of Aulus. And he leads his army along some secret paths as if he feared Aulus. And based on this, Aulus believed that he would consent to an agreement.

Jugurtha then sent yet another message to Aulus <saying> that he wanted to reach an agreement with him, albeit secretly, and said that few people would know what they talked about that way. He sent men both day and night to tempt the Romans with cash gifts and asks them to not fight against him but to flee as soon as the trumpets sound. And one night Jugurtha comes suddenly with a great army and attacks Aulus' camp. The Romans fear this uproar and shouting, and some flee while others take up their weapons. During the night the whole sky was filled with clouds, and they did not see whether it would be more advisable to flee or to resist. The band of men who had accepted the money ran over to Jugurtha and there were easily five-hundred men. Those people are called Ligurians. Two bands and nineteen-hundred surrendered the camp to Jugurtha. The Numidians now attack very intensely, but the Romans flee to a mountain ridge that was near there. In the morning, Jugurtha said to Aulus: "Now I have you confined with your army without food supplies. But even though we have you altogether in our power, I will treat you kindly

¹³³ In the original, the reasons are "saevitia temporis and opportunitas loci" ("the harshness of the weather and the advantage of its position").

because you shall have safety, if you want to make a truce with us. And you shall leave Numidia within ten days.” And although these terms were shameful and harsh, fear of death came so close to Aulus that the king alone had to settle the agreement.

And when news of this reach the city of Rome, everybody became fearful, but some lamented the losses of their state [*riki*] when people in flight were now returning to the city of Rome as never before. Everyone was angry at Aulus and feared for their freedom as he, unarmed, had entered an agreement with great shame. Albinus feels a great shame in the conduct of his brother and goes to have a word with senators and asks whether the agreement with Jugurtha should be kept. The senators¹³⁴ said that the agreement which was made without their counsel should not be kept. Albinus now has a census conducted and claims for himself all the troops as quickly as he can and goes straightaway to Numidia. And the Romans were very opposed to him leading such a great army away. But although he was eager to fight and avenge his brother, he thought himself not able to fight with this army, and therefore he stayed for the time being in Rome.

14. On Manulus and Metellus. [Sall. *Jug.* 40.1-45.3]

There was a powerful man in Rome called Mamilius Limetanus. He tried to persuade the Romans that they should investigate by whose counsels Jugurtha had refused the offer of the chiefs or who had accepted money from him or who had been driven away from their weapons or who avoided the peace. These questions received replies reluctantly from many men because many perceived that this might pertain to them but they entrusted many men with stopping this investigation. Many

¹³⁴ The Icelandic has an incorrect plural form of ‘senators’, i.e. ‘senati’ instead of ‘senatores’.

now became fearful on account of Mamilius' question. Three men were then asked whether Marcus Scaurus had accepted money when he went to meet Calpurnius. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus wanted to lead the common people into the freedom it had enjoyed earlier because it had gone most astray on account of peace and the greed of chiefs who did want to heed laws and the right of the people. For the injustice of the noble men was discovered because their earlier kinsmen had conquered a great dominion [*riki*] for the Romans in the Land of the Saracens.

The men who were reproached were very afraid and looked for support from their kinsmen and friends, and then they walked up to Tiberius and killed him and a few winters later Marcus Fulvius and Gaius Gracchus. Their kinsmen are called Graui,¹³⁵ and they avenged among other things killings of noble men and dealt out to each other great blows, and some were killed but others driven away. If all their battles should be recounted, time would run out before the material.¹³⁶ But after the agreement of Aulus and his fugitives, Metellus and Silanus were made consuls, and they cast lots for districts, and Metellus drew the lot of advancing to Numidia. He was a severe man, and although he was not friend of some of the statesmen [*riki*], he enjoyed minor fame. But when he advanced to that title, he was lenient and compliant to both Silanus and others. Yet he was most intent upon arranging the army for battle. He did not trust well the old army that had been in Africa previously. And when Metellus had prepared his army out west in Africa by the chiefs' counsel, everyone expected good things from him because he was not proven to be avaricious.

¹³⁵ This should probably be Gracchi, but this whole sentence is distorted.

¹³⁶ The redactor preserves Sallust's observation on the situation.

When he came to Africa, Spurius Albinus hands over to him the whole army, unfamiliar and unwarlike and unenduring of danger and labour and consisting of men more courageous with their tongue than in their heart. The chiefs had greater expectation of trouble and anxiety than of support. Metellus is now thinking that although the time leading up to the change-days¹³⁷ is getting shorter, he prefers to wait for battle and arrange the knights as had been the custom of the previous chiefs and assumed that in this way their minds would be made sharper.

As soon as Albinus came to Numidia and heard of the mishaps of the army and the shame of his brother, he was going to train the army and fight. He kept the troops together within a camp and moved the one camp that could not go anywhere else due to provisions. He made men keep guard in accordance with custom and walk under the standard. Actors and jugglers¹³⁸ were numerous in the army, but the villainous mob that was there spoilt men's fields and went into the villages and stole money and beat men up, and most things they did were atrocious. Metellus was not unwise to break this bad habit of the army at this point rather than during the battle itself. He commanded that no actor should be in the army and that nobody should sell boiled food or baked bread and no villain¹³⁹ should have a carriage or an attendant, neither in the camp nor in the ranks. To other men he gives the portion that he sees fit. Every day he moved the army forward, and usually in the evening he had ditches dug around the camp. He also had firm fortifications made as if his enemies were near him. And he always had a guard kept at night. He usually inspected them himself. He always went around with rallied troops. Metellus was sometimes at the front of

¹³⁷ This is in late 110 BCE. Metellus is consul in 109 BCE.

¹³⁸ These men are not to be found in the Latin original.

¹³⁹ 'Villain' and the Icelandic term 'þorpari' both originally referred to rustic people/peasants but later took on a more pejorative meaning.

the troops but sometimes in the back or here and there and inquired into everything and where everyone was supposed to carry a standard because they always marched under a standard. The Romans carried provisions and weapons themselves. And in a short time he put an end to the uncouthness of the army with toil but not with punishments, with the result that the soldiers became firmer and stronger.

15. On Metellus and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 46.1-50.2]

When Jugurtha hears what Metellus is up to, he then assumes that he is not as cautious as he used to be. Jugurtha is now afraid and now he truly wants to give up as soon as possible and sent men to Metellus with humble words begging for his life and safety and freedom for his sons but everything else he will submit to his power. But since Metellus was aware of the unreliable talk of Numidians, he talks to the envoys in secret and entices each one with fair words and cash gifts to bring Jugurtha to meet him alive rather than dead and “tell him that he will get that upon which was agreed if he comes to me.”¹⁴⁰ A few days later Metellus goes with the army to Numidia. That district was all filled with men and livestock. Dukes and other statesmen went to meet Metellus and brought him wheat and other provisions. They offered him all their services, but he still is as cautious as if war were certain for him. He had a lookout kept far away in every direction. Metellus was at the front of the troops and with him among others a band of select infantry and archers and men who had snakes. Gaius Marius came last with a band of knights. But Jugurtha was expecting great slyness because no man knew whether he [i.e. Marius] wanted to keep the peace or not. They

¹⁴⁰ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

did not know which was more dangerous for him because he was familiar with all the paths and very cunning in battle.

A short distance from the road that Metellus took was a castle that is called Vaga. It was one of the most-peopled in Numidia. Many merchants come there from various countries and most from Italy. Metellus wants to go there and find out whether he is able to conquer the place because it was the capital of the country. They are now able to conquer the castle, and after that he had provisions and armours transported there and assumed that the castle would offer him great protection.

When this had been done, Jugurtha sent men with letters to meet Metellus to ask for life and safety for himself and his sons and he offered to submit all things to his power. Metellus tempted the envoys with cash gifts and by persuasion to deceive them, as the previous ones, to betray Jugurtha and asked them thus to tell the king that Metellus does not want to refuse his surrender. And when they come to Jugurtha, the king senses that Metellus has a plan to match all his devices. Jugurtha now gathers an army and takes a secret path to meet Metellus and intends to have a partnership with him. This was in the part of the kingdom [*riki*] that Adherbal had possessed, twenty miles away from the river that is called Carpses.¹⁴¹ Between the river and the mountain which was there lay the path of Metellus' men. He stations his men in many places on the heath in some shrubs. He puts Bomilcar in control of his elephants and one band of his infantry and teaches him how to handle it, but he himself was stationed near the side of the mountain with

¹⁴¹ The river is called Muthul in the Latin original.

his band of knights and eggs them on. He bids them remember the earlier advance and “we will either gain victory or death on this day.”¹⁴²

Metellus was with his troops a short distance away from Jugurtha’s army and is not aware of it. Metellus sees that the ridge has become strange. One could see where the horses went about in the shrub because the forest was sparse and so short that it did not hide the horses. Now, they could not see Metellus at that time, but yet he knew there was a siege. Metellus arranged the right wing of the army to face the siege and makes it stand triple. He arranges his archers in front, and Metellus went with his troops. A warrior named Marius went after that with a part of the army.

16. On the battle of King Jugurtha and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.* 50.3-53.8]

Jugurtha now sees that Metellus’ latter battle array had overtaken all his troops. It was no less than three miles away from where King Jugurtha’s troops were. King Jugurtha now walks down from the ridge and rushes forth between them and the mountain and orders the trumpets to resound with a cry and an uproar and wants to know if the troops of the Romans give way. The Romans resisted well, but then they fell back and shot at them and wounded many men, but they could not gain an advantage. The Romans had taught them such a hard lesson that the Numidians fled every time wherever the Romans came forth and ran away in groups and caused many losses to each other. The Numidians were as swift as dogs. They now flee, but the Romans killed many of their men. Metellus now saw that the Romans were daring and skilful in battle. The Numidians were scared although they were good archers, and now they began to gather the troops into four ranks because some of the troops were sitting in the slope and are resting there. He asked them to fight well and

¹⁴² The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

bravely. King Jugurtha now asked his men to renew the battle and to show prowess as befits a man.

Now, the Romans never knew where he would come forth because he always fled from where he came forth. He always came forth where it was least expected. Bomilcar went with the elephants which were offered to him and with an army of archers. He sees where Rutilius went forth to the river. Bomilcar goes to meet Rutilius. Rutilius sees smoke rising up to the sky. They did not see the army for the forest and believe at first that this has to be the wind. But a little later they realized that there were hostilities, and they begin to take up arms and stand in front of their camp. When the others came, they ran to them. The Numidians who went with the elephants are slower to start running and they could not assemble as was needed because the forest was dense. For the Numidians the greatest aid was the elephants, and as the elephants stroll around the forest, the Romans run up to them as fast as possible and kill them now in heaps. A great band of Numidians was gathered together, and it was getting very close to night. Now they hear each other's trumpets and battle cries, but still there was no battle because of the darkness of the night. Now the cowardly boast no less than the courageous that they went forward bravely.

17. On Metellus and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 54.1-57.6]

Metellus now sits in a camp for the next three nights and has the wounds of his men bound up. He thanks men for their support and gives gifts to those he found worthy. And he now sends men to Numidia to scout out King Jugurtha's movements. They soon realize that Jugurtha is assembling troops and preparing for battle. Metellus now suspects that Jugurtha will still want to fight. The Romans find out what Metellus is doing and they find it to be joyful news that he has tamed the army according to the custom of the previous chiefs. And when they had received reliable

information about this, they offer <sacrifices> to the gods in the city of Rome because they had previously been very afraid of this war. King Jugurtha is still scouting whether Metellus is sending any men away from the army and intends to make an attack on them immediately. Sometimes he attacks Metellus but sometimes Marius, sometimes those who were left. But when they encountered opposition, they fled because they were so swift that no dog nor man could catch them. A little while later Jugurtha notices that Marius goes to purchase provisions to a district called Itaron.¹⁴³ Jugurtha now goes there with a large number of troops. When the Romans become aware of this, they run to the city gates and defend themselves from there. And as the battle begins, Jugurtha eggs the city-men on to go behind the Romans “and if you do so, then you will free us all”.¹⁴⁴ But there was no way the city-men would risk that. Marius now makes such a fierce attack that everybody ran from him towards Tammannia.¹⁴⁵ This city stood on plains and there was a stronger hold in the wall than in the foundation of the city. In this city there was an abundance of men, provisions and weapons. Metellus now besieges the city with his army. He appoints a chief for every five-hundred men. They now make a hard onslaught on the city with all kinds of war machines. But the city men moved rocks on top of them and poured along with them pitch and brimstone and shoot blazing stakes at them. Many men were wounded by hand-thrown slings and other shots, and there was as great a danger for those who came closer as for those who were farther away. Still the cowardly are distinguished from the brave.

¹⁴³ The redactor probably means Sicca.

¹⁴⁴ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

¹⁴⁵ The redactor probably means Zama.

18. On the battle of King Jugurtha and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.* 58.1-62.9]

At the time when the battle against Tamannia was at its height, King Jugurtha with his rallied troops takes by surprise those who were watching the city gates. Jugurtha immediately attacked them and tore down the gate of the fort and walked into the camp. Some of the Romans then took to running, but others showed prowess. Many men there were killed and wounded, but sixty of them ran up on a mound and defended themselves to such an extent that whoever of the Numidians who came to meet them died quickly. As Metellus is fighting very daringly, he sees the flight of his men behind his back. He turned to the camp of Gaius Marius with his troops and asked them to help the Romans so that they would not be defeated. Marius quickly does his bidding. Jugurtha does not realize this until the army reaches them, and they were late in running over the dike. Each man runs away as he is able. Some were killed in the dike, but others ran between the camps, into the narrow place, and were killed there. Everyone who were allowed to live fled with King Jugurtha.

Metellus left the city when morning came and went to his camp. And on the following day he arranged the army in front of the camp where it was being attacked and divided the chiefs to guard the gates, but he goes to the city and fights there. The next day Jugurtha makes an incursion into the camp, and a sharp battle takes place there. Metellus makes a firm onslaught on the city, and so eager were his men that they were more prone to wounding others than to sparing themselves. When there was a considerable break in the battle, the city-men saw where the knights were fighting at the camp. They rejoiced greatly and assumed that their king was there. And when Marius saw their joy, he had the offensive deescalated and made them perceive as they pleased. Then he had ladders carried to the city and ascended there with many men. When the city-men see

this, they carry onto them big rocks and broke the ladders. Some were beat up but some killed, and this made them retreat. Metellus now sees that it was not advisable to besiege this city any longer and also that he could not get an opportunity to wage battles with Jugurtha except with incursions. He now retreated from the city and stations all his men in other cities which he had conquered previously. He also sent men to Bomilcar, who was Jugurtha's greatest confidante, with large cash gifts <asking him> to bring him to him either alive or dead. Metellus is able to change his mind quickly because he was both a ready listener and false-spoken.

And therefore he receives the messages and speaks with King Jugurtha at the right time and asked him whether he did not think it advisable to submit to the power of the Romans. "And you have suffered defeat in many battles and killed many people and occupied and laid waste the land far and wide."¹⁴⁶ The king listens to his persuasions and sends men to Metellus and wants to submit himself to his power. Metellus then summons the chiefs and his best men. It was agreed upon that Jugurtha should send Metellus thousand pounds of silver if he really wants to make peace and all the elephants he owns, weapons and horses. Jugurtha does this immediately. Metellus offers pardon and peace to everyone who wanted to submit to him, and all of them are led bound to meet him in Numantia, but some fled to Mauritania to King Bocchus and did not want to submit to Metellus.

Jugurtha now sees that he has been deprived of men and weapons and a lot of money. He now ponders his losses. Then he remembers what losses he has caused for the Romans and postpones submitting to Metellus because of that fear for a few days. Jugurtha does not dare to

¹⁴⁶ This is indirect speech in the Latin original.

fight the battle, and he let himself fall from the kingship and into slavery and thought that he had spent a great power unwisely when he had given them up. He opts for not submitting and wants to fight the battle with all his might.

19. On Metellus the consul and Gaius. [Sall. *Jug.* 62.10-66.1]

Now it happens in Rome that when the change-days came they took Metellus as consul.¹⁴⁷ “He shall alone have all Numidia.”¹⁴⁸ Gaius Marius went during this time to the place called Utica and offers sacrifices to the gods there and enquires into his fate. The gods told him that many things would befall him, awful and very excellent things, and that he would become much more eminent than all his kinsmen. Gaius was not of a great family. He is now made much stronger by the promises of the gods and trusts already greatly in all lucky experiences, and everything goes prosperously for him. It occurred to him to run for the consulship. He thought he was well suitable for it on account of both his good sense and all his abilities. He was a great warrior and very sage with good sense. He endured well hardship and toil, and in all accomplishments he was very vigorous. And when he had received an equestrian title from the Romans, he became dear to everyone for his kindness and valour. He had not yet gathered courage to run for the consulship. But since the gods had pointed him towards that office, he wants to attempt to obtain it.

<He> now asks Metellus for leave to go to Rome. But although Metellus had sufficient prowess, he had the flaw that most noble men have, namely that he wanted himself to be the greatest, and said: “I want to remind you that you do not have the ancestry to run for such a

¹⁴⁷ 109 BCE.

¹⁴⁸ This is indirect speech in the Latin original.

thing.”¹⁴⁹ Marius now got angry and thought that Metellus was disdainning him. <He> always speaks ill of Metellus to the chiefs and “he should have defeated Jugurtha long ago”.¹⁵⁰ He now constantly delays because of Metellus’ inactivity. Many people found his words credible. In the army there was a man named Gauda, son of Mastanabal, son of Masinissa. Micipsa had adopted this man as his second heir, and he was almost half-mad. He requested to sit in a high-seat by Metellus. He wanted that by no means. Marius eggs this man to defame Metellus but said that he were well suited to be king if Jugurtha were killed but that that would happen quickly if he became consul. Gauda does what he was asked to do. Marius entices the Romans to write to the city of Rome for the sake of Metellus, but <he> requested that Marius be made consul. Many people liked this and pleaded his case because the people were eager for someone new. Jugurtha now prepares for battle and strengthens his cities with walls and fortifications. He orders his weapons to be prepared and buys wherever he may get <them> and wanted by all means to free himself from this war. He still tempts with offers of money those who are staying in the cities and strengthens his force with all his might.

20. On King Jugurtha and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.* 66.2-69.4]

The city called Vaga was the first to submit to the Romans. Jugurtha goes there with his army and offers the city-men money. But although they were in the service of the Romans, they nevertheless liked Jugurtha and let themselves be enticed and swore to him an oath of allegiance. And on the third day after the oaths were sworn, a holiday was observed throughout Numidia. The Romans then invite those who inhabit the castle to come to them and also the earl himself who was named

¹⁴⁹ This is indirect speech in the Latin original.

¹⁵⁰ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

Turpilius Silanus. And at this banquet all the Romans were killed wherever they were except Turpilius alone. The people who knew of this plan thought that he was foremost who could do the worst to the Romans. The Roman knights who saw this incident did not know whereto they should flee. So ferocious were the Numidians that they let no one of the Romans except Turpilius walk away alive. It is not reported in what way he escaped. But it is written that he preferred a sorry life with long reproof to dying honourably with his companions. And when Metellus hears this, he becomes both sad and angry. In the evening, after sunset, he summons from the camp all the troops that had been with him during the winter. There were five-hundred forty-six men. He also had Numidians with him who had submitted to him. Metellus asked them to get ready very quickly, and <they> travelled the whole night as fast as they could. And in the morning they come to a small hill. Metellus speaks to the troops and asks them to go forward bravely. He now arranges his knights for attack. <He> makes the Numidians on horseback go first and next walking men and <tells them> not to carry banners until he orders them to. The city-men intend to close the city gates. Metellus and his knights seize the gates first, put up the banners and give a war cry. <They> now kill everyone except those who fled into holy temples. In the same way were men and women killed and also children, but all the money was seized as booty. Turpilius now discerned the whole treachery and how his companions were killed. Lastly the earl was beheaded, and he was of a family from the district that is called Laicio.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ The redactor seems to not be familiar with the region of Latium.

21. Here is an account of King Jugurtha and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.* 70.1-72.2]

It is said that Jugurtha felt suspicious of Bomilcar, his kinsman, for having egged him to submission to the Romans. Bomilcar waited both day and night for an opportunity to get to the king because he thought that he would be given an ultimatum if he would accomplish his treachery first. This treachery became insurmountable for him, and <he> took a man into partnership with himself who was called Nabdalsa, an excellent man and popular among the people. He usually led the army when Jugurtha was not present. They decide among themselves on what day they should betray the king. And when they meet,¹⁵² Nabdalsa feared the crime. Bomilcar regretted in his mind that he had not accomplished the betrayal. He now sends Nabdalsa a letter and asked him not to be so fickle-minded. When the letters arrived, Nabdalsa was already in bed. He could not read <them> to the end on account of the sleep that was greatly falling upon him. One of his service-men therefore walked into the tent and picked up the letter that had fallen down and read it. And as he realized that this treachery was being plotted against the king, he immediately went and told him about this scheme. And once the king knew about this, he had all the men killed who had been in on the plot with Bomilcar and Nabdalsa and then those men themselves, and then he made others avoid betraying their master. After that, Jugurtha was never without fear so that he was almost half-mad due to fright.

22. On Metellus and Marius and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 73.1-76.6]

Metellus now sees that the hope had failed that Bomilcar would do away with Jugurtha. He now gives Marius permission to plead his case with the Romans. They took the words of both men well,

¹⁵² They did not actually meet – “ad tempus non venit” (“he did not come at the appointed time”).

but it could still be perceived that everyone was more favourable to Metellus than to Marius except the chief who was called Titus Manlius Mancinus, and it happened at last that he plotted with injustice and heavy labour that Marius was given the consulship and Numidia for the purpose of a war against King Jugurtha.¹⁵³ For that place had previously been intended the consul who was called Marcus Decius Paulus. Now it is to be reported that Jugurtha has lost most of this best chiefs. Some of them he has himself had killed, but others flee due to fear from him because nobody knew whether he wanted to flee or fight, but anywhere he went he was disinclined. Metellus now moves his army towards Jugurtha. And when they meet, a very intense battle begins. And the legion that Jugurtha controlled resisted well, but everybody else fled. When the king sees this, he flees. And the Numidians trusted more in their feet than in their weapons. They flee into a strong city which is called Thala. Metellus pursued them along a difficult path and many difficult passages of the land and left many high-minded men behind there. Yet eventually he reaches the city Thala without their knowledge. And when Jugurtha heard this, he did not dare to enter battle against the Romans and fled during the night from the city with all the money he could bring and had nowhere a house to stay. <He> went abroad as a merchant because he did not trust the people of the lands well and intended to avoid fear to such a degree that nobody should know his place for the night. Now, when Metellus sees that the city-men are prepared for battle, he contributes his army and besieges the city for forty days. He has a wheel made with iron and lets it roll towards the city and then breaks the walls. And when the chiefs of the city see it conquered, they go to the royal palace and invite all great men there, and they get drunk with wine. <They> then kindle a fire and burn to

¹⁵³ Marius is consul in 107 BCE.

death inside. Metellus captures the city and seizes a lot of booty there. He now puts his men in control of the city.

23. On Metellus and his men and on King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 77.1-83.3]

At this time envoys came to Metellus from the city that is called Lepis and asked him to give to them for the defence of the land some chief to face the viking that was waging war against them and was called Hamilcar. This city subjected itself to the Romans at the time when Lucius Calpurnius commanded the army of the Romans. Metellus now sends to that city four cohorts and the chief in control who was called Gaius. This city was first built by the Sidonians, and there was a good peace between the cities. Two fjords cut into <the coastline> on either side of the place. They are called Circes.¹⁵⁴ This is at the extreme edge of Africa. At that time the men of the city of Carthage were the richest in Africa. The men of Cyrene were previously the richest. They had great disputes over the kingdom [*riki*], the men of Carthage and of Cyrene, and there great battles between them took place both on sea and on land, and now the former, now the latter would gain victory. But then they reconciled and divided the kingdom [*riki*] among themselves. And the men of Carthage obtained more but the men of Cyrene less.

When Jugurtha had lost Thala, he saw that his force was <too> weak to rise up against Metellus. He then fled to the people that are called Gaetulians. They were vicious and had little knowledge of the Romans. Jugurtha ordered them under his standard. He gave money to King Bocchus' friends and kinsmen for their support, and he himself goes to him and asks him for assistance against the Romans and relates to him all the difficulty of his affair. King Jugurtha had

¹⁵⁴ They are called Syrtes in the Latin.

previously fought a battle against King Bocchus, and the kings now prepare for battle against the Romans and intend to attack the castle Cirta. Metellus does not flee, and he does not advance, but he prepares his army for battle and intends to fight against the Numidians and sets up his camp near the castle. Metellus now hears that Marius has obtained the consulship, and this upsets him so much that he almost takes to his bed chiefly for the reason that at his point the victory was almost gained. He now found it difficult to put his troops in danger and gain victory for someone else. He now sends men to King Bocchus and asked him to be a friend to him and to other Romans. King Bocchus accepted it with thanks and said that he readily wanted to be a friend to the Romans. Thus time passes.

24. On Marius and his persuasions. [Sall. *Jug.* 84.1-89.5]

Marius had now assumed a high title, as was previously mentioned, rather on account of the eagerness of the people than by right. He was a severe man and ferocious, and he says that he had pressed this high title out of all Romans. And he spoke many other things to them cruelly. He now prepares his army for Numidia against King Jugurtha. Many were willing to follow Marius, especially because of his generosity and all other abilities. The army is then counted by tallies, and the total number of men was reckoned. He summoned them to a council and spoke to the people in the following way: “Listen, you courteous Romans!”¹⁵⁵ Many ask for a high title for themselves but are yet only villains or robbers. It befits those who wish to be chiefs to be quick to part with money but ferocious against their enemies. We now have a large army, and we should use it to our advantage. The Romans have always been ferocious and intense in their daring. Let us make the

¹⁵⁵ The saga has the Latin form ‘Romani’, whereas the Latin has the term ‘Quirites’ (Citizens).

Numidians be obliged to say that we know well how to fight, and let us strive for victory for our own sake but not for the sake of those who come after us. Let us now not share with our enemies any of our honour. This speech, which is given to such brave men as you are, has become too long now.“

And once Marius had finished his talk, he senses that the men’s minds have hardened, and he prepares ever quickly for Numidia. And when he arrived, Publius Rutilius handed over to him the army which Metellus had controlled. Marius puts a chief in charge of the army who was named Paulus Manlius Crassus.¹⁵⁶ Metellus had fled away from Marius’ sight and did not want to see the things that ears cannot bear to hear. Marius went to a district that is called Utica and had all the money there stole and every person killed. When Metellus came to the city of Rome, he was well received but yet not as he expected. And when the great envy which they had felt towards him due to Marius’ depreciation had faded away, he was then dear to all men both rich and poor. Marius took good care of this own body of men and calms the ferocious. He scouts out the movements of King Jugurtha and his men. It was always evident that he was both wise and hard to manage. Jugurtha and the Gaetulians often launch large attacks against the Romans.

And Marius and the King Jugurtha fight at the castle Cirta, and Jugurtha so narrowly escaped there that he left all his weapons, and there was then no opportunity to fight him. And after this fine victory Marius goes to the city that is called Vacca¹⁵⁷ and was the richest and most-populated in all Numidia, and he captured it. He also captured many other cities, and then he

¹⁵⁶ This man is named A. (Aulus) Manlius in the Latin original.

¹⁵⁷ This place is not mentioned in the Latin original.

returned to a castle that is called Capsa. It was hard to reach. Hercules Libys¹⁵⁸ built this castle. It lay on a very difficult path of thirty miles, and its greatest protection lay in the fact that men hardly dared to attack the castle because of snakes that were there. Water was not attainable there. It is the nature of the viper to be even more ferocious the thirstier it gets.

25. Here is the story of Marius and the Romans. [Sall. *Jug.* 89.6-96.4]

Marius now greatly desires to conquer this castle because he was a cunning man in battle. This castle was sturdier than the city Thala which Metellus had conquered. Marius now tries with all devices, and at last he managed to conquer the castle and have almost every person there killed. He seized an abundance of valuables, gold and burnt silver and glorious clothes. He now becomes very illustrious for this victory with which he had conquered such a strong place that nobody was able to conquer before him. And after this victory Marius conquered many castles of those which were not given up. Some were burned. Such great fear was inspired in his enemies by him that everybody feared his name.

He now goes to a place that was no easier to conquer than Capsa. Near the river Muluccha which divides the kingdoms [*riki*] of the kings Jugurtha and Bocchus, there is a mountain and a high wall surrounding it with great plains all around. And the mountain itself was a stronger hold than any city wall because it was strangely tall and could be reached by one road. Marius really wanted to conquer this stronghold because he knew that there would be great treasures there belonging to King Jugurtha. The city-men had already had an abundance of weapons and provisions. The Romans made themselves boards in many places and carried them up to the narrow

¹⁵⁸ i.e. Libyan Hercules.

parts, but the city-men rolled large rocks and blazing oak pillars down on them. And this caused such danger to the Romans that some were injured but some killed. Some fled away. Marius is now concerned for many days whether he should retreat or trust even more in luck.

At that moment arrived a knight who was named Ligus.¹⁵⁹ He had come to him in Numidia. He travelled another path from the army to the river to get water. He sees that there were stones in the cliffs where a pulley could be made. He goes from stone to stone up the rock face, and he then sees far and wide, and there was no handhold but he really wanted to go farther. He sees where a tree stood between the stones that is called ulex,¹⁶⁰ large and branching, and some of the limbs hang down but some branch out on two sides. He reaches the limbs and crawls up along the rock face or along the tree. He made it to the top of the cliff and saw that it was flat atop. The Numidians were all on one side of the river and do not pay heed to this. He now goes the same way back to Marius' troops and tells him how it is.

And as soon as Marius knew this, he selects from his troops five trumpet boys and puts in charge of them a chief who was named Ligus and asked them all to obey his counsels. Ligus asked them to go shoeless and hatless but to carry a light Roman shield made of hides between the shoulders and with it a sword. Ligus received those who were less warlike and carried their weapons and other luggage. And when they reached the top of the cliff, they put up their banner and let out a great war cry. The Numidians did not know what was going on when they saw almost all the Romans leaping there in arms. They are struck with fear. Marius now attacks vehemently and is able to break all their devices. They then make it to the top of the cliff and kill every person,

¹⁵⁹ Ligus is not a proper name but a demonym for a person from Liguria.

¹⁶⁰ The saga reads 'ulex' which refers to a kind of shrub, whereas the Latin reads 'ilex' (oak).

in the same way women and men and also children. Marius now becomes for this deed very illustrious for having conquered such a strong place which no one had previously tried to conquer. There he seized much booty in gold and burnt silver and glorious clothes.

And at the time when Marius had conquered the castle a man who was named Lucius Sulla came from Rome. Marius had sent him to gather troops from the district which is called Latium. Lucius was of one of the best families in Rome. Yet most of his kinsmen were killed on account of other men's envy. Lucius was a good scholar of Latin and Greek. He tolerated well lack of sleep and toil. He bore the title which is called quaestor. All his counsels turned out lucky for him until he fought a battle against the Romans themselves. He was perceptive and wise and a great deceiver. But I do not know whether it more shameful to hear or to tell of the things that he has done.¹⁶¹ And when he came to Africa, he was a stranger to most men there and new in battle. He was already concerned about his own business and activity. It was not his nature, as it is in many rich men's nature, to reproach dukes or other chiefs. For such skills he became dear to Marius and all other men.

26. On the battle of Marius and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 97.1-100.5]

Now it is to be reported that Jugurtha has left the castle Capsa. He writes to King Bocchus and asks him for assistance and promises him a third of the kingdom of Numidia [*riki*] if he wanted to offer opposition. King Bocchus is again enticed with cash gifts and now gathers a great army of Mors, and as soon as the kings meet, they attack Marius. The Mauri, Numidians, and Gaetulians are not in battle array but attack them in detachments and fight very vehemently. But the Romans,

¹⁶¹ The redactor preserves Sallust's observation on the situation.

the old and the new, resist bravely and stood fast, and there were heavy casualties on either side. They Romans were at half capacity but yet they fight bravely. The Romans are nevertheless almost overcome and retreat to a hillock, and from there they resisted bravely. There was now a very vehement battle <taking place>, and many Moors and Gaetulians fell now, but a few Numidians fled. But many Moors gathered nevertheless and make yet a great attack. They were ferocious and great fighters. Many of the Romans fall now.

When it got dark in the night, they had to stop whether they wanted to or not, and the Numidians now went to their camp and had great fires kindled in the camp. It was very dark out of night. Marius now catches sight of the fires and is rather pleased in his mind. He now asks all his men to take arms, and so they do. <They> attack with a cry and urging, but the Numidians were dull with drink and did not wake up to a good dream, and almost all of them were killed. Those fled who remained alive. Marius seized a lot of booty there, in gold and silver and rare treasures. King Jugurtha fled to the deserts and thus avoided the Romans. Marius became for this battle very illustrious after having defeated such a large army with few men because in no battle of those that had been fought in Numidia were there as heavy casualties. Marius now goes to the sea-cities in which he was going to pass the winter. Marius controlled the army well in the battles he fought both against Jugurtha and in many others. He did not shrink from toil. In hardship and lack of sleep he was trained beyond other men.

27. On the battle of Marius and King Jugurtha. [Sall. *Jug.* 101.1-101.11]

Marius now came to the castle which is called Cirta and was mentioned earlier. It was four nights after the battle. Scouts then came to him who told him truthfully that Jugurtha and King Bocchus intended to fight a battle against him and that they had now gathered a great army of Moors,

Numidians and Gaetulians and that it would arrive there in the morning. And when Marius heard this, he prepares the army for battle and asks all men to lie with weapons during the night. And in the morning, when it was light enough for fighting, trumpets sound. The Moors now ride forward and against the Romans where Lucius Sulla was standing with the band of knights. There one could see many heavy blows which this young man, Sulla, and his companions strike. The Mauri were much more numerous. The king himself, Bocchus, was there. The Moors were good archers, and this causes great danger to Sulla's men. The left wing of the Romans attacks the Gaetulians. They were great fighters and well-armed. In charge of them was a chief who was named Volux. He was the illegitimate son of King Bocchus. The Numidians with the king, Jugurtha, attacked where Marius the consul himself was standing with the main army. A very vehement battle now takes place with a great fray of weapons and the quick death of many excellent men. Sulla goes forward vigorously so that King Bocchus' ranks gave way. And when King Jugurtha sees this, he rides against the Romans and cuts down on two sides men and horses. He calls out when he saw his own men flee from the Romans and Sulla: "You are fleeing without a reason because with this sword of mine I killed Marius." He holds up the sword covered with blood. With it he had killed a chief of the Romans who was named Marienus. At these words of Jugurtha, the attack of the Romans abated. The Moors and the Gaetulians became bolder in the attack and rode forward against the left wing of the Romans. There was a chief standing there who was named Paulus Manlius.

The Numidians became bolder in the attack to such an extent that the Romans fled before Marius himself arrived. And when the Romans see their chief alive, they trust in luck and take heart at Marius' urging. They now begin to fight with all their might. Sulla and Marius advanced

so vigorously that everybody retreated, and shortly thereafter all the Moors and the Numidians fled, but the Gaetulians continued the battle and made a very vigorous onset on the Romans. Nevertheless, they eventually fled due to the difference in numbers. The king, Jugurtha, was alone among his enemies and fought so bravely that nobody dared to approach him because he clove both men and horses. He had to flee due to weariness. Sulla now pursues those fleeing. There were such heavy casualties that for thirty^m miles <the ground> was so covered with dead bodies that it was not possible to step anywhere on the bare ground. All valleys were filled with the blood of men. Sulla received for this battle great fame, and Marius established him as second to himself in all esteems as was deserved. Marius now seized a lot of booty in gold and costly things and good weapons.

28. Here is an account of Marius and King Bocchus. [Sall. *Jug.* 102.1-111.4]

After this battle Marius goes to Cirta as he had intended before. And shortly thereafter King Bocchus' envoys came there to meet Marius and brought him a greeting from King Bocchus and also <the message> that he wanted to be a friend to the Romans from then on and to make peace for his kingdom [*riki*] and his sons. Marius took this well and sent Lucius Sulla and Paulus Manlius to King Bocchus to make peace with him. When they arrived there, the king received them very well, and <they> carried out the peace transactions. After this, Sulla <and Manlius> went back with excellent gifts. King Jugurtha now hears that King Bocchus, his father-in-law, has entered a friendship with the Romans. He does as before in that he entices the king's friends to try to persuade him to preserve his friendship with Jugurtha. Those same men turned King Bocchus' mind away from friendship with the Romans for the time being. At this time Marius prepares his army to conquer a strong tower which Jugurtha controlled and was there for a while. Eventually

he was able to conquer the tower. King Bocchus now deliberates and sees that it is difficult for him to fight the Romans and that he has lost to them many troops. It is resolved that he sends the Romans thirty men with a lot of money to make peace with them. But the Gaetulians came upon the envoys and robbed them of all the goods that they were supposed to bring the envoys. They narrowly escaped to Sulla whom Marius had put in charge of the army while he conquered the tower. They waited for Marius for six days to come home. And when they come to meet him, they state their errand and King Bocchus' offer of friendship. Marius does not want to agree to a settlement without the assent of all the senators.

And after this the envoys went to Rome and receive the response from the senators that King Bocchus should be left in peace and hold on to his kingdom [*riki*] under the Romans and be their service-man. The envoys now went to Numidia and told Marius about the agreement. He now sends Sulla with envoys to confirm this peace with King Bocchus. They now went on their way and one day Volux, the king's son, suddenly happens upon them with three-hundred knights. They approached all spread out so that their troops would seem as large as possible. The Romans took up their weapons and prepared for the fighting, but the king's son sends men to them to tell them that King Bocchus had sent them as support to Sulla.

And in the evening they receive news that King Jugurtha was close by with an army that was able to fight. The Romans are now afraid and say that Volux, the king's son, will contrive treachery against them and ask Sulla to kill him. Sulla spoke: "That I swear by the almightiness of all-powerful Thor that Volux shall be tortured to death with many torments if he is proven guilty of this treachery." Volux shed tears out of fear and excuses himself. Jugurtha did not become ready to fight because the troops could not reach him. The envoys now came to King Bocchus, and he

received them excellently, and <they> made peace. Jugurtha hears that King Bocchus has disregarded his friendship. He now resorted to sending men with cash gifts to offer him half of Numidia for support.

“And I assume,” says Master Sallust, “that King Bocchus must have much turned over in his mind whether he should hand Sulla over to Jugurtha or Jugurtha over to Sulla.” Jugurtha waits with the army for the envoys. Lucius Sulla now states his errand before the king: that he was sent by Marius and the Romans to reach an agreement. King Bocchus asks for ten nights to respond. And Sulla now went to the camp. And during the night leading up to the day of the meeting, the king summons Sulla, and when they meet they go to speak together in private. The king the said: “God...¹⁶² who has protected me so well in warfare and in battles that I know no king temporary to me to be as powerful with regard to all things. I really want to be at peace with you if my kingdom [*riki*] is really free from all claims and extortion in every way.” Then Sulla replied: “Good sir, fortune has made you very great. But if you want to have a friendship with the Romans, the first thing to accomplish is to get King Jugurtha into our hands and obtain instead half of Numidia and your kingdom [*riki*] in peace and on top of that our friendship. It is beyond your power to wage war with us Romans who have previously conquered the whole world.” King Bocchus took it reluctantly to betray Jugurtha, his son-in-law. It then came to pass that he agreed to everything that Sulla wanted and following this deceit King Bocchus and Sulla part.

¹⁶² There is a short lacuna in the text here.

29. Here is an account of the end of King Jugurtha's life. [Sall. *Jug.* 112.1-114.4; LucSch.¹⁶³]

The following day King Bocchus summoned Aspar, Jugurtha's envoy, and asked him to tell Jugurtha that the Romans want to make peace and an agreement with him. The envoy goes and tells Jugurtha this and returns to King Bocchus at the end of three nights with the message that Jugurtha readily wanted peace and he is very weary of battles and asks King Bocchus to see to it that Sulla submit to Jugurtha and that he expects that if he has such a man in his care, then the Romans will not violate the agreement with him because such a man as Sulla is they do not want to lose. King Bocchus is now tormented, wavering in his mind which one he shall choose to betray, Sulla or Jugurtha. He now has meetings with them by turns, Sulla and Aspar the envoy, and he now promises good things to each one.

Now comes the meeting date which the kings had set among themselves. King Bocchus now sends Sulla secretly a message to come and give advice on how he should betray Jugurtha. King Bocchus now hears that Jugurtha is close by with few men. King Bocchus goes to meet him, and he and Sulla wait on a hillock but secretly array the army around it. King Jugurtha now comes there with few men, and most were unarmed. King Bocchus now has trumpets blown. Then men rush in from every direction and kill there all of Jugurtha's men but apprehended him and put him in bonds and fetters. And Sulla handed him bound over to Marius.

¹⁶³ See p. xii in the introduction.

At this time the Romans were fighting many battles north of the mountain against the French.¹⁶⁴ These were the chiefs in charge of the Romans: Quintus Caepio and Marcus Manlius. Up until the day of Eraclij,¹⁶⁵ the French had to bow down to the Romans. When the victory was gained in Numidia and the news reached the city of Rome that Jugurtha was apprehended, Marius was made consul before he came home, and it was thereby decided that he would campaign in France. King Jugurtha was put in a dark room and in iron on the *kalendae* of January [January 1st]. At this time the Romans thought their greatest strength lay where Marius was and that all their triumph and help depended on him. Sallust ends the story here. Nevertheless, it is said in the books of the Romans that Jugurtha was led bound in Rome and by the judgment of chiefs he was tortured with many torments and the eyelids were so totally torn and cut from his eyes that he could get no sleep. In the end he was thrown into the foulest bog there was, and his life thus ended.¹⁶⁶

30. Here is an account of the battle between Marius and Lucius Sulla. [LucSch.]

Marius is now made consul, and he is given command of a great army up in France. He waged many battles in Gaul, and he defeated the people that are called Tiberii and many others. At this time Sulla was made dictator in the city of Rome.¹⁶⁷ He was given command of a great army against the king who was named Mithridates. He was a rich king and ruled Pontus. When Sulla had reached Apulia,¹⁶⁸ Marius came from <the area> north of the mountain with his army and a great victory and a lot of booty. And when he heard that Sulla had taken command of an army,

¹⁶⁴ The Frenchmen in question are Gauls.

¹⁶⁵ There is nothing in the Latin original to explain this word.

¹⁶⁶ Jugurtha dies in 104 BCE.

¹⁶⁷ Sulla becomes dictator in 81 BCE.

¹⁶⁸ Apula is always called Púll in the saga.

Marius felt envious that he had been made so rich. He spoke publically to the chiefs: “If you want to hand over to me half of the army that Lucius Sulla has, I will go against King Mithridates, and I shall speedily have him in bonds.” And because Marius was famous for his triumphs, he received what he requested from the chiefs, and men were then sent to Sulla with this message. Sulla then turned back with the whole army.

And when they meet, Sulla attacks him. A great and vehement battle took place there, and it ended when Marius fled from the city and ran into the lava field¹⁶⁹ that is called Maturnensis and was apprehended there. Sulla put him in a dark room and ordered a Frenchman to kill him. And when he opened the dark room, Marius dodged him and fled to Africa and stayed there for a long time. Lucius Sulla then rushed forth with the whole army and fought many battles against King Mithridates. He also fought against the people that are called Athenians, that is in Greece, and gained there an excellent victory.

At that time there was with Sulla’s army a man who was named Pompey Magnus, and Lucius Sulla sensed that he was beyond all men. Sulla therefore establishes Pompey as second to himself in esteem, and he was usually in charge of the army when Sulla was not near, although Pompey was young at the time. He was as a young man big and strong, prosperous and courageous and the wisest of men. When Marius had been in Africa for a long time, he returned to Rome and many exiles with him. And when Marius came to the city of Rome, a man who was named Simia¹⁷⁰ helped him. He was consul.¹⁷¹ He got Marius into the city. Marius killed all of Sulla’s men that he

¹⁶⁹ In the scholia on which this passage is based Maturnensis is a marsh (‘palus’).

¹⁷⁰ Simia should probably be Cinna.

¹⁷¹ Cinna is consul from 87-84 BCE.

found in Rome at that time. One of his knights killed the chief that was named Rebius and carried his head all around the city. That man had been Sulla's greatest friend. He held onto the hair, and in the end he cast it onto the altar of a certain goddess who was named Vesta. Fimberius was the name of one of Marius' men who killed many excellent men with the help of his companions. They dragged their corpses all around the city. Senosa was the name of an old and noble chief. One of Marius' knights killed him for not wanting to kiss his hand. Master Lucan says that the day on which Marius came into the city of Rome is long to be remembered by the Romans because murders were committed around the whole city. Nobody was so old or young that it brought them safety. In such a way noble men were killed as well as commoners, and nobody was spared. In such a way was there blood in the temples that it dripped down from the walls.

31. On the dealings of Lucius Sulla and Marius. [LucSch.]

Sulla now hears about the suffering of his men <and> then divides the army. <He> left a part of the army in Pontus and put Pompey Magnus in charge there, but he goes with a larger part of the army to Rome. Those of his men who escaped fled out to Apulia. When Marius hears about it, he goes after them and kills many in the place that is called Sacripontus.¹⁷² And when he came back to the city of Rome, he went forth with all his might and demanded that the senators give him the consulship. When Marius hears that Sulla is on his way to the city of Rome, he seeks support and offered King Samnitikus to get the whole state [*riki*] of Rome under his control if he granted him assistance so that he might gain victory.

¹⁷² This battle occurred in 82 BCE.

When Lucius and Marius met, an intense battle took place, and Marius was apprehended. And Sulla first had his hands and feet cut off and his eyes stabbed out, and then he had him tortured in many ways to death. The consensus was that no man has borne as boldly all tortures because his heart was always steady so that they could never dishearten it while life stayed with him. After the death of Marius, Sulla killed all his men that he caught, but everybody fled who was allowed to live. He now sends for his men who had fled Rome and then for those who had followed Marius. They then came in crowds to meet him and hoped for mercy from him. But he had all of Marius' men killed. The sons of Marius were seven. They were called Mariani. Sulla banished all of them eternally.

As a result of these murders there was such a desolation of high-born men in Rome, that Sulla divided all powers among his men and the property in such a way that each of his men had everything for which he asked. And when this was all completed, he sat down in a seat of rest and laid his high position into the consulship and then ended his life. But after his death, the city-men did not want to grant him burial within the city among other high-born men,¹⁷³ and he was buried outside the city, in a place called Marius Honour, and this was done because of his ill deeds. Marius and Sulla often showed themselves, and yet most often to the city-men themselves, because they had done the most evil in the city when it came to murders. After Sulla's death, Marius's sons went back to Rome. The property was then taken from the men that Sulla had gifted in the city, but they themselves were banished or killed.

¹⁷³ No one was to be buried within the walls of Rome.

The chiefs in Rome now saw that it might happen more often that one man obtain power over the whole Roman state [*riki*] as Sulla had now obtained, and it seemed to them to be a very bad idea to lay down the high position as he had done. He was now hated by everyone, both chiefs and courtiers.¹⁷⁴ They thought it not unlikely that those who were of lesser birth but by no means wiser would obtain this power, and they feared that this would come to pass because ancient prophesies said that the city of Rome would come under a dictatorship. Pompey Magnus, who was mentioned earlier, was the stepson of Sulla the Rich. He was now one of the richest man of the Roman chiefs. He had defeated King Mithridates and many other kings in the east because he was chief of the army which fought in the eastern part. Once again events began in the city of Rome because there was another excellent chief who was named Gaius Julius Caesar. The third was the most excellent of them, Marcus Licinius¹⁷⁵ Crassus. The fourth was Marcus Cato. He was the wisest man in the city of Rome.

32. On Lucius Catiline and his companions. [Sall. *Cat.* 5.1-16.5]

Sallust says that there was a man in the city of Rome who was named Lucius Catiline. He was of a noble family. He was powerful in physical strength, courageous, unjust and avaricious. Unrest was dear to him, especially within the city among his kinsmen and renowned men. He was tolerant of hardship and toil, sly and cunning in counsels. He was liberal with money, but he desired instead everything that others possessed – an overbearing man and vehement in all things. It occurred to him that Sulla had obtained a dictatorship over the Roman state [*riki*] and that he should attempt to get such reparations and in doing so spare nothing. He squandered the goods in such a way that

¹⁷⁴ The courtiers give the context a medieval flavour.

¹⁷⁵ In the saga his *nomen* is Katinius.

within a short time he was very much out of money. He then took out loans from rich men in the city. He got plenty so that he still had a wealth of money. But when both his own money had been spent as well as that which he had borrowed, he understands that there is no point in delaying. He gathers a body of men. There were both gamblers and drunkards. Some were thieves and robbers. Everyone he admitted to his company was in some kind of trouble. But even when some moral men came to him, they quickly became like that or worse. Catiline seeks friendship with many chiefs because he thought he needed it on because of the disturbance he was causing. They were pliable to that because what he desired from them and they from him was ready at hand. Catiline had many dealings with women which were considered improper according to their laws.

There was a temple which the goddess who was named Vesta possessed. There was a noble maiden for the service to the deity. Catiline seized this maiden. Aurelia Orestilla was the name of a noble woman in Rome. She was the most beautiful of all women and very rich in money. Catiline asked her to marry him, but she did not want him. She had a young son and thought that he would be harsh to her and her kinsmen. Shortly thereafter this boy was dead, and many people said that Catiline himself had killed him. He then married Orestilla.

Lucius Catiline was a pale man with bad eyes, fickle-headed and unwise in demeanour. <He> sometimes walked quickly but sometimes slowly. He thought he had a great hope for obtaining the consulship if he asked for it. <He> now thinks that he will trust in luck to get dictatorship in the city of Rome because there was no army in Italy because Pompey Magnus was at that point in Asia with the whole army of the Romans. And the body of chiefs was not wise to the treachery that he was going to commit. Lucius Caesar and secondly Gaius Figulus were then consuls.

33. On Catiline and his chiefs. [Sall. *Cat.* 17.1-7]

After the *kalendae* of June [June 1st], Catiline had a meeting with his men and egged them towards attacks and ill deeds. It is now told that the people were unprepared since they did not expect any fear. When he had explored the will of those from whom he expected most support, all these men from the body of chiefs gathered in one place: Publius Lentulus, Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Gaius Cethegus, Publius Servius, Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Porcius Leata, Bestia, Quintus Curius. The following were of equestrian class: Marcus Fulvius, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinus, Gaius Cornelius. Many men were there who had come from cities and villages are not mentioned here and were cognizant of the plan. Pompey Magnus, who at that time controlled the main army of the Romans, was his enemy. Catiline egged every man towards opposition to him because he strove for dictatorship over the city of Rome if Pompey were excluded.

34. On Lucius and Catiline. [Sall. *Cat.* 18.2-20.17]

At this time Lucius Tullius and Marcus Lepidus were consuls.¹⁷⁶ But Publius Autronius and Publius Sulla were involved in the plan to seize power over the common people and were both supposed to seize the consulship. When their plan was discovered, they were both beheaded because the laws of the Romans demanded that thus should those be handled who wanted to seize the right of the common people. Gnaeus Piso was the name of a chief who entered this band. He was a bold man and courageous. Lucius Catiline and his men then came to find him. They reached the conclusion that they, Lucius Catiline and Gnaeus Piso, should both enter the main temples of

¹⁷⁶ 66 BCE.

the city with their bands. Of this plan most of the chiefs were ignorant. And when the high offices had been seized, the chiefs sent Gnaeus Piso with an army to Spain in order to conquer it. When Catiline became aware of this, he moved the day of the meeting and intended to wait until Gnaeus came home again. Catiline brought his band for a certain amount of time, but Gnaeus did not come and therefore this scheme did not come into action. Gnaeus went to Spain as was planned and met Crassus there who discouraged him from this journey. But he went anyway and fought many battles there and usually gained victory.

It happened one day when he was on the move that two knights made an attack on him and killed him. He had captured them previously and granted them pardon, and they were now in his band. When Catiline heard that this scheme had not worked out, he called yet again for a meeting with his men and asked them to keep to the scheme that had been begun “because we have been caught out with the scheme that did not come into action. It is therefore advisable for us to do as much as possible so that our courage is greater than before, and let every man risk his life because we have no hope for peace from the Romans if they get power over us, so cogent as they will call our cause, robbery and plotting against people’s lives and many other unwise things that we have done.” Thus he ended his speech.

35. Here is an account of Catiline and his men. [Sall. *Cat.* 21.1-22.4]

Once Catiline had spoken such things, all his men thanked him properly because they had with themselves plenty of bad things but no good. <They> now asked Catiline what wages they would receive if they followed him into this trouble. He replied: “Chiefs have had their names written on

tabulae, and I will have them broken and other *tabulae* made in your honour.¹⁷⁷ You shall receive all masterships and priesthoods, and everything shall go according to your wishes.” He turned the matter into the hands of good chiefs. They then swore oaths to him that nobody would forsake him. He had wine given to them to drink and mixed it with human blood. It was served to him in large silver bowls. When everyone had drunk, as was customary during a feast, he made known to them what they had drunk and that none of them should dare to tell on him.

36. On Quintus Curius and his concubine. [Sall. *Cat.* 23.1-4]

Quintus Curius was the name of a chief who had been in this league. He had previously been caught doing ill deeds. The chiefs had removed him from his high office because he was very deceitful but not daring when carrying a weapon. He did not want to conceal anything, neither his doing nor other people’s. Fulvia was the name of a high-born woman who had been his concubine for a long time. But when his money began to run out, she neglected him, and when Curius had gotten himself into this band, he boasted to her how he would be able to give her great boons. Sometimes he threatened her with weapons if she was not obedient. When she became cognizant of this scheme, she did not conceal it from the city-men, her companions. Antony was the name of a chief who had been involved in these plans and oaths. Through his words the scheme was yet again exposed.

¹⁷⁷ The redactor keeps the term ‘*tabulae*’. He also keeps its grammatical forms instead of adapting them to Icelandic grammar (cf. “Latin terms” in “The idiosyncrasies of the saga” in the introduction).

37. Here is an account of Tullius and Catiline. [Sall. *Cat.* 23.5-28.3]

There was a Roman man named Tullius Cicero. He was of a villainous family¹⁷⁸ and yet a man of the greatest skills. He had asked for the consulship, but the chiefs had answered derisively. When it was time for the change-days, he hears that a few men were stirring up unrest in the city. They then offered Tullius this office, and he was made consul by them.¹⁷⁹ Catiline was seized with fear when he heard this and asked to seize the consulship and intended that if he received it he would hold it together with Antony, who now held it with Tullius and then meant to betray Tullius. But he [i.e. Tullius] was a wise man and outmaneuvered him [i.e. Catiline] by giving Philene money [so that he would give her money]¹⁸⁰ so that she would tell him everything she knew about Catiline and she had discovered from Curius, her lover. Tullius had his men keep watch over him both openly and secretly. Now when the change-days came, Catiline had neither made a request properly for the dukedom nor for an ambush against Tullius the consul. He then adopted a plan to enter a fight against Tullius, if he would get assistance for it. He then sent Gaius Julius to Apulia to all the men from whom he could expect any support. He then set up a great ambush against Tullius, and he intended to burn up Rome in its entirety. He and all his men went around fully armed both night and day.

And he now sent a man to Marcus Porcius, and then had all the chiefs who were involved in this scheme summoned for a meeting and says that he had sent for troops from Apulia and now wants to attack Tullius on the spot. Gaius Cornelius and Lucius Vargunteius promised him to go

¹⁷⁸ My usage of the term 'villainous' is explained in a footnote 36. In the Latin original, Cicero is referred to as a 'homo novus' (Sall. *Cat.* 23.6).

¹⁷⁹ Cicero is consul in 63 BCE.

¹⁸⁰ This clause seems redundant.

to the house of Tullius and kill him if he made himself vulnerable. When Quintus Curius heard about this, he boasted about this to Fulvia, his concubine. She went right away to Tullius and told him to be on his guard. When Catiline and his men came into the yard, all the gates were shut, and they could not get in anywhere and went back in disgrace.

38. On Manulus and Catiline. [Sall. *Cat.* 28.4-32.2]

At this time Manulus was in Tuskania¹⁸¹ and had a meeting there with the country-men about Catiline and told them how Sulla the Rich had honoured them and how the Romans had deprived them of peace and freedom and money too. Now, when Tullius heard about the gathering of the army, he thought that trouble was at hand because he believed that he did not have troops to defend both the cities and the other places. The chiefs asked him to keep the city and preserve it as best he could. A few days later, at a meeting, a chief who was named Lucius Saenius read letters out loud. He said that they had been sent to him from Tuskania. Therein it said that Gaius Manulus had gathered an overwhelming army and that in Apulia there was a great gathering, and both intended to go against them. He then sent Quintus Linus¹⁸² from the meeting out to Apulia but Quintus Metellus out to Tuskania. They were both driven back because farmers did not want to allow them a passage over the land.

It was now the plan of the Romans that whoever who was with him before could tell truthfully of Catiline's plan should be free from this treachery and yet receive his equal weight in silver, but he who was previously free should receive a half more. A man who was named Lucius

¹⁸¹ This is Tuscany. The Latin original refers to this area as Etruria.

¹⁸² The name of this man is Quintus Marcius Rex Faesulas.

Paulus asked Catiline about this matter, but he denied it. It then came to be that he attended a meeting with the chiefs themselves. Marcus Tullius, the consul, asked Catiline first about these charges, but he defended himself against true charges with quarrelsome words and great guile. Then he became so mad and angry that he cursed all the chiefs of the Romans. They then started up and asked the malefactor to go away, and they pushed him away from themselves. Catiline then spoke in great anger: "For the insults that you have hurled at me my anger shall satiate itself with the blood of many of you." One night later he goes away from the city with few men to the camp of Manlius but left behind those whom he trusted best and asked them to watch for an opportunity to kill Tullius and burn the city, if they could bring it about.

39. On Gaius Manulus and Quintus Marcius. [Sall. *Cat.* 32.3-39.1]

While this is happening in Rome, Gaius Manulus sends a letter to Quintus Marius with these words: "Listen, consul! I swear both by gods and men that I have not taken up arms to fight against my sworn brothers but for the peace and rest of us all." In his letter he speaks fairly to all the Romans. Quintus Marcius replied in the following way: "If you want to ask for mercy from the chiefs, then lay down your weapons and go with humility to the city because then it is obvious that you are not asking for relief without cause." Lucius Catiline now sends a letter back to Rome to all the men from whom he expected any support and says that he was overcome by the lying and falsehood of his enemies "and now I have to go abroad into exile, although I know myself to be not guilty of having exploited my good friends." He then sent even more letters to the city of Rome to the man who was named Quintus Catulus, and one of them went like this: "Lucius Catiline sends Quintus Catulus his greeting. Your loyalty is exceptionally pleasing to me because you have proved helpful to me in all perils. Therefore I will not conceal from you the plans which are

recently made, namely that I am determined to pay no compensation to the Romans for the charges they bring against me, although I cannot conceal, you who are son of the god Thor,¹⁸³ that it is true what they say to me. They still cannot prove it by law in public. And although I wanted to write more to you, I am not able to because of lack of freedom. *Valete* [Farewell].”¹⁸⁴ Catiline stayed a few days with Gaius Flaminius. He then gives large gifts to his men. He then goes with great glory and honour to the camp of Manlius. He receives him honourably. When this got abroad, the Romans banished them both.

On the other hand, the power of Pompey and Crassus now increased, and yet they were both young men and reached the highest positions because they were both liberal with money and famous in battle. They promoted themselves for high positions, and the common people were willing <to follow them>. Shortly thereafter Pompey went to the sea of Greece with an army of ships and fought King Mithridates and defeated him and accomplished many deeds of prowess there which will take long to write down in their entirety because no one was his equal in Rome in his day.

40. On Publius¹⁸⁵ and Quintus Saborius. [Sall. *Cat.* 39.6-40.4]

An account shall now be given of Lentulus who was involved in this scheme with Catiline. He held the office of praetor. He gathered his troops and sent a man who was named Publius to meet the men who came from <the area> north of the mountain and are called Allobroges,¹⁸⁶ and he

¹⁸³ Catulus is not addressed in this way in the Latin.

¹⁸⁴ In the Latin original, Catiline signs off with ‘Haveto’.

¹⁸⁵ This man is named Publius Umbrenus, but the redactor refers to him as Paulus. The redactor recognizes ‘P.’ as Paulus earlier in the work, e.g. in the preface.

¹⁸⁶ The tribe is called Abiges in the saga.

wanted to get them into this league. They had gone on behalf of their city-men to reach an agreement with the Romans because they felt anger towards them. Publius was well informed about these men because he had often been in Gaul. He met them in a market-place and asked them for news from their city. They said that the chiefs were angry at them. He lamented that and asked how it would go. They say that the chiefs were very avaricious. They affirmed all their words and said that their coolness would last while there was life in them. "I will show you a scheme," he says, "so that you may be freed from their burden." They said that they really wanted that. Then he asked them to go with him, and they went to the houses of a man who was named Decius Brutus. There was already a woman named Sempronia, and she knew in advance this whole scheme, but Brutus was not in the city. And Publius tortured her so that she would bear witness with him. They then told the envoys about Catiline's whole scheme and asked them to join their band. The envoys considered both those things to be difficult and asked for advice from a man who was named Quintus Fabius Sanga.¹⁸⁷ He was a rich chief and the city men had great confidence in him. Quintus went right away to Tullius the consul and told him all this. Tullius asked him to go back as quickly as possible and tell the envoys that they should conceal this from every man "but go to as many men as possible of those who were in on the plan, and make known to us both the men and the plans as much as possible, but handle it as secretly as possible."¹⁸⁸

41. On Tullius and Gabinius. [Sall. *Cat.* 42.1-46.6]

Now, while this is happening in Rome, an army gathered around Gaul and out in Apulia. The men whom Catiline had put in charge of the army were careless and went around carrying weapons at

¹⁸⁷ Quintus Saborius Saugerius is the name by which he goes in the saga.

¹⁸⁸ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

night. As a result of this many men were apprehended by Quintus Metellus and imprisoned. The man who was named Gaius Murena¹⁸⁹ captured many of Catiline's men in Gaul. Lentulus was in the city of Rome with a multitude of men from Catiline's band. When they had gathered forces as large as they were able, they stated their scheme openly: that the man named Statilius Gabinus¹⁹⁰ should go with a large numbers of troops to the city at night and light fires in twenty places but that the man named Cethegus should make an attack on Tullius with weapons or capture him with treachery. As it drew nearer to the meeting and everything was ready, Cethegus thought that his partners were delaying too much the attack on Tullius. Tullius now sends Gabinus to meet with the envoys who were previously mentioned with the purpose that they go to meet Lentulus and Cassius who were the leaders of this plan along with Catiline and say that they only want to get involved if they know it to be true and affirmed with oaths. Lentulus then took an oath but Cassius promised to swear when he came back to the city. Lentulus then handed over to them two men to go with them. The envoys now tell Tullius all these things and then steal away from the city during the night. Tullius then sends Valerius Flaccus and Gaius Pomptinus¹⁹¹ (they held the office of praetor) and a band of men with them and asked them to go to the bridge which is called Mulvian and lie in wait for Albinus¹⁹² and the others and apprehend and bring them back to the city. But when Albinus came to the bridge with his men, the Romans run with a war cry towards them, but the others give up their weapons and run over to the side of the Romans. Volturcius eggs <them> on firmly to fight at first, and he defended himself rather daringly, but eventually he asked for a truce and laid down his weapons. Gaius now sent word to Tullius that they were both in his

¹⁸⁹ The redactor calls him Gallius Ruina.

¹⁹⁰ The the Latin original, 'Staterius' and 'Galnius' are two different people.

¹⁹¹ These men are called Lucius Valternus and Gnarus Pluto in the saga.

¹⁹² Albinus is not a single person in the Latin original but the tribe of the Allobroges.

custody. He was happy about that. He now summons Lentulus and they meet, and <he> took his hand and led him to a chief meeting but his other companions and even his own men to custody. Many Romans came there and brought with them Volturcius and Albinus.

42. Here is an account of Volturcius and Tarquinius. [Sall. *Cat.* 47.1-50.5]

Now when the assembly is opened, Volturcius was asked where he was supposed to go and what letter it was that he had with him. He concealed everything at first. He was then promised the confidence of the common people if he told the truth. He then began his speech in the following way: “I have been involved in this stratagem for a few days. Gabinus and Caeparius asked me to do it, and I have heard Gabinus mention that Publius Autronius and Cervius Sulla and Lucius Vargunteius were in on this plan.”¹⁹³ Lentulus and everyone else conceal it and said that they had sent no letters. Albinus sustains everything with Volturcius, and <they> reproach Lentulus when he does not stay true to his words and remind him of what he said often and spoke of the prophesy of Sybil the wise that foretold that there would be three men of the race of Eleazar¹⁹⁴ who would take over the state [*riki*] of the Romans and one of them was Cinna, the second Sulla, “but the third one you said was yourself. You also said that it had been twenty winters since the Capitolium burned in Rome. And prophets said that wonders and monstrous things would take place among the city-men.”¹⁹⁵ The letters which Lentulus had sent to Catiline had come forth, and they said the same thing as Volturcius. All the traitors were then kept under watch.

¹⁹³ This is indirect speech in the Latin original.

¹⁹⁴ In the Latin original, they are Corneli.

¹⁹⁵ This is indirect speech in the Latin original.

The following day a man who was named Tarquinius Lucius was apprehended. He was Catiline's sworn associate and intended to run to him at this point and bring him news. The chiefs asked him to say what he knew, but he asked in return for his safety. They agreed to that. He then said that Marcus Crassus had sent him to Catiline <with the message> that he should continue all the plans which he had started and said that he would not lack troops although some of his companions had been apprehended. Most of the chiefs found Crassus unlikely to <have done> this. The meeting ended with them pronouncing him acquitted of this treachery. Sallust says that he heard Crassus himself say that Tullius had done this out of animosity towards him. Quintus Catulus and Gaius Piso attempt with all their ardour to entice Tullius to ask Gaius¹⁹⁶ Caesar to join in the stratagem and offered him money to do it. He refused it flatly, and when they did not get Tullius to mention this to Caesar, they said that they had themselves heard it from Volturcius and other men and then made up everything they said. They spread this rumour so widely that the knights who kept guard in the temple approached Caesar with drawn swords and shook them at him and thus frightened him. He gave no heed to this and went on as he had intended. The reward which they had promised to Volturcius and Albinus was then paid because they believed that everything they had said was true. Lentulus' men then gathered and intended to get him out of the custody.

When Tullius became aware of this, he strengthens the custody anew and summons chiefs to decide what to do with those who were imprisoned. Decius Junius Silanus was asked to speak first because he was then consul designate. He said that it was not his command that they were

¹⁹⁶ The redactor calls him Lucius.

imprisoned and says that he will not speak. They then asked Julius Caesar to speak. He began his speech in the following way:

43. On the speech of Decius Junius. [Sall. *Cat.* 51.1-53.1]

“It befits all the men who shall give right judgments to be free of hatred and peaceful because impatience defeats the wisdom of many a man. One needs to consider on what judgment shall be given. The Roman people have always been unpeaceful abroad, but never before have they tended to betray their own kinsmen and burn the city which would cause very great damage to everyone if it were to happen. Lucius Catiline in association with his men has taken this boldness upon himself, as no other man before him: namely to plunder and pillage within the city and all the things which have come to his mind. I am astonished that wise men turn over in their minds for so long such things as giving judgment about the men who have done so many evil things and are worthy of no mercy for their ill deeds. It is my judgment that they be imprisoned and captured and that they never get out of there. If that is not done, then the laws are not preserved nor the freedom of the common people.” He thus ended his speech.

Marcus Porcius Cato then stood up and began his speech in the following way: “Listen, you who are in agreement with me. What seems advisable to you to do to these men who intended to burn the city and therewith their kinsmen? I am not allowed to consider the things which our kinsmen and relatives have done of no importance when it is forbidden both to the mind and body to do such things. I do not agree that it is true generosity to take another man’s property and give it away. Well and cunningly did Gaius Julius Caesar speak for a while, but now I want to speak about the fact that our fellow citizens have gathered and want to burn the city and waste their native land and egg against us the people in Gaul who are the cruellest in our dominion [*riki*]. The duke

of the enemies is hanging over our head with an army and destroys our state [*riki*]. Now you again want to show them mercy. “No,” he says, “may our mercy never become such that we do not punish such ill deeds.” May the gods know that I would still bear it patiently even if they would make an attack on us as long they spared the city and that damage would be repaired. Now I find it unadvisable to risk it when they besiege us all around. Many of our enemies are in the city itself, and we can make no plans without their knowledge. And we must speed up these plans as much as possible for the reason that the welfare of the common people is falling into ruin because of the crimes of this man who has plotted our death and fire for the city. It was the custom of the men of the past to sentence to death for a planned offence as well as a committed one.’ Cato then sat down. All the men praised his speech.

44. On Marcus Cato. [Sall. *Cat.* 53.1-56.3]

After that men reproached each other for acting so unbravely before Cato admonished them, and everybody now gave the judgment in accordance with Cato’s words that all of them should be killed. Sallust says that he has heard and read so many things about the great deeds of the Romans which they have accomplished in Asia, and they often fought with a small force against a large army and against powerful kings with little preparation, and they usually matched their luck with an overwhelming force. The Greeks were said to be more cunning than they were, but the Gauls were said to be even more illustrious in battle. It always so happened that the high-minded manliness of the Romans conquered all of this. But when they have been spoiled by life of enjoyment, the right of the common people is hardly maintained because of the vices of the consuls. Sallust says that there were two men in Rome in his day who were excellent in their might but had different customs: Marcus Cato and Julius Caesar. And now it shall be recounted what sort

of customs theirs were. Marcus was most esteemed for his loyalty to friends and for an excellent and simple life because nobody was his equal in the city of Rome in his day with regard to goodwill and wisdom. Caesar was praised for cash gifts and hardiness and many ingenious deeds which befit a simple master to have.

Tullius now finds it advisable to not delay the killing of the traitors. He himself then seizes Lentulus and led him into a dungeon. Other chiefs did the same to those whom they had held in custody. That dungeon is still standing there in the city and is called Tullianum and is made in such a way that when it is first entered, one should ascend a little but then descend twelve steps, and it is all confined by stone. There was also a restroom which reached eighteen cubits down into the ground. That place was bad and horrible and full of human corpses. When Lentulus was led there, the men who had been in on the plan with him hanged him themselves by Tullius' order. Then they were hanged as well as their chief, Lentulus, who was of the very noble family of the Corneli. He had held a dukedom in Rome, and he nevertheless was granted a deserved death for his deeds. And the same death was granted to Cethegus and Gabinius. Lucius Catiline now gathered an army. At that time Manlius was with him along with the band that had followed him, and they had in total two legions. In a Roman legion [*fylking*] there are six-hundred sixty-six men. He then divided the army according to the custom of the Romans. There were not more than six-hundred men who had knight-weapons. There were many people that did not have anything but sticks and cudgels.

45. Here is an account of Antony and Catiline and the Romans. [Sall. *Cat.* 56.4-59.3]

Antony goes with his army against Catiline, but when he became aware of this, he made for the mountains ahead because he was expecting troops within a certain amount of time from the city.

The rumour now spread in his army that their treachery had been discovered and Lentulus had been killed. Many troops deserted Catiline immediately at that point. Quintus¹⁹⁷ Metellus now lies in wait for Catiline where he thought most likely that he would head away from the mountain. He captured a few men from his troops there. Antony Marcus was not far away from there with the main troops. His camp extended from the side of the mountain onto the plain, and he was supposed to receive the fleeing men who deserted Catiline's troops.

Catiline now realizes that where he had arrived the mountain range was surrounded by his enemies. He now could not return back to the city of Rome. <He> now takes heart and certainly wants to fight. <He> now convenes the force and begins his speech in the following way: "Listen now, good men, you who are experienced in virtue and courage and have always followed me in many dangers and endured well many adversities. The army of the Romans is now close by, and a fierce battle is going to take place, as can be considered likely. Make a firm onslaught now because you can know for sure that you will be subjected to cruel torments by the Romans if you will be captured. It is better to fall in battle at the hands of brave men than to be tortured to death or to fall while fleeing because fleeing men do not get a good reputation. Now, if fortune has so foreseen that we shall fall here, then try, you strong knights, and may each of you have a man to himself. But now I will not tire you with long-winded talk because it is not necessary to egg on high-minded men with words since neither persuasion nor reproaches help the cowardly." After that Catiline ended his speech. He then had all the men get off their horses. There was an even field. He then

¹⁹⁷ This man is called Gnaeus Metellus in the saga.

arranged his troops. He put Gaius Manlius in the front on the right hand side, but he was himself under the standard.

46. Here is an account of Antony and of Catiline and Lucius. [Sall. *Cat.* 59.4-61.9]

Antony went with his army against Catiline. He was sick in his feet so that he could not walk. He made a man who was named Petreius chief over the army. He held the rank of legate. Antony was himself on a horse and arranged in the front Roman knights and divided them into cohorts.¹⁹⁸ Next he rides among the army and spoke to the troops. He asked them to advance firmly “because now you are going to fight against unarmed rabble and defend your money and freedom by doing so.”¹⁹⁹

Sallust says that Antony²⁰⁰ has been more than thirty winters in the army of Roman men and always of the highest rank. He was sometimes consul²⁰¹ but sometimes legate, sometimes dictator, sometimes praetor or prefect. He now had his men blast the war trumpets and shifts the troops forward a little. Catiline did the same with his army. And they exchange shots at first, but then they enter a battle of blows. Lucius Catiline was at the front of his army [*fylking*] and struck to both sides and was always where the need was greatest and commanded everything as was best and won renown for what he did because he did the deeds of both an intense knight and a good general. Petreius sees that Catiline’s men were fighting sharply and resisted so firmly that none of them retreated, and now many fell on either side. Then Petreius had the band which consisted of the most select men advance, and in it were no common people but counts and barons. They went

¹⁹⁸ The redactor retains the Latin term ‘cohortes’.

¹⁹⁹ The redactor changes indirect speech into direct within the sentence.

²⁰⁰ This should be Petreius.

²⁰¹ The Latin reads ‘tribune’ (‘tribunus’).

into the middle of Catiline's army [*fylking*], and the army gave way to them immediately. Catiline then ran there and advanced so firmly that the Romans shrank back. From Lucius Catiline's troops the first to fall were Gaius Manlius and Faesulanus, who had previously fought well and bravely.

When Catiline saw that the majority of his troops had fallen and that he was left with few troops, he then remembered his previous rank and then ran into the middle of the army of his enemies where they stood the most densely and fought as if he were mad until he was pierced to death. Sallust then says that when the battle was over, it was possible to see how much strength followed these daring men that Lucius Catiline had assembled, because none of them left the place which they had taken in the beginning because everyone lay where they had stood and there were wounds only on their front side. Catiline himself was found far away from his men, and his enemies lay as densely as possible, and he still breathed a little at that point. He had the same demeanour as when he was at his fiercest in battle because of all the people that had followed Catiline no one was apprehended who was worth anything, and nobody fled, because they spared neither their own lives nor their enemies' lives. The Romans did not gain a victory without losses because all their most valiant men had fallen, but some were much wounded. When they explored the battlefield and rolled the knights over, they found their kinsmen and their masters and others found their friends, and they rejoiced but the others were saddened. Therefore there was among the whole army a mix of sorrow and joy. The foolhardiness came to an end for Catiline and his men as well as the guile that they attempted in such an extent that they sunk lower the higher they climbed. Most of the other Romans now went home with a fair victory.

47. Here begins <the saga> of Lucan who has written this account. [AccBT; AccA²⁰²]

There was a man named Lucan, Roman by birth,²⁰³ who was the first to write this account from the beginning. And he states that the whole army of the Romans was divided into three parts and a chief who was the most supreme in the city of Rome was put in charge of each third part and they were all made dictators.²⁰⁴ One of the men was named Marcus Licinius Crassus. He had a wife who was named Cornelia. She was the daughter of Metellus, one of the highest chiefs of the city of Rome. The second was Julius Caesar. The third was a man who was named Pompey Magnus Gnaeus and had ruled the Romans for the longest time. He had seven times been made consul in the city of Rome. He had a wife who was named Julia, the daughter of Julius Caesar. Pompey was, however, much older than Julius. Marcus Crassus was sent to the people that are called Parthians, Medes and Assyrians. That is in Africa. All these peoples opposed the Romans with an army and hostility. Marcus waged against them many battles and always gained the victory. But eventually he was defeated by the Parthians and killed by them pouring boiling gold into his mouth and saying the following: “Are you thirsty? Drink the gold now so that you have enough.” And thus ended his life.

48. Here is an account of Julius’ journey. [AccBT; AccA]

Julius Caesar went north over Mt Mundia into Saxony and France²⁰⁵ because they were previously hostile towards the Romans. The chief who opposed Julius the most was named Dikon. He was an

²⁰² See p. xii in the introduction.

²⁰³ Lucan was from Spain.

²⁰⁴ The first triumvirate is formed in 59 BCE.

²⁰⁵ Saxony and France both refer to Gaul.

earl of Suavaraland. He had conquered a large part of Saxony and Wendland²⁰⁶ and the land that lie nearer. Julius fought many battles there, and victories were gained by turns. He fought in these lands: Treverensis, Saterensis, Bergonensis.

49. When Pompey fought vikings.

Pompey Magnus went with his part of the army with a naval force out to the islands of Greece and fought vikings and evildoers who had committed many evils and had a large number of troops. At that time he killed some, but he drove everyone from the sea and from the ships. He then set out with the whole force over the sea and fought King Mithridates and defeated him. From there he went to Spain and defeated there the Sertorian king. From there he went to Ermland²⁰⁷ and Cappadocia and Chaldea and Arabia²⁰⁸ and Jewland, and he subjugated all these peoples to the Romans. And he fought against twenty-two kings and defeated them all. As a result of this he became very illustrious. He came three times to the city of Rome during these times, and consuls and senators and the common people came out to meet him, and he was put in a golden chariot and driven into the city to the temple of Thor. At that time it was the most glorious <temple> in the city of Rome.

²⁰⁶ In an Icelandic medieval context, Vinland was a territory on the Baltic Sea inhabited by Slavs.

²⁰⁷ According to Zoëga's dictionary from 1910, Ermland is either Armenia or a province in Prussia.

²⁰⁸ Arabia is referred to as Rabita land.

50. Here is an account of the battle between Julius and the Saxons. [AccBT; AccA; Luc.

1.109-128]

Julius now fights fine battles with the Saxons, and in the end the majority of his troops died. He then sent word to Pompey, his son-in-law, asking him to send support from his army. And when those troops came to Julius, he always gained the victory. But still he was not able in seven winters to destroy all his enemies and the enemies of the Romans so that he could expect no honour for his labour as was granted to Pompey. And for this reason he gave up his freedom for another five winters to control the army, and he did not want to come to the city of Rome until he had conquered fully what he wanted. At this time Pompey's wife had passed away, but he married Cornelia to whom Marcus Crassus had been married. After the fall of Marcus, Pompey sends word to Julius <saying> that he should go home to the city of Rome or else send him all his men. Julius wanted to do neither of these things. He then went around Saxony and Wallonia²⁰⁹ and England and conquered all the territories [*riki*] that are north of Mundia. And when Julius did not want to go back when he received this message, conflict arose between Pompey and Julius and shortly thereafter very great hostility. And when ten winters had passed, Julius went south to Mundia with the whole army. Word then arrived from Pompey and the chiefs of the Romans telling him to go with many people to the city of Rome. Lucan then says that after that the state [*riki*] which previously had dominated the whole world was divided both on sea and on land. And it was an adverse omen when Julia died because she had taken care that her father and her husband not share in discord because they were not divided by envy in the beginning and Pompey thought that Julius'

²⁰⁹ Wallonia is a translation of Valland.

latest victory would seem greater than his old feats. And Lucan then says that Julius did not want anyone to be greater than him but that Pompey did not want anyone to be equal to him, and therefore he says that it is daring to decide who was more in the right because the gods granted victory to Julius, but Cato, who was supreme and the wisest in the city, joined Pompey's side.

51. On Julius' journey to the city of Rome. [Luc. 1.183-291]

Julius now went southwards over the mountain and had great anxiety in his spirit. He set up his camp at the river which is called the Rubicon.²¹⁰ He then dreamt during the night that a woman came to him, large and awful. She had loose hair and the whole arms bare and spoke: "Whereto are you going to carry my banners? If you are my men and go justly, then it is not permissible to go forth." It seemed to him in his sleep that it was an idol. "You, city of Rome," he says, "who stands on the rock of Carthage, and the gods who have all come from Turkey²¹¹ and have always followed our race and were previously in Albia. Romulus, our kinsman, erected you from the ground, and now you are the supreme place in the world. I will not attack you with weapons that oppose you because, whether I gain victory on sea or land, I am always your serviceman and knight. And while this unrest is appropriate, may he be condemned who forbids me to go to you with honour."

In the morning he crossed the river and into the very land of the city of Rome and spoke: "Here I leave behind peace and the law. Now we shall trust in luck and not ask for peace from our enemies. And let the gods bring about a battle between us." In the morning, at sunrise, he came to

²¹⁰ This is in 49 BCE.

²¹¹ The gods are Phrygian in the Latin original.

a village which is called Ariminum in the district that this called Tacia²¹² and seized almost the whole district. And they who inhabited the district were not accustomed to weapons or unrest, and when they saw the banners of the Romans and recognized Caesar in the middle of the troops, they pitied themselves for being exposed to this unrest which was taking place north of the mountain. At this time many friends of Julius came from Rome whom Pompey had banished from the city. There was a noble man in that group who was named Curius. He spoke to Julius: “We have supported you and your cause while we could in Rome. I have claimed for you all the men that I could, and we have been banished from the city because we prefer to fight on your side than to agree with your enemies. We now expect that your victory will arrange us onto our possessions. Hasten now your journey because there are few men, all filled with fear, in the city. You have fought for ten winters north of the mountain, and it is a small dominion [*riki*]. It may now be that you will fight here for a few years against the Romans before you gain power over the whole world. You are firmly egged on. You are denied all honour for your victory and rewarded with hostility for your labour and risk. Do not divide your army for now. We shall not spare ourselves in following you.”

52. Here it is reported what Julius said before the common people. [Luc. 1.291-351]

As a result of these persuasions his ambition grew much, and <he> has his banner placed on the field and gathers the whole army under it. From it arose a great din as was expected. And when silence fell, Julius began his speech in the following way: “My friends and loved ones, who have been in battles with me more often that can be counted and always gained victory for almost ten

²¹² Ariminum was a town in Umbria.

years! I now have reliable information about what reward is intended for you for your wounds and loss of men and the danger which you have suffered. I am told that more preparations for hostilities would not be made even if King Hannibal, who has been the greatest enemy of the city and wanted to conquer it all, went with his army to Rome. Until then, gather as many people as possible and cut all brush-wood for ship-building. Caesar is called an exile and he may be killed with impunity both on sea and land. But how would I be handled if we had fared badly and the army of the Saxons would be moving around in the north with an overwhelming force of unrest? Now, as a result of how well we have fared, the gods want to put to the test whether we want to be men as great as they have made us. Pompey, an old man, opposes us and has with him young knights, farmers, and city-men who are not accustomed to battle, such as Marcellus the loquacious and many of his equals still. I do not think that it is resolved whether the young knights will satisfy Pompey's greed, but it seems to me that he will never lay down his injustice. I do not have to tell you how unjustly he has procured money from every man around the whole world. You are aware, when men were to pass lawful sentences in the city of Rome itself, what crown he put over the judges – it was an army furnished with shields and in full armour – and nobody was supposed to dare to pass sentences different from those he desired. He now begins unrest in old age, as his foster-father Sulla did in that he seized the whole city of Rome with zeal and injustice. Men say that tigers, when they bite the herd with older animals, never want to stop once blood has touched their teeth. I believe that Pompey has such greed and thirst for murder since he licked the warm blood of men off the sword of Sulla, his foster-father, that he should be more daring than before. It is not clear to us now what end this wrongful state [*riki*] will have or when he is going to cease the disgrace. It may be, as far and wide as Pompey has previously gained victory, that it will be his last victory to knock me to the ground for the reason that I do not want to throw my banner of victory down at

my feet. Although the Romans do not want to do me any honour, it would still be fair to give the men who have followed me and conquered such a great dominion [*riki*] their wages. And they should seek peace where they are natives rather than where vikings and evildoers occupy their houses in Rome. Hail,” he says, “take up the banners which we have carried far and wide in victory because now it is necessary to use force. They egg us on to carry weapons against themselves who deny us what is just. I expect that the gods will grant us support because we do not fight for the state [*riki*] for my own sake or the sake of my men, but we shall rather drag the lords who are now prepared to serve off the city.”

53. Here is an account of Thesbes²¹³ and his scheme. [Luc. 1.352-395]

After these words a great din arose in the army because they were many who urged for unrest because they desired power [*riki*] and proceeds of plunder. There were some who were wiser – and rich – to see how much evil could be caused by this and asked that there should be peace and an agreement should be kept. Next, a man who was named Thesbes stood up and said: “You, Julius Caesar, the supreme ruler of the whole world and the Roman state [*riki*]! We wonder how long you will tolerate this from your enemies because you will not lack our support as long as we are able to hold on to weapons. And it will be a light trial to fight against the city-men who are accustomed to peace. Yet as for the rest, it is distressing that we lay hands on each other. Let us go with you through Sweden the Great²¹⁴ or to Libya, and we shall subjugate to you with these hands and weapons all the dominions [*riki*] which we have conquered previously in the northern region all the way to the sea in the west. And I shall follow your command in every way. Nobody

²¹³ Thesbes is called Laelius in the original Latin.

²¹⁴ This land is better known as Scythia.

shall be my friend or fellow city-man when I hear your trumpet blown in opposition, and I swear by your banners and your whole victory that even if you order me to strike my brother with a sword and lunge a spear into my father's chest and slay with weapons my pregnant wife, I shall in no way be sparing with my hands, and even if you want to rob the gods and burn the temples and set up your camp at the Tiber in the city of Rome, I shall be the leader and raze every city you want to the ground. I shall be at your disposal, even if it is the city of Rome itself." When Laelius finished his speech, all the people held up their hands and consented to the will of Julius. When it became clear that he wanted to overcome the city of Rome and the land of Italy with weapons and to fight against the senators, he summoned anew an army as large as he could from <the area> north of the mountain and hurried as much as possible to the city.

54. On wonders and marvels in the city of Rome. [Luc. 1.521-695]

When the Romans now hear that Julius is in proximity to the city with his army, great fear arose in Rome and terror. The people began to flee. It was said that Julius was much greater and more terrible than he had been before, and around him gathered an army from every direction. At that point the chiefs fled away. And no man was so decrepit nor so sick that he could dissuade his son for a single night. So afraid were the people. And many found it strange that the city was abandoned without a battle, but Cato still says that it was forgivable for other men when Pompey himself fled from the city.

At this time many wonders took place in the city of Rome. What is called an eclipse of the sun and moon happened for the first time, entirely against nature. A star was seen which is called a comet in the likeness of a sword, and the point of the sword was turned towards the city. That star is usually seen before large battles. Large lightning were also seen flying from the north in

clear weather. The ocean seemed to have the appearance of blood or the blood of sacrificial victims. All kinds of portents were born in the city, both of livestock and men, and many kinds of noxious birds flew out of the forests and nested in the city. It is said that an ox that was being led before a plough said: "You are beating me for no reason because the city of Rome will soon lack men more than seeds, and weapons <are> not more abundant than grain."²¹⁵

Three nights later they saw and heard armed men, a great din and a loud noise. And the men who lived closest to the city walls saw a large and terrible female troll²¹⁶ go towards the city, and she had in her hand a large staff of glowing iron, and it seemed to them that she held the city in her embrace. Men saw ghosts walk every night. Sulla and Marius had fought each other with the greatest ferocity, and therefore neither of them was given a burial as was given to other chiefs in the city of Rome. They now walked again every night within the sight of men. Men became very afraid of these menaces in the city of Rome, and as a result of this many men fled from the city. Then sorcerers came along and made sacrifices and consulted the gods about the future and inspected the entrails of both men and livestock and said that they saw nothing but sad things alone.

A man came there who was named Arruns, a very great wizard, full of prophetic spirit and sorcery. He sacrificed a bull, and when the bull had been slain, a large and coal-black cat²¹⁷ leapt out of the body. And when he cut up the bull, he tied two knots on the entrails, almost like the head

²¹⁵ This ox does not appear in the Latin original.

²¹⁶ This is a translation of 'Erinyes' ('a Fury').

²¹⁷ In the original Latin, the word is 'virus' which means 'poison'. 'Eitur' appears as a translation of 'virus' in RS 86. The cat therefore makes an unexpected entrance into the saga.

of a man,²¹⁸ and assigned one of the knots to Julius but the other to Pompey Magnus and then cast many rare spells over them. Then the knot that was assigned to Julius swelled extremely, but the one that was assigned to Pompey withered entirely and disintegrated. Arruns then spoke loudly and said: “It is no small thing that the gods show me, who is unworthy. And the supreme father, Thor, has not acquired this sacrifice, but the gods of hell have entered the body of this bull, and my mind tells me that this will turn out badly, and even worse than can be imagined.” There was still one man in the city of Rome who knew astrology well, and he said that he could tell from the heavenly bodies that great battles would take place and that there would be heavy casualties and a long period of unrest.

An incident took place in the city which men thought was a great wonder. When a noble housewife was about to walk to the temple of Thor to pray after a difficulty, she was carried into the air far above the city and she hung there for a very long time. A large number of people saw her from the city and heard that she spoke loudly and said: “Apollo, where to do you want to bring me? (We call him a sun god.) I now see a great²¹⁹ vision”, she says, “I now see Philippi under a jutting rock. But what is the reason? I see the Romans themselves fight and no grand chiefs against them. Now I am going out to Egypt, and I see the large body which lies there headless on the sand-banks of the Nile. Now I am going to Libya and see the sad troops that made it out of Emathia. Now I am going north of the mountain, and now I am going home to the city of Rome. And I now see a battle of chiefs in the middle of the city, and now I see unrest around the whole world. Now I am going over the ocean, and I still see the fields of Philippi.” And after that she fell to the ground

²¹⁸ The redactor misunderstands ‘caput’; its usual meaning is ‘head’, but here it refers to the protrusion from the liver.

²¹⁹ There is a short lacuna in the text where ‘vision’ stands, but the word can be created from AM 225.

and lay there for a long time as if she were dead. As a result of this a great fear and weeping of women and young men arose in the city. Almost all men fled from the city, some to Julius but others to Pompey.

55. Here is an account of Brutus and Cato. [Luc. 2.234-325]

Brutus was a noble man in Rome. He went at night into Cato's garden, who was at that time the supreme senator. All men found him difficult to deal with except Brutus alone. He spoke to him: "I know that whatever happens you do want to part with the power and manliness which are now being emptied fast. I now want to seek help where you are because I have none unless I have your support. Some are now going to Pompey but others to Julius, but you alone shall be my leader, whether you prefer that we stay in the city and seek to keep peace as we are able or you want to join the side of the chiefs and fight with them. Most of them go to war if something prompts them. Some are unpopular and fear their enemies. Some are moneyless and want to earn money and fame for themselves in this way. No man hurries to arm himself unless he expects some gain or high wages. I trust you alone to fight only if it is fair. I think that it is worth little to you that I have protected you from disgraces of men all your life and been without fault towards every man. If you now intend to join this horrible battle, in which our kinsmen and friends are dying, may it not happen that you wound or kill your friends or closely-related kinsmen and as a result your reputation and virtues be destroyed. Everybody will be eager to be said to have been wounded by your weapons and wish thereby to slander your excellent strength. I believe that Julius will be happy to hear that such a man is joining the battle, and he will say that Cato likes the unrest when he himself wants to join that dangerous battle. Large troops, consuls, and senators are arriving here now, but do you want to be there, Cato, and submit to Pompey, and then everybody will serve one

man? What is then happening if it is not Julius being the only free man in the world when he does not submit to Pompey? Since it seems befitting to us to fight for the sake of law and freedom, we foresee who will join you. I will become supporter of neither Julius nor Pompey, no matter who gains the victory.”

And when Brutus had said this, Lucan says that Cato contemplated for a long time in his very holy breast, and after that he said: “I agree that there is a danger that our fellow city-men, kinsmen and friends will die, but yet it is best to follow the one who has the most manliness. May it go as is fated, but it is obvious that the god of fortune is angry with us on account of the evil deeds of bad men and wrong judgments. If such a good thing comes to pass that the god of heaven or the god of hell would want that my head could undo the wounds of all men, I would be happy about it and walk between the factions [*fylkingar*] and gladly meet with the weapons of all men from either side and follow Decius’ example, and I wish that my blood and my wounds and my death would stop the barbarity of all men and make amends for the deeds and evil doings of all. It is a wonder why all people want to be destroyed willingly. Attack me with hard weapons because I want to protect the laws and maintain the freedom, and it would be permissible to cut my head off for there to be peace. And when I am dead, it may be that he controls the state [*riki*] who wants it to be free of battles. Now we will walk under the banners which have been taken up here in the city and follow Pompey because it is still not known that he will take over the whole world even though he will become greater. And I will not be in his retinue for the purpose that he can think that he alone gains the victory even though it be granted to him.” Brutus and Cato resolved to join Pompey’s faction and fight.

56. Here is an account of Marcia and Cato. [Luc. 2.328-391]

There was a fine woman named Marcia. She had been Cato's concubine, but he married her off two times. Both her husbands passed away. She then came to Cato and spoke, weeping: "While I was at my most active age, I followed your plans and married two men, but now they are both dead. Now it is not necessary to marry me because of my old age, but yet I ask that you make a show of marrying me, and my tomb could rightly read: Here rests Marcia, wife of Cato. It will not be much looked into how long our marriage has lasted. I would like to serve you, Cato, in the camp." Cato yields to her words and summoned Brutus and married Marcia lawfully and yet with no ornaments nor high positions. Cato never cut his hair nor trimmed his beard since this discord²²⁰ began, and no man saw him happy because he lamented the hardship of the people and the ill-fortune that overcame them. He always showed moderation and righteousness in every respect, and he had no dealings with his wife during this time. He wanted to give his life for the freedom of all the common people, and he did not want to be good only to himself but the whole world. He considered hunger and thirst to be a victory over all luxury. He tolerated hardship and lack of sleep and great toil. He never took off his battledress and was always prepared for sacrifice performed for the sake of freedom and laws. He was truly a father of a husband,²²¹ chief of chiefs, a triumph of justice, a bettering of the laws, and never could a vice be found in Cato's life.

²²⁰ The Latin reads 'feralia arma' ('deadly war').

²²¹ The Icelandic says 'faðir bonda', where 'faðir' is a nominative form and 'bonda' a genitive form. This should be 'father and husband' ('pater et maritus').

57. On Pompey and Julius. [Luc. 2.392-477; AccA]

At this time Pompey was in Campania by the city that is called Capua. He gathered as large an army as he could there to rise against Julius. Julius went from the city of Arabia²²² and into the very land of the city of Rome. He began to start plunder and war, and one could see that Julius preferred to burn cities and castles than for those who owned them to give up voluntarily. They laid waste districts with weapons and fire, and some resort to closing their city gates and make themselves ready for defense, but some gave up and submitted to Julius. Many kept their allegiance to Pompey, and yet most were subdued by Julius' power. Julius' strength now grows more than anybody could have thought. One chief was named Libo but another Sulla, son of Lucius Sulla the Rich who killed Marius. He fled when he was told that Julius had entered his dominion [*riki*], and Lucan says that he did not fight with his paternal weapons when he ran when he heard Julius mentioned. Varus, Centacles, and Oppio²²³ went to Pompey, but Julius seized all of their goods.

58. Here is an account of Domitius and Julius. [Luc. 2.478-525]

Domitius was the name of a chief. He ruled the city which is called Corfinium. He was the most excellent of men. He gathered troops against Julius, and when Julius came close to the city, all the fields were thought to shine with their weapons and war gear. Domitius marches against him with rallied troops towards the river which was between the camp and the city and spoke thus to his troops: "Let us go ahead. Let us offer resistance here and not let them cross the river without a battle. It is a sufficient victory for us that Julius is delayed here for a while and that we will be first

²²² There is nothing in the Latin original that indicates that he is in this place.

²²³ Oppio might be a distortion of Scipio, but there is nothing the Latin texts that resembles the name Centacles.

to carry weapons against him.” Julius now sees that they are preparing for defense and becomes very angry and said: “The mice do not find it advisable anymore to flee into the holes, and these wretches intend to defend from us the riverbank and the stone arch. But even if the river that is greatest in the world and is called the Ganges would flow here between us, we are better suited to attack than they are to defend, and by nothing will we delay <by> the river since we crossed the Rubicon. And attack bravely.” Julius’ men now shot spears and javelins and arrows and marched against the river.

And a very vehement battle now took place, and it ended with Domitius fleeing from Julius’ overwhelming force to the city, and he gave himself up overcome. He was then arrested and led before Julius, and it is said that Domitius kept his whole demeanour and bravery and stretched out his neck and said: “May anyone attack and may he strike bravely because now I find life not much better than hell since Julius’ power [*riki*] shall spread.” Julius then said: “Although you want to die now, you shall nevertheless live and have received life from me as long as you will live from now on. Our enemies shall know from now on how good it is meet with my mercy. But you shall know that I do not intend to reward your men with anything for this.” He then bid him be released and go wherever he wanted. “But it shall be difficult for you to go to Pompey or other chiefs of our enemies.” He replied: “It is most difficult for me to submit to you but to know nothing of our other chiefs.” And after he was released, he went to Pompey.

59. On Pompey and Julius. [Luc. 2.526-632; AccBT]

Pompey hears that Julius’ troops were close by and assumes that they will fight the following day and speaks before the army and said: “The army of the Romans has now gathered which has taken up its weapons not on account of its haughtiness but the foresight of its chiefs for the purpose of

punishing crimes and discord. I know that you are now willing to fight, and yet it is excusable for you. An army of Saxons has come from <the area> north of the mountain, and we hear that Julius has killed our men, but wounded some, and we have suffered this. The gods will not let this go unavenged because what Catiline and Lentulus and Cethegus did was no greater a disgrace. Wretched is the anger of their chiefs whom the gods have made equal to the main leaders of the very traitors who were in the city of Rome, Sulla and Marius. It would be good if he died such a death as Lepidus, Carbo, and Sertorius, all of whom died by weapons. Nevertheless, on account of our kinship, it would be a good thing if there were no unrest between us, and if Crassus had returned triumphant from Scythia, he would now defeat Julius and his army. Consider it now of little value that Julius, my father-in-law, calls me old and decrepit because there is no harm in the chief being older than the knights. I have gained as great a success as the Romans could ever grant me, and I have left nothing to others in the world, and the one who wants to become a greater man than I desires no small thing. There are consuls and a whole band which is filled with earls and dukes are here on my side now. Fortune was certainly not ashamed of anything when it refused victory to Julius against the senators and their troops. He talks about it every day how much he has laboured north of the mountain those ten winters he spent there, and he says that he crossed the sea that flows around the whole world. But I think that he went over ponds whose depth he himself knows. I think that he has never crossed the Rhine, and it is a great falsehood when he says that armed knights have fled from him in fear and fright. Nevertheless, he does not need to think that we, chiefs of the world, will flee from him, although we are now very worn by old age. I defeated previously the king who had never before been overcome and from whom Lucius Sulla, who has been the richest and the greatest fighter, turned away. I have travelled all the regions of the world and gained victory around the whole earth wherever it lies under the sun. I have also gained victory

in Phasis, and my dominion [*riki*] has spread around the whole world. I have also conquered and laid tribute on the whole of Egypt, Cappadocia, Arabia, Spain, Pontus, Pamphilia, Phrygia, Libya, Judea,²²⁴ Chaldea, and the whole of Asia and Africa. And the whole world has bowed down to me, and now I do not know what I have left for my father-in law, Julius, so that he can defeat me unless he now wins this battle which he now intends to fight against me, who am very old, and his fellow city-men.”

When Pompey had finished his speech, everybody was silent, but they still consulted each other when they heard that Julius was close by with an army that could not be fled, and they did not encourage the troops against Julius. Pompey then went to Brundisium with the army of the Romans. It is a sea city in Apulia. He then sent his oldest son who was named Gnaeus Pompey to gather an army around the whole world but two consuls, Gnaeus Curius and Portius Sullana, to collect taxes, rents of land and wants...²²⁵

60. On Pompey and Julius and their dealings. [Luc. 2.669-3.40]

Julius now comes to Brundisium and besieges it with his whole army. Hann sees that he and Pompey could go from the city on ships and then out on the ocean, and therefore he had a large rock and big beams moved into the strait. But Pompey had large ships taken out when the wind was blowing from the city and raised catapults on them and let them drift out to the beams and then flung fire into the beams and burned them up.

²²⁴ In RS 49, the redactor uses the term ‘Jewland’.

²²⁵ There is a lacuna in the text.

One night Pompey went secretly aboard a ship and sailed away. When he was gone, the city men quickly changed their allegiance, and that night they opened up the city for Julius and his troops. Two ships that Pompey possessed were then seized, and every person onboard was killed but some of Pompey's troops made it out on the ocean. And Lucan says the following: "Pompey goes there now with no small party, and it is horrible that there shall be heavy casualties in a distant land and yet the gods do not want to rob you of an ancestral burial in your native land. Egypt was rather chosen for this so that Italy could be spared that misfortune and the sad treachery against such a chief, and may the city of Rome be unspoiled and undefiled by your death, Pompey."

Now they sail out to the ocean, and most of them look ahead of the ship, except Pompey alone. He lay back on the prow and looked up towards land [and] as long as the tallest mountains did not disappear under the horizon. He had been sleepless for a long time due to many anxieties, and when all the mountains had disappeared, Pompey fell asleep. He then dreamed that Julia, to whom he had been married, the daughter of Julius Caesar, came to him and spoke to him in great anger: "I can tell you that the gods of hell are preparing for you many stays and many troubles. You gained victory when we were man and wife, but now you have changed your fortune with a change of beasts of burden."²²⁶ Taking husbands has not gone auspiciously for Cornelia, even though she is now your concubine. You are almost an old and weary man, and yet you want to take her with you on campaign, wherever you go on sea or on land, so that I may never enjoy you. But yet she shall not enjoy you. My father will bother you during the day and I at night. No draughts of oblivion have I drunk in another life, although you do not remember me. Wherever you are

²²⁶ The redactor is probably confusing *tauris* (bulls) with *toris* (marriage).

fighting, I will be in the middle of the battle array [*fylking*], and I swear by my chiefs in another world that you will never be granted to become anything and your children will not be granted to be separated from you. And this battle will end in such a way that you will be mine and you will leave with me.” She then departed. Pompey wakes up and said wearily: “Why does Julia come to bother me with such dreams? Because either there is no consciousness after death or death is worth nothing.” That same evening he got the whole army safely onto the land that is called Cumadudia.

61. On Julius’ journey to the city of Rome. [Luc. 3.59-168]

Julius alone now ruled the whole land of the city of Rome. He sent a man who was named Curius to Sicily to obtain provisions, but he himself went to the city of Rome with an outward look of peacefulness. When he came close to the city, he was not treated like other chiefs were when they came home victorious, because no procession was sent out to meet Julius, and he lost that victory with his demeanour. And yet he gained the victory that all the people were almost scared of him. When he rode towards the city of Rome, he called out loudly and said: “There you are, Roma,²²⁷ the seat of the gods, and your chiefs have fled from you without a battle and not dared to fight a battle. Truly it is thanks to the gods that your enemies, city of Rome, did not come from the east while you were chiefless, and it is a shame and a loss that you had a cowardly army to protect you, and it is truly a cause for rejoicing that we have rather started this discord²²⁸ amongst ourselves.”

Julius now comes into the city with such terror and dread as was just recounted, ready to burn the temples but rob the gods. He summoned all the chiefs who were left in the city to a grand

²²⁷ The redactor uses the Latin form on occasion.

²²⁸ The Latin reads *bellum civile* (civil war).

palace. They were so scared that they gave all the verdicts that he wanted. After that Julius went to the temple that they called the temple of Njörður.²²⁹ By it was a palace. It was sturdily locked, and it was called Aerarium where all the cash, gold and silver and good woven clothes of the Romans were kept which previous chiefs had gathered. And when Julius came to the temple, he turned to the palace doors, but a chief who was named Metellus said to Julius: “You will not open these doors while I am alive, and you will not rob the temple or the gods of their possessions unless you kill me. Now it is advisable, Julius, to draw your sword and cut the head of our fellow city-men, and that is a very illustrious deed.”

Julius became very angry at his words and said: “A great falsehood you speak, saying that you will die such a magnificent death. I will not pollute my hands with your blood, and I have no mind to show signs of my anger on you because you will not steer laws nor freedom against me. And I will not mix the highest things with the smallest because the laws themselves prefer to be broken by me rather than followed by you alone.”

And when Julius had said this, his knights, clothed in armour, forced open the door. Then a Roman knight who was named Cotta said to Metillus: “Do you not see that all our people are lost on account of the dominion [*riki*] that now strikes? And now we have to yield to many wrong things, and our greatest comfort is that many people have to do so and we must not refuse anything that is placed upon us.” Metellus was seized and led to the doors, and they withdrew the riches which nobody had come near for a long time and which the supreme consuls had collected – the former Fabricius who fought the Romans themselves, and Marius who defeated King Jugurtha and

²²⁹ This is the temple of Apollo.

conquered Numidia – and all money that Pompey, who fought against twenty-two kings and defeated them, had collected in the eastern region of the world. And Lucan says that then, for the first time, the city of Rome was poorer in money than Julius Caesar.

62. Here is an account of Pompey and his gathering of troops. [Luc. 3.169-762]

What is now going on with Pompey is that he sends word to all the men in Greece and Asia who wanted to lend him support, and innumerable troops rushed to him. And Lucan says that never ever has as great an army gathered in one group and there are no precedents for as many earls and kings being under the control of one chief. The whole army obeyed his command and prohibition. Julius now goes with his army and intended to go to Massilia and Spain for the reason that he wanted to conquer everything north of the mountain. He now makes for the city that is called Phocis and was very strong, and when the city-men heard about his journey and purpose, they sent men out to meet him and said the following: “Every time a foreign master has attacked the state [*riki*] of the Romans, we have been on their side and fought, as is written in your annals. But if you want to go to unknown regions of the world and fight there, you will get the men who are willing to go with you because all over the world troops rush to you that do not shrink from such difficulties, and everybody should have the same disposition towards you and Pompey as we have, and then you would not quarrel in anger. If you want to conquer it and settle in it, we want this place to be safe for Pompey and you, whoever of you wants to come here unarmed, and in this way we show you our loyalty. But if you want to besiege the city and seize it with unrest, we shall surely defend ourselves, and brothers will sooner slay one another than we lost our women and children. And we join your army unwillingly.”

When Julius heard this, he got angry and said: "These men are full of nonsense if they think that I will not have leisure to waste this land and break this city. They said that if I came unarmed into this city, they would open it up. Then they would lock me inside so that I could never get out. Now I give you, good companions, this city as booty." Julius then goes to the city with his army and sees that all the city gates were closed, but a crown thick with helmets, armours and shields was set up around the city on battlements. Julius now sets up his camp around the city and had a wall made of sods as tall as the city and the battlements. He had big beams set up on both sides of the wall so that it would not fall even if a heavy weight would hit it.

There was also a sacred forest in which the city men had great belief, and Julius' troops did not dare to cut it down. Julius then ran to the forest and cut down with two hands a tree so sturdy that the axe sunk as far as to the back of the axe and said: "Do not fear to cut down this forest. I will bear the responsibility." They then cut down the whole forest in terror and yet they feared Caesar's anger more than the anger of the gods. The whole forest was now cut down. The city-men were unhappy about this and said the following: "Why will the gods not avenge their offences? Why will the fortune of bad men be so abominable that they will rule no one except wretched men alone?" Julius had two towers made on top of the wall to shoot into the city. The city-men defended themselves well and bravely and flung stones with catapults out of the city so that Julius' men could not mount an offensive if they went near. Julius then saw that he could not conquer the city except with a long siege and consequently divided the army in two places. He himself went to Spain with some of the troops, but left behind a chief who was named Brutus and asked him to never forsake the city until it had been conquered.

Shortly thereafter the city-men rode out with their whole army and set fire to the bulwarks which Julius had had made and burned everything up. And then they fought on ships against Brutus, and that was the scene of a very hard-fought battle. There was a chief on Brutus' team who was named Tyrrhenus,²³⁰ the strongest of men. He was struck across his face so that both his eyes were lost. But although he was blind, he shot into the enemy troops. He shot an arrow into the breast of a noble man who was named Argus, and that man immediately fell backwards. His father stood by him and he beckoned him to close his eyes. And when he foresaw his death he spoke with great sorrow: "If the gods will allow me to run myself through, I shall do that." Then thrust down the hilt of the sword and fell on the tip so that it went through him, and then he plunged overboard. Their dealings ended in such a way that Brutus gained the victory, and this was the first victory of Julius' men.

63. Here is an account of Julius when he went to Spain. [Luc. 4.1-388]

What is now going on with Julius is that he comes to Spain, and two chiefs, friends of Pompey, were already there. One was named Petreius, the other Afranius. They had a large number of troops and were staying in the city which is called Ilerda. A river flows between the city and Julius which is called Sicoris,²³¹ and therefore Julius was not able to attack the city. He sets up his camp by the very river. The following day he walked up along the river and intended to climb a stone peak which was there and stood prominently over the city. Petreius and Afranius saw this and rode over the river to meet him and wanted to guard the rock from him, and it ended with them fleeing but Julius reaching the rock. He collected his troops on top of the rock, and shortly thereafter the waters

²³⁰ His name is Sirenus in the saga.

²³¹ The river is called Tigna in the saga.

became so large with the heat of the sun in the spring resulting from the melting of the snow in the high mountains that the river became so large that it fell on both sides of the rock so that Julius could on neither side get from the rock and over the river. Julius had a ship made out of hides and had orchards that stood by the rock cut down, and they made ships out of them and also hides, and in this way the whole army crossed the river. Petreius and Afranius then left the city and wanted to go to a certain city, and the way there was very long, and it would be a safe stronghold if they could make it there.

When Julius saw their movement, he gets in their way with his band of knights. He and Afranius came to a halt on a ridge and rallied their troops there. They then spoke to each other and acknowledged each other. Both fathers and brothers stood there, sons and kinsmen, on either side, and many other great friends. And next there was a discussion for a while about reconciliation with Julius, before Petreius would egg them on to try to fight and say that there was a shame in reconciling without a battle and let Pompey down²³². And they set out for battle before Julius would. They slayed many from his troops, but eventually they were overpowered and fled back to the city. Julius was still able to ride past them and get in their way with his band of knights. They then came to the top of a tall and dry sand-hill and rallied there and egged Julius and his men to come at them. When Julius' men prepared for attack, Julius spoke loudly: "Do not attack because he bites painfully who does not want to save himself." They were as mad as a fierce animal and did not fear death. This goes as Julius planned in that there was no opportunity for them to fight, and for the first time the anger began to wane and the spirit to diminish. They were for a long time

²³² The last three words in the sentence are gained from AM 595.

tormented by hunger and thirst on the hill. The chiefs then were the first to get down from the hill and with them all of Julius' troops.

Afranius then stepped before Julius and knelt before him and kept his whole demeanour and said: "If I had the opportunity <to be killed> by your weapons, I lack neither strength nor valour. Now we want to ask you for peace. We have not jumped into this trouble nor ourselves begun this animosity towards you, but rather it happened that a discord²³³ arose between you and the chief to whom we have been loyal. We now ask that allow us to go in peace to our homes because we are now overcome by you." And when Julius had heard his words, he gave them all leave to go home kindly. Now it is possible to see, says Master Lucan, how wretched the men are who are entangled in unrest. They gave up their weapons and then went to their cities in peace, but previously they were afraid every day while they were engaged in battle.

64. On Chief Antony. [Luc. 4.404-574]

Antony was the name of a great chief in Julius' army. He ruled where the river which is called Iader falls into the fjord that is called Adriaticus. He expected support from the peoples that live near there. A chief in Pompey's army who was named Octavius marched against him when Antony was with his army on a cliff which was close to the Adriaticus Fjord. The cliff was a very good stronghold, but they were there very much tormented there by starvation. Then the chief from Julius' army who was named Basilus came to the cliff on the other side of the fjord. He sent word to Antony saying that he would grant him support if he would come to meet him. When Antony heard this, he had large rafts made out of timber and hides and thin shields and empty barrels tied

²³³ The Latin reads 'bellum civile' ('civil war').

around them so that the raft would float if a heavy weight of men would get on it. He also had a stronghold made on top of it for defence against the enemies, and he intends to be carried out of the Adriaticus Fjord in this way and then go to meet Basilus when weather allowed. When Octavius saw his preparations, he had iron strings set up across the strait and towards Antony's ships, and he was not going to let them get away. There was no other way. When they were ready they left, and as they went out onto the fjord, the men on the cliffs wound the strings, and they and Antony made it through on the rafts that were smaller. The largest raft they hauled in to the cliff.

A chief who was named Vulteius was there. He was very valiant with his weapons. He intended to cut the string but was not able. Then they defended themselves boldly, although there was no hope of victory for them. The battle was hard-fought and long because night fell and prevented them from fighting any longer. Octavius then appointed men to guard them so that none of them would steal away. When Julius' men saw how they were surrounded on all sides, they became sad as was expected. After midnight Vulteius assembled those on the raft and spoke to them: "A period of freedom is now given to us until daybreak, and it can be that some think that it is not long, but it is long enough for one to choose the death which one considers the fittest. The greatest courage of high-minded men is that it is never observable that men fear their death. You now know that we will not be able to escape death seeing that our enemies are on all sides. Let us go ahead. Let us not fear our death. We must accomplish a great deed for Julius to call the loss of a few men caused by us a disaster, as many thousands of men as he has with him." When Vulteius had said this, they rejoiced at his words and then waited until morning.

At dawn Pompey's men attacked them and offered them a truce and reconciliation, but they flatly refused. Then Pompey's men began a battle, but they defended themselves well and

valiantly. When Vulteius saw that they were overcome, he stretched out his neck and asked the companion who was closest to him to strike him. When he fell, each man struck his friend or kinsman. And Vulteius received the death which he himself wanted to choose. Pompey's men run out onto the raft and are astonished that all the men there were dead. They now seized their weapons and money, and the death of these men became famous all over the world.

65. On the battle of Curio and Varius and on Julius. [Luc. 4.583-824]

Curio was a man of Roman birth who was in Julius' army. He wanted to go to Sicily to collect taxes, troops, and provisions for Julius. This Curio came to meet Julius at the Rubicon River and urged as much as possible for the city of Rome to be attacked with weapons. He faced a headwind and drifted from the island and towards land, and he set up his camp on a hillock near the city which is called Carthage which is the richest in Africa. Then the chief who was in charge of Pompey's troops there and was named Vulteius immediately went to meet Juba²³⁴ with a great army. When Vulteius heard that Curio had arrived, he asked Juba for as large a number of troops as Pompey would. The king reacted well to his request and says that he remembers that Curio had driven him away from the chiefs of the Romans and he wanted to avenge this now. When Curio hears Juba had been asked for troops, he became very fearful. Varius goes with his army and sets up his camp near the city...²³⁵ When Curio sees this, he goes from the camp out into an even field and blew a trumpet and eggs his troops on to fight. When Varius saw this, he turned against them, and they fight for a while, and it ended with Varius fleeing his camp. King Juba hears this and was happy and assumed he would be able to defeat Curio, and he now gathered a great army and a

²³⁴ In this episode of the saga King Juba is mistakenly called Julius.

²³⁵ There is a lacuna in the text where the name should be.

band of knights in such a way that Julius' men did not catch wind of this. He then sent the chief who was named Sabbura to Curio's camp to egg him on to fight against him. They do so.

Curio waited the whole day and the night until dawn. Then he eggs his troops on to fight. They ask him to be prudent and said that these people were treacherous and accustomed to fighting with treachery. But Curio was not discouraged and started to fight immediately. Sabbura fought slyly and was unnerved and moved towards the camp. Curio makes a firm onslaught and thought that the victory was his, and when he had made it far from his camp, the king's troops attacked him from all directions out of hiding-places. There was now no possibility to flee. Curio is now afraid and all the troops also. He nevertheless bore the fear bravely and egged on his troops firmly. The king's men attacked them with rocks and weapons so they could do nothing but protect themselves, and it was so crowded that the corpses could not fall down, and one after the other they sank down.

When Curio sees that his troops have fallen but he was not able to, and because he did not want to flee by any means nor submit, he turned the tip of the sword which he was holding to face him and stabbed himself with the sword. Lucan says that Julius and Sulla bought the control of the state [*riki*] of the Romans for booty and weapons but this Curio sold Roma with his instigation, but nevertheless he did not last to see the victory which Julius gained. Master Lucan still says that no man was born in Rome neither before this nor after who was more skilled in all his accomplishments than this Curio if he had wanted to do the right thing.

66. On Chief Lentulus when he spoke to the people. [Luc. 5.7-65]

At this time Pompey was beyond the ocean in the land that is called Epirus with the whole army of the Romans. Then the days were at hand on which consuls were to be elected and the state [*riki*] of the Romans divided, during the time Christmas is now celebrated.²³⁶ He gathers all the chiefs for a council. The chief who was named Lentulus then stood up and said: “We shall remember how we have been driven away from our city and what choice men we have. It seems to me that a party of all the best chiefs of the Romans has now gathered here who should decide on all judgments. And whether we make it so far north that the night-sun shines in the summer or so far south as it is possible to live for the heat of the sun, laws and justice will always be with us, wherever our enemies are. It happened previously that the Romans were with Camillus the excellent, and he was staying in a small village which is called Veii,²³⁷ and there they kept themselves away from their enemies who had taken the city, and Roma was where the Romans were staying.

“And it is still so that the city of Rome is where we are, wherever Julius Gaius Caesar may be with his villains and robbers. Some of his troops have now been killed, such as Vulteius. The excellent Curio was slain in Africa with large troops. We expect assistance from the gods and trust in our fortune and put our minds to soothing the unrest no less than they put their minds to rouse it. The days have now come on which you are supposed to divide the office between you. I find it advisable to take Pompey as our leader, and although he is old now, there is still no one under the

²³⁶ The day in question is January 1, 48 BCE.

²³⁷ The village is called Pate in the saga.

sun who is his equal since Alexander the Great²³⁸ lived.” His speech received much applause, and Pompey was appointed consul for the eighth time, and the whole army of the Romans was handed over to him. Then it was decreed that Juba²³⁹ should be king of Libya but Ptolemy of Egypt. Liberty to be in peace was then given to the city of Phocis and then also to the city-men in Athens. The assembly was then dissolved, and everybody prepared for battle.

67. On Appius who went to consult Apollo the idol. [Luc. 5.67-224]

Appius was the name of a rich chief. This unrest brought him great fear, and <he> went to a mountain that is called Parnalium.²⁴⁰ We call it the centre of the world. On the mountain stood a large temple. Therein dwelt the god who was called Apollo and whom they believed to never lie. King Prius had previously come there to consult him and many other excellent chiefs, and they had received many remarkable responses. Appius asked a worshipper to go with him to consult the idol. The worshipper put into the temple a maiden to pass on what he spoke. She was named Phemonoe. When Appius heard her responses, he realized that it was the voice of the maiden and not of Apollo. He then became angry and asked her to be silent. The maiden became scared and ran into an underground room which was below the place where the god stood. She was then infused with prophetic spirit by the god who stood above her and said: “Appius, if you want to avoid all the danger of the Romans, go to the island of Robora and there you will be kept away from all danger.” Appius left the temple and went with his company to the island of Robora and

²³⁸ The redactor refers to him as Alexander Magnus.

²³⁹ Juba is once again called Julius in the saga.

²⁴⁰ In the Latin original the mountain is called Parnassus.

supposed that he would establish his dominion [*riki*] there. A short while after he arrived there, he fell ill and died. The maiden was found to be mad until holy water was sprinkled onto her.

68. Here is an account of the time Julius Caesar spoke before his men and of his journey. [Luc. 5.237-497]

When Julius Caesar had conquered Spain and Britain, he declares that he wants to go as quickly as possible to the city of Rome and then beyond the ocean to Pompey. A large part of his troops were very tired of battles and really wanted to go home and not fight against their kinsmen and friends and spoke in the following way: “We want to take leave of you because you are involved in dangers both on sea and on land. Some of our troops have been killed but some have fled – some in Saxony, some in Spain, some in Italy – and we have fought by your side over almost the whole world. What wages shall we receive from you if we fight against our fellow city-men? Now we want to look after ourselves according to the will of the gods.” And after this the majority of Julius’ troops turn back. When he sees this, he asked them to hear his words before they left him. He then said: “You, my knights, now want to leave me. All of you who wish to shall leave, but yet weaponless. I want to keep the weapons. But leave as you wish. I will take care of my fate. These same weapons will bring me as many friends and high-minded men. Do you think, you wretched men, that your flight will make a difference to my good fortune? The same thing will come to pass for you as for the rivers that vow to the sea that they will not flow into it anymore. Do you think that your help will in any way hinder my victory? Never will the gods respect themselves so little that they let your flight cause me a defeat. It is foretold that many shall serve but few receive. I know that you will flee willingly with Pompey on account of the threat that follows my name and the victory that I have gained in the north region of the world as you do not dare now to follow my

victory. You know that Labienus was thought to be a very great chief in arms and very tough while he followed me. Now he has joined another party and is now thought to be the most wretched fugitive on both sea and on land. Put down my banners now, and may they flee who so wish, but may the rest who wants to follow me and are braver take up weapons and banners. I will continue the battle as before. Those who started this in the beginning shall receive proper rewards for their faithlessness. They shall stretch out their necks, but we shall all see whether the new knights know how to strike heavily.”

At his words the people became so scared that no one dared to leave. They then all promised him their obedience. He now goes out to Apulia to Brundisium with the whole army and has all the ships gathered which he could get. He himself rode to the city of Rome with small troops and he was made dictator there and consul by the people who were already there. Then he went to the city which is called Alba and made sacrifices according to an ancient custom of the chiefs of the Romans, and then he went to Brundisium. He left Brundisium with the naval force and went out beyond the ocean to the city which is called Palaestina. A large number of troops were still not ready, and Julius put in charge of those troops a chief who was named Antony and asked him to follow as soon as he were ready. Julius then sets up his camp first by the city which is called Epirus, close to where Pompey had set up his camp. Two rivers flowed between the camps and one was called Hapsus but the other Genusus. Lucan says that fortune got this place to keep safe these two most excellent chiefs of the world and prevent any disgrace for a while, although the misery of the world would be greater than if this delay would bring about reconciliation. In that place each of them was able to see the other and talk to each other across the river and recall how long the father and son-in-law had with great affection maintained their affinity. Julius was willing

to go to battle but he thought that Antony was late in joining him. He then sent word to Antony, saying the following: “Antony, hurry over here, although you know for sure beforehand that there is going to be a shipwreck. And we do not divide the world up evenly. Caesar and all the chiefs of the Romans are dwelling in Epirus, but you alone possess the whole state [*riki*] of Rome.

69. Here is an account of Julius the consul and of a fisherman. [Luc. 5.508-721]

And when Antony delayed his arrival longer than Julius expected, he stole away one night from the camp and wearing the gear of a knight. He walked during the night along the seashore and found a ship which had been put in a rift in the rock and fastened with a rope. By it he saw a little house covered with grass but with shut doors. He knocked at the door. In there was a poor fisherman who was named Amyclas. He went to the door and asked who could be so poor out there that he needed accommodation from him around midnight. He kindles a light and opens the door and yet does not understand how much the gods granted him in that he was not frightened. There is no city nor quarters which men inhabit unafraid when they hear Julius mentioned. “If you transport me up north to the land of Apulia and follow my command, you shall not have all your prospects depend on your boat anymore. Go now and get yourself ready and do not delay. And it will be for your good fortune if you do my bidding.”

And even though Amyclas thought there were many difficulties to face, he went and launched the boat and prepared himself quickly. <They> then put out to sea. The wind soon became strong and the sea high, and the fisherman was very scared and wanted to take harbour where he first was able. Julius said: “Do not fear the threats of the ocean nor the wind and sail downwind and head to the land of Italy. The reason for your fear is that you do not know whom you are following because fortune and the assistance of the gods will never forsake you. Now, let

us head to Calabria because only there is a harbour where we may survive.” The wind picked up a little. The night became darker than had ever been the case before because it was pitch-dark and a heavy fall of lightning, and they did not see the upper part of the mast tree and could do nothing but go with the wind.

And then it eventually came to pass that Julius believed they would die and said: “It is a wonder how much the gods are exerting themselves to kill me. In my opinion, I am not destined to fall in battle and I shall rather drown in the sea. Unafraid I will meet the death which the gods have planned for me. The last time I was in the city of Rome Pompey was below me, and I received such great honour there that there are no precedents for any Roman man receiving as much honour. But now I ask that no one may know what has become of me, and then I step as dictator and consul over death, and may the gods grant that I receive no funeral honours and that my corpse drift nowhere to land and that no soul kindle fires for me because my enemies will never be unafraid of me while they do not know of my death for sure.”

The wind now abated, and Julius managed to meet Antony halfway, and yet he took him by surprise. But when the people knew that Julius had arrived, as many people came to see him as were able and said: “Because your life has become help and salvation for the common people and you have become the highest head of the world, it is near madness to want to die in such a way. We lay and slept while you were in such great mortal danger. And you depend too much on your luck in battles for you to run into the sea in difficult weather.” Julius now prepares himself as quickly as possible, and sooner than expected he made it beyond the ocean with all his troops to the temple in Epirus.

70. On Pompey and his wife Cornelia. [Luc. 5.722-6. 87]

Pompey now sees that Julius come nearer to him with his whole force. He wanted to move his wife Cornelia to the island which is called Lesbos since she would be safe there from all unrest. During the night, when he woke up and she wanted to kneel by him and kiss him, she touched his cheek with her hand and felt that it was wet with tears. She was so scared that she did not dare to ask him anything because he was not wont to weep. A little later Pompey said: "It has come to pass that it is not much better to live than to die because the dreary day will soon come which we have put off both on a small and a large scale until now. Julius is now very near with his force, and it seems advisable to me to move you away from the battle to Lesbos. This time will pass quickly because fate is now tumbling down. It is sufficient for you to hear about my dangers because it does not befit me to live with you nor wake up in your embrace at the sound of trumpets so loud that the whole ground almost trembles." Cornelia then said: "If you have no choice but to flee, do not forget to come to me." After this Cornelia is prepared for the journey, and when they parted neither of them could speak a word to the other for grief. Cornelia is now brought to Lesbos, and she was welcomed there.

Pompey then moved his camp closer to Julius' camp, and the reason was that Pompey wanted to avoid battle and force Julius to reconcile. But Julius wanted to fight by all means, and it was on the third day that Julius rallied his troops and thus showed that he was prepared for battle. When he saw that he could not egg on his son-in-law Pompey to battle, he broke camp and wanted to move it to the place that is called Dyrrachium. There was a safe stronghold, and there were steep cliffs outside it on two sides. Pompey received intelligence thereof and managed to get ahead of him and was able to reach the cliff with all his troops. When Julius heard this, he had a dike dug

wherever the path lay and then makes a bulwark and a castle and thus bars Pompey's way. Pompey had room to move his camp and enough provisions for all the troops. Where Julius had set up his camp the ground was very wet. Pompey now sees that he was closely confined and sets up his camp now as extensively as possible on the cliff so it would be very difficult to know where he was going to attack.

71. Here is an account of Pompey and Julius and Scaeva and his death. [Luc. 6.108-262]

At this time a grave illness descended upon Pompey's troops, but Julius' men starved to such a great extent that they ate the crops unripened and roots of grass which were obviously inedible. Pompey sees now that he is confined, and indeed he does not want to wait for his enemies any longer, but he prefers to clear a path for himself with his sword. He now turned his army towards the stronghold that was closest to his camp but farthest from Julius. There stood a forest so thick that it was not possible to see the army. When he arrived there, he had all the banners displayed at once and a signal blown by all his trumpets. Those who were present were struck with great fear. They fled. Those were killed who offered resistance. Pompey had the dike quickly filled with sods and rocks, and Pompey's banners were now carried over the dike. Julius' men took flight. There was a man named Scaeva. It is said about him that when Julius was fighting in Saxony, this Scaeva fought so boldly that Julius made a crown out of vine and placed it on his head.

And when Scaeva saw the flight, he called out loudly and said: "What causes this fear? Or for what are you fleeing? I would really like to die with Julius watching. But if that will not fall to my lot, then I shall die while Pompey praises my valour." At his words the troops turned back and fought boldly. When all of Scaeva's men had fallen, he made a heap of dead so high that it was barely possible to attack him. His sword had become so blunt from heavy blows that it did not cut.

Nevertheless he struck so heavily that the flesh rotted and the bones broke at his blows. At the same moment a man shot a barbed arrow into his left eye, but he pulled it out and the eye came out with it. He threw it down at his feet. He was now noticeable because he stood high up. On account of bleeding and wounds, he fell down to the ground. Pompey's army raised such a great shout of joy that they would not have rejoiced more had they wounded Julius himself. Scaeva then stilled his anger and said to them calmly: "My fellow city men, do not attack me anymore with weapons because it may still be that death suffices me. Take me rather alive and bring me to Pompey's camp." Aunus was the name of a rich man who believed his words and wanted to go to him and arrest him. Scaeva stabbed him with a sword in the chest, and he fell dead backwards. Scaeva then said, still laughing: "I just repaid yet another one for myself. And surely he is credulous who expects safety from my sword. And you think that I am like you who love Pompey less than I love death."

Julius now came here to where Scaeva had fallen. They picked him up and carried him off on their shoulders. Everyone praised his valour. They laid him down on an even field and took the weapons away from him. Then Julius said: "It is a great sorrow, strongest Scaeva, that you were not able to adorn the temples with your booty and not enjoy your victory with your master, so well you were disposed towards me."

72. On Pompey and Julius. [Luc. 6.270-462]

Pompey now has his camp moved to where the fortress was and where the dike had been and settles in as safely as possible there. Julius had not been at this battle. All his bulwarks were burnt and broken, and many of his troops had fallen. He was now very discontent with seeing Pompey's army having a rest and a good campsite. He now became so furious that he challenged his men's

courage and asked them to make an attack immediately on Pompey and his men. They rallied on a hillock with large troops. Pompey's troops left the camp and were drawn up in many battle arrays around Julius' troops. There was a great din of weapons and the sounding of trumpets. It became so dark because of a cloud of dust that it was barely possible to see the sun. Julius' troops were then seized by a great fear and when they wanted to flee, they ran into the hands of their enemies. In the end many of Julius' men were killed. Pompey himself stopped his troops and did not want an attack to be made where Julius was standing and now turns back to his men. After this victory he broke camp and moved it away from Epirus to the place that is called Emathia, also known as Thessaly.

Lucan says that it would have lightened all unrest in this war in the city of Rome and the laws themselves would have gained their freedom if Sulla the Rich, Pompey's foster-father, had gained this victory. And he says that it is a bad thing that Julius with his excessive zeal and crime should quarrel with his mild and merciful son-in-law. When Julius had gone away, Pompey went with the whole army after him. Chiefs asked Pompey to return to the city of Rome. "Never will I follow Julius' precedents nor will I come to the city of Rome for now. But I will come to you, Rome, if I gain the victory. And I fled for the reason that I did not want to know of your troubles. And even if Julius defeats me, you will not submit to him any the more." After this Pompey goes with his whole army by land to Emathia and sets up his camp far away from Julius. One son of Pompey Magnus was named Sextus Pompey, the other one Gnaeus Pompey. Sextus Pompey was very anxious about this difficulty and really wanted to know how it would go. There were many wizards in Thessaly. They made the day dark as night and the night as light as day.

73. On a woman who was skilled in magic and Sextus Pompey. [Luc. 6.507-828]

There was a woman named Erictho who was most excellent in her sorcery. She did not live in the houses of men, but rather she lived in caves and the graves of dead men. She was thin, and her flesh was blacker than earth, and a vile stench emanated from her. She was accustomed to waking dead men and making them tell her what she wanted. The young Pompey sought her for a long time and found her eventually in a cave. He greeted her and said: "Hail, you glory and ornament of all witches! What I have heard about you is that you are able to control many things and change the fate of men with your cleverness. I want to ask you to tell me what end our battles will have. It is not a man without distinction from Rome that asks you but rather the son of the great Pompey, who is the heir to his dominion [*riki*]. Examine things of the other world and then places, and tell me who will fall of our troops." Erictho then replied: "I can decide many things about a man's life and death, but I am not able to prevent the fate of the common people." She then takes the body of a dead man, and they drag him into the cave in which she had previously been, and it was almost dark there.

So much is said of her sorcery that she was able to shake the whole earth and also the ocean, and she was able to go through mountains and cliffs, and she was able to kindle lightning and raise legions [*fylkingar*] of dead men where the slain lay and make them fight for as long as she wanted. Erictho put on a strange costume and worked her spells until Sextus Pompey and his men began to be very afraid. Erictho then said: "Do not be afraid even if this man comes to live for a while and speaks to us. It may be that you would be afraid if I opened up hell for you and you would see places full of fire and rivers that flow from there full of poison or the terrible chiefs who are already there. I do not know how afraid you will be then."

Then she took a viper and struck the body of the dead men with it until he came to life. Erictho obliged him to tell what he knew and she wanted to ask him. The spirit said: "Harm was inflicted on me when you woke me. I will not say more than I know. It is a great sorrow to all the chiefs of the Romans who are dead that this quarrel began. Yet there are different places in Hell which are ready for the men who will die in this battle. Good chiefs are grieved. I saw the father and son the Decii both sad and the good Manlius and Curius grieved and also the rich Sulla. Scipio the Good lamented that his son shall fall in battle in Libya in the place where he had gained supreme victory previously. Cato the Elder laments the death of his namesake and grandson. You alone I see happy, Brutus the first consul, of the good chiefs. In another place I saw the cruel and evil chiefs Lucius Catiline and Marius Cethegus²⁴¹ happy in torture and many other evil chiefs. The chief of hell opens up many seats and many caves, and he prepares many bonds for the one who will gain the victory. You, young man, carry home with you the consolation that pleasant places await your father in hell, and he will receive the supreme place in that dominion [*riki*]. And ask him not to feel sorrow over short-lived repute. And everyone will descend to the place which he has readied for himself because both these chiefs will die, although one of them will be washed in the Tiber but the other in the Nile. Here your victory will be changed." After his the dead man fell down. Erictho then burned the body and cast many spells over it such as no one had ever heard. After that Sextus Pompey went to the camp and Erictho with him.

²⁴¹ Marius and Cethegus (who is called Ecegius in the saga) are two separate people.

74. On the battle between Pompey and Julius. [Luc. 7.7-333]

The last night that Pompey Magnus lived in his full prosperity, he was very anxious, and when he had fallen asleep he dreamt that he thought that he had arrived in the city of Rome and that the whole common people rushed to him and raised him to the sky with very great rejoicing. And Lucan says that he dreamt such a thing because his spirit was always where the city of Rome was. And in the morning there rose a great grumbling in the camp, and the troops really wanted to fight and went to Pompey and said that he was sparing his father-in-law excessively <and asked> for what purpose he had gathered an army around the whole world but never let it come to a battle. Then the chief who was named Tullius Cicero, one of the most excellent chiefs of the city of Rome on account of his wisdom and eloquence, approached Pompey and said: “The reward we get for our good-will if we shall decide that you depend on your luck and it is the request of kings and dukes that you may see Julius, your father-in-law, defeated.²⁴² Why do you fear the fate that the gods have foreseen? All our matters we now entrust to the hands of the gods. And let us now go to battle, or else we will part with you. Why do you want to spare your father-in-law for so long, who only does you harm?”

Pompey replied: “If all of you prefer to fight, I will not delay any more. And let thereafter, good men, luck decide the fate of all men. And many a man will fall here in one day.” After this he allows the men to sharpen their weapons and cover their horses with armour and prepare themselves in every way. When the troops were ready, a storm broke out with great lightning and claps of thunders so that men fell to the ground. The weapons were swept from their hands and

²⁴² This sentence is an anacoluthon.

flung up in the air. The people were so eager that, when the weapons fell down from the air, they said that the gods were showing that they wanted there to be a fight by sending the weapons from the air to the men. The people now rushed on headlong. Lucan says that it was probable that Julius worshipped the gods of hell for his glory, considering how many great innocent chiefs he killed in this battle.

It is said that a soothsayer who was named Aponus was sitting on a mountain ridge during the day and saw the battle and said: "Now comes a great day, and a big thing will happen. Here march against each other the legions of the men who are supreme in the world. And the sky itself shows their threats." The legions now advanced in the field, and the fields were thought to almost whine when the sun rose because of their equipment of arms. In the left wing was Lentulus the consul and with him very brave troops. In the right wing was Domitius who was mentioned earlier. In the middle of the battle array [*fylking*] was Pompey himself with his best troops. Five legions [*fylkingar*] were a little farther down by the water. And the kings of Syria were in charge there.

When Julius saw that the legions were ready for a battle, he was afraid at first, but nevertheless gathered his army and spoke before them and said the following: "Listen now, knights who have conquered the world with my luck. The day has now come for which we have longed for a long time. And make use of your weapons, whether we receive bettering or death. It is now in your hands what kind of man I shall be tonight. I remember clearly the day when you swore allegiance to me at the Rubicon, and with that hope I rode to battle. At that point I was denied all honour in the city of Rome. Let us make this day free our children and wives and let us acquire with weapons houses and quarters in the city of Rome. I will be more in the right because those who will be defeated will walk guilty. But if you say that you do not for my sake attack your native

lands and property and you regain your gained property and freedom, remember how Pompey previously kept you in a difficult situation when you were not able to fight and defend yourselves. Now my request for all of you is that you strike as much as you can everyone who offers resistance to you but offer pardon to everyone who flees and does not want to face you, and let us entice them to flee.” When Julius had finished his speech, they react quickly and break camp and rally their troops and are ready for battle.

75. On Pompey and Julius. [Luc. 7.341-475]

Pompey sat on a good horse. He rode in front of his legions and saw that Julius’ men had rallied their troops. He then spoke before his man, saying the following: “The day has now come on which you desired the most that this unrest would come to an end. Remember now that you are supposed to defend your property and native land. Remember also that the gods will have foreseen how everything will go because they know who will get away and who will be left behind. Let us expect that they grant victory to those who are more in the right. They could have put Julius in charge of you in the beginning, if they had wanted to, and not let me become as old as I have now become. I expect that they did not do it in anger when they made me chief over the city of Rome and freed me from many mortal dangers so that I might defend the freedom of the common people. Troops have now gathered here from almost all over the world. Let us form a circle around them so that no one can get away. If Julius gains the victory, I will be outlawed. May the gods rather let me fall in my old age than serve any man in the world.” His speech was met with much applause. The legions now mingled, and when the men recognized each other, fathers and sons, brothers and many close kinsmen moved towards each other. They then stood with their swords drawn, and neither side attacks the other for a long while. But since only a bad thing would come to be, a man

from Julius' troops launched a spear, and Lucan says that the man was overly daring who did this while Julius held his spear still.

76. Here is an account of the battle between Julius and Pompey. [Luc. 7.475-666]

The men now raised a great shout throughout the army, and the trumpets now begin to sound. The mountain that is called Olympus stood near the army and also the cliffs which are called Pangaeon, and the echo reflected from there. This caused an awful din. Javelins and spear now fly, and yet they were followed or launched with different intentions. Some wanted to kill men, but others wanted to defend themselves against punishment and do no man harm, and therefore few men fell in the shower of missiles. Julius and his men then began a battle of blows. Pompey's troops were arrayed so densely that they were not able to brandish their weapons. Julius' troops, however, went around in bands and were so heavily mailclad that it was impossible to approach them, and they always turned to where they were able to do most harm. And Lucan says that Julius and his men fought the battle but that Pompey's men bore it badly, and a token thereof was that the weapons of the former were warm and bloody while the weapons of the latter were cold and dry.

The battle now began to turn unequal, and the foreign army ceased the battle of blows and launched arrows and withdrew from the throng. So great was the fray of weapons and rocks for a while that it was so dark that it was almost impossible to see. Julius now feared that a breach would be made in his front and eggs on the band of knights who was and asks them to ride forwards where he thought he need was the greatest and mostly towards the foreign army. A tough battle now took place, and it was mostly the foreign army that fell. And when Julius had defeated them, he turned to the legion of the Romans where the majority of Pompey's force was, and kinsmen and friends met again. The battle then ceased for a while. Julius now egg on the army vehemently,

and a very tough battle began there. Julius had weapons given to his men as they needed them, but those who he did not think were fighting as he wanted he struck with his spear shaft. It also followed that if his men were suffering from bleeding and he came to them, he would put his hand over it and it would stop immediately. When Julius saw that the victory was to be gained, he signalled to them with his hand that all chiefs should be killed because he reckoned that he would all the quicker gain power [*riki*] in the city of Rome. This was easy because they were all standing together in a formation, and there the supreme body of men who existed in the city of Rome was killed. In that formation was Brutus in knightly attire, and Julius did not know for sure where since he concealed his weapons.

And Lucan says that there stood the glory and ornament of the chiefs and the foremost hope of freedom, and he says it is a good thing that Brutus was taking care of himself in this mortal danger because he was then not able to get anything done to Julius. And Julius' power [*riki*] had not yet become as great over the whole world as was destined for him. Here on a hill, says Lucan, died a great number of chiefs so that the common people are not mentioned along with them. There lay Domitius wounded to death who was the bravest man in Pompey's troops. Although he had now been defeated by Julius, he was relieved that he did not need to ask for pardon. Julius came where he lay with a countless number of wounds and all bathed in blood. "Hereby you will stop fighting on Pompey's side, and now other men will need to fight on his side." Domitius replied: "I die while it is undecided whether you will gain the victory today. And you are still a lesser man than your son-in-law. And I shall go to my departed kinsmen with Pompey as my leader. And I am free from you. I have caused as great a loss of men for you as I was able, beyond what each man feared." And having thus spoken, he died.

Lucan says that this battle was weightier for the city of Rome than any other because in other battles it lost chiefs and many people but in this one it lost its freedom and all its honour. Here there were such heavy casualties that all the fields were bathed in blood, and the majority of Pompey's troops and the foreign army fell. When Pompey saw that his troops had fallen and the gods wanted to deprive him of the victory, he climbed a hill and looked at the battle scene from there and saw the heavy casualties of his troops. He then said: "May the gods heal the world to such an extent that the city of Rome be set free, and may other peoples not die even if you now deprive me of the honour which I previously enjoyed. And even if I and all my kinsmen will die, it is a small thing for the inhabited world. And it would be a good thing if the whole common people would not pay for my misfortune."

77. On the battle of Julius and the Romans. [Luc. 7.677-819]

After this Pompey mounts a horse and rides forth to where his formations disperse and asked the men to not be so frantic that they fall across each other. He did this for the reason that he did not want the common people to die for his sake. He therefore turns away and signals to everyone to follow him, and Lucan says that no man could see any fear in him, neither at that time nor any previous time. No one discerned excessive happiness in him, even when he was doing well, and his air of authority and demeanour were so great that everyone was amazed who saw him, both his friends and enemies. There was a large and strong city near the place where the battle had taken place, and the citizens observed the flight of Pompey and his men. They then climb the battlements and offered to give him everything he wanted and they were able to give. Lucan says that there were still some excellent men left and that he still enjoyed sufficient popularity to gather troops another time. He then rode away from this battle being inferior to only himself. Pompey responded

to their offer in the following way: “The chief who has lost the victory does not need to crawl into cities and accept support from those who are unaccustomed to battles. Offer support to Julius. That is the only thing that befits you.” Julius now did what he had commanded in the beginning: he had every man who turned against him killed. When all of Pompey’s troops had fled and Julius thought he had gained the victory as he wanted, he had the trumpets blown and the army restrained, and when the army came to him, he was cheerful and said: “We have gained a great victory today, and you shall soon receive a reward for the labour you have endured, wounds and smarts from burning and many trials. Here stands an open camp now which our enemies have left for us and is sure to be filled with gold and gemstones which Pompey has collected in the eastern region of the world. Hurry now and divide up among yourselves what this battle has given you.”

After that he goes to the camp that Pompey had previously commanded and wants to spend the night there and see how much booty was there. He was not able to count the valuables in thousands. The camp lodgings were not as comfortable for them as they expected because when they went to sleep in the beds that had belonged to kings or dukes and night fell, they saw large and terrible fires. They also saw a great number of dead men walk around the camp the whole night with weapons and shouts and cries with all kinds of monsters and wonders and uncleanness which are in hell, and yet they were for the most part where Julius himself was.

And when it dawned, Julius had the slain examined, and eleven Roman knights alone were found there but the other people were not counted. He had all the Roman slain burned according to the custom of the Romans and then had the bones and ashes buried. To the bodies of the other men he paid no attention and had them neither buried there nor burnt. It is said that Julius felt great loathing for this place, Thessaly, and he went away to other lands and fought many battles there.

Lucan says that it did not matter whether Julius burned the corpses of the fallen or not or even let the rot in the open air because their bodies became earth anyway. “We also know,” he says, “that it will eventually happen that a fire will rush over land and sea and air and then clean the air wherever you will hide, Julius, in this life or another. Then the souls of the men who died in Emathia be drawn towards you. The fortune of men after death has no dominion [*riki*]. The body of every man disappears into the ground, but the spirit receives something similar to the wrong it has committed, and therefore it is not important whether beasts or birds rip apart the bodies or they are destroyed in the sea or in water.”

78. On Pompey and Cornelia, his wife. [Luc. 8.1-155]

After this battle had ended as has now been recounted, Pompey went to a desert wilderness and rested there for a while because he was wearied by both old age and anxiety and great toil. He knew that there was a great search for him taking place. Pompey felt that he would give much for the death of Julius. Nevertheless, he was not able to stay there for long because the troops who had survived in Thessaly were roaming aimlessly through mountains and forests. Pompey was easily recognizable because he was the finest of all men with regard to his appearance, and his men found it strange to find him in the forest since they had no news of him. It grieved him to meet with any man because there were so many that he did not really trust when it came to their intentions. He found that many of his men wanted to remind him of their misfortune in asking him to be their leader. Pompey now goes to the sea with his troops to the place where the river flows which is called the stream of Peneius, where Cornelia had been left behind and boarded a ship. They went from there to Lesbos, and because of her anxiety she was the first to see the ships that were coming to the island and recognized them immediately and went down to the seashore and recognized

Pompey there who was very colourless. He had a big and hoary beard and was very unhappy, and she was certain that things had fallen heavily upon him and shortly thereafter she lost consciousness and lay for a long time as if she were dead. They came to where Cornelia was lying. Pompey then took her hand in his hands and laid it on his knee. ...²⁴³ her eyes, and they recognized each other. Pompey then said: "Why shall you bear so heavily our first misfortune seeing that you were born into one of the best families and it is not certain that another woman will be granted a greater life in the world? Follow me all the more closely now for many men have parted with me. No harm has come to you in this battle because I am alive."

After this, Cornelia sat up and said with great sorrow: "Great is my misfortune. Your former wife who is dead hates me. My former husband, Marcus Crassus, and his death also distress me. Listen, my supreme husband and undeserving of my bed. Why should I marry you so that the ocean be milder to you than the world? Cast me now overboard because I would really like to give my life in place of yours so that your honour may be even greater than before. And I suppose that wherever you go or fight, Julia will always follow you and begrudge us a good relationship." At her speech almost all the men who were present shed tears, but Pompey himself could not speak because he lost consciousness.

A great multitude of people from the city which is called Mytilene rushed to that place. The chief of those people then said to Pompey: "It will be our glory that our city should preserve such a good woman. And now, please stay with us, even if just for a single night, so that all peoples will later worship this place all the more since such a great chief of the Romans has been here.

²⁴³ There is a short lacuna in the text here, but it is easy to supply "She opened..."

This island lies in the middle of the ocean, and Julius needs a great supply of ships to get here. Chiefs and your friends will come here, and from here it is convenient to prepare for a battle for the second time.” At this speech Pompey became very happy and said: “There is no place on earth more agreeable to me because here I have preserved the man that is dearest to me, and I would really like to be your friend. Nevertheless, I need to go far and wide in the world to meet my destiny. But surely you are blessed, Lesbos, forever because you teach kings and commoners to serve me and keep their loyalty to their master. I must seek whether I find luck or misfortune, and I ask the gods that all people be similar to the people that live here.” Cornelia who was very sad was then carried onboard the ship, but the common people held <their hands> up to the sky and wept heavily and yet lamented more Pompey and his loss than her departure, and yet no woman could part with her without crying.

79. On Pompey’s trip to the city Phaselis. [Luc. 8.186-538]

Pompey now set out to sea and did not know clearly where to head, and when he was asked where he wanted to sail, he replied in the following way: “As soon as possible to Emathia, and we shall not head to Arabia. Otherwise, we shall let the weather decide where we go.” They now sail where the favourable wind took them and came to the same island as before and yet in another place. There were many of the people who had fled from Emathia. The young Pompey then approached his father along with many kings from the eastern region of the world and those from the state [*riki*] of the Romans who did not want to part with Pompey, although he was now in flight. A king named Deiotarus offered him his full support. He accepted it gratefully and asked him to go among the peoples who are called Parthians, Medes and Assyrians to gather an army and to the peoples that Pompey had subjugated to the Romans. Deiotarus removed his kingly dress and put on

merchant dress and set out on his journey immediately. Pompey now sails past/from the land of Asia and stopped in the sea city which is called Phaselis in the district of Pamphylia, and stayed there for a while and went from there to Cilicia and set up his camp there on the seashore.

At that point the majority of the senators who had fled the battle with Cato and Gnaeus Pompey, the son of Pompey Magnus, was with him. Pompey said: “My chiefs and other men who have sworn allegiance to me and who did not want to part with me in battle! Although we do not have many arms resources now, I want to ask your advice on what is most expedient, and I have not yet reached the point where I cannot put this disgrace right. You know that Marius lost all his troops in Libya, and yet he came back with full honours. Still, fortune has overturned my honour to a lesser extent than his. We still have numerous and free troops and a naval force in the ocean of Greece. Now I want to know whether you want to try Libya or Egypt. The youth of the king in Egypt is undependable because loyalty usually follows adult age, and I do not trust well the loyalty of those in Africa because I suppose that they will remember their kinsmen and what they have lost to the Romans. Consider now whether we shall rather go to the eastern region of the world. There the river, which is the largest in the world and is called the Euphrates, flows to the sea on the one side, and on the other a mountain range which is called Caspia extends because there are horses and cities larger than in other places. Even if we will be betrayed there, news will go round that we have drowned at sea.”

The consul Lentulus and other chiefs advise him to try Egypt. <They> said that Ptolemy was a young king and had previously accepted rule the sceptre [*riki*] from Pompey and that it would be worse to expect loyalty from an old king who had received no benefits from him. They now left Cilicia with a naval force, and when they came to Egypt they heard that Ptolemy was at

the mountain which is called Casius, and Pompey turned to go there with his army. And when King Ptolemy hears this, he summons his friends and asks them for advice on how to receive Pompey. Acoreus was an old chief and notable man. He said: “King Lagus, your father, was a loyal man, and he would receive Pompey well if he were alive. And here with us is a written confirmation of their agreement and there is another one in Libya.” Another chief was named Pothinus. He tried to persuade the king that he would be more famous and richer if he would plot death for Pompey and says that justice makes the man insignificant who wants to help the one that fortune wants to overturn and it is advisable to agree with the gods and not take care of the ones who are luckless. “Pompey knows of your youth, and he intends to oust you from the throne [*riki*]. If you do not dare to defend it from him, then hand it over to your sister who is sitting in a dark room, and we shall defend the throne [*riki*] and kill Pompey. And we shall do the same to Julius if we apprehend him.” To these words of Pothinus the king and all his men consented, and it seemed to befit him to do this. And he was glad and summoned his confidante, who was named Achillas, and sent him with a large body of troops to meet with Pompey and betray him.

80. When Achillas betrayed Pompey and killed him. [Luc. 8.561-9. 112]

When Pompey had almost made it to land, Achillas came to meet him on a small ship and offered him the support of the king and the whole common people. And thereby he eggs Pompey on to go onboard his ship and then to the king and the people of the land because Pompey’s ships were so large that they could not get closer to land. Pompey believed his words and boarded his ship. Pompey said: “Keep our ships far from land and then watch what happens to me and test in this way the loyalty of the viking.” Cornelia replied: “Why do you want to part with me? Why was I not with you in the battle in Thessaly? We never parted when things were going better, and I would

rather stay in Lesbos than not go with you to land. Shall I follow you nowhere except at sea?" Pompey now goes away with Achilles on a small ship. Cornelia lay at the railing of the ship in great sorrow.

When Pompey disembarked, a Roman knight came to meet him who was named Septimius and was at the time King Ptolemy's serviceman. He greeted Pompey. He and Achilles took him apart from his men to speak to him and prepared to wound him. When Pompey foresaw his own death, he wrapped the mantle around his head and closed his eyes and held his breath because he did not want them to hear him because he did not want to spoil his everlasting fame with a single sigh. Achilles then walked up to him and ran him through with a sword, but he stayed silent like a sheep. Cornelia saw this clearly and said, weeping heavily: "My sweet man! It would be better if I were in Lesbos and Julius had come first to the sands of the Nile. Surely they would have betrayed out of the two of you him who arrived first. I accepted you, Pompey, at a time when the whole world feared you and your power [*riki*]. Now I part here with you who are dead. Let some friend of Pompey cut my head off because I do not want to survive my sweet husband." She then lost consciousness, but her friends looked after her.

When Pompey had fallen, the wounds that were in his chest from where he had been stabbed with the sword started to resound²⁴⁴ considerably. Septimius then heaped one crime on top of the other. He pulled the mantle from the face and claimed that he wanted to see how he had been changed by death. All who saw him said as it was that he maintained his whole majestic demeanour. Then Septimius drew his sword and cut off his head. Lucan says that this was a head

²⁴⁴ This sounds strange and is not to be found in the Latin.

which had been for a long time carried honourably with strong veins and before which many people had bent their neck. Achilles now goes with his band and held Pompey's head in his hand. With him went the evil Septimius, and they wanted to show the head to the king so that he might see what Pompey looked like. And it was put on an ashen pole and carried high. Never had a more valiant or more handsome head been born, and for a long time it had ruled the chiefs and the state [*riki*] of the Romans well. They poked out the brain when the king had seen it and smeared it with salt and poison so that it would not rot. They cast Pompey's body into the sea, and it was tossed in the surf.

Cordus was the name of a Roman man who happened to be there. He had been with Pompey previously. He came there in the early night and searched for Pompey's body. He found it because the moonlight was bright. He dragged the body onto land and sat by it and wept. He saw that the body of a young man was being burnt, and he fetched fire from there and cleaved a large and ancient tree and kindled a pyre. He laid the body on it and said: "Listen, the supreme duke of the whole state [*riki*] of the Romans, if this fire is any more comfortable for you than lying in the sea and fortune would grant me to bring your holy bones and ashes to the city of Rome and Cornelia would make arrangements for them according to what is deserved." He then picked up the half-burned bones and carried them all together and buried them in the sand and put a large stone on top. Then he fetched a stump and carved the following on it: "Here rests Pompey Magnus. No one has been a greater and more glorious chief in the world." Cornelia now sees all these things and mourns for herself very deeply and then went below deck and lay there until it was dark.

81. Here is an account of Cato and Pompey. [Luc. 9.32-283]

After this Cato came with a thousand ships to a city which is called Phycus. The city-men close their city and then their harbours and did not want to receive him. But Cato attacked them and conquered the city and burned it. Shortly thereafter he left and emerged in the place which is called Palinurus Fields. Gnaeus Pompey, the older son of Pompey Magnus, was there with Cato when Sextus Pompey sailed from Egypt, and they met up there. Gnaeus asked his brother: "What can you tell me about my father?" Sextus replied: "You are blessed for not having been there when our father did not fall by Julius' weapons but was betrayed by the evil king of Egypt. I saw clearly when my father was slain, and it was not so much his murder that grieved me as the fact that they carried his head on a pole up to the city and did this for the sake of fame for themselves but grief and disgrace for us. I am going to show this to Julius and earn his friendship with it. Now we do not know whether beasts or birds have torn his body apart or if the secret fire that we saw during the night was kindled for him."

When the older Pompey heard this story, he was angry at the chiefs and said: "Let us turn back to Egypt and repay the vikings this betrayal. I shall break up the graves of Alexander the Great and of all the kings and earles who rest there and throw their bones in the sea because my father was granted no honourable burial there. I shall start worshipping their god who is called Apis and kindle a fire under the bones of Pompey Magnus. I would like to leave Egypt in such a state that no man could inhabit it." He then ran to his ships and many men with him. But Cato stops the people, and the news travelled around the whole army, and such weeping and bellowing erupted there among the people that no one knew of a prior instance for any people being thus affected by the death of one man.

It became much louder when they saw Cornelia led down from the ship as pale as a corpse. She had the gold-woven clothes and the excellent weapons, which Pompey had possessed, seized. She then had funeral fires kindled and the clothes thrown into them. This was followed by great bellowing and shouts, and everybody reproached the gods. Cato then said: “The man who is now dead was different from all men before him in that he showed moderation in his rule [*riki*] in such a useful way that all the chiefs of the city of Rome always retained their rule [*riki*]. Remember him for this now, and follow him who is dead rather than Julius who is alive. And rather may my head be cut off than I save it for Julius.”

A great discord²⁴⁵ now arose in the army. Tarcondimotus was the name of a viking in the army. He was the first to leave Cato, and many troops went away with him to the ships. Cato went to him and said: “Listen, you vicious vulture. Why do you still want to go on a viking raid and banish yourself to the sea and do many things as bad as the ones you did before you joined Pompey but not avenge him? Be an abuser of every man, then.” Tarcondimotus replied: “If you, Cato, want to go to the city of Rome, we want to follow you and your banners.” A crowd of people then ran to the ships, and it was the intention of everyone to submit to Julius. Cato said: “I see that these people fought rather for the sake of their love for Pompey than for the freedom of the city of Rome. Consider now how you prefer to die free than to serve Julius in shame. If you do not, your army shall gain more fame because first you shall fight against me and bring my head to Julius. He will pay a high reward in exchange for it. You who have rallied below my banners should know that I

²⁴⁵ The Latin reads ‘discordia’.

will not be upset that you buy yourselves honour with my head. It is unmanly to flee and not to have won.”

82. On Cato and Pompey and their journey. [Luc. 9.292-510]

As Cato finished his speech, everybody said that they did not want to part with him. The ships were then brought closer to land, and they were determined to fight and gain the victory, or else to die. From there they went to a city that was close by and conquered it. After that, Cato wants to go to King Juba in Libya. The shortest route to get there was to go through the places which are called Circes.²⁴⁶ The passage was so difficult that no man could make it through there. Pompey's sons were left behind with a large number of troops in the place which is called Triton. Pompey²⁴⁷ then goes to Circes, and Cato also, by the shortest route. There were sands but no grass, and it was filled with snakes. With him went all the best knights, and they egg each other on. When they had not been travelling through the sands for long, one day a wind so strong came on them that the helmets were torn off their heads and they could not stand upright. They held their shields close, and it was as if they would be swept off the ground, and drifts of sand so large blew towards them that they could nowhere stand upright. When the weather cleared up, they saw no path marker in the sand but observed the heavenly bodies, and it was not clear because whole other heavenly bodies were seen there than in the city of Rome itself.

Now dawned another day, and the heat of the sun became very great once the wind abated. The people now became very hot and extremely thirst. A young knight saw a small pool of water

²⁴⁶ This is Syrtes in the Latin original.

²⁴⁷ The Latin reads *duce Pompeio* (with Pompeius as commander) so it is difficult to tell which son of Pompey this is.

in the sand and ran and filled his helmet and brought it to Cato. The men's throats were full of sand. Cato said as he accepted the helmet: "Do you think that I am so weak that I am not able to endure the thirst like other men?" After that he hurled down the helmet. They went to where the water was, and although it was not much, it nevertheless lasted for the whole army.

83. On the god Hammon and Albinus. [Luc. 9.511-584]

Then they came upon a small temple which they said that the Garamantians guarded. In this temple was an idol of Thor. It had ram horns on its head, as was an ancient custom, and the native inhabitants called the god Hammon. It was not adorned with gold or gemstones, but a green thicket grew around it and the native inhabitants felt that it signified Hammon's divinity because all the ground around it was burned by the sun. There were beautiful springs. When the day was the longest in the summer, the sun shone straight down from the sky in the middle of the day. In front of the temple door stood a crowd of men from the east and consulted the god there. A man that was named Labienus said to Cato: "Fortune has indicated to us to seek counsel from the god here by an inquiry of such a great duke as you are and find out what end will come to these battles and the difficult terrain through which we have gone. I expect that the gods will tell no one rather than Cato."

Lucan now says that Cato was inspired by a god and he spoke filled with his power when he said: "About what do you want to inquire, Labienus? Should we ask whether we shall live or fall by weapons or die from illness? I do not except that Hammon can give a clear answer about such a thing, and even if we receive no information from temples, the deity does not need to inquire into the mind of anyone. The prophets have previously foretold everything that we are permitted to know. The god has not put these sands here to speak to men, although they come, or to hide his

truth in any way in this monstrosity. The seat of god is every beast, the sky and the earth and the sea. What shall we then further inquire of the god than what you see or what seems to you to be? Because they need to go and cast lots who are doubtful about themselves, but I do not need to do that because I know that I shall die and then everyone both strong and unsteady. Act now as if Hammon had spoken these words to you or Thor.”

84. Here is an account of Cato and Lucan. [Luc. 9.584-618]

Cato now turned back from the temple and did not consult Hammon. Cato tolerated lack of sleep, hardship and toil beyond all other men, and, although they sometimes found water, he drank last of all. Lucan says that he would have preferred the lot that fell to Cato when he travelled through Syrtes and around Libya to being driven around for three hours with Pompey in a golden carriage to the temple of Thor in the city of Rome. And however faith and the world may change, honour will always be associated with Cato’s name, and his praises will be sung around the whole world. They travelled a path for a while which no one had previously travelled and was thought to be altogether impassable due to the sun-heat. Eventually they found a large and wide spring and fine water in it. Around it were very bad, venomous snakes. Cato waited until the snakes had left. He then said: “Do not fear your death if you drink this water.” He then went himself and was the first to drink water from this spring.

85. Here is an account of dragons in Africa.²⁴⁸ [Luc. 9.700-889]

In Africa there are dragons that are the colour of gold and have two feet. They are so large and strong that they shallow oxen whole and other savage beasts. And they do not have venom in them in most countries except in Libya. They are the more filled with venom the larger they are than other serpents.

In Libya there is the serpent which is called dipsas. If it stings a man, there will be no large wound at first, but when its venom enters the flesh of the man, he will be overcome by such thirst that he can never quench it until he dies.

Seps is the name of a serpent which is small but so noxious that when it stings a man, blood immediately flows out through his sweat-pores.

Aspis is the name of a snake. When it bites a man, he will die without any illness.

Iaculus is the name of a snake. It flies as fast through a man as a shaft is launched, and it is so ferocious that no serpent dares to be near it when it hears its hiss.

Basilisk is the name of a serpent. It has such evil venom in its eyes that whatever it looks at dies.

Apiuena is the name of a serpent that has a head on both ends. It trails its coil as it slithers.

²⁴⁸ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, cxiii-cxvi discusses how this snake passage differs from Lucan's text. "[I]t can be seen that the translator has followed the text of Lucan as regards the details about the soldiers, but his list of snakes differs a lot." She argues that there must have been notes in the margin of the manuscript that influenced the translation.

Cerastes is the name of a serpent. It has no venom in it. It is horned like a sheep. Its tongue is as hard as steel. The man that possesses the tongue needs to beware of venom because the tongue sweats when venom is near, and the tongue is possessed by chiefs who want to protect themselves.

Among these venomous beasts and many others Cato went with his army and saw there the mournful death of his men. His standard-bearer was named Aulus. He was of Tyrrhenian descent. The serpent called dipsas bit him, and it resulted in a little scratch so that he did not notice any harm or pain at first. The venom went around his whole body until he was overcome by such thirst that he could not bear it, and he did not know that it was caused by venom. He guarded no journey with Cato but ran alone with the standard and searched for water without finding any. He drew blood from his own veins and drank it. Cato then found him and had his standard taken from him, and he died soon after that. Shortly thereafter it sat on the leg of a man who was named Sabellus and bit him painfully. He tore the serpent off himself and killed it. That serpent was small, but where he had been wounded, the whole leg died until the whole muscle melted as fast as any sun-heat might melt snow.²⁴⁹

After that the man who was named Nasidius by the serpent that is called prestes. When he was injected with the venom, he became as red as blood and his body began to swell so that the chain armour he was wearing tore off him, and no bird or animal fell upon his body and no man needed to bury him and he did not dry while they were looking.

There was a man named Tullus. He tried in many ways to be like Cato. The serpent that is called seps bit him, and immediately his blood flowed out through his sweat-pores until he died.

²⁴⁹ Such imagery is rare in the saga.

The serpent that is called aspis bit the man who was named Laevus, and he died immediately as if he fell asleep <and> into the realm of the dead.

The serpent that is called iaculus flew as quickly as if it were launched from a crossbow and struck the man who was named Paulus under the cheek, and the serpent flew immediately through his head and out through the cheek.

There was a man named Murrus, and when the venom entered his hand and he saw that he would not be strong enough, he chopped off his hand. It is said that wherever they laid down, equally many men seldom stood up due to the venom that was in the earth and the serpents that crawled up from the sand and towards them.

86. On the nature of <the people> that are called the Marmarican Psylli. [Luc. 9.891-949]

Now they eventually came to the people that are called the Marmarican Psylli, and the greatest danger now began to abate considerably. These people had glorious herbs. They were of such a nature that the venom did not harm them, and they knew both songs and spells to which the venom yielded, and such power followed these people that even if a small child were cast down among the serpents, it was not harmed. If they suspected that others had come between them, they let the aspis serpent near the child, and if the child played with the serpent, they knew that it belonged to them. Otherwise the serpent killed the child. These people granted help to many men against the venom. They [i.e. the people] now went to meet Cato where he had set up his camp in a certain valley. They cleared the valley and drove away the serpents. They built large fires with the trees that are called ebulum. Many men in the army were very sick from the venom, but the Psylli first

put their spit where the venom had entered and it stopped immediately. After that they cast their spells over it and made men healthy in this way. Where the venom was lodged in the bones, they sucked it out and licked, but sometimes they spit into the men's mouths and asked them to swallow. And with their knowledge and good-will they were able to make all men healthy of the venom. Now they eventually came to a beautiful field and leafy forests and were relieved and rested at last. Then they came to the people who are called Leptis²⁵⁰ and stayed there over the winter. At this point Lucan concludes his account of Cato and his men and begins now to tell of Julius and his people.

87. Here is an account of Julius and his journeys. [Luc. 9.950-10. 56]

When Julius left Emathia and wanted to look for his son-in-law and sails past Thrace²⁵¹ where Troy had stood. He then remembered the love for his earlier kinsmen and wanted to see where the towers had stood. And when he came to the place where Troy had been and saw the location of the camp of the Greeks, he went around the place where the city had stood. There he found the graves of many noble men and many sanctuaries. Then he came to the cave where Alexander Paris had been and people say that the boy Ganymede was carried off from there up to the heavens. Then Julius went to a hill and looked over the whole place, and after that he asked a man who had knowledge thereof where the grave of Hector was. He replied: "Here you may see his dead body buried and you may read the everlasting praise that the poets have sung for his praise and glory. Do not feel envy towards his everlasting fame because you alone control the prosperity of men. The praise of Hector will not fail while the book of Homer survives. Your praise will never fail

²⁵⁰ In the Latin original, Leptis is a city.

²⁵¹ Sallust indicates Thrace. In the saga, he sails past 'Frigia'. (Phrygia was a region in Asia Minor).

while the books survive that tell of your victory, and you will be considered the two best of all.” Then Julius had an altar erected according to an ancient custom, and he put incense on it himself to honour his earlier kinsmen who were dead. Then he went to his ships and sailed past Asia and did not stop until he reached the mouth of the Nile in Egypt and <the ships> lay there during the night.

In the morning they saw many men on the shore and they did not think that they knew with whom they were. And therefore Julius had the ships sail up the river. Achillas boarded a boat with a few men and went out to the ships and then approached Julius and held secretly under his cloak the head of Pompey and said: “Listen all the more, the supreme leader who was conquered the whole world, because you do not know that Pompey, your son-in-law, has been killed. He came here and wanted to gather troops against you, but we have killed him and thus bought us your friendship with his blood. Subjugate the kingdom [*riki*] of Egypt now with peace. I think I have a great reward to demand from you since I have killed this vicious opponent of yours.” Then he drew the head from under the mantle and removed the cloth, and it was unlike the man who carried it who ruled so that it was hardly recognizable. Julius looked at the head for a while and recognized it. Then his mind was struck with both grief and joy, and the tears flowed down his cheeks, and Lucan says that there were many reasons for him not wanting to reward the one who had done it. Julius said: “Take this gift away from my sight. Now we have lost the greatest reward of helping the defeated. Why are you so cunning that you expect to receive something good from me for such an evil deed? Take back the head to your king and tell him to make arrangements for it with all distinction and honour. And collect all his bones and lay them in a stone coffin and burn incense over it. If he does not do this, I will make him and all his kingdom [*riki*] pay for it. I wish that

Pompey would feel that his father-in-law has come to him, although we were not fortunate enough to be in harmony.”

After this, Julius went to the temple of the goddess Isis. In that temple the tomb of Alexander the Great, the king of the Greeks, was beautifully adorned. Julius then heard that there was great dissent among the men of Egypt as they found it to be a bad thing to submit to the Romans. He was on his guard to a great extent, but was nevertheless very cheerful. King Ptolemy went to meet him and received him well, and Julius now thought he was safe since he had the king under his control.

88. On Cleopatra and Julius. [Luc. 10.86-192]

The sister of King Ptolemy was named Cleopatra. King Lagus, their father, had given her half the kingdom [*riki*] to share with him and betrothed her to her brother Ptolemy. On the advice of Achilles and Pothinus who had killed Pompey, the king put her in dark room and did not want to marry her. And when she hears that Julius had arrived, she escaped from the dark room by means of cash gifts and went to meet Julius and asked him to assist her so that she might acquire her dominion [*riki*]. This was not difficult for her because Julius fell in love with her immediately, and it ended with Julius laying her in his bed. And a short while later he summoned king Ptolemy and reconciled them. After that Ptolemy and Cleopatra invited him to attend a banquet. He went with great desire. The royal garden was made of very splendid ivory but the streets of very beautiful marble. The walls of the houses and the roofs were adorned with very precious gemstones. The hangings were all made of oriental fabric²⁵² and purple. The steps in front the rooms were made of

²⁵² The material is called ‘guðvefr’ (literally ‘god-web’), which was a term used for expensive oriental cotton.

the stones that are called onyx. Servants were there of all kinds. Some were white as snow but others blacker than earth, and all the kinds of beauty which one can see on earth were there. Julius nevertheless thought that Cleopatra was more beautiful than anything. Very expensive balsam burned there. Lucan says that Julius thought that all the money that he had accumulated in the world was worth nothing and that he thought it was a shame that he had previously fought against Pompey, his poor son-in-law, and this made him excited about a war between himself and the men of Egypt. Julius Caesar went to bed that evening very drunk. He had the man summoned who was named Acoreus. Julius asked him about the movement of the heavenly bodies and many other obscure things and most about the source of the river Nile because he was a wise man. And they were very awake the whole night.

89. Here is an account of the treachery against Julius. [Luc. 10.332-523]

At the time when Julius was at this banquet, Pothinus contrived some tricks to betray him. He then sends a man to his friend Achillas who had previously been involved in a plot against Pompey with him. Achillas does not delay now and gathers a band. And a number of Romans joined up with him, and those who were unaccustomed to being chiefs rather than bad attendants or servants of others were made to rally the newly-arrived and unfamiliar troops. And for this reason it was too late for an attack for them <in> the dark of night, and <they> waited until morning. When the sun rose, Julius and his men saw an army spread out widely go towards the city. It seemed to Julius that there was not much protection in the city walls. He then went to the royal palace and closed it. He then had a small body of troops for a while. Then he went to a small house and shut himself in there, and the rich and the excellent Caesar, for whom the whole state [*riki*] of the Romans was not enough, was now seeking cover in this small house, he who was not previously not satisfied

with the greatest dominion [*riki*] in the world. And when Julius saw in what kind of distress he was, he arrested King Ptolemy and was determined to kill him if he saw that he would not be able to get away and avenge himself before he died.

Julius now sends men to meet the army on behalf of them, who were both kings, and had them asked who was the instigator of this unrest. Photinus and his men had the envoys killed immediately. Then they went to the city and to the houses in which Julius was, but fortune granted Julius cover. After that a number of men attacked Julius' ship and intended to conquer the royal garden in this way. Wherever they attacked, Julius rushed forth with more force and strength than the men ever expected. Sometimes he defended himself with weapons but at other times with fire. He picked up some pitch and brimstone and smeared it on dry wood and launched it as it blazed towards the ships, and they now all began to burn above the sea and the people <began> to fall down. The flame now began to spread towards the palace and the houses burned one after the other. The people went away and believed that Julius would perish in the fire. The palace in which he was staying was a stone dome and it could nowhere be damaged.

When darkness had fallen, Julius ran out to the ships and made his way through the current and the smoke away from the throng and then came to his troops. Then he directed his troops out to the island that is called Pharos and lies in the fork of the Nile. There was a sturdy castle there and Julius conquered it, and after that he was able to go anywhere he wanted with his troops, whether up-or downstream. His enemies were not able to go anywhere. His sister was named Arsinoe. She egged on the man who was named Ganymede to kill Pothinus, and shortly thereafter he killed Achilles and carried Arsinoe off from the dark room in which she had been for a long time. Then he started battles against Julius and got the better of many men. The last one was

Ptolemy who fled onboard a small ship and many men with him and the ship sank along with everyone who was onboard. The body of the king was identified by the armour he was wearing which was made of burned gold. And Lucan now finishes telling of these battles that Julius fought, and men think that he died before he was able to publish his account.

90. On Julius and King Juba. [AccBT; AccA]

Now it is time to tell of the great events that were found in the books of the Romans. When Julius had conquered all of Egypt, he was in the capital of the country which is called Alexandria. He then gave Queen Cleopatra all the kingdom [*riki*] to oversee. Then he left Egypt and went westwards to Africa. King Juba who possessed dominions [*riki*] in Africa gathered an army and marched against him, and on his side were the sons of Pompey Magnus and Sippa, who was one of the most excellent of the chiefs of the city of Rome, and a large army of Romans. And an intense battle took place, and there were heavy casualties, and it ended with Julius gaining the victory but King Juba submitting to him. In the battle Gnaeus Pompey died along with Sippa and many Romans. Sextus Pompey fled to Sicily with the troops who escaped with him.

91. On Julius and his glorious deeds. [AccBT; AccA]

The excellent Cato was at this time in Leptis. He heard that King Juba was defeated. He then expected Julius' dominion [*riki*] to extend over the whole world, but he did not want to serve Julius in any way and he was given poison to drink, and thus he died. After hearing these news, Julius went with a very great force to the city of Rome and he was received there with very great respect, and he was the first autocratic chief over the whole world, and because of his name every autocratic

chief is called Caesar in the city of Rome. And he has been emperor²⁵³ for four winters and six months. Nevertheless he never stayed at peace longer than nine months.

It is said that Julius had a strangely tall stone pillar erected in the city of Rome made of the best marble around and on it was written his name and his image. Men wonder with what artifice the stone was erected or whether there is one or more. On the stone wall by it are written two verses that mean the following in Norse: “If this is one stone, say how you were erected. But if this is more than one, say where they come together.” In the years before Julius died, a lightning struck so close to the stone that it knocked off Julius’ image and the first letter of the name Caesar and made a chip in the stone, and a stone has been inserted in it.²⁵⁴ It is also said that a short while before Julius died, such a loud din was heard in his bedroom that everyone who was inside thought that the whole house would be shaken apart, and he and all his men ran outside.

92. On the murder of Julius and on a prophetess. [AccBT; AccA]

When Duke Brutus, who had escaped from Emathia as was written above, was in the city of Rome, he wanted by all means to take Julius’ life. Involved in this plot with him was the chief who was named Cassius. Julius was unpopular among the chiefs in the city of Rome because he was indecent and subdued them. And eventually it came to pass that Brutus and Cassius were determined to kill him. A prophetess came to Julius and told him that he would not live beyond the ongoing *kalendae* days.²⁵⁵ On the last *kalendae* there was going to be a gathering of many

²⁵³ ‘Keisari’ (Caesar) is the word that is used in the saga.

²⁵⁴ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, cxvii-cxx argues that this part is based on Peter Comestor’s 12th-century *Historia Scholastica*.

²⁵⁵ The redactor seems to misunderstand the *kalendae*, which is the name of only the first day of the month.

people in the temple of Thor in the city of Rome, which they called Capitolium. And Julius went there in great honour and sat in a glorious chariot. And when he was almost at the temple, a man approached him and put a letter into his hands and it was closed and asked him to read it over quickly. But he did not give himself time to do this and when he passed the square, he saw the prophetess sitting there. Julius said to her: "Old woman, the kalendae days have almost passed and I am still alive." "They have come," she says, "but they will not have passed until tomorrow." He now arrived at the temple and entered. Then the doors were closed firmly.

Then Brutus and Cassius went up to Julius and injured him with twenty-five wounds by means of daggers, and he thus died.²⁵⁶ And when the body had stiffened, the hand was clenched around the letter that had been sent to him, and the seal was broken a little. In it he was warned about his death and about submitting to his enemies, but it did not say who had sent it. Therefore the chiefs are obligated to look over quickly all the letters that they consider accepting. It was late in the day when the temple was opened and people became aware of this. Brutus and Cassius went away a hurry on the advice of the chiefs from the city of Rome. The body of Julius was then burned according to an ancient custom <along with> his weapons and banners. The ashes were put in a brazen and gloriously adorned urn, and the urn looked like solid gold. This arrangement was put on top of the tall stone pillar which was described above, and it is called Petra Julii since, and pilgrims call it Peter's Needle. If Lucan had lived to see this event, he would have said that Pompey had been avenged. The morning following Julius' murder men saw from the city three sun rising

²⁵⁶ 44 BCE.

in the east all at once. And when they had reached a point between the east and the southeast, they came together and from them sprang one sun much brighter than ever before.

93. On Antony and Augustus Caesar. [AccBT; AccA]

Mark Antony was the name of a chief of the knights who was the richest alongside Julius.²⁵⁷ He gathered troops and wanted to avenge him. When the chiefs became aware of this, they got three chiefs to defend Brutus and Cassius. The first was named Hirtius, the second Pansa, the third Augustus. Julius's sister was named Atia. Her daughter was named Octavia. She was Augustus' mother.²⁵⁸ Therefore he was named Octavianus Augustus. These chiefs fought against Antony in the city of Rome itself. In this battle Hirtius and Pansa fell, but Augustus was solely in charge of the army of the Romans. The chief who was named Dolabella was present there. He intervened and reconciled them by saying that they should both be chiefs over the whole city of Rome, and Antony married Augustus' sister. It was for a short while that they were both be permitted to stay in the city of Rome. And they then divided the state [*riki*] between themselves, and one of them was supposed to keep Rome and everything north of the sea of Greece but the other what was beyond the sea of Jerusalem in addition to Egypt and Asia an all the dominions [*riki*] that the Romans had conquered beyond the ocean. Lots were then cast, and Augustus received Roma and all the land that belonged to it.

Antony went beyond the ocean with his wife and the troops that he controlled to the dominion [*riki*] that he received. Lucius Antony was the name of a man. He was the brother of

²⁵⁷ Antony was introduced in RS 64.

²⁵⁸ Atia was Julius Caesar's niece, and Octavia and Augustus were her children.

Mark Antony and was a very great chief. He was very envious that Augustus had received the supreme seat of the world. He went with an army against Augustus, and Augustus went against him and pressed so hard that there was no option but for them to submit to Augustus. Antony was in Egypt when he heard these news. He then separated from Augustus' sister and sent her with no honour home to her brother and married Cleopatra who had been Julius' concubine. He was certain that Augustus would not like this. He now went out to Apulia and wanted to seek support there in the city that is called Brundisium. Brutus and Cassius were already there. They joined his cause because they were not able to get to the city of Rome before Augustus. After that Augustus went across the ocean towards them, but they turned to meet him and fought against him in Emathia. And they both fell there, Brutus and Cassius, but Antony fled.

After that, Antony and Queen Cleopatra gathered a large army from all the dominions [*riki*] that were under their control and went against Augustus again, and they met in the land that is called Erpe.²⁵⁹ The place is called Actium Coast, and there took place a very intense battle. And Antony fled, but Augustus gained the victory.²⁶⁰ And shortly thereafter Antony killed himself with poison. After that Augustus became an autocratic chief over the whole world and was called Augustus Caesar. Cleopatra now set out from Egypt and intends to meet with Augustus and depends on her beauty and his lust because he was beautiful beyond all other men, and yet it was mostly due to how surpassingly fine his eyes were. He was the greatest womanizer of all men. She sent men to him and wanted to get to talk to him but he was very careful and wanted to neither see hear nor listen to her. And when she thought she had been spurned, she went back to Egypt and

²⁵⁹ Actium was in Acarnania.

²⁶⁰ 31 BCE.

had Antony's stone tomb opened up and sat down next to the body and put the aspis serpent on her breast, and immediately it bit her to death. Then the stone tomb was shut as it had been before.

94. On Emperor Augustus.

When Augustus had acquired the wealth that Antony had accumulated, he had all bonds of the Romans burned because he wanted all his men to be free and no one to be indebted to anyone else. He paid the debts owed to any man with his own money. He improved Roma very much, first by having many quarters and palaces built. He also had all streets well made. He also strengthened it with walls and fortifications around it. He said the following before his friends one time: "A city of clay you were, Roma, when I seized you, but now you are of marble when it is soon that we part." During his day there was such a severe famine that many people died of hunger. Augustus was so affectionate towards the people that he proclaimed that he would drink poison within three nights rather than seeing such misery among the people. Within that time a source of olive oil sprang from a rock so abundantly that anyone could scoop as much as he wanted.²⁶¹ And the Romans thought that this resulted from the mercy of the emperor, but people should better think that this resulted from God's mercy which came into being during his day because Jesus Christ was then born into this world.

One day, when Augustus was riding with his troops, he saw the sun shine much brighter and more splendid than it had been before. Around it he saw a purple circle of glorious beauty. His men said that it was due to his glory and splendour that this came before men's sights. "Surely I

²⁶¹ Þorbjörg Helgadóttir 2010, cxxxi identifies Orosius' (c. 400) *Historiarum adversus Paganos Libri* as the source for this.

would find it probable,” he says, “if such great wonders would appear on earth, that they would signify my empire [*riki*] because I am earthly. But now that this appears in the sky, I assume that the great king of heaven who is supposed to be greater and more merciful than all things is now approaching the world. And as sunrays brighten the whole world, thus he will brighten the hope of everyone who loves him. And the purple circle shall signify the death that he takes on for the sake of men. And as the beautiful circle around the sun has no end, thus his empire [*riki*] will be endless.”

Augustus was the greatest ruler of all the chiefs of the Romans in ancient times, and he established peace in the whole world which was not so great before and has not been since. And because of his name every emperor of the Romans has been called Augustus, and what is more, it is the greatest honorific title of the whole world. Augustus was in total emperor for six or seven winters of the sixth decade <of his rule>. He died in the city that is called Accella.²⁶² It lies in the district that is called Campania. During the second year of the fourth decade of his rule, the Lord was born in the land of Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, to the Virgin Saint Mary, the queen of heaven and earth, <and he> was Jesus Christ, the creator of all things, and it is the observation and year-count of wise men that three-thousand and ...²⁶³ had passed since the beginning of the world. And thus conclude the sagas of the Romans.

²⁶² Augustus died in Nola in 14 CE.

²⁶³ The apparatus says that ‘nine-hundred sixty-two years’ has been added by another scribe.

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